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THE THEME OF SYNAGOGUE, ECCLESIA, AND THE WHORE OF BABYLON
IN THE VISUAL ARTS AND IN THE POETRY OF DANTE AND CHAUCER:
A BACKGROUND STUDY FOR CHAUCER'S WIFE OF BATH

by

NANCY A. CHMAITELLI

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

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ABSTRACT

THE THEME OF SYNAGOGUE, ECCLESIA, AND THE WHORE OF BABYLON
IN THE VISUAL ARTS AND IN THE POETRY OF DANTE AND CHAUCER:
A BACKGROUND STUDY FOR CHAUCER'S WIFE OF BATH

NANCY A. CHMAITELLI

The purpose of this dissertation is to discuss the theme of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon in order to provide iconographic background for Chaucer's Wife of Bath's Prologue and Tale. The first chapter traces the iconographical development of this theme from its beginning through ivory carvings and manuscript illuminations. Special attention is also given to the scriptural and patristic basis of this theme.

The second chapter discusses Dante's use of this theme in the final cantos of the Purgatorio in which Dante the pilgrim sees a Pageant of the Church which is transformed into a vision of the Whore of Babylon. In this chapter, Dante's poetry is compared to the iconography of the north porch of Chartres Cathedral which also deals with the themes of the Old and New Covenants and the Active and Contemplative Lives.

Chapter three discusses the figure of Chaucer's Wife of Bath in relation to this iconography, and a special comparison is made to the imagery of the typological windows
which once decorated Canterbury Cathedral. The Wife of Bath, who is described in imagery which recalls Synagogue and the Whore of Babylon, tells the story of a loathly hag who is transformed into a beautiful queen. Thus, a Synagogue-Whore of Babylon figure tells the tale of a Synagogue figure who is revealed as Ecclesia. The dissertation concludes with a brief discussion of Spenser since, by the time of the Reformation, artists and poets were no longer interested in the contrast between Synagogue and Ecclesia, but between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism.
I would like to express my gratitude to my husband, my children, my parents, and my friends for their support and encouragement.
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INTRODUCTION
A Survey of the Theme and Its Criticism

The aim of this study will be to trace the evolution of the theme of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon through the visual arts and to demonstrate the outstanding and enduring popularity of this theme with both artists and writers. In addition, special attention will be given to the iconographical and theological basis of this theme. Such a background study is important because it illuminates the theological significance and artistic richness which rendered this theme so apt for Chaucer's unique creative purpose. Indeed, Chaucer was able to create the unique story of the Wife of Bath because of the great beauty and complexity inherent in the long history of this theme.

In the Middle Ages the widely disseminated and popular theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia formed the basis of compositions in almost all media and on all scales. These personifications appealed to both the miniaturist and to the sculptor working on a monumental scale. The theme inspired the painter, working on a two-dimensional surface, the sculptor of free-standing pieces, and the master of stained glass, that very medieval medium which seems to transcend
three-dimensional space altogether. As we have noted, not only visual artists, but also writers and poets were inspired by this theme and drew upon it in major works. For example, the theme forms the basis for the liturgical drama De Altercatione Ecclesiae et Synagogae. In the poetry of the Middle Ages, the theme inspired such influential poets as Dante and Chaucer.

However, although both visual artists and poets shared this theme, their goals were not always the same. Working in stone and stained glass, the great cathedral artists created balanced depictions of Synagogue and Ecclesia in order to contrast the Old and the New Covenants and to show how the Old Testament was fulfilled in the New by the sacrifice of Christ. Their goal was to instruct the individual in his choice of the new dispensation of grace over the bondage of the law and of sin. As artists in the service of the Church, they also had as their goal the glorification of the church edifice. On the other hand, poets, who were not dependent upon Church patronage, were free to use the theme in a different way and to compare Ecclesia to the Whore of Babylon, rather than simply to Synagogue. By this shift of comparison, poets were able to criticize abuses of the Church itself, as well as the faults of the individual. Postponing a detailed examination of the artistic and poetic treatments of this theme to the main body of our study, let us now survey the work which art
historians and literary scholars have compiled on this topic.

As we first turn to the work of art historians on this theme, we will find a wealth of description of the iconographical attributes of these figures, as well as much close examination of its patristic and theological basis. However, art historians have largely ignored literary manifestations of this theme other than the patristic writings and Church drama. The two most recent outstanding art historical studies of this theme are those of Gertrud Schiller and Wolfgang Seiferth. In her encyclopedic *Iconography of Christian Art*, Schiller provides a wealth of iconographic detail and theological background. Seiferth also presents an abundance of scholarship and artistic examples. However, Seiferth is primarily interested in "the revelation of symbols and logical relationships" and the rediscovery of "the connection between our age and these medieval allegories." 4

Seiferth also provides an indispensable survey of the background art historical research on this topic, which I shall summarize. The first great investigation of this topic was done by the Jesuit fathers Cahier and Martin in their monumental monograph on the stained glass of Bourges Cathedral. Published between 1841 and 1844, this copious work includes the Biblical and patristic sources for this topic and forms a solid base for all future scholarship.
Paul Weber, writing some fifty years later, examined the relationship between clerical drama and Church art and interpreted the two female personifications of Ecclesia and Synagogue as "the principal theme of Christian religion and art." In addition, he was the first to examine this theme against the background of the history of medieval Jewry.\(^7\) It is important to note that the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia, and the later addition of the Whore of Babylon, was used by Christian theologians, artists, and poets to express ideas about the Church's authority and the role of the Church in the fulfillment of the Old Covenant. Obviously, medieval theologians and artists simply were not interested in the Jewish point of view of Judaism. On the other hand, one must remember that, although the theme could be twisted to the use of prejudiced people, it is not inherently anti-Semitic. In fact, as we shall see in Chapter I, the theme has its origins in the eucharistic controversies of the ninth century rather than in any question of the relationship between contemporaneous Christian and Jewish communities. Also of special importance to the history of the study of this theme are the contributions of Franz Xaver Kraus and later Joseph Sauer who emphasized "the religious communality of the two figures, their service to a higher ideal."\(^8\) Finally, Adolph Goldschmidt's study of ivory carvings is indispensable to the art historian, since his staggering collection of plates
enables the scholar to trace the development of this theme through the medium in which it found its earliest extensive treatment.9

Just as art historians have largely ignored poetic treatments of Synagogue and Ecclesia, so literary scholars, examining Chaucer's Wife of Bath, have not fully taken into account the iconographical and artistic context of this theme. Although literary scholars have done some excellent work regarding Chaucer's use of the imagery of Synagogue in creating the Wife of Bath, these scholars have not identified the image of Ecclesia who forms the real basis of Chaucer's message. This is due in large part to the isolation of literary scholars from the work of art historians. Art historians, involved with visual representations of this theme and the theological writings which form the basis of its iconography, all too often ignore the poetic applications of this imagery. On the other hand, literary scholars who do not have the opportunity to examine the many artistic examples of this theme do not understand the theme as a whole or the overall context for its imagery. Therefore, when literary critics do recognize the iconographic attributes of a Synagogue figure, they accept them in isolation and do not instinctively realize that a Synagogue figure standing alone in a medieval poem would be as incomplete as one half of a
Gothic cathedral portal standing alone with one monumental sculpture of Synagogue.

The first literary scholar to notice the imagery of Synagogue in Chaucer's poetry was D.W. Robertson, Jr. In his *Preface to Chaucer, Studies in Medieval Perspectives*, Robertson noted in the Wife of Bath the attributes associated with Synagogue and therefore proposed that she was a figure of spiritual blindness. Robertson developed this idea more fully in "Simple Signs from Everyday Life in Chaucer." In this article, Robertson associates the Wife of Bath not only with Synagogue, but also with the unconverted Woman of Samaria, and he notes that the Wife represents a "Babylonian" context of "confusion" and the "pursuit of worldly satisfaction."

Also noting the spiritual perversity reflected in the Wife's misinterpretation of scripture and in her lustful marriages, Bernard Huppé compares the inverted state of authority in the Wife's marriages to the "default in spiritual leadership" which is represented by the corrupt ecclesiastics in the *Tales:*

The Church is the vessel of salvation; as the family is expressed in society, society is expressed in the Church. In this light the drama of the defiant Wife of Bath takes on added significance. Because no husband has succeeded in taming her, she has become obdurate in her rebellion, and no spiritual authority has quelled her rebelliousness. Indeed, she seems to be
Thus, Huppé points out that the Wife is used by Chaucer to reveal and chastise corruption within the Church, but does not identify her as a figure of Ecclesia or the Whore of Babylon.

The most thorough study of Synagogue imagery by a literary scholar is The Old Whore and Medieval Thought: Variations on a Convention by Robert Spencer Haller. Haller presents a careful examination of Synagogue, discussing both the attributes and the patristic basis of this figure and relating this to the figure of the old whore in Ovid and in the Roman de la Rose. Finally, Haller associates the imagery of the Synagogue, the old whore, and the Samaritan Woman with the Wife of Bath. However, Haller does not place this Synagogue imagery within the broader context of the theme of Synagogue, Ecclesia and the Whore of Babylon. Thus, he does not interpret the transformation of the hag allegorically as a part of theme, but sees it only as an example of the Wife's perverse desire for "maistry:"

The hag at the end of the tale changes as love would wish her to. She is ugly to the eyes of reason, and beautiful when the man has given up sovereignty to her in that act which always signifies the consent of reason to the delights of the flesh.
In examining both visual and poetic manifestations of the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia, this dissertation will provide a useful overall context for the consideration of Chaucer's Wife of Bath. Furthermore, in Chapter III, we will examine how the imagery of this theme would have been available to Chaucer not only through the long tradition of this theme in Church art but more immediately through the magnificent stained glass of Canterbury Cathedral. This celebrated cathedral provided examples of Synagogue and Ecclesia in its grand rose windows in addition to the basis for the interpretation of this theme in its important series of typological windows. An examination of Chaucer's Wife of Bath against the artistic and poetic background of the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia will illustrate that, as a poet who was not dependent upon Church patronage, Chaucer was free not only to draw upon the tradition of this theme in Church art, but even to utilize the theme to criticize corruption within the Church itself. However, before we turn to the poetic manifestations of this theme, let us consider the theological basis which led to its creation.

Close examination of the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia will reveal that, from its beginning, it has been associated with ideas concerning the eucharist, especially with transubstantiation and with Ecclesia's authority as the ministrant of the sacrament to which she ascended at the moment of Christ's death. Art historians and scholars have
established a definite *terminus post quem* for the study of Synagogue and Ecclesia in the *Sacramentary of Drogo of Metz*. This sacramentary was a product of the ninth century, a time which was marked by an important eucharistic controversy, the resolution of which marked the acceptance of the notion of transubstantiation. The best explanation of this controversy and the eucharistic overtones of the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia are provided by Gertrud Schiller, which I shall summarize.\(^{15}\)

The ninth-century eucharistic controversies were initiated by Paschasius Radbertus, author of the *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domine*. According to Radbertus, who became Abbot of Corbie, transubstantiation of the bread and wine takes place during the eucharist so that the priest dispenses the historical body of Christ. Not all theologians accepted this. Rabanus, Mauraus, Abbot of Fuda, and later Archbishop of Mains; Ratramnus, a monk of Corbie; and Gottschalk, the Saxon theologian; all opposed the realistic interpretation of Radbertus. Of this opposition, the most important was that of Ratramnus who asserted that it was the mystical body of Christ which was present at the eucharist, since His historical body was in heaven.\(^{16}\) In spite of this opposition, the realistic interpretation predominated with one result being that the Church, as the ministrant of the sacrament, acquired a greater authority among both the theologians and the people in general.\(^{17}\)
These new theological ideas manifest themselves in Carolingian art, especially in manuscript illuminations and in ivory carvings which were used as bindings for liturgical manuscripts.\textsuperscript{18} From the ninth century onwards, the symbolic nature of the liturgy was emphasized. This approach to the liturgy was most clearly shown in the commentaries on the mass by Amalarius of Metz, bishop of Trier 809–14.\textsuperscript{19} Given the eucharistic basis of the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia and the intrinsic connection of this basis to the Carolingian liturgy, it is not surprising that the theme made its debut in a sacramentary from the great Carolingian center of Metz.

In the centuries which followed, the nature of the eucharist continued as an important focus for theological consideration which culminated in 1215, when the Fourth Lateran Council made the doctrine of transubstantiation dogma.\textsuperscript{20} The path for this decision had been prepared by eucharistic controversies within the Carolingian realm:

The concept of "substantial conversion" at the eucharist had already been hammered out in the controversies with Berengarius of Tours (died 1088), who again put forward the symbolical and spiritual interpretation; but only now was it made binding. The practice of elevating the consecrated host at the mass so that the congregation could see and venerate it came into existence at about the same time.\textsuperscript{21}
These liturgical changes, based on eucharistic doctrine, eventually served to emphasize the sacrament as a visual spectacle. In addition to the elevation of the host, liturgical changes at this time included the permanent display of the host in a monstrance, the practice of giving the lay congregation bread but not wine at communion, and compulsory confession before communion. This last practice especially led to a drop in the number of communicants and to the belief that ocular communion, or the act of gazing at the host, produced redemptive effect.

This same feeling which motivated the belief of ocular communion also gave an increased importance to the feast of Corpus Christi, which was promoted to a great feast of the Church:

A consequence of the practice of venerating the sacramental body of Christ—a decisive influence on the whole of Late Medieval piety—was that the feast of Corpus Christi, which had been celebrated for some time in certain parts, was in 1264 promoted to become a feast of the church. The feast of the Holy Trinity, designed to celebrate the mystery of the Trinity, was introduced at about the same time and should be regarded as a parallel to the feast of Corpus Christi.

The visual impact of venerating the sacrament through ocular communication and through the processions of the feast of Corpus Christi surely must have stimulated the individual Christian to contemplate works of art which
depicted the Crucifixion and which were informed by an iconography which was based on eucharistic doctrine. Artists also must have been inspired by this visual impact to create works which were informed by this iconography. Poets as well were inspired to express this theme in terms which connoted very visual images, as we shall see in Chapters II and III in our discussion of Dante and Chaucer. In fact, as Dr. Lizette Andrews Fisher has shown, Dante's allegorical procession of the Triumph of the Church in the *Purgatorio* shows the particular influence of the processions of the feast of Corpus Christi.  

By the time of Dante, the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia was also used to chastise heretics who had threatened the Church. The most outstanding artistic example of this is the facade of the north transept of Chartres Cathedral, whose iconography was designed to reassure the individual Christian that the Church, the legitimate successor of the Old Covenant of Synagogue, was the true ministerant of the sacrament and guide to the faithful. These messages were meant to confound the Cathar heretics who denied the Old Testament, claimed that the Cathar Church was the true Church of Christ, and asserted that the Church of Rome was nothing more than the Whore of Babylon and Synagogue of Satan. The Cathars even went so far as to revive the Donatist heresy which declared that the eucharist is invalid in the hands of a corrupt clergy.
Given the very origins of the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia under the Cross as confirmation of the authority of the Church as ministrant of the sacrament and as a confirmation of transubstantiation, it is clear why the theme is so well suited to refute heretics who challenged the authority and identity of the Church as well as its power to evoke real presence. However, we must leave a detailed consideration of this to Chapter II when we shall examine the identification of the Cathars by their Catholic contemporaries as Neomanicheans and discuss the Gnostic and dualist roots of their heresy. In that context we will also discuss the significance of the Chartrean facade to the final cantos of the Purgatorio since both share a similar pattern of imagery which has its patristic basis in the writings of St. Gregory the Great. Finally, in Chapter III, we shall apply this iconographical background to the figure of Chaucer’s Wife of Bath, who shares certain Cathar tendencies, and who is described in the imagery of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon.

In order to understand the symbolism of this theme and to appreciate the uniqueness of Chaucer’s use of this imagery, one must understand the rich history of this theme in art and in poetry in addition to its theological basis. Just as the visual artist uses the medium of glass, paint, or stone to create images, so the poet uses the medium of words to create images and to set those images in patterns.
However, the artistic arrangement of those images may not appear as a pattern if the viewer or reader is not familiar with the iconographical system which gives meaning to the images created by the artist or poet. It is the goal of this dissertation to provide in Chapter I this background to the visual arts and then to explain in Chapter II how this theme was employed by Dante in the *Purgatorio*, which preceded Chaucer. Dante's use of this theme in the *Purgatorio* is especially important since the poem was not only extremely influential, but also because it presents such a comprehensive use of the iconography of this theme. Like Chaucer, Dante wanted to instruct the individual Christian and to criticize abuses of the contemporary Church.

In spite of the similarity of their motives and the shared imagery of the theme of Synagogue, *Ecclesia*, and the Whore of Babylon, the techniques of Dante and Chaucer are strikingly different due to the overall structure of their two great masterworks. In Dante's *Commedia*, the realms of Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell are clearly differentiated, and all three are sharply cut off from the span of life on earth. In Chaucer's *Tales*, however, the poet conflates these spiritual realms into spiritual states which one can experience on earth in anticipation of one's eternal lot.

Dante is also relevant to our background study of Chaucer because he and Chaucer share similar goals for their
uses of this theme, namely the instruction of the individual Christian and the criticism of the corruption and abuses of the contemporary Church. However, because of the structure of their poems, the Commedia and the Tales, the aesthetic effects which are produced are quite different. Dante divides his work into clearly delineated settings of Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven into which he places himself as pilgrim. Because of this structure, a character in the Commedia represents a rather specific spiritual state which is defined by the location of that character within the overall structure of the poem. Furthermore, given the otherworldly locations of the poem, no character but the pilgrim Dante functions as a truly "human" character.

Just as Dante provides a useful background for Chaucer, so the facade of Chartres Cathedral provides a useful background for Dante, and, therefore, for Chaucer. The facade of Chartres Cathedral also provides a scriptural and iconographic background for the theme of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon, which, as we shall see in Chapter II, was particularly appropriate to an anti-heretical setting and to Dante. An examination of the facade of Chartres also provides an excellent example of the extended use of this theme in the visual arts. Finally, in Chapter III, through a close examination of the Wife of Bath's Tale, this dissertation will demonstrate how the
ideas and imagery belonging to this theme inform the work of Chaucer.

In contrast to the allegorical technique of Dante which is based upon the division of his poem into the otherworldly realms of Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, through which sojourns an earthly pilgrim, Chaucer presents the earthly pilgrimage of the Christian palmer. Chaucer conflates the Dantean aspects of Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven into the earthly setting of the road to Canterbury. Those aspects of spirit which are so clearly delineated and defined by context within the structure of Dante's poem are telescoped by Chaucer so that his characters function not only as representatives of a spiritual state, but also as characters. Instead of a celestial pageant of the relationship between Synagogue and Ecclesia and the perverse transformation of Ecclesia into the Whore of Babylon, Chaucer conflates these figures into the Wife of Bath and her tale of the transformation of the loathly lady into a beautiful bride. Instead of neat divisions of Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, we encounter the Wife of Bath who provides "on earth a purgatory." 25

In his story of the Wife of Bath, Chaucer drew upon the theological theme of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon to create the figure of a wandering widow who tells the tale of a loathly hag who is wondrously transformed into a beautiful bride. As we shall see in Chapter III, this
complex allegorical imagery enables Chaucer not only to instruct the faithful Christian reader of his poetry, but also to criticize abuses within the contemporary Church. As an individual, the Wife of Bath illustrates what it means to choose the spiritual deterioration which results from the sins of lust and greed instead of the spiritual rejuvenation promised by the New Covenant. This spiritual deterioration manifests itself in her literal-minded approach to Scripture. Ignoring the spirit of the text, the Wife prefers a literal-minded interpretation of Scripture which she hopes will excuse her carnality. Obviously, she is interested only in fulfilling her own desires. On an allegorical level, the Wife is a conflation of images of Synagogue and the Whore of Babylon, and she tells the tale of a Synagogue figure who is revealed as an Ecclesia figure. This complex juxtaposition of images serves to criticize the greed and corruption within the Church which would corrupt the Bride of Christ into the Whore of Babylon.

Although a detailed examination of Spenser does not lie within the scope of this study, we should note that, like Chaucer, he employs the imagery of Ecclesia and the Whore of Babylon in his creation of Una and Duessa in *The Faerie Queene*. The virtuous Una, whose very name denotes the simplicity and wholeness of truth, represents Ecclesia, while Duessa represents a Whore of Babylon figure, a corrupt indictment of Church abuses. Of course, by Spenser's time,
the contrast between Ecclesia and the Whore of Babylon had
taken on meanings in addition to the traditional medieval
one of criticism of Church corruption. With the
reformation, the theme of Ecclesia and the Whore of Babylon
became a source of accusations which Roman Catholics and
Protestants could hurl at one another. Thus, the long
tradition of this theme in both art and poetry came to an
end.

Now that we have noted the appeal of the theme of
Synagogue and Ecclesia to both visual artists and poets and
outlined its long tradition, we must deduce that this theme
achieved such a phenomenal popularity partly because it
provided an adequate vehicle for an important and complex
iconography which expressed the medieval Church's teachings
about the salvation of the individual Christian and the role
of the Church through time. Moreover, the personifications
of Synagogue and Ecclesia as women beneath the Cross
provided a wealth of visual images which inspired both
artists and poets. Rarely has a theme satisfied so
completely the demands of iconography and aesthetics to form
the basis of so many works which are spiritually moving,
intellectually complex, and aesthetically pleasing.
Notes to Introduction


4 Seiferth, p. viii.

5 Seiferth, p. viii.


14 Seiferth, p. 1; Schiller, II, p. 107; and Weber, p. 16.

15 Schiller, II, 9-12 and 99-115.

16 Schiller, II, 9.

17 Schiller, II, 9.

18 Schiller, II, 10.

19 Schiller, II, 10.

20 Schiller, II, 11.

21 Schiller, II, 11.

22 Schiller, II, 11.

23 Schiller, II, 11.


CHAPTER I

The Theme of Synagogue, Eclesia, and the Whore of Babylon in the Visual Arts

The goal of this chapter will be to examine the development of the theme of Synagogue, Eclesia, and the Whore of Babylon in the visual arts and to provide a background for the understanding of the complex iconography of this theme. To accomplish this goal, it is necessary first to survey the history of this theme in the visual arts and then to consider in detail a wealth of examples of the theme in a wide range of visual manifestations. With this goal in mind, let us survey the history of this theme in the visual arts in order to achieve an overview with which to consider significant examples of this theme.

Having examined in the introduction of this study the eucharistic doctrines which influenced the development of the theme of Synagogue and Eclesia, we are now prepared to appreciate the importance of the Crucifixion setting to the development of this theme. The eucharistic controversies of the Carolingian period brought about a concentration on the theme of the Passion which, in turn, brought about a more personal approach to the theme of Christ's death and a more
personal concern on the part of the individual believer. This personalized involvement caused the individual to concentrate more intensely on the whole context of the Crucifixion and elevated in importance the stature of all individuals involved in that setting:

The intensity with which the faithful entered into the spirit of the several stations of the Passion resulted in a new importance being attached by religious and moralizing writers and by artists to the persons who stood beneath the Cross, Mary, John and the women. They were now regarded as the types of those who suffered with Christ and spectators, could identify themselves with them.

As we have seen, Synagoge and Ecclesia first appear as a harmonious pair of figures in their setting beneath the Cross in the Sacramentary of Drogo. This sacramentary contains a Crucifixion image which includes the figure of Ecclesia with a chalice and the prophet Hosea who represents the Old Covenant. Both face Christ without any tokens of rivalry. Thus, a spirit of balance marks the emergence of this theme. Such equilibrium is present in other early works, such as the famous "Nicasius Diptych," which we shall discuss later. The pair of Synagoge and Ecclesia create a harmonious setting beneath the Crucifixion.

According to Schiller, the image of partnership beneath the Cross changed around 850 so that, from that time on,
Ecclesia and Synagogue often assumed an adversarial relationship. This potential for conflict heightens the sense of drama which is latent in the theme. Furthermore, by this time, many of the iconographical elements used to describe these female personifications are in frequent use:

The deposition of Synagogue was a common scene: Ecclesia demands that she surrender the symbols of her sovereignty, the lance (hasta) or the sceptre (baculus), to which the three-tongued standard (flammula) is attached, the globe (tympanum) and the crown.

In considering the theological implications of the iconography, we must remember that, although it is possible to make generalizations about the evolution of the theme, each particular art work which uses the theme is a unique expression of an individual artist. Furthermore, political or social factors sometimes influenced interpretations of the theme. Therefore, although a summary of the theme is useful as a background for the examination of particular expressions of the theme in art or literature, one must be careful to consider each work of art or poetry both as a part of a background tradition and as a unique creation. It is for that reason that so many art works are considered in this chapter. In addition, a wealth of examples demonstrates the enduring popularity of the theme, its adaptability to the artist's individual expression, and the richness of the theme's iconography.
The theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia continued to develop iconographically from the ninth to the twelfth century, and, as the original balance of the theme was sometimes broken, so the increasingly complex iconography furnished the artist with a wealth of symbolism which he could use in order to dramatize this discord. After its period of emergence in the ninth century, the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia continued to evolve and accrue iconographical elements through the tenth century. Although the personifications appeared less often in Crucifixion images of the eleventh century, they re-emerged in the twelfth. In fact, a late twelfth-century manuscript, the Hortus Deliciarum, furnishes an encyclopedic collection of attributes. In addition to its wealth of iconography, this illumination, which will be discussed later in this chapter, illustrates not a sense of harmony between Synagogue and Ecclesia, but a contrast between them. In the twelfth century Synagogue acquires attributes which emphasize her defeat and the end of her authority:

... Synagogue is now given new attributes which emphasize the defeat of Jewry, the sin of unbelief and the contrast between the Jewish cult of sacrifice and Christ's sacrificial Death. The staff with the banner that she carries is broken, the tables of the Law slip from her hand, the crown falls off her head, her eyes are blindfolded.
Other attributes which mark Synagogue are the sacrificial knife or the stumbling animal. It is in the twelfth century that she acquires, occasionally, the goat or goat's head. Thus, we see that an abundance of attributes and a setting of rivalry in the twelfth century stands in sharp contrast to the original harmonious balance and iconographical simplicity of the ninth. By the twelfth century, an artist or poet wishing to use this theme could choose balance or drama, iconographic simplicity or complexity.

The twelfth-century iconographical wealth of Synagogue and Ecclesia also illustrates the link of the theme to contemporary attitudes toward the eucharist. The use of the theme, with its encyclopedic acquisition of iconographic attributes and symbolism, which is abundantly illustrated in the Hortus Deliciarum, occurs after a period of lessened use in the eleventh century. This re-emergence is timely since it follows the elevation of the doctrine of transubstantiation into dogma in the early eleventh century and the renewed emphasis of the veneration of the sacramental body of Christ which was formalized by the declaration of Corpus Christi as an official feast of the Church at the end of that century. Increased attention to the nature of the eucharist re-invigorated the theme, just as the eucharistic controversies in the ninth century marked its beginning as a means to assert the Church's authority as ministerant of the sacrament which was sanctified by the real
presence of Christ. Furthermore, the re-emphasis of this theme in the twelfth-century was timely for the Church since it was helpful in combatting the twelfth-century heresies which threatened both the Church's authority as ministrant of the sacrament, and even the nature of the sacrament itself.

Keeping in mind the background of the overall development of this theme let us now turn to a more detailed consideration of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon in the visual arts. Since art historians and scholars have established a definite terminus post quem for this theme in the Sacramentary of Drogo of Metz, any detailed study must begin with a close examination of this magnificent manuscript along with another manuscript, the Utrecht Psalter, which is closely related to the Drogo Sacramentary in time and importance. Both of these extraordinary manuscripts are products of the Carolingian renovatio which would have a profound influence on medieval Europe. 8 Charlemagne, "the Tree of Jesse from which springs the tree of medieval civilization," created, along with his successors, the court which gave life to the great Carolingian centers of Aachen, Reims, and Tours, as well as Metz. 9 Drawing from a number of sources—Byzantine, Anglo-Saxon, Irish, Lombard, and Spanish—the renovatio artists of these centers created an art whose influence spread throughout Europe. As the Drogo Sacramentary clearly
proves, the centers of Metz and Reims were most important to
the English revival, although a number of Carolingian
scriptoria were influential as well. 10

Drogo, who was an illegitimate son of Charlemagne, was
archbishop of Metz (826-855) and chaplain to Lothair as well
as later Vicar Apostolic throughout the empire north of the
Alps, although this may have been a purely honorary title. 11

In an initial to the collect for Palm Sunday, there is a
description of the Crucifixion which contains the first
definite portrayal of Ecclesia at the foot of the cross. 12

This illustration deserves close examination not only
because of its historical importance, but because, from the
beginning, so many details of iconographical importance are
included. Unlike most Carolingian manuscripts which show a
restricted choice of subject matter, the Drogo Sacramentary
introduces many themes which are new to manuscript
illustration. 13 Among these themes are scenes from the Life
of Christ as well as hagiographical themes and themes which
symbolize the sacraments. The artist of the Drogo book
abandons the classical, framed compositions which
characterize the conservatism of most Carolingian
manuscripts. Nearly all compositions are combined with the
initial-letter which are elaborately foliated to act as
scaffolds for the figure-subjects. Gertrud Schiller
provides a thorough description:
The Cross stands in the middle on broken ground; the serpent, mortally wounded, entwines itself round the shaft. Christ wears a short loin-cloth and stands on a suppedaneum. His body curves to the left, his head is turned to the right in profile, facing Mary. The position of his head indicates that Christ is alive, but the curve of the body and the arms that are not quite horizontal showing that the body is hanging on the Cross and is therefore dead. The wreath above the Cross between two angels and the personified sun and moon refer, like the serpent, to the Victory Christ has won by his Death. At either edge of the miniature, slightly raised, stand Mary and John, both making mourning gestures. In front of Mary a figure rises from the grave and stretches up his hand to Christ on the Cross; there is another (difficult to make out) in front of the clod of earth beneath John's feet. Ecclesia, with a maphorium over her head like Mary, holds a banner on a lance (hasta) in her left hand and raises the cup with her right. This is her first appearance in a Crucifixion image that depicts both the event and the effect of Christ's sacrificial Death. The prophet Hosea sits in front of John holding the orbis terrarum in one hand and pointing to the Redeemer with the other. He represents God's Chosen People of the Old Covenant and is included in the Crucifixion image by virtue of his prophecy: "I will ransom them from the power of the grave; I will redeem them from death: O death I will be thy plague; O grave, I will be thy destruction . . . ." (Hosea 13: 14).14

The image of Ecclesia catching Christ's blood in a chalice which she holds up to the wound in his side dramatizes the doctrine of the transubstantiation of the eucharist and personifies the Church's role as ministrant of
the sacrament. This emphasis on the Church as the ministrant of the sacrament was a late Carolingian idea which parallels the impetus of the depiction of the Crucifixion, itself a Carolingian phenomenon. Although there are scattered early examples such as the doors of Santa Sabina in Rome c. 430 and a sixth century mural in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome, the depiction of the Crucifixion is a relatively late addition to Western pictorial art. Since depictions of the Crucifixion reflect theological interpretations of the Passion, it is very important that we understand the Carolingian Crucifixions as something new and as dramatic theological statements.

Originally, the Carolingians followed the western Early Christian interpretation of the Passion which stressed Christ's victory over death and which tended to depict the living Christ on the Cross. Although this remained popular until the twelfth century, by the early ninth century, a new interpretation had emerged. This view, which eventually transformed the basis of religious thinking, stressed the redemptive nature of Christ's death. This doctrine was given its most forceful expression by Paschasius Radbertus (c. 790-865/9) in his Liber de Corpore et Sanguine Domini. Radbertus proposed that the priest dispenses the "historical body of Christ" because the miracle of transubstantiation changes the bread and wine
into the body and blood of Christ. Radbertus’s “realistic interpretation” became dominant, although other theologians, such as Rabanus Maurus and Ratramnus opposed him.\(^{18}\)

Thus, in Carolingian times the focus on the eucharist shifted from what it had been since early Christian times. This was accompanied by a shift in the relationship between the individual and the Church. As Schiller points out, the focus of the eucharist became Christ’s Death and Passion rather than Christ’s future glory:

As a consequence of this emphasis on Christ’s expiatory Death, for which the New Testament was the authority, a direct connexion began to be seen between human sin and Christ’s Passion and the sacrifice of the Mass. One result of these theological controversies was that the "church", which administered the sacraments, acquired a position, first among theologians, and then gradually among the pious in general, as a purveyor of Salvation which it had not previously possessed.

Furthermore, Schiller explains, these theological ideas, which enhanced the authority of the Church, were expressed in the art of the period, especially illuminated manuscripts and ivory reliefs used for reliquaries and bookcovers for liturgical manuscripts. This is appropriate since it reflects a contemporary desire for a personal connection to the Passion which accompanied an increasingly symbolical interpretation of the liturgy:
From the ninth century onwards illustrations to the Gospels and to books of sermons afforded opportunities for artists to depict also separate events in the story of the Passion, particularly as a new appreciation of the liturgy had resulted in certain rituals as being construed more as symbolical than as literal functions. This emerges very clearly from the commentaries on the mass of Amalarius of Metz (Bishop of Trier 809-14).

Visualization of Christ's Death now became important to the faithful, for they thought of the blood and water which flowed from the wounds in the dead Christ's side as the origins of the sacraments of the eucharist and baptism. The early Christians (Paul), had, of course, known that the eucharist is rooted in Christ's Death, but the first signs of the medieval desire for a personal connexion with Christ's Death through the sacrament occurs in the Carolingian period. This is the context in which the image of the dead Christ on the Cross made its appearance in the west.

This visualization of Christ dead on the Cross, supplied by Carolingian artists, fulfilled a need of the individual Christian to participate in the sacrament more fully by understanding the meaning of Christ's death in a more personal way. At the same time, the artists, guided by theologians in their productions of religious art, illustrated the liturgical and theological ideas which defined the church's role as ministrant of the sacrament and therefore as the individual's guide to salvation. The theme of Synagoge and Ecclesia which accompanied these
Carolingian Crucifixions, satisfied these needs, both personal and theological, within a context that lent itself beautifully to depiction in both manuscripts and in ivories. Within this theological context, the School of Reims c. 830 formulated a type of Crucifixion in which Christ is depicted as hanging on the Cross to represent the physical death of Christ. Schiller cites the earliest Carolingian example of this new type as occurring in the Utrecht Psalter which was written at about the same time as the Sacramentary of Drogo. As in the Drogo book, the iconography of the Crucifixion in the Utrecht Psalter is in accord with the emerging theological ideas best represented by Radbertus in his De Corpore et Sanguine Domini. However, before we examine the iconography of the Utrecht Psalter, we must note a few points about the style of the book which H.W. Janson called "the most remarkable of all Carolingian manuscripts." 

Unlike the more narrative parts of the Bible, the Psalms present a real challenge to depiction. This problem is solved by taking the psalm literally, phrase by phrase, and visualizing it in some way. As Janson points out, "In the hands of a pedestrian artist, this procedure could well turn into a wearisome charade; here, it has the force of a great drama." For, the illustrator of the Utrecht Psalter always brings his technique of literalism to life with "the wonderfully rhythmic quality of his draftsmanship." The great energy and vibrancy that charges the Utrecht Psalter
with life exerted an enduring power over future artists so
that Anglo-Saxon artists of the eleventh and twelfth
centuries were still "over-awed and became obsessed with
such a manifestation."\textsuperscript{25}

Scholars disagree about the stylistic origins of this
remarkable manuscript. Some conjecture, quite reasonably,
that the Carolingian version is based on one or possibly two
recensions. Some illustrations must be explained by early
commentaries on the Psalms, especially those of St.
Augustine. Some scholars put forth a Roman Sacramentary of
600 as a model. Still other scholars insist that the book
is an original creation of the Carolingian \textit{renovatio}.\textsuperscript{26} In
any case, the illustrator of the \textit{Utrecht Psalter}
successfully maintained an "authentic" antique look both in
subject and in arrangement which was so highly esteemed in
the \textit{renovatio}.\textsuperscript{27} Having established a perspective in terms
of origin and style, let us now focus on the iconography of
the Crucifixion in this remarkable manuscript.

The \textit{Utrecht Psalter} contains a symbolic image of the
Crucifixion for Psalm 22 as well as figural representations
to four texts: parts of the illustrations to Psalm 89 and
Psalm 116: 10-19, to Habakkuk 3: 2-19, and to the Apostle's
Creed. Although the other illustrations show Christ alive,
the pen and ink drawings to the two psalms depict the new
Carolingian type of Crucifixion. Schiller provides a
detailed description of the illustration to Psalm 116 which
is of great significance to the Ecclesia theme within the context of Christ dead on the Cross:

... A large wreath appears above the inscription tablet as a symbol of the victory Christ has won over death. Mary and John stand on the left of the Cross. Longinus has pierced Christ's side; he has stepped back from the Cross, but still has a lance in his hand. Another man raises a cup to catch the flow of Christ's blood; in the other hand he holds out a plate containing the host in the direction of a building with a large altar. This figure illustrates verse 13 "I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord"; this verse is spoken at communion and follows the Canon of the Mass. The "cup of salvation" relates to the eucharist and therefore in the Crucifixion image it expresses the sacramental significance of the Death of Christ. At the same time, the cup harks back to Christ's prayer on the Mount of Olives (Luke 22: 42) and symbolizes the Passion and Christ's sacrificial Death. The figure with the cup in this illustration of the Psalm is intellectually paralleled by the personified Ecclesia below the Cross ... This new eucharistic motif and the dead Christ on the Cross with closed eyes both appear in the Utrecht Psalter 28 for the first time in Carolingian art.

Undoubtedly, the striking composition of this Crucifixion "echoes the eucharistic controversies of the moment." 29 In this composition we see a brilliant synthesis of style and iconography as the illuminator uses the technique of literalization to poignantly express the new doctrine of the eucharist, thereby giving symbolic and
spiritual meaning to the letter of the text. As is characteristic of the Psalter illustrations, the work is charged with energy and boldness of execution. It is not surprising that the style and iconography of a work such as this was so profoundly influential. Furthermore, this style was translated into other media, such as ivory carving, where some of the scenes were almost directly taken over. Two striking examples occur in an ivory book cover in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which is an adaptation of Psalm 50 (Lat. 1152. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) and in the ivory cover of the Prayer Book of the Emperor Charles the Bald, which is an adaptation of Psalms 24 and 26. (Prayer book of Charles the Bald, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich.)

Although there are differences, these ivories, both from Reims, which were carved some thirty to forty years after the Psalter, show "the extraordinary complexity of the scenes handled with consummate ease, and the vivacity of form and drapery" which are so characteristic of the Utrecht Psalter.  

An examination of this theme in ivory carvings is very useful because this medium provides an opportunity not only to survey the evolution of this theme from the ninth century through the Gothic period, but also to study in detail the manifestation of this theme in works of art which are truly unique. A survey of these ivories reveals that at its beginning in the ninth century the scene of Synagogue and
Ecclesia beneath the Cross is portrayed with balance and harmony. By the tenth century, however, this harmonious tone is broken as artists begin to emphasize elements of disputation between the two female personifications. The elements of disputation grow so that, in the eleventh century, Synagogue's defeat is stressed. By the Gothic period, we must turn to stained glass and sculpture in order to find important manifestations of this theme since, in the ivory carvings, not only are the original harmony and symbolism of the theme broken, but the figures themselves are displaced to scenes of the Deposition or the Entombment, where they are completely meaningless. Thus we see that, although we must be aware of the differences between contemporaneous schools of ivory production and the individuality of artists, the overall evolution of this theme was from balance to disharmony. Keeping this evolution in mind, let us return to a detailed examination of an example of the harmonious beginnings of Synagogue and Ecclesia beneath the Cross.

Let us now turn our attention to another ivory also from Reims and contemporary with those just discussed, c. 870, which is indebted to the Utrecht Psalter in both style and iconography. Before 1014 Henry II had this ivory panel, which shows the Crucifixion and the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, set in the cover of the Book of Pericopes which he gave to Bamberg Cathedral. As Seiferth explains,
Ecclesia appears twice in this depiction, once with the chalice in the *unio mystica* which takes place at the foot of the cross, and again in a confrontation of Synagogue. Details of the Easter cycle are expanded to include the three women, the dead emerging from their tombs, the angel before the tomb, and the watchmen, sleeping and crowded against the edge of the frame. Classical figures are incuded as well. At the bottom of the depiction, seated between Oceanus and Gaea, Roma, ruler of the ancient world, witnesses Christ's death, which is a scene of great complexity:

> Several scenes take place around the cross. Ecclesia receives the blood of the Savior, the chalice replacing the jug of older ivory tablets. Christ turns His head toward her. The soldier pierces His side with a spear while five grieving women stand at one side. On the other side of the cross John and Stephaton balance the figures of Ecclesia and the soldier. At the top of the tablet the hand of God shows the angels the way to the cross, and sun and moon ride across the sky in their classical vehicles.

Thus, heaven and earth, classical antiquity, and all of nature watch the transference of authority from Synagogue to Ecclesia, a succession which is depicted with harmony and grace rather than with humiliation and scorn:

> On the right side ... Synagoga sits in front of her temple with a crown on her head and a globe of the earth in
her hand. Ecclesia, her banner fluttering, steps up to her and lays hands on the globe. Just as in the transmittal of a fief in medieval law, Ecclesia, the assignee, takes possession of the house, office, and rank of her predecessor. However, this takes place without triumph or humiliation . . . Just as on Hadrian's coins the earth, Gaea, is portrayed as an illustrious woman by means of a crown resembling a city wall on her head, here too Jerusalem the Queen appears with the symbols of her authority.

The deep undercutting of the ivory, the fluttering banner, the dramatic drapery, and the bold overlapping of the acanthus border give this Crucifixion scene all the vibrancy and daring of the Utrecht Psalter. Furthermore, the expanded iconographical program enriches this work both intellectually and visually and gives it the power to be spiritually very moving. But since Church doctrine provides the basis for this iconography, the individual must be guided by the Church if he is to properly understand and appreciate its meaning and beauty. Ecclesia is the key to the composition and iconography of this work, just as the Church, ministerant of the Sacrament, holds the key to salvation. Thus, we see in this splendid ivory the harmonious relationship among the artist, the theologian, and the viewer. The artist, inspired by the theologian, produces a work which is to be used in the service of the Church as a guide to the faithful. Let us now examine in detail how this process works.
As the individual Christian views this object of devotion, he is looking through a window onto the scene of the Passion. However, this window reveals not only the moment of the Passion, but the spiritual nature of that historical occurrence. The work of art reveals the spiritual meaning of the literal words of the Gospel text on which this depiction is based. In this depiction, Ecclesia becomes simultaneously a real and symbolic participant in the Crucifixion just as Christ gives his blood as the substance of the eucharist. By contemplating the ivory, the viewer imitates in his mind Ecclesia's participation in the Crucifixion, just as he participates physically when he shares the sacrament.

The viewer's participation in the work is stimulated greatly by the artist's skillful and restrained use of pathos. Contemplating the group of grieving women or John the Beloved shrinking back with emotion, the viewer becomes enthralled in the setting. However, when we try to assign a specific time to that setting, we find that many historical periods have been conflated to create a timeless setting of eternal truth. On the horizontal plane that contains the Crucifixion, we find the historical setting of the transfer of authority from Synagogue to Ecclesia. However, the addition of the serpent, now dead at the base of the Cross, reminds us that the eras ante legem, sub lege, and sub gratia all meet in the Crucifixion. Not only Biblical time
is represented, but pagan time as well. At the top of the
Carving, classical personifications of Day and Night flank
the Manus Dei. At the bottom, Oceanus and Gaea, on either
side of the figure of Roma, almost jostle against the bodies
which rise from their tombs. Although this is mentioned in
Matthew's Gospel, it evokes images of the Apocalypse as
well. The context of the ascension of authority by Ecclesia
encompasses all time.

The complexity of this ivory, which was the product of
so many influences, reflects the benefits of the interchange
between artists of different media which characterizes the
artistic milieu of the Carolingian period, especially after
the second half of the ninth century. At that time book
illuminators, ivory carvers, and metal workers, working side
by side in the same atelier, exchanged both techniques and
iconographical motifs. Of course, the minor arts were by no
means isolated from the monumental arts. As Hanns
Swarzenski points out, the separation of monumental art from
art executed on a humbler scale is entirely a modern idea.
In fact, Swarzenski proposes that one can trace the
evolution of the Romanesque style best through a study of
the minor arts of the Romanesque Period:

... It is no mere chance that the
esthetic aim of Romanesque sculpture
and painting found their purest
expression in the use of small works in
metal, ivory, enamel and miniature
painting which often surpass the
official formal achievements of the
monumental arts, and it is here that the evolution of the monumental style of the Romanesque period can best be followed. Small bronzes and miniatures foreshadow the great Crucifixes of Werden and Minden, initials and aquamanilia prepare the way for the Lion monument of Henry the Lion, and the gilded statuettes on a book-cover from Treves are the ancestors of the more than 38 life-size statues of Reims Cathedral.

In a similar fashion, the ivory carvings which depict Synagogue and Ecclesia at the scene of the Crucifixion prepare the way for the monumental figures of Synagogue and Ecclesia in the great Gothic cathedrals such as Reims and Chartres. Besides the relationship between minor and monumental arts, there are other motivations for beginning our study with ivories. Not only were ivories reflective of major arts, and, as we have seen, of the theological context which produced them, they were portable.

Of course, any serious examination of medieval ivories must begin with the work of Adolph Goldschmidt. This monumental work of scholarship with its copious number of plates has never been surpassed. This great work makes it possible for the scholar to watch this theme unfolding through a large number of examples. Goldschmidt divides his Carolingian ivories into these groups: the Ada, the Liuthard, and the Metz, which is subdivided into two groups. Although this method may be challenged because it sometimes includes within the same group ivories of very
different origins, it nevertheless has practical advantages and always adheres to certain broad, formal distinctions. Those ivories which Goldschmidt classifies as the Ada group date from the last decade of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth. They were probably produced in the imperial ateliers at Aachen, along with the Ada group of manuscripts with which they are associated. These ivories are all explicitly derived from late-antique ivory prototypes. On the other hand, the ivories of the Liuthard group show a much greater independence from late-antique prototypes. This group of ivories takes its name from the cover of the Psalter of Charles the Bald in Munich, executed by the scribe Liuthard in the abbey of Saint-Denis. Indeed, the similarity between these ivories and the miniatures of the Saint-Denis school indicate that artists of both media made use of the same master designs:

... In style the Metz ivories of the second period attempt to compromise between the classical and plastic Ada manner and the baroque pictorial convention of the Liuthard group. In content they are chiefly remarkable for their devotion to the Crucifixion, a subject hardly ever treated in the first half of the ninth century.

Seiferth discerns an evolution of the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia as it appears in the ivories of the ninth through the eleventh centuries, and referring to Goldschmidt for illustrations and detailed descriptions,
traces the program of our theme. Seiferth begins with four ivories which date from the ninth or tenth century from Metz and which were "closely related in idea, arrangement, and technique." According to Seiferth, the compositions of these ivories are marked by an inner unity between Synagogue and Ecclesia. In each case, the two female figures stand on either side of the large cross which stands in the middle of the composition. Other events in the passion are depicted with various allegorical figures. Mary and John flank the center group. Longinus with his lance and Stephaton with his reed and sponge soaked in vinegar are included. The dead rising from their tombs, the sun and moon all recall significant elements of the Gospel text. From this scene, Synagogue stands apart, having lost her authority as bearer of God's word to Ecclesia, who collects the blood of Christ in a jug. In later depictions, this jug will be replaced by the chalice, one of the most important of Ecclesia's symbols. This group of ivories shows a great many formal elements from antiquity such as the acanthus border and personifications of Oceanus and Gaea:

On all the tablets in this group Ecclesia and Synagogue differ outwardly only in their movement and in the different symbols of their office—not in their position, form or dress. Only on the London tablet does Ecclesia have a halo as in Drogot's Sacramentary. Synagoga appears undaunted and with banner fluttering. The portrayal can be read like a text; Synagoga is the forerunner, Ecclesia the fulfillment.
Each of the two women stands at her own particular stage of revelation; the first must go when the time is fulfilled, and the second comes. "But now that faith has come, we are no longer under a custodian" of the law, as Paul writes to the Galatians (3:25). The law of the Old Covenant is surmounted and superseded at the cross by God's love. The two figures appears symbolically as members of a higher unity, the concept of God, which grows in the course of history and is revealed in stages. However, in the second group of ivories which Seiferth examines, the inner unity of the two women at the foot of the cross being to be disturbed. In these ivories, which come from the same period but not the same school, the compositions become more elaborate and more dramatically intensified. The Bamberg cover has already been discussed at length:

... The scene is symbolic, but the symbol was no longer exclusively religious. Along with the original idea, secular thoughts had entered. Claims to authority are adjudicated, legal and ritual symbols appear. The estrangement produces a distinct contrast: the beginnings of the disputation between Ecclesia and Synagogue, which continued in the centuries to follow.

We see a similar example of a disputation in the bookcover of the Codex Latinus 9383 in Paris where Ecclesia appears only in the disputation at the right side of the Cross. As in the previous two tablets, the third tablet of this group
(No. 266.67 Victoria and Albert Museum, Goldschmidt I, 132a.) portrays a disputation in the right half of the composition. Thus, this group exemplifies the addition of the disputation and elements of estrangement in which had previously been a balanced and harmonious symmetry.

This symmetry was finally broken in the tenth century when Synagoga, having already given up her place at the foot of the Cross, is crowded against the edge of the picture (Museo Nazionale, Bargello, Florence, Cat. Supino 1898, Nr. 32, Goldschmidt I, no. 114). Similarly, in an eleventh century tablet from Cologne (London, N. 252067, Victoria and Albert Museum, Goldschmidt II, no. 67) Synagoga appears as a half-figure in the lower right hand corner. In her right hand, she carries a lance with a bent point, which is the earliest example of this important symbol:

No new, general pattern was visible yet in the broken symmetry and in the sharp conflict between belief and disbelief, between communion with God and repudiation. The last two examples are in pronounced contrast with the ivory tablets in the first group. The original symbols of divine revelation in the Old and the New Covenants—seen in the equal rank of the women at the cross—had been joined by symbols of dominion and power, which finally seemed to suggest the rejection of the Old Covenant. The new symbols ushered in changes. Synagoga had lost her position by the cross. A new clarification of the content was under way and was formulated in the Romanesque miniatures.
Thus, Seiferth sees a shift in the composition of these Carolingian ivories from a symmetry between the figures of Synagoga and Ecclesia to an element of disputation which finally grows into a banishment of Synagoga. This shift in artistic composition reflects a shift in the theological basis for the aspects of harmony and conflict within this theme. Let us first consider the medieval concept of the *Concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, which is the theological basis for the harmonious treatment of the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia. We will then turn to two theological documents, the *Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae* and the *Sermo contra Judeos, Paganos et Arianos, de Symbolo*, which provide much of the theological basis for the tone of disharmony which was injected into the theme.\(^5\)

As Seiferth explains, in the early Middle Ages, this fundamental concept of the *Concordia*, which was of great use in missionary work, informed sermons and the liturgy as well as outstanding works of art. Always, the harmony between the Old and New Covenants was stressed:

The inner harmony of the two Testaments in ideas, events, and figures was proclaimed here. Every event and every doctrine in the New Testament writings already lay dormant like a grain of seed, a prophecy insome passage of the Old Testament, and was now revealed as the fulfillment of a promise made to the forefather:

In figuris praesignature
Dum Isaac immolatur
Agnus Paschae deputatur
Datur Manna patribus

(It is announced in "figures:" through Isaac's immolation the paschal lamb is sacrificed and manna bestowed on the fathers). The Old Testament was frequently represented by a mirror or a veil, in keeping with St. Augustine's idea, whereas the divine truth was completely and truly revealed only in the New Testament . . . The event in the Old Testament became a prototype for the event in the New Testament and was understood as a promise of future fulfillment. This typology became a dominant compositional principle in art as the visual revelation of the *Concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti.*

Clearly, this theological idea of harmony influenced the balanced and unified compositions of the early ivories. In addition, this spirit of the *Concordia* was not confined to ivories alone, but had an enduring influence on the arts and letters in general. In literature, for example, we see this same spirit of the *Concordia* in the *Ludus de Antichristo,* an anonymous twelfth century work written for the imperial court of Frederich Barbarossa. This drama, which is the first to bring Synagogue and Ecclesia together on the stage, is two or three generations before the great statues of Bamberg and Strasbourg, which are the culmination of the grace, harmony, and dignified pathos inherent in this theme.

In order to understand the theological basis for the tone of disharmony which pervades some depictions of our theme, we must examine the *Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae*
and the *Sermo contra Judeos*, *Paganos et Arianos*, *de
Symbolo*. These are quite different in spirit from the
concept of the *Concordia* and the *Ludus de Antichristo*.
Although both are now thought to be later works, the
*Altercatio* dating from perhaps even the ninth century,
during the Middle Ages they were attributed to Augustine and
therefore carried the prestige of that great father.

In the *Altercatio*, the author, acting as a public
prosecutor, presents two women, Synagoga and Ecclesia, to
the court in order to settle their claims of ownership. In
an antagonistic dialogue, Synagogue is accused of blindness,
obstinacy, and criminality. She is described as a widow
accused of lying, idolatry and adultery who turned a deaf
ear to the prophets. Of course, in our discussion of
Chaucer in Chapter III, we will see many of these qualities
in another Synagogue figure, the Wife of Bath. Ecclesia,
"by virtue of her chastity, and divine law," "is the young
queen, the bride of the Lord to whom Synagoga will have to
surrender her office." Because it was included in the
Easter liturgy, the *Altercatio* achieved an authority which
enabled it to influence works of art such as ivories and
illuminated manuscripts:

... It seems significant that this
work was incorporated in the ninth
century, into the service for Holy Week
in several dioceses in the Frankish
Empire and that it retained this
authoritative position throughout the
entire Middle Ages. The spirit and
wording of this work seem to reflect a conflict that came to the surface at that time. We know that around the middle of the ninth century, Frankish bishops officially took very stern measures against the Jews. The inclusion of the Altercatio in the Easter liturgy took place at the same time. We are evidently dealing here with an intrusion of political and social forces that threatened the originality and truth of the doctrine. It was at this time that the Carolingian ivory tablets were carved; at the same time the Altercatio appeared in the liturgy, Ecclesia and Synagoga appeared in religious miniatures. This connection cannot be overlooked.

Although Synagoga and Ecclesia do not have roles in the Sermo contra Judeos, Paganos et Arianos, de Symbolo, it is similar in feeling to the Altercatio. This work, which was placed in the liturgy for Christmas week, developed into the Ordo Prophetarum, the prophet play. In the Sermo, the Jews are summoned before a tribunal to determine why they deny the divinity of Christ. Various prophets and Old Testament personages, such as Moses, David, Habakkuk, Jeremiah, Simeon, Zachariah, and Elizabeth, give testimony. Finally, John the Baptist appears. Then heathens are called forth. Virgil speaks of his fourth eclogue. Nebuchadnezzar tells of the three men in the fiery furnace. The Sybil of Cumae tells her prophecy of the coming of Christ, the end of the world, and the trumpets of judgement. This is significant, I think, because it conlates all time, pagan and Christian, time under the Law and under grace, with the apocalyptic end
of time. Witnesses from all these periods converge to proclaim the divinity of Christ—just as in the Bamberg ivory characters from these periods focus the attention of the viewer on Christ's New Covenant.\(^52\)

Of course, the precise relationship between liturgy, drama, and the visual arts is not resolved, and can only be resolved on a case by case basis. However, by considering examples of the visual arts, especially ivories and the minor arts, we can see how the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia developed iconographical and typological associations in the Romanesque period. Some of the best pieces which illustrate this theme serve a liturgical function, which is not surprising because the theme is so deeply rooted in the symbolism of the eucharist and the Crucifixion. For example, on a reliquary triptych of the True Cross, c. 1170 at Tongern, Church of St. Mary, we see the theme used in a typological context:

... On the closed wings two Angels swinging censers. On the inner wings Helena and the story of the Finding of the True Cross. John and Mary on the sides of the Reliquary Cross. Church and Synagogue, Christ, the Four Beasts. On the frame: Moses marking the T on a house with the Blood of a Passover Lamb; the Tribe of Levi; Moses and the Brazen Serpent as a symbol of Hope; the Selected; Sacrifice of Isaac; the Widow of Sarepta; Elijah. Dream of Constantine; Heraclius beheading Chosroes; Return of the Spies from the Promised Land. 10 plaques in Champlévé enamel with busts of the Bishops of Tongern.\(^53\)
Ecclesia and Synagogue are identified by inscriptions and by iconographical detail. Ecclesia, crowned and haloed, looks toward the Cross and with a veiled hand holds up her chalice. With her other hand, she supports the banded Cross. The blindfolded Synagogue, who wears no crown, turns away. Her staff is broken, and she is accompanied by a goat. Beginning in the twelfth century, the he-goat was sometimes added to this theme to represent "the defeat of Jewry, the sin of unbelief, and the contrast between the Jewish cult of sacrifice and Christ's sacrificial Death."

This same point is sometimes made by the addition of a stumbling animal, such as the ass that collapses before the Cross in the *Hortus Deliciarum*. 54

We see Synagogue and Ecclesia in a still more complex setting in the chalice and paten which are contemporary with the above mentioned reliquary (c. 1160-1170) and which were produced in Lower Saxony. Hanns Swarzenski describes the chalice:

On the cupa, Last Supper; Moses at the Burning Bush; Annunciation; the Four Beasts. On the knob, the Rivers of Paradise (embossed). On the base, the Beatitudes. On the handle, Virtues (Justice, Temperance). . . . Paten of the above Chalice . . . The Crucifixion, Church, Synagogue, Sun and Moon, Sacrifice of Isaac; Abimelech; Jacob's Dream; the Brazen Serpent; Moses Striking the Rock; the Spies of the Promised Land; Calling of Gideon;
Annunciation of the Birth of Sarygl; Elijah and the Widow of Sarepta.

The scene of the Crucifixion which occurs at the center of this paten presents a picture of Ecclesia and Synagogue which is striking in its symmetry. Ecclesia, who is crowned, holds her banded spear in her right hand, and with her left, holds her chalice up to catch the blood which flows from Christ's side. Synagogue presents almost a mirror opposite. Blindfolded, with her head turned away from the Crucifixion, she points to the cross with her right hand, while with her left, she holds her banded spear tip down. They present a harmonious and balanced statement of the transition of authority from the Old Covenant to the New which was foreshadowed in the Old Testament and in which the Beatitudes and Virtues participate in a composition that is stylistically balanced and iconographically complex.

Although the Gothic period produced the monumental statues that represent perhaps the highest manifestation of this theme in the visual arts, the depiction of this theme in ivories of this period lacks the balance and richness which make the Romanesque ivories so satisfying. Of course, the depictions of this scene must be understood within the broader context of the overall development of ivory carving in the Gothic period which tended to lag behind illumination and monumental sculpture.
Gothic ivories add very little to the rich medieval iconography; on the contrary, the range of religious subjects is very limited, being almost entirely confined to the New Testament and its apocryphal additions. As a rule, the Gothic ivory cutters had no ambition to evolve an original interpretation of sacred texts, perhaps because they were laymen and probably illiterate. They simply copied patterns of compositions established by more learned artists in illumination and great sculpture . . .

Symbolism is entirely foreign to Gothic ivory carving and in the exceptional series of carving where symbolic figures are introduced—representing the Church and Synagogue in the crucifixion scene—they do not make an entirely happy appearance. Only once, in a large triptych of rather formal and rigid style, do they stand in the right place accompanying Christ on His Cross. On diptychs where the narrative is less formal, the artist transferred the figures from the overcrowded scene of the Crucifixion to the Deposition where their presence is meaningless.

This displacement occurs in the "Salting Leaf." A similar displacement of composition occurs when the Synagogue is depicted at the Entombment or when, in another violation of the established canon, Ecclesia alone is depicted at the Deposition, and Synagogue is omitted entirely. By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries most reliefs tend to emphasize the glorious aspects of Christ's life or to glorify the Virgin so that we have few Crucifixion pieces from this period.

57 According to
Natanson, the "Soisson's" Group of which the most important is the "Salting Leaf," which contains the depiction of Synagogue and Ecclesia at the Deposition, clearly exemplifies the aims of Gothic ivory carving:

In all these reliefs the chief characteristics of Gothic ivories are clearly stated: the role assumed by architectural decoration, the display of figures on one plane against a flat background, and the tendency to use a linear definition of the form rather than a real indication of volumes.

Given these artistic aims and the imitative nature of Gothic ivory carving, the fact that these carvers continued to use the Synagogue and Ecclesia theme, and that it was practically the only symbolic theme they did retain, tells us that the theme must have been extremely popular and well developed iconographically, and that it must have been very popular with the book illuminators and artists on monumental scales who influenced these carvers. However, before we turn to book illumination and cathedral sculpture, we should look at one last series of ivories, which was part of a pictorial family which included the Cotton Genesis recension and the Hortus Deliciarum as well as the Carolingian Bibles of Tours.59

This ivory series is referred to as the Salerno ivories because most of them are held in the Museo del Duomo in Salerno. It forms the largest unified series of ivory
carvings preserved from the pre-Gothic Middle Ages. Although scholarship is about equally divided in assigning either a late eleventh or early twelfth century date to the Salerno reliefs, Robert P. Bergman, in a recent study which will undoubtedly become a classic work on these ivories, demonstrates that a date in the 1080's seems most reasonable. The origin is less controversial, most scholars agreeing that Campania is almost certainly where the panels were carved. Bergman has done much to explain the composition of this series, its context in the history of art, and its influence. Bergman summarizes the overall program of the ivory series:

The designers of the program of the Salerno ivories were ambitious. They presented in epitomized form sacred history, from the creation of the world until Pentecost. The series commences with the appearance of the Holy Spirit (in the form of a dove) over the waters of an as yet unformed universe (Fig. 2): the epic of Old Testament history then unfolds in a succession of narratives recounting the stories of Creation, Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses. The cycle of scenes devoted to a depiction of the world ante legem is appropriately concluded by the representation of Moses Receiving the Law (Fig. 19). Christ's life is then presented in scenes that detail his birth, Infancy, Ministry,
Passion, Resurrection, and post-Resurrection appearances; originally this cycle must have begun with the Annunciation, now lost, illustrative of the moment of Incarnation and, in historical terms, of the beginning of a new era sub gratia. The Christological sequence terminates just as the Old Testament series began, with the appearance of the Holy Spirit, in this case its manifestation to the Apostles at Pentecost (Fig. 39). The historical and theological unity of the two Testaments is thus profoundly signified, a notion emphasized by the virtually identical appearance of God the Father in the Old Testament section and Christ in the New Testament position; only Christ's cruciform nimbus distinguishes the Father from the Son (compare, for example, Figs. 2 and 28).

Thus, the program of the Salerno ivories shows a strong influence of typology in the tradition of St. Augustine's query, "What is the Old Testament but the New veiled; what is the New Testament but the Old revealed?" This attitude, which is ultimately based on St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews and the Gospels, was developed by Bede, Isidore of Seville, and Rabanus Maurus, so that it profoundly shaped medieval scriptural exegesis. This typological approach enabled the writers and artists of the Middle Ages to interpret classical mythological works in a moralized, Christian manner.
Since the Salerno ivories are based on a typological interpretation of the Bible, it will be useful to review this tradition briefly before we turn our attention to the place of these ivories themselves in the medieval artistic tradition. The two most useful works on this subject are still the study by Jean Danielou for the development of the typological approach, and the study by Beryl Smalley for the medieval application of typology to biblical exegesis. As Danielou points out, from its beginning in the second through the fourth centuries, the typological approach to Scripture was developed to refute heresy, first of the Gnostics, but later of the Manicheans, who adopted the Gnostic errors concerning the Old Testament. While refuting these heresies, the earliest typological writers of the second to the fourth centuries also sought to refute Judaism:

Indeed it was these very dissensions concerning the Old Testament which led the Fathers to develop typology, which brought out, as against the Gnostics, the unity of the two Testaments, and the superiority of the New against the Jews.

Danielou points out how effectively St. Augustine used typology to combat Manicheanism by examining a passage of the Contra Faustum and placing it in the tradition of
earlier typological writing. Although the Manicheans, like 
the Marcionites before them, had rejected passages of the 
Old Testament, these passages could be defended 
typologically. Such a method had been used successfully by 
both St. Irenaeus and Tertullian before it was employed by 
St. Augustine:

For the relationship between the two 
testaments can best be thought of in 
terms of typology, bringing out both 
their continuity and disparity. Two 
centuries later St. Augustine takes up 
the same argument against the 
Manicheans, successors to the 
Marcionites. The twelfth book of the 
Contra Faustum is a treatise on typology 
like the Adversus Marcionem. It 
comments upon the story of the creation, 
the sacrifice of Cain and Abel, the 
building of the Ark, Jacob's wrestling 
with the angel, and all the great 
"sacramenta" of the Old Testament . . .

Not only does this passage bring 
together all the types of the Exodus, 
but it is also instructive from the 
point of view of method. The principle 
is, St. Augustine tells us, to start 
from the scriptural types and to find by 
analogy the significance of events or 
institutions of like nature.

Just as the typological method was used to combat 
Gnosticism and Manicheanism, it was used to combat the neo-
Manichean heresies of the Cathars in the twelfth century. 
As we shall examine in detail in Chapter II, at Chartres 
Cathedral the Synagogue and Ecclesia theme, placed in a 
typological setting, was used to exemplify the role of the
Church as ministerant of the sacrament while refuting the neo-Manichean heresies of the Cathars, who rejected the Old Testament. Of course, the basis of the Gothic cathedral programs in general are typological Bibles such as the Speculum Humanae Salvationis and the Biblia Pauperum. In these works an episode from the New Testament would be depicted surrounded by two or three types from the Old Testament. Thus, these Bibles employ a method of typology based on specifically defined associations.

The Salerno ivories do not adhere to such "specificity of association," although there are earlier examples which employ such a method, notably the fifth century wooden doors of Santa Sabina in Rome, which juxtapose the miracles of Moses with those of Christ. Although certain scenes have a specific typological import, the typology tends not to be specific:

Instead, a series of images is employed to recount the 'biographies' of several Old Testament figures—Adam, Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses—all of whom were interpreted as types of Christ in medieval exegesis.

Although the Salerno ivories are the product of the typological tradition as a whole, Bruno of Segni, abbot of Monte Cassino shortly after 1100, is probably the theologian whose writings are most closely related to the cycle.
Of course, it is not surprising that the theological tradition of typology should be accompanied by a visual tradition. This visual tradition lies behind the program of the Salerno ivories. The roots of this visual tradition go all the way back to the catacombs and sarcophagi of the third and fourth centuries which feature visual juxtapositions of the Old and New Testaments. By the early fifth century, basilicas in Rome and elsewhere were being decorated with scenes based on the pictorial conjunction of the two Testaments. In fact, by the middle of the fifth century, it is quite probable that the nave wall of the great basilica of St. Peter's in Rome (Old St. Peter's) were decorated with counterpoised cycles from the Old and New Testaments. The nave decoration of Old St. Peter's may have been the prototype for the comprehensive programs which appeared sporadically in the Middle Ages from Palermo to Mainz:

Recognition of the nature of this tradition of juxtaposed Old and New Testament cycles illustrating universal sacred history helps explain why the Salerno ivories are the unique example of this program in the medium of ivory carving, and in virtually all of the smaller-scale media of the Middle Ages, it was primarily a monumental decorative scheme with a public, didactic function.

As I pointed out earlier, the Gothic cathedrals are the most impressive example of this.
In addition to the tradition of fresco cycles of church decoration, we must also consider the tradition of manuscript illumination because:

... the extent and character of the Salerno cycle, its discursiveness and density, indicate its ultimate derivation from a manuscript source. In other words, the Old Testament cycle at Salerno, despite the fact that it is executed in the medium of relief carving in ivory, and despite whatever intermediate sources might have intervened, was first developed in the context of the illuminated manuscript.

Using the "cyclic" approach of manuscript study first devised by Kurt Weitzmann, Bergman isolates two traditions of Old Testament illustration which are important to the study of the Salerno ivories. The first tradition is represented by the Cotton Genesis recension, named after the fifth or sixth century Greek manuscript that is its earliest representative (London, British Library, Cod: Cotton Otho B IV), and which was burned to fragments in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the greatest number of scenes from the Cotton Genesis recension are preserved in the Genesis cycle depicted in the thirteenth century atrium mosaics of San Marco in Venice. Bergman identifies other members of this pictorial family as:

(1) the Millstatt Genesis (Klagenfurt, Museum, cod. VI, 19), a twelfth-century manuscript of a German vernacular poem that illustrates its
text with biblical scenes; (2) the Hortus Deliciarum (destroyed), a famous late twelfth-century compendium of knowledge and behaviour formulated by the Alsacian abbess Herrad of Landsberg for the edification of her nuns, which derives its myriad illustrations from a multiplicity of sources and whose Genesis cycle has been shown to belong, at least in part, to the Cotton Genesis recension; and (3) the Carolingian Bibles of Tours (ninth century), whose Genesis frontispieces are abbreviations of a more extensive cycle of the Cotton Genesis type.

Besides this "pictorial family," Bergman names as influential to the Salerno series the iconographic tradition represented by the Middle Byzantine Octateuch manuscripts. The origins of this tradition date back to early Christian times although the earliest of the six known manuscripts dates from the eleventh century. Two other manuscripts, both dating from the early eleventh century, which are also of great relevance to these ivories, are English. They are the Junius 11 at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which contains the text of the Old Testament poems of Caedmon and the Cotton Claudius B. VI at the British Library in London, which contains Aelfric's paraphrase of the Heptateuch. These two manuscripts show pictorial cycles which "combine strictly biblical iconography with features derived directly from the vernacular texts themselves."

The Salerno ivories are the result of a rich visual tradition of frescoes and manuscripts which was itself based.
on a theological and iconographic tradition that stretches back to earliest Christian times. In its turn, the Salerno cycle helped to keep this tradition alive and to pass it on. As we shall see later in this chapter, other manuscripts in the family of the Salerno cycle, the Hortus Deliciarum and the illustrated Bibles from Tours, were especially important not only to the typological tradition, but to the development of the Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon theme. As I pointed out in the introduction, the development of this theme represents the conflation of the typological method of biblical exegesis with the doctrine of the transubstantiation of the eucharist. From its very beginning, typology has carried implications for the significance of the sacraments and therefore has influenced the liturgy with the idea that the types of the Old Testament have been fulfilled in the sacraments.

Before we examine the typological tradition and the evolution of the Synagogue and Ecclesia theme in illuminated manuscripts, let us look at an example from the Amalfian workshop that produced the Salerno ivories, in which these traditions come together. The example is a plaque containing the Crucifixion scene on one surface with Genesis scenes on the other (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulterbesitz, inv. no. J589; Goldschmidt IV, 42-43, no. 146, pl. 52). Bergman describes the subject matter of the plaque:
On one side the Crucifixion shows Christ on the cross at the center flanked by Longinus on his right and Stephaton on his left. A chalice sits at Stephaton's feet. Above the arms of the cross are two angels gesturing in astonishment. The discs of the sun and moon are also shown above the cross. On the hillock at the base of the cross is the head of Adam. Beneath the Crucifixion, separated from it by a thin border, an angel welcomes Ecclesia at the left and another expels Synagogue at the right. On the other side of the plaque are the scenes illustrating the first chapters of Genesis.

Although the iconography of the Genesis cycle is similar to that of the Salerno ivories, the Crucifixion is indebted to several sources including Carolingian and Ottonian Crucifixions. However, the figures of Synagogue and Ecclesia are mostly derived from the works of "provincial Eastern centers."77 Thus, we see how widespread were the artistic branches of the iconographical and theological traditions which converged in this series of ivories which Danielle Gaborit-Chopin called, "l'ensemble d'ivoires le plus important que nous connaissons pour l'Occident, avant le XIVe siècle."78

Let us begin our survey of this theme in medieval manuscripts with a Crucifixion from the evangelistary of the Abbess Uota of Regensberg. This is an appropriate beginning because the scene is a relatively early one, which has a wealth of iconographic detail. Furthermore, this type of
depiction led to the formulation of the *Biblia Pauperum*, and we can see how ideas in this work were related to ivory carvings, specifically the English Cross of the Lady Gunhild, with which the Uota Crucifixion has a striking affinity. 79

In his well-known work on German illumination, Goldschmidt provides a picture of the Uota Crucifixion and the Latin inscriptions for this illumination which dates from c. 1002-25, and the inscriptions explain the allegorical significance of the scene. The scene contains inscriptions which identify the figures in the scene as Life and Death with Synagogue and Ecclesia. In addition, the corners contain depictions of the personifications of the Sun and Moon as well as the Resurrection of the Dead and the Rent Veil of the Temple. The Cross is the destruction of death, while the Law holds only death or decline. The Dead Rising from Their Tombs represents those who are converted to the true faith. The Rent Veil in the Holy of Holies represents the hidden Law which was revealed by Christ's Crucifixion. 80

As Gertrud Schiller points out, the antithetical pair of Vita-Mors was not nearly so common in Crucifixion scenes as that of Ecclesia-Synagogue. Their appearance in the Uota manuscript emphasizes the cosmic setting of the Crucifixion. Ecclesia, with crown, chalice, and banner leads the New Chosen People as the Synagogue, with the sacrificial knife and scroll of the Law, moves away:
In the square above, Sun and Moon are in the act of covering their heads, described in the marginal inscription as an eclipse: "The fiery sun darkens in the sky, for the Sun of righteousness suffers on the Cross. The moon too grows dark, for the faithful grieve for the Death of Christ." The Resurrection of the Dead and the curtain of the Temple that is torn in two, which face one another in the squares below, refer to Matthew 27: 51-3. They signify the defeat of death, the Jewish Law and the cult of sacrifice. The surrounding inscription on the left may be translated "The earth burst and gave back the dead, without distinction of sex and age" and that on the right: "The curtain of the Temple tore when darkness was removed from the Law."

This miniature of the Regensburg School interprets Christ's Death on the Cross, whereas contemporary miniatures of the Reichenau School illustrate the texts. We may refer to the Gunhild Cross (1150), a late example of the use of the contrasting figures of Life and Death: Life and Death appear on the back of the ends of the arms, and at the top of the shaft in the new Church with the broken down old one below.

This marks the first time that the miniature has been put to the service of scholastic philosophy. The modern viewer of this manuscript is overcome by its beauty and iconographical richness, and such was the intention of the illuminator. Beckwith explains the richness of material and iconography which are meant to overcome the viewer. The iconographical richness is a result of the scholarship which influenced its production. In fact, the codex is a series of glossed theological pictographs devised by a theologian
named Hartwic. Hartwic, who was living at Regensburg at the time of the production of the Gospel book, had studied under Fulbert of Chartres. Reflecting not only the system of the *Summa Theologica*, but the whole range of encyclopedic learning of the time, the miniature presents Christ against a background of diagrams, texts, and antithesis which compare the four phases of the Redemption, ranging from the Fall to the Crucifixion, to the four basic figures of geometry, the four elements of music, etc. Twelfth-century artists in the Meuse valley copied this design so that the whole book heralds the Romanesque.\textsuperscript{82}

Hanns Swarzenski notes as well that the Uota Gospel heralds, both in style and iconography, the Romanesque style, a style that would be "the visual counterpart of a new religious and moral ideal, ascetic in character." Of course, this new style would be influenced by the Oriental as well as the Romanesque.

The abstract patterns of Oriental textiles, with their recurring circles and other geometrical motifs strictly subordinated to an ornamental plan, undoubtedly played a decisive part in shaping the firm, architectural structure of Romanesque art. All forms are now defined within firm outlines, and the areas thus designated are consolidated and welded together into a purely geometrical, abstract unity. In this way an ordered system is created, a sort of ground-plan, already anticipated in the Echternach binding and the miniatures of the Uota Gospels (Fig. 3; Plate XV). The clarity of this system makes it the perfect vehicle for a
methodical, comprehensive representation
of the scholastic world-order: the
*Summa theologica*, the many parallels
between Old and New Testament, and the
entire range of encyclopedic learning of
the time. By the same token, Christian
iconography receives unexpected
enrichment. In this wealth of
systematically ordered meaning,
Romanesque miniatures are comparable to
the sculptured Romanesque facades. This
however does not imply that plastic form
becomes dominated by architecture; on
the contrary, Romanesque architecture
becomes sculpture itself. And the
painted figure, also within its strictly
defined limits, takes on a new, block-
like mass, a plasticity of form which
gives forth an increasing sense of
organic life.

In the Uota manuscript, we see the theme of Synagogue
and Ecclesia placed in a context which encompasses all time
and space to become truly cosmic. In this aesthetically
balanced composition, lavishly executed with the most
precious of materials, we see the Synagogue and Ecclesia
theme elaborated and incorporated into a fabric of
intellectual and theological thinking of the times. It is
not surprising that the work was so influential, a sort of
landmark of style. According to Seiferth, the Uota Gospel
represents a "didacticism" of the theme of Synagogue and
Ecclesia which would have a far-reaching effect:

*This didactic illumination
testifies to the integrating tendency of
early scholasticism and theology, of
symbolism and art. The harmony of the
spheres and the relationship of music,
grammar, mathematics, and the divine
order was explicitly set forth; our*
theme became wordier; banderoles of doctrines and explanations state their messages as determined by church and doctrine. Art became more "engaged." The two female figures were only representations of a doctrine, which, moreover, was distributed over several allegories. They were relieved of their scenic roles and did not act as human beings, but rather as "pure" representations of an idea, as legible as the writing on the banderoles.

Seiferth sees much of the same didactic composition repeated in the Tegernsee missal (Codex 4–8111.143, Rossiana, Vienna) which dates from just before the First Crusade. Even as late as the fifteenth century, the Uota Gospel was used as a model for a drawing in the Mettener Codex (Staatsbibliothek, Munich), which Seiferth cites as "proof of the basic significance of those didactics." This later manuscript, however, shows a Synagogue who is blindfolded and has a goat's head and a Jew's hat, attributes which were added to the theme in the twelfth century. Finally, Seiferth points out that these didactics are found on church implements, such as the Lady Gunhild's Cross (c. 1075) where "Ecclesia is related to eternal life, and Synagoga to eternal death." 85

The English connections of the Gunhild Cross are inherent in the identity of its namesake. Gunhild, also known as Helena, was the daughter of King Swend Estridson. She was, therefore, the great-niece of King Cnut the Great of England. In fact, it is quite reasonable to suppose that
the cross was exported from England. The depiction of the Synagogue and Ecclesia theme on this liturgical cross is significant for many reasons. The iconography of this cross confirms the Church as ministrant of the sacrament, as the guide of the faithful to eternal life. It reminds the individual, partaking of the sacrament, that Christ is present and that the Apocalyptic Christ will return to celebrate the Triumph of the Church. 86 Let us now examine the composition of the cross in detail.

On one side there is a composite central medallion containing a cross, which explains much of the iconography. Although the figure of Christ is missing from the front of the cross, a cross-haloed nimbus set in a quatrefoil mandorla remains with the inscription above: IHS NAZAREN REX IVDEORV. On each of the arms of the cross there is a roundel containing a single figure: Life and Death; Ecclesia and Synagogue. On the other side there is a composite central medallion containing Christ as Judge, clearly showing the stigmata and the Book with the A&W. He is surrounded by four angels. The four roundels on this side contain groups of figures: Lazarus in the Bosom of Abraham, Dives in hell between two devils; the Blessed and the Damned. Thus, we see in this work the theme of Ecclesia and Synagogue conflated with that of Life and Death and set within the context of the Apocalypse and Last Judgement. This is emphasized by the Latin inscription from Matthew 25:
"Veni Benedicti Patris Mei' (Come, O blessed of my Father) and "Dicedite a Me Maledicti in ignem (Depart from me, you cursed, into the eternal fire). These words of Christ come in Matthew as part of Christ's response to the apostles' questions about the end of the world and the signs of Christ's coming. In fact, the inscriptions are so important that the Gunhild Cross must be considered "a literary cross looking back to the Ruthwell Cross with its extract from The Deam of the Rood and forward to the ivory Cross of Sibylla, and the so-called Bury St. Edmund's Cross. 87"

The Bury St. Edmund's Cross recalls the Lady Gunhild's Cross in its iconography as well, for the Bury St. Edmunds Cross develops the connexion between Synagogue, the Crucifixion, and the Apocalypse even more fully than the Lady Gunhild's Cross. Furthermore, in the Bury St. Edmund's Cross, the typology is more developed, as scripture from both the Old and New Testaments proclaims Christ's Sacrifice. The Bury St. Edmund's Cross, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Cloisters Collection, Nos 63-12.127), was produced either in Bury St. Edmunds or Canterbury in 1180-1190. Although Beckwith furnishes a very detailed description of this very complex composition, it is sufficient for the purpose of our study to note that the Cross is laden with typological significance and inscriptions and that the Cross places our theme within the context of the Apocalypse:
On either side of the knotted tree course inscriptions referring to the Resurrection and the inadequacy of the Synagogue and on the narrow side of the cross referring to Ham's derision on seeing his naked father and the derision of the Jews before the dying Christ. On the back of the cross the central medallion, supported by angels contains the Agnus Dei pierced by the Synagogue who holds a scroll with a text from Deuteronomy, xxii, 23 "He that is hanged upon the tree is accursed of God"; behind St. John weeps, identified by an inscription from Apocalypse v, 4 "John: and I wept much." Opposite him, hovering within the medallion, an archangel points to a scroll which passes over the head of St. John and bears a text from Apocalypse v, 5 and v, 12. "Weep not, behold. Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive virtue and divinity;"

As we shall see later in this chapter when we examine illuminations from the Hortus Deliciarum and illuminated Apocalypses, the placing of the Synagogue and Ecclesia theme within the setting of the Apocalypse creates a complex iconography. This is especially significant because the Apocalypse has a central importance in the history of English manuscript illumination. However, before we turn to the Apocalypse, let us examine the tradition of the Great Bibles to see how our theme develops in these very important books. In these Bibles, which show the result of Byzantine as well as Carolingian influence, we find many scenes which associate the Old and New Testaments. Furthermore, we see the Synagogue and Ecclesia theme in conjunction not only
with the Crucifixion, but with the Virgin as well in the context of the Tree of Jesse and the Reconciliation of the Virtues. Illustrations associating the Old and New Testaments occur in both the Dover and Lambeth Bibles. In the latter, for example, a Crucifixion scene illustrates the Book of the prophet Habakkuk (folio 307). Not only does this Crucifixion include the figures of Synagogue and Ecclesia, but they appear with the precise quotations as in the Uota Gospel. Dodwell provides a description as well as the Latin inscriptions. As Dodwell points out, in the center of the initial is the depiction of Christ on the Cross. Half-roundels are placed on either side as well as below Christ. The half-roundel on the right contains Synagogue with fallen crown and broken banner. A hand removes the veil from her eyes. In the left half-roundel, Ecclesia, with crown and banner, holds up a chalice to receive the blood of Christ. Below them is the prophet Habakkuk, identified by an inscription, and holding a scroll. The relationship of the Old Testament prophet to this New Testament scene, which marks the transition to the New Covenant, is explained by St. Isidore:

St. Isidore considered that when Habakkuk remarked that "he had horns in his hands and there was informed the virtue of his glory" (Hab.iii.4), he was actually contemplating the Crucifixion. (In his Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae, P.L. LXXXIII, col. 115). Here, then is a portrayal of that event, in which the presence of the Synagogue
and the Church represent the transition from the Old Order to the New.

The transition of authority from Synagogue to Ecclesia is depicted as well in the Tree of Jesse illumination in the Book of Isaiah. 91 From the loins of the recumbent Jesse, the tree springs upwards into the figure of the Virgin, finally culminating in a bust of Christ. Christ, who wears the cruciform nimbus, is enclosed in a double medallion which contains the seven doves which represent the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. On either side of the Virgin are three roundels. In the uppermost two roundels Synagogue and Ecclesia appear. Ecclesia, who is crowned and carries a Cross, stands between two figures, probably Peter and Paul. On the other side, Synagogue stands between two prophets, one of whom is Moses. Synagogue, who is not carrying a broken banner or lance, turns away as a hand pulls the veil from her head. In each of the two lowest roundels two figures point upwards to Christ. Among these Old Testament prophets is Isaiah who holds a scroll containing his prophecy which promises that there will come forth a rod from the root of Jesse. The figures in the middle two roundels seem puzzling, but they have been identified by Millar. They are the four virtues described in Psalm lxxxiv in which "Mercy and Truth are met together; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other." In this depiction Mercy can be identified by her vase, and Justice by her scales.
Dodwell explains this meeting of the virtues, which was illustrated in both Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon Psalter illustrations, by referring to St. Jerome and St. Bernard:

One reason for their presence here is provided by St. Jerome. In his commentary on Psalm lxxxiv, (Breviarium in Psalms, P.L. xxvi, col. 1077) he says that Truth symbolizes the Jews, for their promise of a saviour was fulfilled in Christ. Mercy represents the Gentiles, for, though they were not born to that promise they received its fruits. Further, to this, Truth is similar to Righteousness, for without truth there is no justice or right. In like manner, he equates Peace with Mercy, for the former cannot survive without the latter. Therefore the verse refers to the union of Gentile and Jew under one shepherd—Christ. This significance would be appropriate to the other elements of this Tree of Jesse. St. Bernard, however, provides another interpretation. (P.L. vol. CLXXXIII, cols. 383 ff.)

The first man, he argues, was endowed with all these four virtues but lost them at the Fall. Thereupon they quarrelled. Truth and Justice demanded the death of man. Mercy and Peace opposed them. The conflict was settled when brought before the throne of God the Father. He decided that if any man died for another, Death could not hold him since he owed nothing to Death. God the Son promised to make such a redemption, and so the opposing Virtues were reconciled and Righteousness and Peace kissed one another. This explanation would also be appropriate to their presence here, for it was their dispute that led to the Saviour's birth.
Four medallions in the corners of the illumination complete the theological scheme of the Lambeth Jesse Tree. Like the roundels, they also recall the wall-paintings of St. Gabriel's Chapel. According to Millar, the figures in the lower two roundels represent David and Solomon, while the figures in the upper two roundels represent Old Testament prophets. As Dodwell points out, this illumination, and the Lambeth Bible as a whole, are greatly indebted to both Carolingian and Byzantine art, such as ivory carvings and textiles. Although much of the Byzantine influence comes indirectly through the continent, the sudden appearance of Byzantine iconography coupled with Byzantine stylistic features, indicates that much of the Byzantine influence came from direct contact. Nevertheless, the general scheme of the Lambeth Jesse Tree is most clearly indebted to the earlier representations of the Tree of Virtues and Vices. An excellent example of this is a Tree of Virtues from a Salzburg manuscript from the second quarter of the twelfth century:

... At the base of this Tree is a personification of Humility. From her trunk reaches upwards to a medallion containing a bust of Christ—the new Adam. A representation of Charity appears on the trunk, and three branches on either side terminate in roundels, which contain the various Virtues. It is only necessary to replace Humility by Jesse, Charity by the Virgin and the Virtues by the more complex symbolism of the Lambeth Bible to obtain a rudimentary version of the Tree of...
Jesse. A Tree of Virtues does appear in an earlier Canterbury manuscript from Christ Church (Inner Temple Library MS. 511 10, f. 21), but this lacks the personification of Humility and more notably the trunk, which so effectively unifies the whole.

Although the Lambeth illumination is not the earliest depiction of the Tree of Jesse, "there is no representation of this subject that conveys such a wide scheme of thought with such clarity of exposition and grace of execution." Indeed, this range of abstract thought expressed with stylistic beauty and intellectual clarity is characteristic of Canterbury illumination. Furthermore, as Arthur Watson points out in his fundamental study of the Jesse Tree, the Lambeth illumination is a very early example of Synagogue and Ecclesia used in connection with the Tree of Jesse. In fact, such a connection occurs only occasionally. However, an interesting variation of the iconography of the Lambeth Jesse Tree occurs in the Beatus page of the Fitzwilliam Psalter c. 1260-70. In this illumination, the B, formed by stems and foliage, is filled in above with a scene of Christ in Glory holding a cup, and, below, with crowned figures of Mercy and Truth.

As Watson points out, the transition of authority from Synagogue to Ecclesia in the Lambeth Jesse Tree is not a "crushing defeat" marked by Synagogue's lost crown, broken standard, and falling tablets of the law, but a harmonious
depiction of Christ's promise to fulfill rather than to destroy the law. This same spirit informs the Tree of Jesse in the Hortus Deliciarum which, although it does not include personifications of Ecclesia and Synagogue, empahsizes the idea that Abraham was the father of many nations, Christian, Jewish and pagan, "Interpretatur Abraham pater multarum gentium, qui sunt omnes Christiani, uel Judei, uel pagani." At the bottom of the page, God the Father, nimbed, holds the base of the tree. Above God the Father is Abraham, and to the right of him an angel points to the stars which are similar in number to the number of Abraham's posterity. Above Abraham are his descendants up to Jacob. Above the rows of descendants, however, is a superimposed Tree of Jesse. Just as in the Lambeth Jesse Tree the Virgin functions as a connecting link between the medallion containing Ecclesia and that containing the Synagogue, in the Hortus Deliciarum as well the Virgin functions as a central link in the composition. Above Joseph is the Virgin together with the mirga. Higher are Christ and the Holy Spirit. To the right and left of the main perpendicular line are branches which form convolutions. Within one of these convolutions the Jews, wearing their special, conical headgear, are especially noticeable. At the top of the picture in a horizontal line are apostles, a pope, bishops, and martyrs.
The Jesse Tree became the typical decorative motif for the Beatus page in East Anglian art. This is important since Psalters and Bibles account for most of the English illuminated manuscripts of the twelfth century, with Psalters being far more numerous. A Psalter in the British Museum from the Huth Collection (Add. 38116) produced after 1280 contains depictions of both a Jesse Tree and of the Synagogue and Ecclesia theme. The Beatus page features a Jesse Tree, and the initial page before the last division of the psalms contains the Trinity, the Coronation of the Virgin, and Ecclesia and Synagogue. Of course, the Psalters of this period also provide examples of the figures of Synagogue and Ecclesia in depictions of the Crucifixion. We find an excellent example of this in the Psalter at All Souls' Coll. Oxford, c. 1250, one of the principle manuscripts attributed to the Salisbury school at this time.

However, we cannot conclude our discussion of the Great English Bibles and Psalters without mentioning the products of the Winchester School, a school which was very influential. The Great Lambeth Bible, the Bishop Pudsey's Bible at Durham, and, to a lesser degree, the Bury Bible at Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge, are connected in style with the Winchester School. Not only was the Winchester School important for its influence on manuscript illumination, but these twelfth-century Winchester Bibles
provide the best idea of what wall paintings were like.\textsuperscript{103} In order to appreciate the products of this influential school, we must consider its relationship to contemporary Byzantine art. Especially important are the elements which resulted from the classical revival which occurred in several Byzantine centers.\textsuperscript{104} We have a very fine example of the classicizing school at Winchester in the figure, probably representing Ecclesia, from a pair of Synagogue and Ecclesia figures.\textsuperscript{105} In fact, Oakeshott has remarked that these figures, slightly under life size, look nearer in date to the classicizing figures at Reims than to the later Winchester artists. Unfortunately, it is not possible to say exactly where they were carved.

The Winchester art of the twelfth century is also indebted to the mosaic style of Monreale.\textsuperscript{106} Even English wall painting felt Sicilian influence, which is evident in the frescoes in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in Winchester.\textsuperscript{107} Of course, the late twelfth century was the time of the closest contact, both social and political, between the two Norman states.\textsuperscript{108} However, the most outstanding example of contact between Byzantine art and the Winchester School is the connection between that school and the famous frescoes at the Chapter House at Sigena, Spain. Unfortunately, these beautiful twelfth-century wall and ceiling paintings were all but destroyed in the Spanish Civil War. However, a photographic record had been made by
Senor J. Gudiol in 1936. Working from these photographs, which were published in 1940, Prof. Otto Pächt was the first to recognize that these paintings were English. Pächt recognized not only that the paintings were English, but that the work was closely connected to the work of the artists who illuminated the Great Winchester Bible, made for the Priory of St. Swithin. Pächt connected the style of one artist, the "Master of the Morgan Leaf", particularly with the Sigena paintings. He noted as well the relationship between the Sigena paintings and the Sicilian Mosaics, "which were the finest, certainly the richest, works of decorative art made in Europe in the twelfth century."¹⁰⁹ Pächt's astute observations have been meticulously developed by Walter Oakeschott. According to Oakeschott, the "Morgan Leaf Master," "one of the great masters of his day," served an apprenticeship both in England and with a noteworthy Byzantine artist, most likely in Sicily.¹¹⁰ He worked on books for the monasteries of St. Albans as well as Westminster. Of course, he changed dramatically the style of the Winchester Bible.

Just as the "Morgan Leaf Master" introduced specifically English features, both stylistic and iconographic, in his Sigena work, so he also introduced what Pächt calls "specifically Byzantine iconographic features entirely unfamiliar in English art."¹¹¹ We find examples of these specifically Byzantine elements in "the child's bath
in the Nativity at Sigena" and "in the Crucifixion," the rare motif of the two angels, the one leading Ecclesia to Christ, the other turning Synagogue away from the Cross."¹¹² This work of the "Morgan Leaf Master is important as one of the most outstanding examples of the Synagogue and Ecclesia theme:

... He is to be admired not for the introduction of Byzantine techniques and ideas, but rather because of a new intensity of observation, a new humanity, a new individuality and tenderness in his paintings that make the Sigena Crucifixion one of the most powerful, and one of the most lovely works of its time.¹¹³

Now let us examine how the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia can be conflated with the Apocalyptic setting in order to create the triad of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon. Of course, the scriptural basis for this conflation comes from the Revelation of St. John the Divine, in which hypocrites are twice denounced as "the Synagogue of Satan:"

To the angel of the church at Smyrna write: ... I know you are slandered by those who claim to be Jews but are not—they are Satan's synagogue. ... ¹¹⁴

To the angel of the church at Philadelphia write: ... I will make those of Satan's synagogue, who claim to be Jews but are lying frauds, come and fall down at your feet; and they shall know that you are my beloved people.
Thus, we have in the Scriptures a verbal linking of Church, Synagogue, and the Synagogue of Satan. We shall later examine how these images of hypocrisy and heresy relate, not only to illuminated Apocalypses, such as the Douce, but also to Dante and the anti-heretical iconography of Chartres Cathedral. Let us begin, however, with a manuscript which we have already discussed in relation to the Synagogue and Ecclesia theme.

In the Hortus Deliciarum, the verbal linking of the Church, the Synagogue, and the Synagogue of Satan leads to a conflation of images in which the Woman on the Beast is a mirror image of the mounted figures of Synagogue and Ecclesia. When we compare the Ecclesia figure from the crucifixion with the figure of the Whore of Babylon from the same book the points of similarity are overwhelming. Both women sit on the backs of their multi-headed mounts in the same position so that the mounts present a clear profile to the viewer, while the bodies of the women are depicted frontally. Both women turn slightly to the left from the waist up so that their faces are in three-quarter view, while their feet are depicted in a full frontal view. Furthermore, the weight of both figures is distributed in a similar fashion, with the left knee in each case bent slightly more to the side than is the right knee, which protrudes forward. Thus, the patterns of drapery folds
across the knees of the two figures are almost identical. The position of the torsos is quite similar as well. In both cases, the right arm crosses over the left as Ecclesia holds up her chalice and the Whore of Babylon her cup of abominations. As I have already mentioned, the faces are presented in three-quarters view. It is in costume, however, that the similarity is most striking. Both figures wear crowns and hairstyles that are almost identical. Both wear mantels which are secured over the right shoulder by a round brooch. The physical similarity between these two images serves to heighten the contrast of the roles of Ecclesia and the Whore of Babylon or the Synagogue of Satan. The Whore of Babylon is a deceiver, anxious to mask her inquiry in splendor. She is therefore identified with hypocrites and heretics. Ecclesia, on the other hand, is a true queen whose authority is rooted in the Crucifixion.

In the text of the Hortus Deliciarum we also find the figures of Ecclesia, Synagogue, and the prostitute associated with one another. This occurs in an explanation of Sampson as a type of Christ. The Jewish people are accused of having "the stupidity of an ass" in choosing their harsh Law over Christ. Such a phrase recalls the description of Synagogue's "mount in the Crucifixion scene as an "ass" which is "stupid." When we compare these ideas about the Crucifixion with some of the commentary about the sacraments from the Hortus Deliciarum, we find a strong
emphasis placed on the real presence of the eucharist, a strong anti-heretical tone, and an emphasis on the Church as the ministratnnt of the sacrament. The clear message of the text is that the eucharist is the real body and blood of Christ, shed at the Crucifixion and prefigured in the Old Testament, although rejected by the Jews. Heretics, those not ordained by the Church, cannot administer the Sacrament, and when they attempt to do so, they only commit sacrilege.

These ideas about the eucharist recall the theological ideas which came to the fore in the Carolingian period and were illustrated in the Utrecht Psalter and the Sacramentary of Drogo. It is not, therefore, surprising that we see the germ of these ideas, worked out with such detail in the Hortus Deliciarum, in a manuscript which dates back to the ninth century, the famous Golden Codex, given by Arnulph of Carinthia to the monastery of St. Emmeran in Ratisbon, c. 870. It is now in the State Library at Munich. In a miniature from this manuscript, there is a scene which depicts the Mystic Lamb. In this scene, twenty four elders jump to their feet. As they pull diadems from their heads, they rush forward to gaze up at the Lamb. The Lamb stands on an unrolled Scroll, and, as he looks down at the group below, his blood flows into a chalice. According to van der Meer, the chalice suggests not only the eucharist, but the Church who has now superceded the Synagogue:
... The chalice suggests the Eucharist and recalls the fact that long ago Pope Sergius I had introduced the chant of the *Agnus Dei* at the moment of the Breaking of the Bread and the mixing of the Bread and Wine in the Chalice. The inscription surrounding the Lamb admonishes that it is the Church that holds the chalice, and the Synagogue that goes away empty-handed:

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suscipit agne tuum populus
venerande cruorem et synagoga
suo fuscata colore recessit
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Your own Blood, venerable Lamb, your people now receives, and the Synagogue, her colours darkened, has withdrawn. 118

Below the main scene, in spandrels are the figures of Oceanus and Tellus, such as we have seen in ivory carvings. Also included is a lengthy metrical inscription which also identifies the Elders in accordance with the tradition of the Fathers of the Church that the Elders were the authors of the Old and the New Testaments. Schiller explains the typological, eucharistic, and liturgical significance of the Lamb. 119 According to Schiller, the Lamb as a biblical symbol of Christ is rooted in the Old Testament typology of sacrifice as exemplified in the stories of Abel and Abraham. This significance was greatly enhanced by the Apocalyptic account of the Lamb in the heavenly Jerusalem. Schiller defines three biblical and liturgical areas of thought:

The sacrificial lamb—*Agnus Dei*—in Isaiah 53, 7 and John I, 29 represents the Death of the Redeemer. Isaiah likens
the suffering servant to a lamb brought to slaughter. The Easter lamb—Agnus paschalis—derives from the typology of the Passover which left its mark on the earlier Easter service, the new Passover, through the reading of Exodus 12. When Paul in I. Corinthians 5, 7 writes: "... our passover is sacrificed for us" he is referring to the risen Christ. The Apocalyptic Lamb—Agnus victor—(Revelation 5, 6 ff., 14, 1 ff. and 21, 23) symbolizes Christ’s eternal victory and his worldwide sovereignty..."120

Having been known as early as the sixth century in the eastern church, Pope Sergius, at the end of the seventh century, introduced the Agnus Dei into the Roman liturgy of the mass. Images of the Lamb, presumably symbolic of the eucharistic Christ, date back to the sixth and seventh centuries in the east. However, the Synod in Constantinople in 692 banned all visual representation of the Lamb as a symbol for Christ. The Roman Church disregarded this injunction, and from the eighth century on, the image appears in miniatures. In the ninth century, the iconography is developed further so that the chalice and Ecclesia are eventually added:

... The image becomes commoner from the ninth century onwards. The Lamb, in a clipeus or mandorla, is now accompanied by some of the Instruments of the Passion, though they were at this period regarded as symbols of exaltation and victory, corresponding to the current interpretation of Christ’s Death. The Lamb often stands on a scroll or on the book with seven seals.
This book, sealed like a testament, contains the mysteries of God's plan for Salvation that were revealed in the Death of his Son on the Cross. For this reason the scroll is often open and looks like a ribbon. The Lamb that opens the book at the throne of God (Revelation 6) is the Lamb that was slain on earth and bears its mortal wounds. Thus the Lamb, when it appears on its own symbolizing Christ, is given a scroll or book that, like the Instruments of the Passion, refer to Christ's victory on the Cross. As in the image of the crucifixion, so in that of the Lamb from the end of the tenth century onwards, the chalice and the Lamb's bleeding wounds, also Ecclesia lifting the chalice, may serve to stress the eucharistic element in Christ's Death. 121

Schiller discusses quite a few important examples of depictions of the Lamb, such as those in the Codes Aureus from St. Emmeram, the Bible of Alcuin written at Tours, and the Codex Aemilianensis. However, one of the best examples of how well the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia becomes fused to the Apocalyptic context is an ivory plaque, the Nicasius Diptych, in the cathedral treasury at Tournai, c. 900. 122

The composition is organized into three horizontal sections. At the top is the Majestus Domini. Wearing the cruciform nimbus and displaying a book inscribed "salus mundi," Christ sits in a mandorla inscribed with the Alpha and Omega and surrounded by the four Gospel Beasts. In the center of the composition is a medallion with an acanthus
border. Inside the medallion two angels bear a *clipeus* containing the *Agnus Dei* wearing the cruciform nimbus and standing on a scroll. At the base of the composition is a Crucifixion scene. Wearing the cruciform nimbus, Christ stands on the Cross behind which are medallions of the sun and moon. Ecclesia, standing in front of a Romanesque church, holds up the chalice with which she catches the blood of the Redeemer. On the other side of the cross, Ecclesia's counterpart stands in front of the city of Jerusalem and looks up at Christ. Whereas Ecclesia is identified by the inscription SCA ECLESIA, the other female figure stands by the inscription HIERVALE. Although Goldschmidt calls these two women Church and Synagogue, and both Schiller and Seiferth identify these figures as Ecclesia and Synagogue in their description of plates, in the text, both identify Ecclesia's counterpart as Jerusalem. Obviously, this figure is a complex symbol representing the function of Synagogue and the earthly Jerusalem where Christ was crucified. Nevertheless, in light of the apocalyptic symbols above her, she might represent the heavenly Jerusalem as well. Furthermore, the stratified nature of this composition stresses the equivalence of the three depictions on the ivory as if they were the same scene revealed from three perspectives, both in and outside of historical time. Given the early date of the composition, it is impressive how soon and in what a complex manner the
artist made use of the potential conflation of the Synagogue and Ecclesia theme with the Apocalyptic setting.

We see these ideas and images developed still further in several miniatures in liturgical manuscripts of the tenth century from Fulda. Fulda had been famous in the ninth century for learned men, such as Rabanus Maurus, and Lupus, later abbot of Ferrières. However, nothing relevant to the iconography of the Lamb appears until after 970:

In a lectionary, now in Aschaffenburg, a full page is dedicated to the image of a slaughtered Lamb, surrounded by the four Beings and two angels. Below the medallion of this Lamb, its Bride, the Church—crowned and veiled, holding the banner of the Cross, and leaning back opened mouthed, to see the vision—receives the precious Blood, trickling from the Lamb's wounded side into a low golden chalice.

This imagery, which includes the crown and banner, triumphant symbols which are so characteristic of Ecclesia, proclaims the unity between Christ and the Church, His Bride. Furthermore, the Fulda sacramentaria also emphasize the Church's close association with the Virgin, the second Eve. Because of these associations, Ecclesia is the true custodian of the mysteries of the sacrament:

In the Apocalypse the Blood of the Lamb is mentioned, not the Cross on which it was slain. In the Fulda sacramentaria it is the Church who receives the Blood in the chalice from which it is mystically drunk. Later, the crucified
Lord always takes the place of the Lamb, but the Church remains, standing at the wounded side—a new Eve born from the side of the new Adam, and personified by the Virgin Mary—and is seen receiving the mysteries of the blood and the water**, baptism and the Eucharist.

Thus we see in these Fulda manuscripts how the authority of the Church as ministrant of the sacrament was enhanced by the development of the imagery of Ecclesia, the Crucifixion, and the Agnus Dei. Let us now examine the illuminated Carolingian Bibles from Tours, to understand the iconographical complexity of this conflation.

Tours was a very important center, and the long-lasting influence of its scriptorium was felt at Metz, Fulda, St. Gall, Trier, and Echternach. A workshop of Metz, the most celebrated manuscript of which is the Sacramentary of Drogo, was also affiliated with the court. In addition, Tours is famous as the source of illuminated Carolingian Bibles. The major impetus for the first extended production of full Bibles was provided by Charlemagne himself. Alcuin, who had retired to Tours in 796, had supervised the production of at least six pandects before his death in 804, but the full Bible was perfected under his successors, especially Frodos (807-34) who refined the script and Adalhard (834-43) and Vivian (844-51) who developed the ornament. Finally, by c. 830, the products of the Touronian atelier achieved the level of the Theodulf Bibles, which had been
produced a generation before. Having perfected script and ornament and revised the text, illustration of their manuscripts was a logical next step for the Carolingian monks, and the first extended production of illustrated pandects accompanied the publication activities of Tours in the ninth century. Three manuscripts from this production survive, and three are known indirectly. The system of illustration continued to expand so that the illustration of full scale Bibles at Tours reached a "high point and culmination" in the Vivian Bible. The Vivian Bible, also known as the First Bible of Charles the Bald (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. lat. 1) dates from between 845 and 851 with c. 845-46 being quite probable.  

It is very difficult to place geographically the court school of Charles the Bald because the court was frequently on the move, and, presumably, the best artists moved with the court. Therefore, the site of the court school of Charles the Bald is disputed, with Corbie, Saint-Denis, Reims, and Compèigne as possible locations. Nevertheless, just as Charlemagne had been influenced by Byzantine grandeur, so Charles the Bald desired to rival the East Romans. The Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram is artistic proof of this.  

Let us now examine the Apocalypse in three great Bibles begun under Charles the Bald, the Moutiers-Grandval Bible c. 840, the Vivian Bible c. 845-851, both executed at Tours,
and the S. Paolo fuori le mura Bible c 869, which probably originated at St. Denis. Van der Meer describes a miniature prefixed to the Apocalypse in these Bibles which is very significant to our theme. In all three of these Bibles, the Lamb unbinds the first of the Seven Seals while the four Gospel beasts remove the veil from the face of a seated old man. This old man, whose face is surrounded by light, holds a fringed scarf above his head. The Gospel beasts all attack this veil. Van der Meer describes these strange actions as symbolic of an "unveiling" or "revelation":

The unveiling of divine decrees by the Lamb in the Apocalypse is here being identified with the unveiling of the Old Testament, and is represented by the tearing away of the veil from the face of an old man. The old man is Moses, for St. Paul says (II Cor. III: 7-16) that Moses covered the glory radiating from his face, and intolerable for the eyes of his people, with a veil, and that this veil, covering the Law, was only "done away with in Christ". At the appearance of the Gospel of Grace, the veil lying on the Law vanished and its sense became suddenly apparent. Therefore, the four Beings, symbols of the Gospels since the days of Irenaeus, eagerly snatch the veil from the face of Moses, who beams at us with a hitherto hidden glory.

This idea of equating the unveiling of Moses with the unsealing of the Book of the Lamb comes from Victorinus of Pettau who, shortly after 300, was the first commentator on the Apocalypse. Köhler was the first to point out the
indebtedness of these Apocalypse pages to the exegesis of Victorinus, and subsequent scholars such as Van der Meer, Schmidt, and Kessler have substantiated his observations.\textsuperscript{128} Clearly, these frontispiece depictions reflect the idea of the third-century Church father who interpreted the Apocalypse as an allegory of the unity of the Old and New Testaments. The basis of Victorinus's allegory rests on his identification of the book of the seven seals as the Old Testament; his interpretation of the lion and the lamb of Rev. 5:5 as Christ prevailing over death; and his association of the fifth book for Revelation with the unveiling of Moses.\textsuperscript{129}

Thus, the images in these ninth-century frontispieces correspond so well with the exegesis of Rev. 5 of Victorinus, that their meaning cannot be mistaken:

They are allegorical pictorializations of the Old Testament fulfilled by the New. The lamb breaking the seal on the great book is Christ revealing the Old Testament; the evangelist symbols lifting the cloth from the elder's face are the Gospels unveiling Moses.\textsuperscript{130}

This interpretation of the Book of Revelation as an allegory of the unity of the Old and New Testaments was continued by Carolingian theologians, most notably Alcuin, who identified the "scroll with writing inside and out" as the Old and New Testaments.\textsuperscript{131} The \textit{Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram} provides a
depiction which illustrates this idea. The frontispiece which precedes the Gospel of Luke contains a Lamb on a book and the four Gospel symbols. Around the clipeus the inscription proclaims the Lamb, who suffers the wound of death, is the fulfillment of the Law.  

This allegorical interpretation of the Apocalypse was elaborated most fully in the ninth century by Haimo of Auxerre. Very little is known about Haimo of Auxerre, who was a monk at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Germain in Auxerre where he died c. 855. In his Expositionis in Apocalypsin B. Joannis, Haimo explains the harmonious relationship between the Old and New Testaments:

For Haimo, as for Alcuin, the book of the seven seals is the Old and New Testaments united as a single work, the latter completing the former... Haimo did not interpret the fifth chapter of Revelation as an allegory of Moses unveiled. He did, however, discuss at some length the revelation of Moses in his exegesis of II Cor. III. His interpretation is the traditional one. The veil of Moses represents the obscurity of the Old Testament which is lifted by Christ.

These Carolingian frontispieces reflect the interpretation of the Apocalypse as an allegory of the unity of Scripture not only in their resemblance to the writings of ninth-century theologians, but in their very composition as well. For, in the eight Touronian frontispieces, only the Exodus and Apocalypse pages are divided into two picture
areas, unlike the others which are either full-page miniatures or narrative registers. Moreover, in the Grandval and Vivian Exodus and Apocalypse pages the tituli are related to each other. In both sets of verses, the conclusion refers to the dispersion of sacred knowledge. 134 Such parallels of composition and tituli suggest that the Exodus and Apocalypse frontispieces from a unit in which the first represents the giving of the law in the Old Testament, and the second part represents the revelation of the law in the New Testament. The typological impact of these perplexing frontispieces is important, and they may have even influenced Abbot Suger in the composition of one of the stained glass windows at St. Denis. 135

Illustrated editions of the Apocalypse were extremely characteristic of the Channel School of painting in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and were produced in great numbers, even more in England than in France. They were produced in such numbers in England that O. Elfrida Sauders has said:

Indeed, these may be claimed with some justice as constituting not only the most beautiful, but also the most essentially national expression of English art in the Middle Ages. For although Apocalypse illustrations were no new thing, they took on a fresh and well-defined form in England in the thirteenth century, which became the accepted version throughout Western art, and was copied in Flanders, Germany, Italy, and elsewhere. 136
Illustration played a crucial role in these Apocalypses. Unlike the Bibles, in which the pictures were merely an adjunct to the text, in these Apocalypses, the text was an explanation of the pictures to the extent that in one of the earliest extant Apocalypses, all the explanatory writing is contained within the picture itself. It is therefore logical to assume that the images from these books would make a penetrating impression on the viewer and would carry great weight since they function as interpretations of holy writ.

Although St. Albans' Abbey seems to have been the "cradle of apocalypse illustration in England," I would like to consider a very famous manuscript which has been associated with the Court during the last years of the reign of Henry III and in the first years of the reign of Edward I. The precise origin is still disputed, although it has long been associated with Canterbury, due to the suggestion of M.R. James. This manuscript, known as the Douce Apocalypse, dates from 1270-1300 and is in the Bodleian (Douce 180). The Douce Apocalypse falls into two parts. The first part, which begins with a translation into Anglo-Norman, is, apart from the opening page, a text rather than a picture-book. The second part consists of pictured pages with a panel containing a picture and the text which it illustrates written underneath in Latin. Sometimes this is
supplemented with the commentary of Berengaudus. This ninth-century commentary, which is summarized in the Glossa Ordinaria, explains Revelation allegorically in terms of the early Church. In fact, Berengaudus's gloss is especially useful in relation to the Apocalypses of the Channel School and often explains otherwise inexplicable motifs in the Anglo-Norman cycles from 1230 to 1450.

For example, Berengaudus provides the explanation for the depiction of the Fourth Trumpet in the Douce Apocalypse:

Berengaudus interprets the sun as the Jewish people and the moon as the Synagogue, while the stars are the chief priests. Their conversion makes them darkened in the opinion of bad Jews but glorious in the sight of God. They seem dark on account of the real light which is Christ whom they have received.

Berengaudus applies a similar explanation of light and darkness in his interpretation of the fifth vial of wrath. In this case, however, the metaphor of darkness is applied not to the Jews but to the heretics:

The commentary of Berengaudus explains that the fifth angel signifies the orthodox in their fight against heretics. Like the locust, the seat of the beast signifies the heretics; and this is apt because the devil dwells within their hearts. The kingdom is made full of darkness because the Fathers of the church show how wretched and dark is that teaching of the heretics which had appeared to be bright. They gnaw their tongues because one heretic refutes the errors of
another. They blaspheme God because the more they are refuted by the Catholics the more blasphemous they become. They did no penance because hardly any of the inventors of heresy have in fact done penance for their errors . . .

There are other denunciations of heresy as well within the **Douce Apocalypse**. For example, the three frogs used as arms of Satan refer to St. Augustine's comparison of frogs to heretics. The **Glossa Ordinaria** also explains that the croaking frogs disturb the peace. Later Nicolas de Lyra would attribute this croaking to the mouths of Saracen leaders. Similarly, in the scene from the **Douce Apocalypse** which illustrates "Christ Blessing those who have Earned the Tree of Life and the New Jerusalem and Rejecting the Wicked" the inscription condemns the wicked who are called "dogs, venomous, unchaste, murderous, and servants of Maumez."

As Hassal points out, the last word, "Mahomet," means idols. Thus, the Apocalyptic setting, which culminates in the Triumph of the Church, puts into an eternal time frame the role of the heretics and the faithful. The faithful, who spurn false gods, will be rewarded in the New Jerusalem, where they will sing the New Song of the heavenly liturgy.

We see similar ideas about the fulfillment of the Old Covenant in the New and conflated with the Apocalypse presented in an even more organized manner in a thirteenth-century English manuscript at Eton College which has been described by M.R. James. In this work the eucharistic
and typological implications of this theme are even more forcefully depicted. The first eight leaves of this manuscript contain a series of paintings of Scripture subjects, mostly types and antitypes. Not only do they resemble thirteenth-century stained glass windows, but James even believed that they were the actual designs for such windows. After a description of these leaves, James describes the second half of this manuscript:

Here begins the series of types and prophecies, surrounding an antitype in the central medallion: the two half-circles, and the lower medallion on L., contain prophets, of whom only those in the whole medallion bear inscribed scrolls. The central medallion is supported by an atlas-figure, seated, of a Virtue, sometimes with name attached. On the lower margin is written one of the commandments. In some cases a green leaf-ornament connects the upper medallions with the central one.

Just as we saw in the Douce Apocalypse Christ blessing the faithful in the New Jerusalem and casting out those who served false gods, so in the Etonian manuscript we see the Triumph of the Church with the commandment forbidding other gods. James gives a full description of this page (XII f. 7b). An unnamed Virtue, holding a red three-flowered rod, surmounts the commandment. In the center is depicted the Triumph of the Church. Christ is seated in a chariot around which are the four cherubic beasts. In His right hand Christ holds a book, while with His left He touches the
crown of a female figure. The border inscription tells us that the Bride is crowned by the Bridegroom. Seated men are depicted in half-circles, while at the top left are shown the female personifications of Grace and the Law; Mercy and Truth. On the top right the crowned female figures of Righteousness and Peace kiss. At the bottom, the prophets Zacharias and Solomon complete the picture.148

Thus we see that this scene of the Triumph of the Church praises the crowned Ecclesia as the Bride of Christ surrounded by the Virtues. As we shall see in Chapter II, Dante will use similar imagery to depict the Pageant of the Triumph of the Church. However, in order to criticize the worldly corruption of the contemporary Church, Dante breaks the dignified balance which is preserved in the Etonian scene in which the Virtues converse and embrace.

Of course the figures of Grace and the Law in the company of Mercy and Truth and the kissing figures of Righteousness and Peace recall the Jesse Tree from the Lambeth Bible. The bust of Christ, wearing the cruciform nimbus, is similar as well. The conflation of the Old Covenant, the New Covenant, and the Apocalypse is by no means limited in this manuscript to the depiction of the Triumph of the Church.

In the illumination of the commandment which forbids covetousness, the Synagogue unveiled and the Queen of Sheba, who is identified as an allegory for the Church, are depicted
in the company of the Paschal Lamb (XI. f. 7a). In the center Synagogue is seated on a throne while a hand from above draws away her veil. She holds the Tables of the Law in her right hand and a gold vase in her left. On the top left we find Ezekiel's Vision of the Wheels. On the top right John the Baptist, with purple robe and gold nimbus, holds a disk on which are portrayed the Paschal Lamb and banner. The Queen of Sheba, wearing a crown and offering a gold cup to Solomon, is depicted at the bottom right. The inscription identifies her allegorically with Ecclesia. At the bottom the prophets Zephaniah and Malachi complete the picture. Thus, in this depiction the imagery of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Paschal Lamb are associated so that the unveiling of Synagogue is shown against the background of its final fulfillment of Revelation, a fulfillment which is made possible by Ecclesia.

Before we conclude our examination of this fascinating and extremely complex manuscript, we must note the Crucifixion scene which includes the traditional figures of Synagogue and Ecclesia (VII. f. 5a). This Crucifixion illustrates the commandment forbidding murder. In the Douce illumination, the homicides are cast out of the gate of the New Jerusalem described in Revelation. The appropriate Virtue in this scene is identified as Obedience. In the center is the Crucifixion. Flanking the Cross are Ecclesia, nimbed and holding a chalice, on the left, and, on the
right, the blindfolded Synagogue who turns away. Also on
the right is a six-winged seraph who returns his sword to
its sheath. This scene is similar to a thirteenth window at
Sens. The Old Testament scenes include the Sacrifice of
Isaac, Moses and the Brazen Serpent, and Elijah and the son
of the Widow of Sareptena. The two prophets at the bottom
are Jacob and Nahum. The typological composition of this
depiction conveys its message clearly. In fulfillment of
all the prophecies, at the scene of the Crucifixion Ecclesia
ascends to her authority, and the Old Covenant is fulfilled
in the New.

Typological works, such as the Etonian manuscript, were
very popular in the Middle Ages. However, of all the
typological works, one of the most popular was the Biblia
Pauperum.\textsuperscript{151} Although some of these manuscripts were
entirely composed of text, most were really picture books
composed of a series of representations of a New Testament
event together with two parallels from the Old Testament.
Thus, the Biblia Pauperum is based on a typology which
consists of "systematizing and representing the allegorical
connection between events of the Old and New Testaments."\textsuperscript{152}
Furthermore, these Bibles, like earlier Bible summaries and
abridgements, were made for teaching purposes and to combat
heresies. As A. Weckwerth has pointed out, the popularity
of twelfth-century works which stressed the unity of the
Bible corresponds to contemporary heretical movements, such
as that of the Cathars, that denied the validity of the Old Testament:

In an attempt to combat these ideas, the Church restricted the reading of the Bible in the vernacular and prohibited controversial discussion between laymen. On the other hand, by means of typology, it tried to confirm the faithful in their belief and to convince the heretics of the unity of the Bible. And it was with similar intentions that during the course of the twelfth century the Church encouraged all manner of artistic expression of the link between the Old and New Testaments—in the stained glass windows of churches, in frescoes and in reliefs.

Similarly, Weckwerth associates the term *Biblia Pauperum* with the heretical movements, since the Cathars, who called themselves "the pure," and the *Pauperes Christi*, proclaimed the need for "biblical poverty." Thus, according to Weckwerth, these Bibles, which were intended to convert the heretics, became known as "Bibles of the Poor" and were used by preachers who were also referred to as "the Poor."[153]

It is quite natural that the Synagogue and Ecclesia theme would be represented in these works. In fact, we have examples of Crucifixion scenes in which Ecclesia with banner and chalice sits upon the tetramorph while Synagogue, blindfolded or with falling crown, is mounted upon an ass or a goat.[154] As we have noted before, the early thirteenth-century *Biblia Pauperum* and the later *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* systematized the subject-matter which would
provide the program for the typological windows of the great Gothic cathedrals for hundreds of years. Using the typological methods to refute heresies threatening the Church, these Bibles were wonderfully suited to the Church's didactic purposes. As we shall see in the next chapter, the Church did not limit its didactic efforts to manuscripts, but was anxious to confront the faithful with its message in the magnificent stone and glass of its cathedrals. In the north transept facade at Chartres, for example, the Church refutes the heresies of its enemies and proclaims its authority, conferred at Christ's death and confirmed by the unity of the Scriptures, as the guide to the individual Christian.

Poets, however, who were not dependent upon church patronage nor bound to a fixed time frame like the visual artists, were free to use these ideas in a wider context. Thus Dante in cantos XXVII-XXXII of the Purgatorio uses an iconography similar to that employed by the designers of the Chartrean facade in order to describe the Triumph of the Church. However, by conflating the figures of Ecclesia and the Whore of Babylon, Dante also criticizes Church abuses and papal corruption. We shall see that in depictions of the theme of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon, the message of the artist or poet is determined by how he conflates and contrasts these three figures.
Notes to Chapter One


2. Schiller, II, 110.


4. Schiller, II, 110.

5. Schiller, II, 111. Schiller discusses how political power of the Church over the monarchy is reflected in a Crucifixion image made under Charles the Bald.


7. Schiller, II, 112.


12. Seiferth, p. 1. See also n. 1.


106
Schiller, II, 9.


Schiller, II, 9.

20. Schiller, II, 105. See also Schiller, II, Figs. 357-8.


Janson, p. 204.

Janson, p. 204.

Beckwith, Early Medieval Art, p. 46.


Beckwith, Early Medieval Art, p. 44. Also see Panofsky, p. 49, n. 3.

Schiller, II, 105-6. See also Fig. 357.
29 Dufrenne, p. 144.
33 Seiferth, pp. 5-6.
34 Panofsky, pp. 51-2, n. 1. See also Fig. 20. Panofsky mentions the classical figures in this ivory and notes the proliferation of such personifications in the Octateuch and Psalter. He provides bibliographic information for tracing this in the *Utrecht Psalter* and in Carolingian Crucifixion scenes.
35 Hinks, p. 122.
37 Goldschmidt describes the following items which are included within the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia in *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*. For Synagogue and Ecclesia, see I, 78, 85, 86, 88, 89, 114, 132a, and 160a.; II, 55, 57, and 58; III, 55 and 124; and IV, 146b. For Ecclesia alone, see I, 41, 83, 96b, 116a (2); and III, 12. For Synagogue alone, see II, 67.
38 Hinks, pp. 120-2. Hinks summarizes Goldschmidt's organization and methods.
39 Hinks, p. 121.
40 Seiferth, p. 4. Seiferth's ivories are bookcover of the Codex Latinus 9453, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Goldschmidt I, No. 86); bookcover in the Parish Church of St. Croix, Department Allier, Gannat (Goldschmidt I, no. 89); tablet no. 250.67, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Goldschmidt I, no. 85) (Fig. 3 in Seiferth); and tablet of Adalbero, Musees de Metz, Metz (Goldschmidt I, no. 75) (Fig. 4 in Seiferth).
41 Seiferth, pp. 4-5.
Seiferth, pp. 5-6. Seiferth's ivories are bookcover of the Bamberg evangelistary, Codex Latinus 4452, Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Goldschmidt I, No. 41), (Fig. 5 in Seiferth); bookcover of the Codex Latinus 9383, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (Goldschmidt I, No. 83) (Fig. 6 in Seiferth); and ivory tablet No. 266.67 Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Goldschmidt I, No. 132a).

Seiferth, p. 6.

Seiferth, p. 8.


Seiferth, pp. 79 and 84.

Seiferth, pp. 35, 36, and 41.

Seiferth, p. 37.

Seiferth, p. 36.

This summary is based on Seiferth, pp. 40-3. There is a great deal of fine scholarship concerning the *Altercatio* in relation to the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia. Seiferth, who deals with this in Chapters 2, 3, 8, and 13, is indebted to both Weber and Pflaum. Weber discusses the *Altercatio* in Chapter 5 and the *Sermo* and Prophet plays in Chapter 7. He also deals with the Strasbourg statues in Chapter 11. See Paul Weber, *Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst in ihrem Verhältnis erläutert an einer Ikonographie der Kirche und Synagoge* (Stuttgart, 1894). Pflaum deals with the *Altercatio*, Latin hymns and *Desputaison de sinagogue et de Seint Eglise*. Hiram Pflaum, "Der allegorische Streit zwischen synagoge und Kirche der europäischen Dichtung des Mittelalters," *Archivum Romanum*, 1934, pp. 243-340. Although Weber and Pflaum are basic to the study of the

53 Hanns Swarzenski, p. 73. See also Swarzenski, Plate 187, fig. 424-425.

54 Schiller, II, 112 and 126.

55 Hanns Swarzenski, pp. 74-75. See also Swarzenski, Plate 191, Figs. 434 and 435 and Plate 192, Fig. 436.

56 Joseph Natanson, *Gothic Ivories of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Alec Tiranti Ltd., 1951), pp. 9-10. See also Natanson, Figs. 15 and 17.

57 Natanson, pp. 10-12. See also Natanson, Fig. 16. For the displacement of the figures of Synagogue and Ecclesia in Gothic ivories see also: Raymond Koechlin, *Les Ivoires Gothiques Francais* (Paris: F. de Nobele, 1968) I, 60 and 81. Also: Margaret H. Longhurst *Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Architecture and Sculpture, 1927) II, 10. For the importance of the "Salting Leaf" in Koechlin's "Soisson's" Group, See Natanson, pp. 16-18.

58 Natanson, p. 18.


60 Bergman, p. 2.

61 *De Civitate Dei*, P.L. vol. 41, col. 505.

62 Bergman, p. 3.


64 Danielou, p. 1. Danielou gives ample patristic citations.

Bergman, p. 13.


Bergman, p. 5.

Bergman, p. 9.

Bergman, p. 11.


Bergman, p. 12.

Bergman, p. 13.


Danielou, pp. 2-7.


Bergman, pp. 130-1.


Goldschmidt, *German Illumination,* II, plates 76 and 77. See also Georg Swarzenski, *Die Regensburger Buckmalereides 10 u. 11 Jh.* (Leipzig: Denkmäler des süddeutschen Malerei des frühen Mittelalters, I, 1901). The Latin inscriptions are noted by Goldschmidt. Note especially, "Under Ecclesis: PIA GRATIA SURGIT IN ORTVM;
Under Synagogue: LEX TENET OCCASVM; and Under the Curtain: VELUM TEMPLEI SCISSVM EST QUAE OBSCVRITAS LEGIS ABLATA EST."

81Schiller, II, 114-5. See also Schiller, II, fig. 433.

82Beckwith, Early Medieval Art, pp. 117-8.


84Seiferth, p. 9.

85Seiferth, p. 10 and figs. 8 and 9.


89George Swarzenski, Die Regensburger Buchmalerei, Plate XIII.


93Dodwell, The Canterbury School of Illumination, 1066-1200, pp. 90-91.

95. Arthur Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), pp. 99-102. Watson also refers to Eric Millar's explanation of the virtues reconciled. Watson gives the following examples of its occurrence in connection with the Tree of Jesse:

I. Paris Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 16746, fol. 7v, of the XIIth cen. (See Pate XXIII).


IV. Retablo in the Chapel of St. Anne in the Cathedral of Burgos, XVth century. George Weise, *Spanische Plastik* (Reutlingen; Gryphius-Verlag, 1929), iii. I, p. 48 and Plates 88, 89.


97. Watson, pp. 100-101 and pp. 134-137 and Plate XXXII. See also *Herrad of Hohenbourg Hortus Deliciarum*, I, 100 and plates 133 ff.

98. Saunders, p. 81.


101. Saunders, pp. 63-64 and Plate 66.

102. Saunders, p. 38.


105. Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, p. 172, n. 42 and fig. 75.

107 Demus, p. 104.


111 Oakeshott, Sigena, p. 156. Oakeshott notes Pächt's observation that these English elements were taken from English bestiaries. For Byzantine influence, see: Oakeshott, Sigena, p. 107. Oakeshott is again following Pächt.

112 Oakeshott, Sigena, p. 107. See also: O.M. Dalton, Byzantine Art and Archaeology (New York: Dover Publications, 1961) unabridged republication of 1st ed. published by the Oxford University Press, 1911. Dalton notes, p. 660, "... in Byzantine art these figures are introduced by angels, a feature which in Western art is chiefly found in Italy, where it may be due to Byzantine influence; it is so characteristic of the Eastern version that these can hardly be derived from early Western art, as Weber was inclined to suppose."

113 Oakeshott, Sigena, p. 116.


115 Herrad of Hohenbourg Hortus Deliciarum, II, 119-120, fol. 71r.


118 van der Meer, pp. 85-86.
119 Schiller, II, 117-121.

120 Schiller, II, 117.

121 Schiller, II, 118-119.

122 Schiller, II, 120 and fig. 367. For detail see Seiferth, p. 3 and fig. 2. Also see: Goldschmidt I, p. 78, 160 a, b. Tafel LXXXI.

123 van der Meer, pp. 87-91. One could make a good case for identifying the orant figure as the Virgin Mary. For Mary as orant figure, see: Schiller I, 7, 16, and n. 37 and figs. 2 and 24. Also: Schiller II, 30 and fig. 63. See also: Marie-Louise Therel, Les Symbols de l’Ecclesia Dans La Création Iconographique de l’art Chrétien au IIIe au VIIe Siècle (Roma: Edizioni de Storia e Letteratura, 1973), p. 126. Also: Dufrenne, p. 149.


125 Herbert L. Kessler, The Illustrated Bibles From Tours (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 3-6. Kessler, from whom I have taken these dates and information, draws upon: W. Köhler, Die Karolingischen Miniaturen (Berlin, 1933 ff).

126 Beckwith, Early Medieval Art, pp. 57, 68, 71 and 72.

127 van der Meer, pp. 77-80.

128 Kessler, pp. 74-75; van der Meer, p. 78, also W. Köhler, I, 138 ff.

129 Kessler, p. 74. For Victorinus see P.L. vol. 5, cols. 327 ff.

130 Kessler, p. 75.

131 Kessler, p. 75. For Alcuin see: P.L. 100, col. 1120.

132 Kessler, p. 76 and fig. 67. See also: van der Meer, pp. 83-86 and fig. 47. Also: Beckwith, Early Medieval Art, pp. 70-72.
Kessler, p. 76. For Haimo, see Expositionis in Apocalypsin B. Joannis, F.L. 117, cols. 618, 940 and 1013. For a summary of the commentators on the Apocalypse see also: van der Meer, pp. 25-31.

Kessler, p. 76.


Saunders, p. 83.


Hassall, p. 5.

van der Meer, p. 28.

Hassall, p. 22, plate 7.

Hassall, plate 13.

Hassall, p. 8.

Hassall, p. 30, plate 14.


M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue, p. 95.

James, A Descriptive Catalogue, p. 96.

James, A Descriptive Catalogue, p. 104.

James, A Descriptive Catalogue, p. 103, XI, f. 7a. James also notes that certain verses in this manuscript were inscribed on a retable in the Abbey Church at Bury St.
Edmunds. See Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 8 vo., 1895, p. 192.

150 James, A Descriptive Catalogue, p. 100, VII.


152 Soltész, P. IV.

153 Soltész, P. VII. For the significance of the name, see: Alfred Weckwerth, "Die Zweckbestimmung der Armenbibel und die Bedeutung ihres Namens," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 4 Folge, 68 (1957), pp. 256-257. Also, Soltész points out that pauper may refer to the spiritual poverty (pauperes spiritu) of the clerics and monks who were not well educated in theology. Soltész, p. VI.

154 Henrik Cornell, Biblia Pauperum (Stockholm, 1925), Tafel 48, Cornell, a crucial source for work in this field, provides two useful examples: Tafel 48a: Wolfenbüttel, Landesbibliothek, Codex 200 Helmst. 35 a, Fol. 7 v. in which Ecclesia, crowned and with banded cross, sits on the tetramorph. She holds up her chalice in which she catches the blood of Christ. Synagogue, her crown falling off, looks away and is mounted on a goat. See also Tafel 48b: Kremsmünster, Benediktinerstift, Codex 328, Fol. 6v. Here Ecclesia sits on the tetramorph while blindfolded Synagogue sits on an ass. See also: Gerhard Schmidt, Die Armenbibeln der XIV Jahrhunderts (Graz-Köln: Verlag Hermann Bohlaus Nachf., 1959), Tafel 14b. This depiction (Budapest, fol. 18r: Mystische Kreuzigung) again shows Ecclesia on the tetramorph and a blindfolded Synagog on an ass with a goat's head and broken staff. For the mounted figures of Ecclesia and Synagogue see Schiller, "The Living Cross," II, pp. 158-161.

CHAPTER II

Dante's Purgatorio and Chartres Cathedral

The preceding chapter dealt with the extensive history of the theme of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon in the visual arts in order to provide a background against which we might examine the use of this theme in Dante's Purgatorio and Chaucer's Wife of Bath. In this chapter, we will examine Dante's treatment of this theme which differs from that of Church artists because, as a poet, Dante was not dependent upon the Church for patronage or for iconographical guidance. Thus, he was free to use this theme to criticize corruption not only in the individual and in society, but in the Church as well. The examination of Dante in this chapter will, in turn, provide a background for the examination, in Chapter III, of Chaucer's development of the theme of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon in the Wife of Bath's Tale. The examination of this background is necessary since Chaucer drew upon both the visual tradition and the poetry of Dante to create his own unique interpretation of this theme. Thus, whereas Dante had a freedom of expression which was greater than that of the visual artists who preceded him,
Chaucer had both the freedom of expression afforded him by his poetic medium and the freedom to draw upon Dante's poetic accomplishment.

In this chapter, we will examine how Dante's use of the theme of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon in the Purgatorio differs from the use of the theme by Church artists. Our discussion will center upon a comparison of Dante's poetry with the iconography of the north porch of Chartres Cathedral. A close examination of this porch is useful since the Chartrean iconography resembles other treatments of this theme at Reims, Strasbourg, Notre Dame de Paris, and Canterbury. Thus, an examination of the north porch of Chartres will provide a useful iconographical background for the subject in general. Furthermore, the theme of the north transept is harmonious with the overall program of the cathedral sculpture and is re-enforced by the superb Chartrean stained glass, which is closely related to the magnificent glass at Canterbury. Since, as we shall see in Chapter III, the Canterbury glass provided a wealth of iconography and typology for Chaucer, an examination of the Chartrean iconography aids our understanding of Chaucer's sources.

Most importantly, however, a comparison of the Purgatorio and the Chartrean porch is useful because it demonstrates how the iconography of this theme was applied to contemporary medieval problems and how visual artists and
poets could use the same iconography to proclaim messages which were quite unique. Both Dante and the Chartrean iconographers drew upon the theme of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon in order to illustrate ideas of typology, eschatology, sacred history, and personal salvation. In addition, the Chartreans, concerned with the problems of social unrest and religious discontent, employed this theme to illustrate the Church's teaching on ecclesiastical authority and the eucharist. Concerned with similar ideas and problems, Dante drew upon this iconography to discuss not only these issues, but also the corruption and abuses within the Church of his day.

As we compare the final cantos of the Purgatorio to the north facade of Chartres, we see that they share a pattern of imagery. At Chartres, the personifications of Synagogue and Ecclesia, and Leah and Rachel, or Martha and Mary, proclaim the harmony of the Old and the New Testaments. Furthermore, they illuminate the harmony of the perfect Active and Contemplative lives of which they are types. In order to explain and reinforce this interpretation of the two wives of Jacob, and the two sisters who gave hospitality to the Lord, the Chartrean iconographers included on the archivolts of the facade figures of women engaged in the acts of reading and contemplation in order to represent the Contemplative Life, and in cloth making in order to represent the Active.
Dante will employ figures which are strikingly similar. The idea of Ecclesia whose authority is rooted in the Books of the Old Testament and the Old Covenant is central to the Procession of the Triumph of the Church. In the scenes of the Earthly Paradise which immediately precede the allegorical pageant of the Church, Dante uses images of Leah and Rachel. Furthermore, they are engaged in the acts of weaving flowers and in contemplation. This imagery is amplified by the figures of Matilda and Beatrice, who represent the glorified Active and Contemplative Lives, just as Leah and Rachel represent types of the Active and Contemplative Lives.

To a certain extent, just as they shared this pattern of imagery, the Chartrean iconographers and Dante shared a common purpose. Both Dante and the Chartreans wanted to encourage the individual Christian to combine both righteous action and contemplation in his earthly life. Both Dante and the Chartreans wanted to warn the individual to avoid the errors of heresy and to turn to the Church as the true ministrant of the sacrament. The Chartreans, who were engaged in refuting Catharism, and Dante, who chastises the heretics with the figure of the fox who attacks the chariot of the Church, wanted to warn the individual to avoid the errors of heresy. In these injunctions the Chartreans and Dante rely upon the writings of St. Gregory the Great.
In spite of these similarities in imagery and purpose, there is a very important difference between Dante and the Chartreans, and that is Dante's criticism of the Church. The Chartreans are fully occupied with emphasizing the authority of the Church as the legitimate ministrant of the sacrament and with presenting a unified program that would refute heresy. Obviously, the Church is not going to attack its own corruption or Pope. Dante, on the other hand, includes not only the imagery of Synagogue and Ecclesia, but also the figure of the Whore of Babylon as the pageant of the Triumph of the Church is transformed into a vision of the Whore of Babylon seated on her beast. In employing this imagery, Dante criticizes the temporal concerns and corruption of the papacy which had corrupted the contemporary Church.

With these ideas in mind, let us now examine in detail the north transept of Chartres which, as Adolf Katzenellenbogen points out, crystallizes our theme by elevating it to a position of primary importance:

One idea which has appeared only in a general and incipient manner at the Royal Portal is sharpened and enlarged on the north transept. Indeed, it becomes the primary theme. The Church, as the Bride of Christ, glorified in heaven after the eras before and under the Old Law, and the Church as Christ's Body attacked by various enemies.
Thus, the Chartrean facade proclaims to the worshipper who enters its portal that the Church, whose authority was foreshadowed in the Old Testament and fulfilled in the New, is the legitimate guide to salvation. Furthermore, as the Bride of Christ, the Church will triumph over her enemies. These enemies, as we shall see in our discussion of the Chartrean iconography, included heretics who caused much religious and political turmoil in Southern France. In refutation to this tumult of heresy, the Chartrean iconographers of the north porch depict Ecclesia and the Virgin Mary as the guides to harmony and salvation.

As we examine this transept, we shall see that the tympana and lintels of the doorway combine with the jamb figures and the archivolts to glorify Mary as the symbol of the Church, the culmination of the active and contemplative lives on earth. The Church Militant on earth will be the Church Triumphant in heaven where the active and contemplative lives will be replaced by the beatitudes of the body and soul. This is made possible by the sacrifice of Christ which is shared by the faithful through the eucharist administered by the Church. The heretics who profane the sacraments and attack the Church will be defeated. Let us now examine the north transept in detail to see how these ideas are illustrated in an elaborate yet completely homogeneous manner. As Malcolm Miller points out:
Built very rapidly, mostly between 1200 and 1225, the North and South transept porches form a homogeneous, but complex, iconographic programme, with multiple inter-related themes. The major theme is that of Time, in which mortals are set, from Paradise Lost to Paradise Regained, from the Creation and Fall cycle in the outer archivolts of the central bay of the North Porch, to the Last Judgement in the central tympanum, lintel and archivolts of the South Porch. In the North Porch Christ and His Church are awaited, prophesied, prepared for, and prefigured. Mary is the instrument whereby the prophecies were accomplished, and is herself a figure for Ecclesia, the Church, Christ's bride. In the South Porch Christ is triumphant with His Church, and Mary is the principal intercessor for humanity, seated on the right hand of her Son on the Day of Judgement.

The north transept contains three doorways. The central doorway, which was the first to be built, depicts the Dormition of the Virgin on the lintel, and the Coronation of the Virgin on the tympanum\(^3\) (fig. 1). The lateral doorways, which were added later, enlarge the program. On the left tympanum we see the Nativity with scenes of the Adoration and Dream of the Magi depicted above the lintel which shows the Adoration of the Shepherds (fig. 1). The right tympanum depicts the Suffering of Job above the lintel scene of the Judgement of Solomon (fig. 2). The central doorway was probably constructed around 1210, with the lateral doorways being completed between 1215 and 1225.\(^4\) The tripartite porch was probably added to the north transept facade...
beginning around 1220. Serving to both expand and clarify the tripartite program of the doorways, the additional iconographic program of the porch is sumptuously decorated. The rich sculptural decoration includes small figures in the archivolts as well as large figures in the piers, supplemented with reliefs underneath.

Let us begin with the central doorway, which Louis Grodecki calls, "one of the most important works in Gothic art, and the foundation of the whole evolution of XIIIth century sculpture at Chartres." Together with its magnificent jamb figures, the doorway is in itself a typological Bible in stone. As we have already noted, the tympanum and lintel of this central doorway depict the Triumph or Coronation of the Virgin above scenes of the Dormition or Assumption of the Virgin. The feast which celebrates this event was introduced into the West by Pope Sergius (687-701) as the Dormition of the Virgin. However, within one hundred years, this title was changed to the Assumption of the Virgin in order to emphasize Mary's glorious ascension to heaven rather than her departure from earthly life. Although biblical passages form the historical basis for the Triumph of the Virgin, the liturgy provides its most immediate source. In turn, the liturgy was presumed to rest upon the writings of that prestigious father, St. Jerome. As Katzenellenbogen explains:
The bulk of the lessons for the feast day and the octave of Mary's Assumption were drawn from a letter traditionally ascribed to St. Jerome, very likely a fabrication made under the name of the Church Father by Pascasius Radbertus in the ninth century.\(^9\)

Of course, we remember Pascasius Radbertus as a prominent figure in the eucharistic controversy of the ninth century which was so closely linked to the birth of the Synagogue and Ecclesia theme in the visual arts. As a scriptural basis, this letter draw upon the Song of Songs.\(^9\)

The figures of the archivolts surround the scenes above the central doorway providing it with a sculptural frame and complementing its iconography.\(^{10}\) In all, there are five archivolts containing sixty different figures and representing several different themes. Angels, holding books, candles, or palms, begin the series. Haloed old men, with phylacteries and canopies, proclaim the coming of Christ. Included as well are the twenty-six forebears of Christ who are sculpted within the framework of the branches of a tree. On the outer rim stand figures who represent the entirety of the Scriptures and who thus proclaim both the Coming of Christ and the Triumph of the Church.\(^{11}\) Of course, we encounter these descendants many times in Gothic art in the Jesse tree theme which was popular in both stained glass and book illumination. Equally familiar and perhaps more significant is the charming scene which depicts
Adam delving and Eve spinning which is found on the bottom right of the outer two cordons which depict the creation story. Naturally, we are not surprised to encounter this scene, since it was commonly depicted in all media of Gothic art. However, its appearance here is particularly significant since it foreshadows the depictions of the Active Life on the left bay, symbolized by women in the act of cloth making and culminating in the life of the Virgin. Thus, the labor of Eve foreshadows the life of the Virgin and her triumph in heaven, just as the historic actions of Eve necessitated the calling of Mary, the second Eve. The significance of this will become clear later when we examine the left bay and discuss its relevance to Dante, and later to Chaucer.

Let us now turn our attention to the large statues of the central doorway. Although this central pier is usually occupied by a statue of the Virgin and Child, as at Paris, Reims, and Amiens, at Chartres the trumeau consists of a statue of St. Anne holding the young Virgin (fig. 3). The prominence of St. Anne in this case is probably attributable to the relic of St. Anne's head which had been taken by Count Louis of Chartres in 1204 during the sack of Constantinople and which was presented to the cathedral by the Countess Catherine. Completing the program are twelve shaft statues arranged in groups of four on each splay, with two on each side standing against the wall of the facade.
(figs. 4-5). These figures are easily identified from left to right as: Abraham, Moses, Samuel, and David on the left splay and Isaiah, Jeremiah, Simeon, and John the Baptist on the right side. These statues stand in unbroken chronological order. However, as Katzenellenbogen explains, the group is expanded so that it will correspond in number with the statues of the twelve Apostles flanking the central portal in the south porch (fig. 6). Therefore, Melchizedek and St. Peter are added at the beginning and the end, to expand the chronological sequence. Next to Melchizedek and St. Peter are added Elisha and Elijah, figures who transcend chronological time and who frame the group of ten.  

When we examine these statues in order, with their socle figures, their full typological significance as Christophores becomes apparent. Melchizedek, wearing a conical tiara encircled by a crown and carrying a censer, stands upon the Lamb. Thus, attired in the garb of pontif and king, he proffers a chalice and bread. Next comes Abraham who, holding the chin of Isaac with one hand and bearing a sacrificial knife, now destroyed, in the other, looks left toward the angel who appears above the head of Melchizedek. Abraham stands on the ram, the victim who is to be sacrificed in the place of his beloved son. Moses, bearing the brazen serpent with which he cured those in the plague of serpents, is third. This familiar typological symbol for the Crucifixion appears often in Biblia Pauperum.
The scriptural basis is from John 3: 14, "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up." 14 The Golden Calf is at his feet, for, even as Moses brought the Law, the people of Israel were adulterating themselves to strange gods. After Melchizedek and Abraham, who represent the age before the Law, and Moses the Lawgiver, come Samuel and David who, along with Moses, represent the age of the Law. 20 Samuel, who sacrifices a ewe, turns to David, whom he has anointed and who is also depicted beneath his feet. 21 Standing on the Lion of the Tribe of Judah described in Rev. 5: 5, David carries in his right hand a lance and in his left a crown of thorns, now broken. 22 These instruments refer to his prophecy in Psalm 22 which foretells the Passion.

On the right splay, Isaiah begins the procession. Holding a branch from Jesse's stem which is depicted below, Isaiah recalls his prophecy in Isaiah 11: 1, "there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse." 23 Next comes Jeremiah, the prophet of the Passion, who carries a disc emblazoned with a cross. He stands upon a socle which depicts one of the Jews who stoned him. 24 Finally come Simeon and St. John the Baptist who recognized Christ as the Messiah. 25 Simeon, who bears the Christ Child on his arm, told Mary of the sorrow which would befall her, "A sword shall pierce thine own soul also." 26 He stands on an unidentified figure. St. John the Baptist, in his animal
skin, points to the Agnus Dei which he carries. He stands upon a dragon which represents the Satanic forces. The procession comes to a close with St. Peter who, standing upon the rock of the Church, bears keys, chalice and pastoral staff. The witness of the new dispensation of grace ushered in by Christ, he wears both the twelve-stone pectoral of a high priest of the Mosaic Law and in the conical tiara worn by thirteenth century popes.

While these magnificent figures constitute a procession of the history of the world, they also set forth a view of time which is more than a mere chronology. This perspective becomes clear when we compare each figure on the left splay with his corresponding figure on the right. Thus, Melchizedek with his papal tiara and St. Peter in his garb of high priest, represent the Old and New Dispensations. Both hold chalices which refer to the mystic blood of Christ. In his act of sacrifice Abraham corresponds to St. John the Baptist and the Agnus Dei so that both figures refer to Christ crucified.

Moses who raises forth the Brazen Serpent and the aged Simeon who raises the Christ Child upon the altar make clear the relationship between the elements of the eucharist and Christ's body on the Cross. Next Samuel with his sacrifice and Jeremiah with his prophecy announce the Saviour's death. Finally, David, royal ancestor of Christ who carries the Instruments of the Passion, and Isaiah, prophet of the
Incarnation, join together in their testimonies. Framing all of these figures, the prophets Elijah and Elisha who ascended into heaven, testify to the ascension of the heavenly Christ who is outside all time. Thus the typology of this historical procession is based upon the historical sacrifice of Christ as it is celebrated by the Church in the sacrament of the eucharist so that the Church as the Bride of Christ is also the subject of the procession. Katzenellenbgen summarizes both the historical and sacramental functions of these figures:

In Chartres, as before in Senlis, and possibly in Laon and Mantes, the statues lining the jambs fulfill a threefold function. First of all, they exemplify the whole history of salvation, the continuity of the pre-Christian and Christian Church. For St. Gregory, the saints before the Law, the saints under the Law, and the saints in the era of grace were all constituted among the members of the Church. St. Augustine had even specified these sons of promise and grace as Abraham and Moses as well as the prophets and the holy men down to John the Baptist. His list coincides with the series of statues at Senlis and the nucleus of the Chartres group. Secondly, the figures bear witness to the betrothal of the Lord and the Church in different periods of history. Lastly, they prefigure Christ or refer to Him, the priest and sacrifice of the Eucharist. They stress the fact that through the Eucharist the Church is united with Him.

The Old and New Alliances and the eucharistic marriage between Christ and the Church are again set forth in the right bay of the north transept (fig. 2). Just as we are
assured by the Coronation of Mary-Ecclesia in the central portal that the Church will triumph in eternity, so we are promised in the right portal by the figure of Christ with the Cruciform nimbus that the Church will prevail over the enemies that attack her through time. In the tympanum we see Job on his dunghill, afflicted by the devil. To the left, three friends of Job sneer while his wife sits on a hillock to the right. The significance of this scene becomes clear when we recall that Job, the "sufferer," stands for Christ and for the Church who must suffer the attacks of the heretics represented here by Job's friends. Nevertheless, Job, afflicted in his body and abandoned even by his wife, remained faithful to God as Christ remained faithful to the Church. Of course, the patristic basis for this interpretation is the Moralia in Liber Job by St. Gregory the Great. In this very influential work, St. Gregory not only identifies Job with Christ, but also makes Job's neglectful wife analogous to the Synagogue who, being given over to a carnal perception, rejected Christ. Such an interpretation harmonizes beautifully with the scene depicted below on the lintel.

On the lintel appears the Judgement of Solomon which glorifies the wisdom of the Church. Symbolizing Christ, Solomon pronounces on the case of the false mother, who represents the Synagogue, and the true mother, who represents the Church. As Katzenellenbogen explains, this iconography is based both on St. Augustine and St. Bernard:
The Judgement of Solomon corroborates the idea of the afflicted Church. According to a sermon ascribed to St. Augustine, the true mother typifies the Church, the false mother the Synagogue. King Solomon symbolizes Christ. He gives to each mother what she deserves. In a more dramatic manner St. Bernard scolds the false mother: "And thou, impious Synagogue, hast given us this son according to a mother's duty, but without the love of a mother. Thou hast cast Him off thy bosom and hast thrown Him out of the city and raised Him above the earth, telling, as it were, the Church of the Gentiles and at the same time the original Church who is in heaven: 'Let it be neither mine or thine, but divide it!'" (I Kings 3: 26). In this way the false mother, the Synagogue, in the lintel is contrasted not only with the right mother, the Church, but also with the Mother of Christ in the Nativity of the left-hand lintel, so that an antithesis between the two lintels is established. (The allegorical meaning of Solomon's Judgement was explicitly represented about 1230 on the south transept of Strasbourg cathedral. Here King Solomon is shown on the trumeau, flanked by statues of the Church and the Synagogue on the walls.)

The Suffering of Job and the Judgement of Solomon demonstrate the successful endurance of the Church against temptations of the Devil, of the flesh, of heresies, and against her antagonist, the Synagogue.

The narrative cycles of the archivolts elaborate the ideas presented in the tympanum and lintel. Referring typologically to the relationship between Christ and the Church, the archivolt cycles are based on the commentaries
of the Venerable Bede and Hrabanus Maurus, which were in large part incorporated in the *Glossa ordinaria*. The archivolts stress particularly the victory that the Church will ultimately achieve over her adversaries.\(^{36}\) Beginning with the interior and proceeding to the exterior cordons, the archivolts depict the following: angels carrying the stars, moon, etc.; the stories of Samson and Gideon; the stories of Esther and Judith; the story of Tobias; and the Zodiac and labours of the months. The typological message of these narrative cycles is well exemplified in the story of Tobias, the young man who, with the help of the angel Raphael, cured the blindness of his father Tobit. Tobias, the younger, represents the New Dispensation while his father Tobit represents the Old. Tobit's blindness stands for the spiritual blindness of the Jewish people, which was cured by the illumination of the world by the Church.\(^{37}\) All of these cycles teach a similar lesson:

Seen together, Samson and Gideon, Esther and Judith conquer all the dangers by which the Church felt threatened: evil (lion), heresies (Midianites), the Jews (Haman), and the Antichrist (Holofernes). While in the cycles of Esther and Judith and the Synagogue, or Israel, is either ideologically implied as predecessor of the Church (Queen Vashti, Manasseh) or actually shown as her antagonist (Haman), the story of Tobit and Tobias reconciles in a consolatory manner the relation of the Church and Synagogue. Only the continuity of the Old Testament (Tobit-Israel, his wife-Synagogue) and the New Testament (Tobias-Christ, Sara-
Church) is stressed. No antagonism is apparent, and the cycle ends with the salvation of Israel.³⁸

Beneath these archivolts stand six jamb figures which complete the theme of the doorway. Beginning at the far left are Balaam, who stands on his ass, and the Queen of Sheba, with a Negro at her feet, followed by Solomon, who stands on a socle depicting the Queen of Sheba. Then, on the other side of the door, are Jesus Sirach, with the temple at his feet, Judith with her dog at her feet, and Joseph standing on a female figure who listens to the temptations of a demon. She is Potiphar's wife, who represents the Synagogue. All of these Old Testament personages prefigure Christ and the Church. Thus, they act in concert with the tympanum, lintel, and archivolts to demonstrate typologically the relationship between Christ and the Church who will achieve victory over the hardships of the world.³⁹

Now let us turn our attention to the left bay, which is harmonious with the entire transept and which is of special relevance to the way in which Dante and Chaucer employed the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia. This bay is especially consecrated to the Virgin, who is not only the vehicle by which the prophecies of the Old Testament were fulfilled, but who is also a figure for Ecclesia, the Bride of Christ⁴⁰ (fig. 7). The tympanum is decorated on the left with the
Adoration of the Magi and on the right with the Dream of the Magi in which they were warned not to return to the court of King Herod (fig. 1). Above this scene are presented two angels on either side of a star surrounded by a multifoliolate halo. The lintel depicts two scenes from the Nativity story. On the left the Virgin reclines on her bed while above her the Christ Child is depicted in an altar-like manger. On the right we see the Annunciation to the shepherds. 41

Harmonious with the Nativity scenes of the tympanum and lintel are the six jamb figures which have been greatly praised by Male 42 (figs. 8 & 9). These six statues, together with their socles, (or bases), clarify Mary's role as the second Eve who will not bring death into the world but the New Life of Christ. 43 At the same time, they assure us that the Church will triumph in eternity over the enemies who attack her on earth. Beginning on the left we find Isaiah, prophet of the Incarnation, standing on a dragon. Next to Isaiah come the two figures of the Annunciation, Gabriel, standing on a devil, and Mary, carrying a book and standing on a dragon who is entwined with a tree bearing leaves and apples. The iconographic unity of this group is exquisite. Isaiah, whose prophecies foretell the scene, faces the viewer and thus seems somewhat separate from Gabriel and Mary, who face one another. Yet, Isaiah's presence is recalled in the Annunciation scene by the book
held by the Virgin, traditionally depicted in such scenes as Isaiah's prophecy. All three figures tread underfoot monsters who attacked the Church even before the Incarnation, for the dragon figures represent Satan, who tempted Eve and who indeed tempts Everyman to carnality and sin. The demon under the feet of the Angel Gabriel reminds us that all devils are also Fallen Angels who, as such, are "the prototypes for all heretics." Similarly, on the Royal Portal of Chartres, some of the small angels on the embrasures are depicted treading dragons under their feet. Again, on the facade of Saint-Gilles angels vanquish dragons and devils beneath their feet. Like the Chartrean iconography, which is strongly anti-heretical, the iconography of Saint-Gilles chastizes the tenets of the heretic Peter of Bruys who was burnt there around 1126. As one who denied the validity of the Mass and who hated Crosses, Peter of Bruys on Good Friday built a bonfire of Crosses over which he roasted meat. He then ate the meat publicly.

The jamb figures to the left of the door are mirrored on the right by three statues representing the Visitation and the prophet David. With a posture similar to Gabriel and Mary, the Virgin and Elizabeth turn toward one another. The Virgin stands upon the burning bush, which, because it burned but was not consumed, symbolizes virginal conception. Elizabeth also stands upon a symbol of virginal conception,
for her socle depicts the prophet Habakkuk pouring water into a jar. Habakkuk, in the apocryphal book of Bel and the Dragon, was sent by an angel to carry food to Daniel in the lions' den. Since he accomplished this without breaking the seals, his actions symbolize virginal conception. Beside the Visitation, the prophet Daniel stands, looking down toward the viewer. Under the feet of Daniel is depicted the dragon also described in Bel and the Dragon as being worshipped in Babylon and killed by Daniel. Thus the jamb figures on the right complete the themes begun on the left side of the doorway. On the left, the Virgin is praised as the vehicle of the incarnation, the second Eve who will vanquish Satan and his heretics. On the right Mary is honored as the pure vessel of the virginal conception. As such, she will intercede for the truly repentent, even if he had been a great sinner or heretic. Furthermore, the story of Daniel, because of its Babylonian setting and its significance to the prophecies of the Apocalypse, warns us against the dangers of the heretics to come. At the same time, we are assured that these spiritual descendents of the Fallen Angels will be vanquished in their turn.

The archivolts above this doorway amplify in charming detail the lessons of the overall program. Beginning with the first order which surrounds the tympanum, we find six angels, the outer two treading on dragons while the others stand on clouds. The second order depicts the Wise and
Foolish Virgins. To the left four Foolish Virgins stand, bareheaded, carrying their empty lamps upside down. On the right side, however, four veiled Wise Virgins hold their burning lamps right side up. The other two Virgins are included in the third order which depicts a Psychomachia of the Virtues and Vices. On the right side, the four cardinal Virtues tread their opposing Vices under foot. Beginning at the bottom, we see Prudence, with an open book, over Folly; Justice, with sword and scales, over Injustice; Strength, with sword and lion, over Cowardice; and Temperance, with a dove, over Lust. On the left side are the three theological Virtues. Beginning at the bottom we see Faith, with a Cross and a chalice with which she receives the blood of the Lamb, over Infidelity or Idolatry, who has a bandage over her eyes. As Ecclesia and Synagogue figures, the pair of Faith and Infidelity function as a microcosm to the world of symbolism depicted on the north transept. This pair of statues chastizes the blind futility of the disbelieving or idolatrous enemies who attach the Church. At the same time, the victory of the Church Militant is anticipated and celebrated.⁴⁹ Hope triumphs over Despair, and Charity stands over Avarice. To complete this group so that it will balance with the group on the other side, Humility, with a dove, stands over Pride, who falls headlong. On the fourth cordon are twelve queens who represent the Fruits of the Holy Spirit. These spiritual qualities, all attributes of
the Virgin, are based on St. Paul's list in Gal. 5: 22-23. They are caritas, guadium, pax, patientia, benignitas, bonitas, longanimitas, mansuetudo, fides, modestia, continentia, and castitas. 50

Now let us turn our attention to the two exterior cords where again we find sets of female personifications which praise the Virgin and exhort the faithful viewer. The interior order depicts on the left, six occupations of the Active Life and, on the right, six occupations of the Contemplative Life (figs. 10 and 11). The figures of the Active Life wear both cotte, which is a tunic, and surcoat, which is a garment worn over the cotte. The headdress is rather simple, except for the last figure who wears the barrette which was favoured by great ladies of this period. 51 These women are engaged in the occupations of washing wool, carding it, stripping flax, carding, spinning, and winding. 52 In their activities these women mirror the activities of the good woman of Proverbs 31: 13 who "seeketh wool and flax, and worketh it willingly with her hands." 53 As we shall see, Mary also personifies this kind of virtue.

On the right side of this same cordon, six female figures, attired as nuns, depict the steps of the Contemplative Life as described by Hugh of St. Victor. 54 These women are depicted as: holding a closed book on her knees, opening the book, reading, meditating with clasped hands and the closed book on her knee, still meditating with
one hand raised, and gazing toward heaven with clasped hands. Just as the Virgin exemplifies the virtues of the Active Life, so she also encompasses the contemplative virtues because she "practiced both kinds of lives in an exemplary manner." However, before we examine the scriptural basis for this glorification of the Virgin, let us also note the figures on the outer cordon, since these figures also represent qualities which are attributed to her. These fourteen youthful queens represent the Heavenly Beatitudes as described by St. Anselm. On the left we find Beauty with four roses, Liberty with two crowns, Honor with two mitres, Joy with an angel who holds a book, Pleasure with a censing angel, Swiftness with three crowns, and Strength with a lion. On the right are Concord with doves, Friendship also with two pairs of doves, Longevity with an eagle and septre, Power with three septres, Health with three fish, Security with a castle, and Wisdom with a gryphon or dragon. Thus, these queens personify the spiritual and corporal joys which, St. Anselm assures us, will be eternally enjoyed by a soul in the future life.

We realize the significance of this wealth of sculpture when we examine the placement of four colossal statues, now destroyed, beneath the archivolts. Although these figures, which depicted Mary and Martha, or Rachel and Leah, and Ecclesia and Synagogue, were destroyed in 1793 during the French Revolution, we can identify them from descriptions
and from the socle inscriptions which remain. The figure of Leah or Martha was placed underneath the archivolt of the Active Life. Like the figures above her who are engaged in cloth making, this personification of the Active Life was depicted as a woman sewing. On the right side of the doorway, beneath the cycle of the Contemplative Life, was the statue of Rachel or Mary. Like her contemplative sisters, she was depicted reading. The most direct explanation of these figures lies in the liturgy itself since the Gospel lesson for the Feast of the Assumption deals with the story of Martha and Mary. The Virgin is the perfect example of the combination of these two types of lives, just as she is the great exemplar of the virtues depicted next to them. If Mary and Martha giving hospitality to the Lord are the New Testament types of the Contemplative and Active Lives, Rachel and Leah are their counterparts in the Old Testament. The most important and influential explanation of the two wives of Jacob comes from St. Gregory. According to this greatly respected Church father, Rachel, who is beautiful but barren, denotes the life of contemplation, while her sister, who is weak-eyed but fruitful, represents the Active Life. Although the merits of the contemplative Life are better than those of the Active, St. Gregory advises the faithful Christian that he must combine both action and contemplation in his earthly life. Indeed, one arrives at the rest of contemplation
after the performance of laborious work, just as the saints have rest in heaven after a life of good deeds on earth. Furthermore, as St. Gregory explains in another passage, this unity of the Active and Contemplative Lives reflects Christ who in his Incarnation unified two peoples, two lives, and two natures:

For He is called in one sense "a corner stone," because He united in Himself two peoples, and in another, because He set forth in Himself patterns of both lives, that is, the active and the contemplative, united together. For the contemplative life differs very much from the active. But our Redeemer by coming Incarnate, while He gave a pattern of both, united both in Himself.

Nevertheless, while St. Gregory enjoins the Christian seeking perfection to blend the active and contemplative lives in imitatio Christi, he advises that some minds are more fit for action than contemplation. In a long passage which leads up to his interpretation of the two wives of Jacob and Mary and Martha, St. Gregory warns his readers that overmatching themselves with contemplation often leads to error. This passage merits detailed examination since it relates directly to the iconography of the Chartrean transept, and, as we shall see later, to the works of both Chaucer and Dante. 62

Gregory begins by explaining the allegorical and typological significance of the Mosaic sacrifice which he
then relates to the theme of the Active and Contemplative Lives. Gregory points out that the Mosaic heifer was to be sacrificed with scarlet wool twice dyed, with hyssop, and with cedar wood. He then likens the slaughter of the heifer to the killing of fleshly lusts and the sacrifice of the hyssop, cedar, and scarlet wool to the "incense of faith, hope, and charity." Furthermore, the hyssop represents the purification of the heart through faith in Christ, and the non-decaying cedar wood represents the hope of heaven made possible by the resurrection. Finally, the scarlet wool flames with the charity which should fire the heart of the Christian. However, because the scarlet wool is "twice dyed" it also represents the duty of the individual Christian to manifest this charity or love for both God and his neighbor through a proper combination of action and contemplation:

... But scarlet wool twice dyed is ordered to be offered, that in the sight of the internal Judge our charity may be coloured with the love both of God and of our neighbor, that the converted soul may neither so delight in repose for the sake of the love of God, as to put aside the care and service of our neighbor, nor busying itself for the love of our neighbor, be so wedded thereto, that entirely forsaking quiet, it extinguish in itself the fire of love of the Most High. Whosoever then has already offered himself as a sacrifice to God, if he desires perfection, must needs take care that he not only stretch himself out to the breadth of practice, but likewise up to the heights of contemplation.
Although these "heights of contemplation" are necessary to perfection, Gregory emphasizes the danger that they can hold. Since the "compositions of souls are infinitely varied one with another," those who have no talent for contemplation become sorely taxed by mental labor, just as those who are better suited for contemplation can become overtaxed by physical labor. Gregory warns that the overmatching of a weak mind with the rigors of contemplation may result in grave errors:

... It is hence that some restless spirits, whilst by contemplation they hunt out more than their wits compass, launch out even to the length of wrong doctrines, and, whilst they have no mind to be the disciplines of Truth in a spirit of humility, they become the masters of falsities.

As we shall see in Chapter III, Chaucer's Wife of Bath provides an excellent example of the validity of Gregory's warning. A wandering, weaving widow, she contrasts with the good weavers of the Chartrean facade. Although she is dressed in scarlet and has a ruddy complexion, she glows not with the charity of the Gospels described by Gregory, but with carnality and lust. Uninterested in "perfect" balance of action and contemplation described by Gregory, the Wife falls into error when she tries to interpret Scripture to suit her personal desires. In listening to her own carnal
desires and turning a deaf ear to the true message of the Gospels, the Wife inverts the warning of Christ that one should tear out his own right eye of it is an obstacle to salvation.

By likening the Active and Contemplative Lives to the two eyes of the face, Gregory repeats this same warning of Christ in order to emphasize the danger of falling into heresy through misdirected contemplation:

... Thus the right eye is the contemplative life, and the left the active life. But, as we have said, there be some, who are quite unable to behold the world above, and spiritual things, with the eye of discernment, yet enter upon the heights of contemplation, and therefore, by the mistake of a perverted understanding, they fall away into the pit of disbelief. These then the contemplative life, adopted to an extent beyond their powers, obliges to fall from the truth, which same persons the active life by itself might have kept safe in lowliness of mind in the firm seat of their uprightness. To these "Truth" rightly addresses the warning which we said before, "And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee; for it is good for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire." As if He said in plain words: "When thou art not qualified for the contemplative life by a fitting degree of discretion, keep more safely the active life alone, and when thou failest in that which thou choosest as great, be content with that which thou needest as very little, that if by the contemplative life thou are forced to fall from the knowledge of the truth, thou mayest by the active life alone be able to enter into the kingdom of heaven at least with one eye.
Thus Gregory and the Chartrean iconographers teach the same lesson, that, although the faithful Christian should embody the virtues of both action and contemplation, he should not venture over his limits into theological matters. The Contemplative and Active Lives may be like the two eyes of the face, but it is still better to be weak-eyed or even one-eyed and to enter the kingdom of heaven than to go with both eyes into hell because one fell into heresies. Those who, like weak-eyed Leah, cannot pierce spiritual matters can still produce the fruits of the active life on earth, assured by the Church that they will have rest and contemplation in heaven.

The iconography of the transept expands this lesson still further by glorifying Mary. As the tympanum, lintel, and jamb statues illustrate, she is the vehicle of the Incarnation, the miracle by which Christ would unite both types of lives and by which he would triumph over Satan and his heretics. Mary is also the symbol par excellence of the Church who would instruct the faithful in spiritual matters and who, as ministrant of the sacraments, would admit the faithful into a full union with Christ. Furthermore, Mary—Ecclesia, as the queen of virtue, embodies all of the virtues of both the Active and the Contemplative Lives. Thus, the depiction of Mary—Ecclesia as the exemplar of the perfect Active and Contemplative Life is an excellent
vehicle for the anti-heretical message which informs this doorway.

Just as the authority of the Church as guide to the faithful and ministrant of the sacraments rests ultimately on the Old Testament prophecies which foretell the coming of Christ, so the sculpture of the left doorway rests on two colossal figures, now missing, of Synagogue and Ecclesia. These statues which stood beneath the Fourteenth Beatitudes on either side of Leah and Rachel were destroyed, like their counterparts, in 1793. Their inscriptions and pedestals are all that remain so that we must rely upon written descriptions for our information. On the far left, Synagogue stood with bandaged eyes while the Mosaic Law fell from her hands. On the right, the crowned Ecclesia held the book of the Gospels. The pedestals of these four great statues were once decorated with the conflict of the Virtues and the Vices. Each Virtue was depicted as a woman wearing a long robe and carrying a sword and a buckler emblazoned with the Cross. Of these ten Virtues and ten Vices only four figures remain. Beneath the statue of Ecclesia, we find FORTITUDO vanquishing CRUDELITAS in the form of a lion. There we also see JUSTITIA piercing the ape CURITAS. Based on manuscript records, we can add the missing figures. On the pedestal beneath the Contemplative Life, we would find Humility and Pride, Chastity and Luxury, and Sobriety and Gourmandise. On the pedestal beneath the Active Life,
we would see Temperance and Drunkenness, Prudence and Envie, and Wisdom and Folly. Beneath Synagogue would most likely be Activity and Idleness, and Charity and Avarice. 65

This Psychomachia depicted on the pedestals does not simply mirror the Triumph of the Virtues over the Vices which surrounds the tympanum. Rather, it places the Psychomachia which soars above the archivolts within the earthly context where the individual Christian must fight this battle on each day of his life, whether Active or Contemplative. At the same time, we are reminded that the daily battle against sin takes place within a spiritual time frame which guarantees the rewards of Virtue's victory. The colossal figures of Synagogue and Ecclesia remind the faithful viewer that the Church is both the Body of Christ attacked by enemies and the Bride of Christ glorified in heaven after the eras before and under the Old Law. 66

Synagogue's Mosaic sacrifice of hyssop, cedar wood, and scarlet wool described by St. Gregory has been fulfilled in Ecclesia's sacrificial Mass. The individual Christian participates in this sacrifice on a spiritual and contemplative level when he partakes of the eucharist administered by the Church. He participates on an earthly and active level when in his daily life he translates the hyssop, cedar wood, and scarlet wool into the virtues which they symbolize: faith, hope, and charity. Looking upon this transept, the individual Christian is assured that he
will be guided by Ecclesia, who will lead him from a good life on earth to an eternal life in heaven and who will shield him from heresy, vice, and error.

When we view this beautifully balanced program of the Church's role throughout eternity against the heretical background of turmoil and heresy which was rife in Northern Italy and Southern France, especially Languedoc, we must conclude that the iconography of the north transept is directed not merely against heresy in general, but against certain important beliefs of the contemporary heretical sects. Historical investigation supports this interpretation of the iconography by revealing Peter of Roissy as the probable author of the program. As Chancellor of the Chartres Cathedral School from 1208 until 1213, he would certainly have been consulted when the iconographic program was expanded shortly after 1210. In fact, as the author of a commentary on the Book of Job, Peter of Roissy may well have been responsible for the depiction of Job on the dungheap as the vehicle for the anti-heretical message of the tympanum of the right bay. Like St. Gregory, Peter interpreted Job as a symbol of both Christ and the Church.

Peter of Roissy did not confine his anti-heretical sentiments to writing, for, only a few years before his chancellorship at Chartres, he had assisted Fulk of Neuilly in his enthusiastic persecution of heretics. Fulk, a simple priest empowered by the pope with a preaching license, set
out from the diocese of Paris in 1198 on an intensive preaching campaign. He was successful both in converting the heretics and in stamping them out with violence. Indeed, it was Fulk of Neuilly who discovered Terric, the Cathar heresiarch of Nivernais, in a cave near Corbigny and who ordered him to be burned. Moreover, Peter of Roissy was not the only Chartrean involved in anti-heretical pursuits. The Church of Chartres actively combatted the Albigensian heresy, for in 1210 Renaud of Moucon, bishop of Chartres, along with the bishop of Beauvais and the counts of Dreux and Ponthin, aided Simon de Montfort in his siege of Termes.

Who exactly were these heretics, and what did they believe? According to Innocent III in a letter of 1198 to Bishop Guido of Aix, although Christ had chosen the Church as His Bride, the heretics, the "Synagogue of Satan," were depraving evangelical, apostolic, and prophetic doctrines. According to the heretics, however, Satan's synagogue was in Rome. For this we have the observations of Alan of Lille, recorded in his accounts of heretical tenets shortly before 1200, and summarized according to sects by Bernard Gui in the thirteenth century. These sources relate that the heretics, mostly Cathars and Dualists, denied that the Virgin was a real woman and the mother of Christ. Rejecting the orthodox teaching on the Virgin and her special relationship to the Church of Rome, these heretics referred
to their own sect as "the Virgin Mary" to indicate their spiritual legitimacy and scriptural authority. In fact, they asserted that there were two churches, their own, which was good, and the Roman Church, which was "the mother of fornication, great Babylon, harlot, the Church of the Devil, and the Synagogue of Satan." These Cathars, rejecting the Old Testament and the God of the Old Testament, believed in two gods, the one good and the other evil. It was this latter god, Satan, who had created the world. This belief prompted Bernard Gui and others to identify the Cathars with the Manicheans described by St. Augustine.\(^73\) Always, they maintained a strong anti-clerical strain and denied the efficacy of the sacraments, administered by corrupt and worldly priests. The church hierarchy recognized that clerical corruption and laxity fueled these heresies, but the heretical teachings were spread like wildfire by itinerant weavers.\(^74\) The Papacy's response to this marked the birth of the Inquisition, but the arrival of a papal delegate was not necessarily a cause for rejoicing among the local bishops, who were likely to feel jealous and threatened and who were anxious to deny heresy and clerical corruption within their provinces.\(^75\) Let us now examine the beliefs of these heretics, and the charges made against them, in greater detail.

In order to understand the principles of Cathar heresy and its practice, we must first understand the context of
dualism from which it sprang and of which it was a part. The best source for the dualist tradition and the best summary of basic Cathar tenets is *The Medieval Manichee. A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* by Steven Runciman, for, as Runciman points out, "Manichean" was a catch word flung opprobriously about during the Middle Ages. In fact, Bernard Gui himself calls the Cathars or Albigensians the "Manicheans of Modern Times." Against this background tradition of dualism we see certain threads that run through and develop into unifying Cathar characteristics which are relevant to our discussion.

Christian dualism rests ultimately upon a heretical answer to one of man's oldest questions, "Whence came Evil, and in what does it exist?" Perhaps the oldest heretical solution to this question lies in the shadows of Gnosticism. The Gnostics resolve this question by absolving God from any responsibility for the creation of the visible world, which they maintain is the work of the Demiurge. From this basic rejection of the created world as something evil springs a rejection of all matter and all flesh. Since all men are not able to reject the fleshly world with equal vigor, such a scheme lends itself to the division of its followers into classes of Initiates or Perfects and simple Believers. Thus, the Gnostic sects, although they varied according to individual practices, were consistent in
dividing mankind into classes according to the amount of divinity or worldliness existing in each man. 80

This Gnostic dualism was given a still greater impetus by Marcion, who noted a split not only between the created world and the divine, but between the Old Testament and the New. Marcion went on to make this opposition the basis of his creed. 81 Thus Marcionism included, at least in practice, all of the usual Dualist characteristics. Marriage and procreation were to be shunned as an abetting of the continuation of the evil material world. The division of mankind into the elect, the ordinary believer, and the infidel were preserved, with the average Marcionite believer postponing his baptism until his deathbed or at least until he could more conveniently lead a life of asceticism. 82 Naturally, such intellectual and spiritual dicotomies lead to the worst carnal excesses. For, if the Jehovah of the Old Testament were in opposition to the God of the New, then the villains of the Old Testament became heroes. Thus, sects sprang up that did reverence to Cain, to the Sodomites, and, above all, to the Serpent, the creature who tried to reveal to Adam and Eve the knowledge which the evil Jehovah would have kept to himself. About such sects, called Ophites by the orthodox, were many stories of dark depravity. We may by no means dismiss these stories as simple slanders since some of these sects, such as the Carpocratians, were openly licentious. 83
However, the great source of dualism was Zoroastrianism, the dualistic state religion of Persia which was based upon the opposition of light and darkness. Zoroastrianism influenced the religious leader Mani who founded a creed which seems to be both a Christian heresy and Zoroastrianism. 84 Preserving the Zoroastrian opposition of light and dark, Manicheanism maintains as well the disdain of generation. Furthermore, copying the Marcionites, the Manichean church was divided into classes of the Elect, who were initiate, and the Hearers, who were the ordinary members. Bound by strict rules, the Elect were forbidden to marry, hold property, kill any animal, and even to break their own bread. The Hearers, who were not nearly so constrained, were also bound to certain fasts and to confess both to God and to the Elect. 85 Although Manicheanism was harshly persecuted, it flourished up until the tenth century. Furthermore, "Manicheanism" continued to be the term of reproach for any dualist heresy. 86

Indeed, certain characteristics of early Manichean dualism were very compatible with feelings of spiritual discontent which were gaining strength in the twelfth century and which would challenge the iconographers of the Chartrean transept. From the basic dualist rejection of matter sprang a condemnation of marriage which naturally lead to sexual perversions and excesses and to a division of mankind into classes of initiates, believers, and infidels.
The Donatist assertion that the eucharist is ineffectual when administered by unclean hands was fueled by the anticlericalism which was so widespread in the twelfth century. Finally, the dualist rejection of the Old Testament would lead to a literalistic approach to Scripture rather than the typological approach taught by the Church. Of course, to spread and grow, these ideas had to be disseminated by someone, and the cloth trade provided the perfect channels by which these heresies were spread from the East to Europe, where they would flouris, especially in Italy and Languedoc.

The Balkan Peninsula was the direct point of transfer of Manichean dualism from the East to the West. Indeed, the intimate connection between the French and Italian Cathars and the Bogomils of the Balkans is indisputable. Indeed, we find in the Bogomil heresy the very tenets which form the basis of Cathar dualism: the rejection of the created world; the rejection of the Old Testament, which names God as the Creator of the visible world; the lack of reverence for Mary; the rejection of the Cross; the rejection of marriage; the rejection of wine and meat; and the rejection of the sacraments. In fact, in France of the thirteenth century, Bulgar or Bougre was synonymous with heresy. This word not only indicated the origin of the heresy, but later acquired a sinister meaning. But if the sinister epithet "Bougre" denotes the origins of the Cathars, their other epithet,
"tisserant" denotes their typical occupation. As Runciman explains:

Many of the missionaries were itinerant cloth merchants, whose trade was the chief trade that linked Eastern and Western Europe. It was their function to carry the woven silks of Byzantium and the East to the eager markets of the West. They were therefore ideally placed to the channels of an Eastern faith. From them the resident cloth merchants learnt the doctrine and spread it to the actual weavers. Clothiers' shops were well suited to be centres of heresy, for it was perfectly natural for the women of the district to gather and gossip there.

Thus, the heresy spread to Western Europe, becoming deeply rooted in Italy, which was the site of the first explicitly Cathar Church. During the twelfth century, the heretics were firmly established in Ferrara, Verona, and Rimini, and successfully drove the Catholic clergy from Piacenza. In the thirteenth century, Rome itself was the location for a Cathar school which operated in broad daylight. At the same time, the Podestà of Assisi was a Patarin. From Northern Italy the Cathars spread to Southern France, and nowhere did they achieve more open success than in Provence.

Amidst this profusion of heresy, the Church hierarchy grew alarmed. In 1147 Pope Eugenius III, concerned by the growing heresy in Southern France, dispatched the great St. Bernard of Clairvaux to rectify the problem. St. Bernard
discovered that the heretics, mostly weavers called Arriani from the Toulousian village which was their center, were greatly favoured by the local nobility. Although St. Bernard had some personal triumphs, his anti-heretical efforts proved of no lasting value. \(^95\) In fact, just ten years later, in 1157, Archbishop Samson of Reims complained that itinerant weavers who condemned marriage and extolled sexual promiscuity were spreading heresy throughout his diocese. \(^96\) The heretics were also rampant in Flanders and Germany, from which they spread to England. Runciman describes the treatment which the Cathars received there:

> From Germany they spread to England. In 1160 a certain Gerard crossed over at the head of some thirty illiterate persons, who denied Baptism, marriage, the Eucharist and Catholic unity. They refused to argue and welcomed persecution. A council was held at Oxford against them and sentenced them to be branded on the forehead. Gerard himself was branded on the chin also. William of Newburgh called them Publicani.

By the close of the twelfth century, the Church was very alarmed. Heresy flourished in Provence, where it was openly supported by many of the nobility, such as Roger II, Viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne and ruler of the Narbonnais, as well as Count Raymond VI of Toulouse. By the thirteenth century, the heretics were supported by Raymond Roger of Foix, the noble families of Noir, of Cabaret, of
Termes, of Saissac, and the Lady Cavaers of Fanjeaux and the Lady Funeria of Mirepoix. Perhaps the most brazen support of Catharism among the nobility occurred in 1205 when Esclarmonde of Foix, in a ceremony attended by her brother the Count and his court, received the Cathar rite of the Consolamentum.\textsuperscript{98} Such support by the nobility surely reflected, as least in part, a desire on the part of the Provencal nobility to unite with their subjects against the nobility and monarchy of Northern France. However, we must not overlook the effectiveness of the Cathar missionaries in converting the nobility:

The agents through whom the nobles were converted seem to have been heretic cloth merchants and doctors of medicine. The cloth-merchant, particularly the travelling draper with goods from the East, was always welcomed in noble houses; noble ladies naturally wanted to see his wares and would even visit his shops. But his business connections kept him in close touch with Lombardy and with Constantinople. It was probably through the cloth trade that heretic communications travelled across Europe and could be brought into the inner apartments of noble castles. Similarly heretic doctors could always penetrate easily into the intimate life of the nobility.\textsuperscript{99}

Against the heretical fervor of the populace of Southern France, backed by the swords of their nobility, papal missionaries had but little success.\textsuperscript{100} Even the Cistercians, aided by the Spaniard Dominic whose preachers
were both learned and austere and who ultimately formed the Dominican order, could not stem the tide of Catharism. Then, in 1208, affairs reached a climax when the papal legate Peter de Castelnau was murdered within the territories of the excommunicated Cathar supporter, Raymond of Toulouse. After the murder of his legate, Innocent III called for a crusade. The nobles of Northern France gathered their forces for the Albigensian Crusade. They were led by Simon de Montfort who was a petty noble of the Ile de France as well as the Earl of Leicester because of his marriage to the great English heiress. Arnald of Citeaux, the new papal legate, joined the force as well. However, the heretics were prepared to resist. Whole towns, such as Fanjeaux, Béziers, Duns, and Laurac, were used as heretic strongholds. Above all, there was Montségur, the great castle of the heretic princess Esclarmonde of Foix. Montségur, which the Cathars thought to be impregnable, acted as their City of Refuge and housed their most important establishment of Perfects.

Despite these strongholds, the days of the heretics were numbered. They eventually lost the support of the major nobility and were unable to withstand the onslaught of the growing numbers of their opposition. After many atrocities and terrible devastation in Provence, the crusade was drawing toward its inevitable end. With the fall of Montségur in 1238, the Cathar Church became a scattered,
underground sect. For the next fifty years the Inquisition fervently hunted out heretics, prompting a migration of Cathars to Lombardy and beyond. However, by 1330, the Cathar Church in France had been eliminated. Provence, with its rich lands, proud nobles, gay troubadors, and unique culture, had been subdued.

Because the Inquisitors of this period left detailed records, we have only to account for their hostile motives in order to form a very good notion of Cathar beliefs and practices. Thus, the deposition of the heretic Pierre Garcias, questioned in 1247 by the Inquisitors Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre, assures that the Cathars absolutely rejected the Old Testament, denied the physicality of the Virgin, rejected matrimony, and rejected the sacrificial mass of the Church:

Item, dixit quod, cum frater
Guillelmus Garcias loqueretur de illa auctoritate Apostoli: "Deus que sanctificat circumcisionem" (Rom. III, 30), etc., audivit ipse testis dictum Petrum Garcia dicentem quod lex Moysi non erat nisi umbra et vanitas; et ille Deus qui dederat illam legem erat galiator et malignus.

Thus, this testimony begins with a denunciation of the God of Circumcision and an assertion that the Law of Moses is nothing but an empty shadow. Having denounced the God of the Old Testament, the heretic Garcias also calls John the Baptist "one of the greatest devils" and denies the fleshy
existence of the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist. In addition to rejecting these Biblical figures, Garcia calls marriage harlotry and asserts that copulation was the sin of our first parents:

Item, audivit Petrum dicentem quod matrimonium erat meretricium et quod nemo poterat salvari cum uxore sua, nec ipse cum uxore propria... Item, audivit dictum Petrum Garcia(m) dicentem quod illud pomum vetitum primis parentibus fuit nichil aliud nisi delectatio carnalis coitus, et illud pomum porrexit Adam mulieri...

These assertions culminate in a complete rejection of the validity of the Mass of the Church of Rome and an assertion that to venerate the Cross is no better than murder:

Item, audivit dictum Petrem Garcia(m) dicentem quod non erat missa celebrata in Ecclesia usque ad tempus beati Silvestri, nec Ecclesia habuerat possessiones usque ad illud tempus; et quod Ecclesia deficiet circa XX annos; et quod missa nostra nichil valet; et quod omnes predicatores Crucis sunt homicide; et quod crux quam illi predicatores dant nichil aliud est nisi parum de pellia super humerus; idem cordula cum qua ligantur capilli...

If the Cathar solution, in spiritual terms, to the existence of evil was a rejection of the material world, the Cathar solution, in practical terms, was the division of
their sect into Perfects and Believers. The Perfect, or Good Man, who was declared to be so only after he had received the rite of the Consolamentum, was forbidden to eat meat or to drink wine and could not even touch a person of the opposite sex. 103 In such cases, the Consolamentum was administered only after a strict period of trial and fasting known as the Abstentia. The rite itself included veneration of the administereing Perfects by genuflections and repetitions of the word "benedicite," the Cathar version of the Lord's Prayer, and a kiss. 104 A simple Believer, who was not disposed toward a life of austerity, could postpone the rite until his deathbed. Thus, he was free to eat and drink as he wished and to engage in sexual intercourse, casual debauchery being preferred to marriage, since marriage regularized an evil act and led to the conception of children. 105 Naturally, all manner of unnatural orgies were attributed to them. Even so, not every heretic sympathizer was officially a Believer, since this involved the ceremony of Convenenza or Convenientia. At this ceremony, which took place after a trial period, the would-be Believer promised to revere and aid the Perfects in exchange for the promise of receiving the Consolamentum on his deathbed. 106

Although these rites shocked the men of the Church, they found the rite of Endura or ritual suicide to be more horrifying still. This ceremony was administered only if
the person had been consoled, and was usually reserved for the gravely ill. Although it does not seem to have occurred often, there are instances which have been recorded. In these cases, death was brought about by starvation, suffocation, poison, or by opening a vein.\textsuperscript{107} Such ritual suicide reflects the Cathars' dualist rejection of matter and desire to free the Perfected soul from the shell of the body which imprisons it. However, I think that the ceremony of the Endura also reflects the perverse literalism which characterizes the Cathar interpretation of Scripture. Surely, the same literalism which condemns the heroes of the Old Testament as villains transforms Christ's promise, "... but he that endureth to the end shall be saved," into a redemptive suicide.\textsuperscript{108} Obviously, such a creed, which espouses suicide and denigrates marriage, is at odds with nature and with life itself. Furthermore, by formally recognizing the unattainable nature of its ideals and dividing its followers into Perfects and Believers, the sect was at odds with itself. Finally, by setting itself up as the door to salvation, Catharism was directly at odds with the Catholic Church who sought to combat the heresy and reassure the faithful. Thus, against this backdrop of strife, the Chartres facade majestically asserts to the individual Christian beneath its portal that Ecclesia, rooted in the Old Testament to be glorified in eternity, is the true Bride of Christ. The Church is the model for the
perfect life, both active and contemplative, which was typified by the Virgin. The weavers on the Chartrean facade produce the acts of Proverbs 31, not heresy.

Dante's response to the background of strife and heresy which produced the north transept of Chartres is not quite so balanced. For, by Dante's time, the removal of the Papacy to Avignon, the Babylonian Captivity, forced a new interpretation of the theme of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon. Unlike cathedral artists, who were dependent upon Church patronage and who could create only fixed images, Dante as a poet was free to create images which could shift and change, and he was free to use those images to attack not only heresy and sin, but also Church corruption. This is central to Cantos XXVII-XXXIII of the Purgatorio, which described the Earthly Paradise and the Procession of the Triumph of the Church. In these cantos, Dante the pilgrim in the Earthly Paradise dreams of Leah and Rachel, who symbolize the Active and Contemplative Lives, as they do at Chartres. Just as the statues of Leah and Rachel frame the depiction of the Active Life of the Soul or Heavenly Beatitudes, so Dante's dream prepares him to meet Matilda, the personification of the Active Life of the Soul in the Earthly Paradise. This encounter, in turn, prepares Dante for the Pageant of the Triumph of the Church and the appearance of Beatrice. The Pageant of the Church presents many of the same lessons to Dante the pilgrim that
the Chartrean transept presents to its viewer. Both
depictions of the Church proclaims that Ecclesia, rooted in
the Old Testament and ascending to her authority through the
sacrifice of Christ, will triumph in eternity. Both Dante
and the Chartreans stress the eucharistic significance of
Christ and present the Church as the guardian of the
sacrament and guide to the individual Christian. 110

Finally, both Dante and the Chartreans decry the heretics
and enemies which attack the Church. However, by
transforming the Procession of Ecclesia into an image of the
Whore of Babylon, Dante is able to criticize church
corruption and papal abuses with a freedom which was
unavailable to visual artists. Let us now examine these
cantos in detail and compare them with the iconography of
the Chartrean facade.

At the beginning of Canto XXVII, Dante the pilgrim,
accompanied by Virgil and Statius, has just left the seventh
cornice of Purgatory which contains the lustful. Among
these souls Dante talks to both Guido Guinizelli and Arnaut
Daniel, who answers Dante in the Langue d'Oc before
vanishing into the purifying flame. It is now a little
before sunset of the third day on the Mountain of Purgatory.
Dante enters Purgatory at dawn, Hell at twilight, and
Paradise at noon. 111 In one of his most famous passages,
Dante uses the zodiac to set the scene in time and place:
Si come quando i primi raggi vibra
l'onde in Gange da nona riarse,
si stava il sole; onde 'l giorno sen
giva,\textsuperscript{12}

It was the hour the sun's first rays
shine down
upon the land where its Creator
shed
his own life's blood, the hour the
Ebro flows
beneath high Scales, and Ganges'
waters boil
in\textsuperscript{13}noonday heat: so day was
fading,

As Mark Musa explains, this complex introduction tells
the time and date of the action in terms of Christ's
sacrifice:

The canto opens with a periphrastic
description of the times both at
Purgatory and at the east, west, and
center of the inhabited world. It is
six o'clock in the morning at Jerusalem,
midnight at Spain (where the Ebro River
is located), noon at India (through
which the Ganges flows), and six o'clock
in the evening at Purgatory. By
indicating the time at three other major
points on the earth's circumference, and
by naming Jerusalem as the place where
the Creator of the sun shed his blood,
the poet sets the whole action of the
canto, in which the Pilgrim's purgation
is achieved, against the universal
background of Christ's redeeming death.

After this canto there will be no
further references in the Comedy to the
rising and setting of the sun, the
concluding six cantos of the Purgatory
will narrate the events of Wednesday
morning in the Earthly Paradise. Here
on the mountain, it is just before dusk
on Tuesday; night will fall and
Wednesday's dawn will come, and the sunlight will be bright before the canto ends.

Thus Dante stands on the rocky ledge of Purgatory, but, before he can enter the Earthly Paradise, he must pass through a wall of fire. This fiery obstacle recalls vividly to Dante's mind the human bodies he had once seen burned, a well-known punishment for heresy. Although Virgil reminds him of his safe passage on Gerion, the beast of fraud, Dante is unwilling to enter the flames until his guide mentions the name of Beatrice:

Quando mi vide star pur fermo e duro,
turbato un poco disse: "Or vide, figlio: tra Beatrice e te è questo muro".
Come al nome di Tisbe aperse il ciglio
Piramo in su la morte e riguardolla,
allor che 'l gelso diventò vermiglio;
 così, la mia durezza fatta solla,
mi volsi al savio duca, udendo il nome
che ne la mente sempre mi rampolla.
Ond'ei crollo la fronte e disse: "Come! volenci star di qua?"; indi sorrisi come al fanciul si fa ch'è vinto al pome. 115

He said, somewhat annoyed to see me fixed and stubborn there, "Now, don't you see, my son:
only this wall keeps you from Beatrice."
As Pyramus, about to die, heard Thisbe utter his name, he raised his eyes and saw her there, the day mulberries turned blood red--
just so, my stubbornness melted away:
hearing the name which blooms eternally within my mind, I turned to my wise guide. He shook his head and smiled, as at a child won over by an apple, as he said:
"Well, then, what are we doing on this side?" 116
So Dante, won over by the promise of seeing Beatrice, as a child may be won over by an apple, enters the Earthly Paradise, in contrast to Adam, who won over by a lady with an apple, had to leave that same paradise. Apples, however, are not the only fruits mentioned in this passage. Dante revives like Piramus, whose blood transfigured the mulberry. In this same canto, after his dream of Leah and Rachel, Virgil promises Dante that he will taste that sweet apple which men seek so ardently.\footnote{117} Obviously, this sweet apple in some way represents happiness, which all men seek.\footnote{118} In addition, as Musa points out, this precious fruit also refers to the Pilgrim's meeting with Beatrice, which is soon to occur.\footnote{119} Surely, however, all these fruits have a eucharistic significance which is emphasized by the setting of the Earthly Paradise. After the loss of paradise through the fruit of the forbidden tree, mankind sought to regain his happy state "through many boughs," perhaps through many covenants. However, until Christ, through his sacrifice transformed the forbidden fruit into the fruit of the eucharist, paradise remained unobtainable.

Besides serving as a classical parallel to the transubstantiation of the eucharist, the mention of Piramus and Thisbe recalls other details of Ovid's well-known story, especially the Babylonian setting and the loss of Thisbe's veil which was then made bloody by the lion.\footnote{120} The
unveiling of Thisbe results in the death of Piramus and the transformation of the fruit of the mulberry. Similarly, the death of Christ results in the revelation of Ecclesia and her succession to the veiled Synagogue as the ministrant of the sacrament. Furthermore, the inclusion of this story at the beginning of the canto prepares the reader for the unveiling of Beatrice which will soon follow within the context of the Procession of the Triumph of the Church. Of course, this same procession is transformed into a vision of the Whore of Babylon, which recalls the Babylonian setting of the Ovidian tale at the beginning of Canto XXVII. It is interesting to compare this imagery with the iconography of the left bay of the north porch of Chartres, which we have already discussed in detail. Of course the jamb figures of this bay depict the Annunciation and Visitation and, as such, glorify Mary's role as the second Eve. Included in the Visitation is Daniel, who triumphs over the dragon which was worshipped in Babylon. Above these figures, in the archivolts are the Wise Virgins who, modestly veiled and holding lamps full of oil, await the Bridegroom. The veiled Beatrice is also celebrated as an Ecclesia figure, who, as the Bride of Christ, enjoys a eucharistic union with Him. Through this sacrament she awaits the return of her bridegroom, Christ.

Soon after Dante emerges from the wall of flame into the Earthly Paradise, he falls asleep and has a dream which
the poet understands to be prophetic.\textsuperscript{121} Dante has a dream of Leah and Rachel, which foreshadows the appearance of Matelda and Beatrice. Singing, Leah weaves flowers into garlands, and Rachel contemplates the reflection of her eyes in a mirror. As we noted earlier in our discussion of Chartres Cathedral, Leah and Rachel symbolize the Active and Contemplative Lives. Leah describes the scene:

"Sappia qualunque il mio nome dimanda ch'i' mi son Lia, e vo movendo intorno le belle mani a farmi una ghirlanda. Per piacermi a lo specchio, qui m'addorno; ma mia suora Rachel mai non si smaga dal suo miraglio, e siede tutto giorno. Ell'è d'i suoi belli occhi veder vaga com'io de l'addornarmi con le mani; 122 lei lo vedere, e me l'ovrare appaga."

If anyone should want to know my name, I am called Leah. And I spend all my time weaving garlands of flowers with my fair hands, to please me when I stand before my mirror; my sister Rachel sits all day long before her own and never moves away. She loves to contemplate her lovely eyes; I love to use my hands to adorn myself; her joy is in reflection, mine in act."\textsuperscript{123}

As we noted in our discussion of Chartres Cathedral, St. Gregory the Great identified the two daughters of Laban as symbols of the Active and Contemplative Lives. As Vossler points out, it is "more than probable" that Dante read Gregory's chief works.\textsuperscript{124} However, the commentary of St. Thomas Aquinas, who maintains that the Contemplative Life is more beloved of God, also illuminates this passage.
Indeed, Dante, in accordance with Aquinas's teaching, puts forth the same idea in Convivio.125 Dante's dream of Leah and Rachel not only prepares him for his encounter with Matelda and Beatrice, but also marks the transition of his life from sinful to sinless. This point is made very well by John S. Carroll who, in a passage which relies much on Ruskin, goes on to explain Dante's dream in relation to the Old and New Covenants.126 Ruskin's passage is well known:

... This vision of Rachel and Leah has been always, and with unquestionable truth, received as a type of the Active and Contemplative life, and as an introduction to the two divisions of the paradise which Dante is about to enter. Therefore the unwearyed spirit of the Countess Matilda is understood to represent the Active life, which forms the felicity of Earth; and the spirit of Beatrice the Contemplative life, which forms the felicity of Heaven. This interpretation appears at first straightforward and certain; but it has missed count of exactly the most important fact in the two passages which we have to explain. Observe: Leah gathers the flowers to decorate herself, and delights in Her Own Labour. Rachel sits silent, contemplating herself, and delights in Her Own Image. These are the types of the Unglorified Active and Contemplative powers of man. But Beatrice and Matilda are the same powers, Glorified. And how are they Glorified? Leah took delight in her own labour; but Matilda—"in operibus manuum Tuarum" in God's labour; Rachel in the sight of her own face, Beatrice in the sight of God's face.127
Of course, the significance of Rachel and Leah as symbols of the Contemplative and Active life is central to this passage. However, as Carroll makes clear, the relationship of these figures to the Old and New Covenants is also crucial to our understanding of Dante's Earthly Paradise:

... To the poet Leah and Rachel are indeed "types of the Unglorified Active an Contemplative powers of man"; but they are so because they represent, as Dr. Bettiger says, "the comparatively defective virtue of the Old Covenant." In the Convito (iv. 17), when discussing the "two felicities" of action and contemplation from the highest standpoint, Dante chooses his types from the New Testament—Martha, with the "good felicity" of the ministry of the house, and Mary, with the "best felicity" of sitting at Christ's feet. But in the present passage the inferior quality of both felicities is indicted by taking the types out of the lower dispensation of the Old Testament. They are revealed in the night, before the Sun of righteousness has risen. They come in the form of a dream, partly to indicate the inferior mode of revelation, and partly in token of the unreality and evanescence of such felicities. Rachel and Leah alike look into a mirror, because the Law had only "a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things." And finally, as Ruskin notes, they look at themselves: Rachel, for example, is "fain to see her own fair eyes." The eyes are, in the Convito, the "demonstrations of Philosophy"; and therefore Rachel represents that lower type of contemplation which loves to gaze, not upon the truth, but its own demonstrations of the truth, its own arguments and proofs. She stands in contrast to Beatrice who, so far from
gazing in a mirror at her own eyes, makes them a mirror in which Dante sees the twofold nature and government of Christ. If it be said that this is too low a view of Rachel since Dante sets her in the third tier of the White Rose of Paradise, immediately below Eve, and with Beatrice on her right hand, the answer is that she is redeemed from the lower contemplation of the Old Covenant, and gazes no longer at her own beautiful eyes, but at Him from whom all their beauty comes.  

Of course, Dante was not the only writer to note the typological significance of Rachel and Leah. Isidore of Seville also asserted that Ecclesia and Synagogue were prefigured in the characters of Rachel and Leah. Isidore of Seville, again noting the difference between the eyes and the vision of the two sisters, proposes Rachel and Leah as prefigurations of Ecclesia and Synagogue:

... Leah embraces the figure of Synagogue, who could not perceive God's secrets with the weak eyes of her heart. Rachel, on the other hand, with her clear vision represents the type of Ecclesia—-with sharp eyes she comprehended the secrets of God.  

Thus far, Dante's use of Rachel and Leah, as personifications of the Contemplative and Active Life and prefigurations of Ecclesia and Synagogue, bring to mind the iconography of the north transept of Chartres where we find these same figures juxtaposed. In Canto XXVIII Dante introduces another female figure who further highlights the
similarity between his imagery and the imagery of the Chartrean iconographers. She is Matelda, who symbolizes the Active Life of the Soul.\textsuperscript{130} Dante encounters her on the morning of the Wednesday after Easter. Dante, having been crowned and mitred by Virgil, wanders through the Earthly paradise until his way is blocked by the river Lethe.\textsuperscript{131} On the other side of the river Dante sees a solitary lady with eyes more beautiful than those of Venus. She sings and gathers flowers:

\begin{quote}
Ella ridea da l'altra riva dritta,
trattando più color con le sue mani\textsuperscript{132}
che l'altra terra sanza seme gitta.
\end{quote}

Smiling, she stood there on the other bank,
arranging in her hands the many colors
that grew from no seeds planted on that height.\textsuperscript{133}

Thus, the image of Matelda is one of a lady weaving or plaiting into garlands the flowers she has plucked. This image recalls the vision of Leah in Canto XXVII, 101-102. The similarity between Matelda and Leah is heightened still more by the use of "trattando" which, I think, underscores Matelda's activity in particular as "weaving" and in general as "working."\textsuperscript{134} Her delight in this work becomes clear as she refers to the ninety second Psalm (Vulg. XCI) in order to dispel Dante's amazement. "Delectasti me, Domine, in factura tua et in operibus manuum tuarum exsultabo." Matelda
is the living embodiment of man's original perfect condition, which was a state of love and of joy in all God's handiwork. Surely in her perfection, Matelda reflects the Beatitudes of the Soul depicted at Chartres above the figures of Leah and Rachel, Synagogue and Ecclesia. Of course these Beatitudes are promised to the faithful Christian, whether he is of an active or contemplative disposition, who will be united to Christ through the Church. In the next canto, the Procession of the Church begins to unfold.

In the beginning of Canto XXIX, Matelda, singing a blessing on those whose sins have been forgiven, proceeds upstream along one bank of Lethe as Dante keeps pace on the other side. Filled with rapture, Dante cries out against the impetuousness of Eve through which these joys were lost to mankind:

E una melodia dolce correva
per l'aere luminoso; onde buon zelo
mi fe' riprender l'ardimento d'Eva,
che là dove ubbidia la terra e 'l cielo,
femminì, sola e pur testé formata,
non sofferse di star sottoalcun velo;
Sotto'l qual se divota fosse stata,
avrei quelle ineffabili delizie
sentite prima e più lunga fiata.

A gentle melody was drifting through the luminous atmosphere. Then righteous zeal made me curse the presumptuousness of Eve: to think that, which all Earth and Heaven obeyed His will, a single woman, newly made, would dare strip off the veil imposed by Him! Had she remained submissive to His will, I could on these ineffable delights
haye feasted sooner and for much more

time. 137

Thus, Dante cries out against Eve's unlawful revelation
or unveiling which brought about mankind's expulsion from
Eden. Although this expulsion was mitigated in part by the
gift of the Mosaic Law, represented by the veiled Synagogue,
mankind's return to blessedness was only fulfilled by
Christ. The crucifixion brought about the renting asunder
of the temple veil and the ascension of Ecclesia. As we
shall see in Canto XXXI, Beatrice will also cast aside her
veil to grant revelation to Dante. However, let us return
to Canto XXIX where Dante sees the approach of the Heavenly
Pageant of the Church.

As the pageant approaches, the air is filled with
glorious light. Seven golden candelabra paint the air with
streams of color like a rainbow. These lights, recalling
the seven-branched candelabra of Moses, represent the seven
churches or the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit described by
John in Rev. 1:12. Where these lead, the Church will
follow. 138 Beneath this glorious light march twenty-four
elders crowned with lillies to represent the books of the
Old Testament. These are the old men of Rev. 4: 4. As
Singleton points out, St. Jerome in Prologus Galeatus to the
Vulgate refers to an interpretation of these elders as the
books of the Old Testament. 139 They are clad in white, the
color of faith, which is appropriate to the Old Testament.
As they march, they chant blessings on the Virgin. The four Gospel beats follow, enclosing among them the chariot of Ecclesia, which rests on the two wheels of the Old and New Testaments or the Old and New Convenants.¹⁴⁰ The description of the four wondrous beasts from the cold north comes from St. John, and, more importantly, from Ezekiel. Their unusual physical attributes reflect their spiritual powers to evangelize and to combat heresy:

The six wings were to enable them to soar up to high heaven, and symbolized the rapid spread of the Gospel, while the eyes in the wings, which looked all ways, were to show their knowledge alike of the past and the present, and to exercise untiring vigilance to maintain the Church doctrines pure in the future.¹⁴¹

Dante then, employing the figure of the Gryphon, praises the hypostatic union which we have seen celebrated in detail by the sculpture of the Royal Portal of Chartres and amplified by the incarnation theme expressed on the north transept. The Gryphon, whose two-fold nature represents Christ, draws the chariot of the Church which follows the Gospel beats. The Gryphon unites in one animal the soaring eagle and the earth-bound lion, just as Christ in his incarnation unites the divine and human natures. The golden Gryphon even reflects this in his colors of white and red which represent the uniting of the Old and New testaments, the Old and New Dispensations, as well as the
flesh and blood, the bread and wine of the eucharist. Keeping pace with the chariot of the Church are the personifications of the virtues which are reminiscent of the Chartrean facade. Caritas, Faith, and Hope, the three theological virtues, dance at the right wheel; while Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance the four cardinal virtues, dance at the left. Caritas, Faith, and Hope glow with their appropriate colors, red, white, and green. It is very useful to compare these personifications of the Seven Virtues with the Virtues which are depicted on the left bay of the north transept of Chartres. As you may recall, the lintel of this doorway celebrates the Navitiy and depicts the newborn Christ on an altar-like manger which fortells of his eucharistic function. This same bay, which still contains the female figures in acts of weaving and contemplation to represent the Active and Contemplative Lives, used to contain the large statues of Leah and Rachel and Synagogue and Ecclesia. The archivolts of this bay contain a Psychomachia of the Virtues and Vices. On the right side, we find the four cardinal virtues mentioned by Dante: Prudence, Justice, Strength, and Temperance. On the left side Faith, depicted as an Ecclesia figure with Cross and chalice, stands over the figure of Idolatry and Infidently with bandaged eyes. Similarly, Hope and Charity triumph over their companion vices with a victory which celebrates the Church Militant.
This celebration of the Church Militant in the victory of the Virtues over the Vices is not an attack on the Old Covenant represented by Synagogue. The Chartrean iconographers emphasized this by repeating the theme of the Psychomachia between the Virtues and Vices on the pedestals of the four great statues of Leah and Rachel, Synagogue and Ecclesia, which are missing. Obviously, these pedestal decorations tell us, among other things, that both the Old and New Covenants are characterized by certain virtues, just as the Active and Contemplative Lives are animated by the virtues appropriate to them. Thus, when Faith as an Ecclesia figure attacks the blindfolded Infidelity or Idolatry, she is not attacking the Old Covenant, but the Synagoge of Satan, the heretics who act in spiritual blindness and vice. As we shall see in the following cantos, Dante addresses this same subject with even more vigor than the iconographers of Chartres.

Following the Triumphant Chariot and the attendant Virtues are seven elders. Representing the remaining books of the New Testament, the elders march in groups of two, then four, then one alone. They are crowned with roses, whose glowing red symbolizes Caritas. At a peal of thunder, the great procession stops. Turning toward the Chariot, the prophets sing "Veni, sponsa, de Libano", which is meant to summon Beatrice. Thus, Canto XXX marks the appearance of Beatrice as well as the disappearance of Virgil. This canto
is unique as well in that, in line 55, Dante is called by name for the only time in the *Commedia*. Although there are many allegorical interpretations for this, such as the similarity to the sacrament of baptism, the calling of Dante by name certainly emphasizes the individual Christian's place in this divine spectacle.

Throughout this canto, Dante cannot see Beatrice because she is veiled, just as mankind, impeded by sin, cannot obtain revelation. In the opening lines of this canto, Dante describes these obfuscating effects of sin:

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Quando il settentrion del primo cielo,
che né occaso mai seppe né orto
né d'altra nebbia che di colpa velo, 143
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When the Septentrion of the First Heaven
(which never sets nor rises nor has known any cloud other than the veil of sin),

Besides the veil of sin which impedes the poet, Dante soon encounters another sort of veil for, when Beatrice appears, she is blocked from his view by both the veil which she wears and a shower of flowers. Dante likens the effect to the glow of sunrise:

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Io vidi già nel cominciar del giorno
la parte oriental tutta rosata,
e l'altro ciel di bel sereno addorno;
e la faccia del sol nascere ombra,
sì che per temperanza di vapori
l'occhio la sostenea lunga fiata:
   così dentro una nuvola di fiori
che da le mani angeliche salvia
e ricadeva in giù dentro e di fori,
sovrà dandido vel cinta d'uliva
```
Donna m'apparve, sotto verde manto
vestita di color di fiamma viva.

Sometimes, as day approaches, I have seen
all of the eastern sky a glow of rose,
the rest of heaven beautifully clear,
the sun's face rising in a misty veil
of tempering vapors that allow the eye
to look straight at it for a longer time:
even so, within a nebula of flowers
that flowed upward from angels' hands and
then
poured down, covering all the chariot,
appeared a lady—over her white veil
an olive crown and, under her green cloak,
her gown, the color of eternal flame.

In this passage Dante tightly clusters images of sight,
the eyes, the face, as well as light to explain how veiling
sometimes grants imperfect human vision a better view of
things. The naked human eye cannot bear the direct sight of
"the face of the sun." However, when the eye is aided by a
veil of mists about the sun, the period of contemplation is
prolonged. Similarly, Beatrice appears partially obscured
both by flowers and a veil. Such veiling must recall
Dante's early lament in Canto XXIX, 11. 22-30 that Eve's
rash tearing away of a veil imposed by God had deprived his
senses of Eden. Although Dante's mortal eyes cannot
actually see Beatrice, he is transfixed by her eyes.

In a passage which is central to this canto, and indeed
to the Purgatorio as a whole, the poet describes how
Beatrice commands him to see. At first, Dante is so struck
by the "high piercing virtue" of this lady that his blood
"throbs with the signs of the ancient flame." He turns
left, hoping to receive comfort from Virgil, but Virgil is
gone. Moved by this loss, Dante, even though he is
surrounded by the delights lost to mankind by Eve, cannot
hold back the tears. These tears bring forth a reprimand
from the veiled Beatrice:

Dante, perché Virgilio se ne vada,
non pianger anco, non piangere ancora;
ché pianger ti convien per altra spada.
Quasi ammiraglio che in poppa e in prora
viene a veder la gente che ministra
per li altri legni, e a ben far l'incora;
in su la sponda del carro sinistra,
quando mi volsi al suon del nome mio,
che di necessità qui si registra,
vidi la donna che prià m'apparío
velata sotto l'angelica festa,
drizzar li occhi vèr me di qua dal río.
Tutto che 'l veì che le scendea di testa,
cerchiato de le fronde di Minerva,
non la lasciasse parer manifesta,
regalmente ne l'atto ancor proterva
continuò come colue che dice
e 'l più caldo parlar dietro reserva:
"Guardaci ben! Ben son, ben son Beatrice.
Come degnasti d'accedere al monte?
non sapei tu che qui è l'uom felice?"
Li occhi mi cadder giù nel chiaro fonte;
ma veggendomi in esso, i trassi a l'erba,
tanta vergogna mi gravò la fronte.
Così la madre al figlio par superba,
com' ella parve a me; perché d'amaro,
sente il sapor de la pietade acerba.

"Dante, though Virgil leaves you, do not weep,
not yet; that is, for you shall have to weep
from yet another wound. Do not weep yet."
Just as an admiral, from bow or stern,
 watches his men at work on other ships,
encouraging their earnest labors—so,
rising above the chariot's left rail
(When I turned round, hearing my name called
out,
which of necessity I here record),
I saw the lady who had first appeared
beneath the angelic festival of flowers
gazing upon me from a perfect view of her,
I sensed the regal sternness of her face,
as she continued in the tone of one
who saves the sharpest words until the end:
"Yes, look at me! Yes, I am Beatrice!
So, you at last have deigned to climb the
mount?
You learned at last that here lies human
bliss?"
I lowered my head and looked down at the stream,
but, filled with shame at my reflection
there,
I quickly fixed my eyes upon the grass.
I was the guilty child facing his mother,
abject before her harshness; <48>harsh, indeed,
is unripe pity not yet merciful.

Calling Dante by name, Beatrice charges Dante with the
communion of particular sins, and this very personal setting
of judgment and revelation reminds the reader that each
Christian must achieve repentance and salvation on an
individual basis. To aid Dante in achieving that goal,
Beatrice will chastise him sharply. Since Virgil, who has
been like a father to him, is gone, Dante must face that
chastisement alone. Dante weeps for the loss of Virgil, in
spite of the beauties of paradise which were lost by our
first mother, Eve. These parents being lost to Dante,
Beatrice chides him like a stern mother. Telling Dante not
to weep for Virgil, she promises to bring forth tears of
another sort, the tears of true repentance which will aid
his struggle for salvation.

In addition to the message of personal salvation, this
passage contains much sacramental significance. Beatrice,
in a second baptism, calls the poet by name and strikes him
with her tongue, just as a priest strikes a child so that he
may proceed to the holy water. With this baptism, Dante enters a New Covenant. Virgil is no longer a sufficient guide. Of course Virgil represents reason, which must be aided by revelation and grace. Virgil also represents the whole of classical culture, which, though pagan, sought certain virtues which were appropriate even to men who had not entered the Covenant of the Law. Nevertheless, though reason and a natural striving for virtue are good in themselves, a Christian must achieve a closer covenant with God, just as mankind had to move from a period before the Law to a period under the Law.

Like a Synagogue figure, Beatrice remains veiled throughout this canto. Stern and veiled, she approaches Dante from the left side of the Triumphal Chariot after the disappearance of Virgil. She calls to Dante from the border of the Chariot which represents the Old Testament, the Old Covenant. Indeed, the very flowers which fall down upon Beatrice may represent the books of the Old Testament which come from the "Hands of learned writers who had angelic intellects." Although she is a maternal figure, like the Holy Mother Church, her pity is "acerba," bitter and not yet ripe for revelation. Not until the next canto, after Dante has suffered true repentance and purification, will Beatrice cast off her veil to reveal herself as Ecclesia who offers true communion with Christ.
In Canto XXXI, after Beatrice's reprimands have brought tears of true repentance from Dante, Matelda guides him across Lethe, forcing him to drink of its purifying waters. As she does this, Matelda repeats "Asperges me," recalling the words used by the priest as he sprinkles holy water over the confessed sinner who seeks absolution.\textsuperscript{153} On the other bank of Lethe, the four virtues lead Dante before the Gryphon so that he may behold the eyes of Beatrice. The remaining virtues will instruct his sight. Reflected in the emerald eyes of Beatrice, Dante sees reflected the dual nature of the Gryphon. Although the Gryphon remains unchanged, his image changes constantly so that Dante can comprehend both natures. Of course he will not see the two natures as one until he ascends to the top of Paradiso.\textsuperscript{154} Dante describes the effect as being like sunlight in a mirror. In this case, however, Beatrice's eyes are the mirror which Dante contemplates with his eyes:

\begin{verbatim}
Mille disiri più che fiamma caldi
strinsermi li occhi a li occhi rilucenti,
che pur sopra 'l grifone stavan saldi.
Come in lo specchio il sol, non altrimenti
la doppia fiera dentro vi raggia
or con altri, or con altri reggimenti.
\end{verbatim}

A thousand yearnings of my desire
held my eyes fixed upon those brilliant eyes
that held the griffin fixed within their range.
Like sunlight in a mirror, shining back,
I saw the two fold creature in her eyes,\textsuperscript{156}
reflecting its two natures, separately.
The eyes of Beatrice form a perfect mirror which had been prefigured in the Mirror of Rachel. Thus Beatrice symbolizes the Contemplative Life of the Soul, as Matelda symbolizes the Active Life of the Soul. The vision of the eyes of Beatrice is the vision for which Dante had been prepared in his dream of Leah and Rachel, the Old Testament types of the Active and Contemplative Lives. Why this imagery is especially appropriate to a vision of the Gryphon becomes clear when we recall the writings of St. Gregory the Great which informs the iconography of the north transept of Chartres.

In order to explain the hypostatic nature of Christ, of which the Gryphon is a symbol, Dante uses the imagery of the eyes and the theme of the Active and Contemplative Lives which Gregory explains in Moralia in Liber Job. As Gregory explains, Christ, the "corner stone" united in his incarnation, two peoples, two natures, and two lives, the active and the contemplative. Furthermore, the eyes are the mirror for this unity of dualities since, as Gregory explains, the two eyes of the face represent these two types of lives. St. Gregory prefaces this interpretation with a reference to the purifying hyssop of Mosaic sacrifice. For the Christian, the purifying function of hyssop is fulfilled by the faith and hope in the resurrection of Christ. In a similar fashion, the "bitter hyssop" evoked by Matelda is fulfilled in the "bitter savor" of Beatrice's
"unripe pity." However, St. Gregory admonishes that sacrifice, even offering oneself up as a sacrifice, is not enough to attain perfection. Contemplation is also necessary. Nevertheless, in this the individual must be careful, since not all natures are alike. Although the Active and Contemplative Lives are like the two eyes of the face, a weak intellect must avoid overmatching himself with contemplation and subsequently falling into error. It is better to enter into Paradise with one eye than to fall into Hell with two.

At Chartres, on the left bay of the north transept, we see these same themes depicted in sculpture. In this bay with its figures of Ecclesia and Synagogue, Rachel and Leah, the faithful Christian is reminded of the all-encompassing guidance of the Church. Both the Active Life of the weaving women depicted here and the Contemplative Life represtend by the figures of meditating nuns, will be unfolded in Ecclesia's triumph. Eventually, the individual Christian who is faithful to the Church and shuns heresy and error, will attain the Heavenly Beatitudes depicted in the Chartrean archivolts. Incidentally, one of these Beatitudes, Wisdom, is depicted with a dragon or gryphon. If the figure is indeed a gryphon, then the comparison between the iconography of Chartres and the symbolism of Dante would be even closer. The Heavenly Beatitude of Wisdom would correspond to Beatrice's role of Revelation, a divine type
of wisdom or reason which replaced the human reason of Virgil. Certainly, this is one facet of the character of Beatrice who is "the Spouse, the living spirit of Divine Wisdom, which makes the Chariot—that is, the Church as a visible oragnization—the central point of Revelation in the world."159

Unlike the infirm of intellect who are likely to stray into error, Dante is well suited to contemplation. In sound Gregorian fashion, after purification and through the operations of the Active Life, Matelda, he arrives at the vision which is the goal of the Contemplative Life. However, this vision is not to be his final revelation, for Beatrice grants an invocation to remove her veil and reveal her mouth, her "second beauty", to Dante's sight:

"Volgi, Beatrice, volgi li occhi santi",
era la sua canzone, "al tuo fedele
che, per vederti, ha mossi passi tanti!
Per grazia fa noi grazia che disvele
a lui la bocca tua; sì che discerna
la seconda bellezza che tu cele."
O isplendor di viva luce eterna,
chi plaidò si fece sotto l'ombra
si di Parnaso, o bevve in sua cisterna,
che non paresse aver la mente ingombrà,
tentando a render te qual tu paresti
là dove armonizzando il ciel t'adombra,
quando ne l'aere aperto ti solvesti?160

"Turn, Beatrice, turn your sacred eyes,"
they sang, "and look upon your faithful one
who can so very far to look at you!
Of your own grace grant us this grace: unveil your mouth for him, allow him to behold that second beauty which you hide from him."
O splendor of eternal living light!
Who, having drunk at the Parnassian well, or become pale within that mountain's shade,
could find with all of his poetic gifts
those words that might describe the way you
looked,
with that harmonious heaven your only veil.
when you unveiled yourself to me at last?

Because Beatrice is in part a figure of Ecclesia, her
unveiling recalls on one level the Crucifixion when the veil
of the temple of Jerusalem was torn open to reveal the Holy
of Holies. At that time, the Old Covenant was revealed in
the New. However, Beatrice reveals not only beauty, but her
"second beauty." This refers not only to the Coming of
Christ, but to his Second Coming at which time all mysteries
will be revealed. We find support for such an
interpretation in the criticism of Singleton, who relates
the role of Beatrice in the Commedia to her function in the
Vita Nuova:

... In the Vita Nuova, at the center
of Vita Nuova, Beatrice is seen to
depart this life, uplifted in the
company of a host of angels, in a cloud,
and the cry that accompanies her is
Hosanna. At the center of the Divine
Comedy, Beatrice comes, Beatrice
returns, in the company of a host of
angels, in a cloud of glory, and in a
company whose first cry is again
Hosanna. But what is more striking than
all of these details is this:
Beatrice's death at the center of the
Vita Nuova is like Christ's death. We
have seen the signs—like Christ's death
and like an ascension. And at the
center of the Comedy, Beatrice's return,
what is thus literally Beatrice's second
coming, resembles not a coming of
Christ, but the second coming of Christ—
in a day of Judgement.
Although Dr. Singleton's interpretation reveals a great deal about these rich final cantos of the Purgatorio, certainly there is much more to be considered. Beatrice's resemblance to the Virgin Mary and to the Apocalyptic Woman clothed with the sun, for example, demand attention. Indeed, according to James Wimsatt, who quotes Dr. Singleton and who cannot deny that Beatrice in these final cantos somehow represents Christ, Revelation, and Wisdom, asserts that Beatrice's primary symbolism refers to the Virgin Mary, the Woman clothed with the sun and Christ's first coming.\textsuperscript{163} Far from being contradictory, the interpretations by Dr. Singleton and Dr. Wimsatt are quite complementary. For, in these final cantos, Dante wishes to describe the eternal being of Christ which is present in both his first and second comings. Thus, Dante evokes the eucharistic coming of Christ, for the eucharist not only recalls the first coming of Christ, on which it is historically based, but also promises the second coming of Christ, with which it will be fulfilled. The veil of the temple, torn at the time of the Passion, will culminate in the total unveiling of the Apocalypse, which will mark the end of time. Fortunately, the eucharistic symbolism of these cantos has been carefully examined by Lizette Andrews Fisher. According to Dr. Fisher, the pageant which Dante sees in the Earthly Paradise is "strikingly like" the processions of the blessed
sacrament, the greatest of which was that of Corpus Christi Day:

... The chariot of the church, drawn by Christ, serves to bring into the picture the veiled figure of Beatrice, who occupies the central position accorded the host in such processions and who is hailed in the very words used daily in the mass to greet the coming of Christ to the altar at the moment of consecration. If Beatrice is here what these words imply, namely the symbol of transubstantiation, by which God continues to dwell with men, which affords the highest degree of illumination possible to the human soul this side of the beatific vision, then indeed is the Earthly Paradise type and pledge of the heavenly. 164

Thus, Dante's eucharistic vision in Canto XXXI illuminates the true relationship between the Old and New Covenants and the role of Ecclesia as ministrant of the sacrament to the individual Christian. In this role, Ecclesia reveals herself as the true successor to Synagogue. However, in the final revelation, another female figure, the Whore of Babylon, will be involved.

In the penultimate canto of the Purgatorio, Dante, a true son of the Church, uses the imagery of the transformation of the Chariot of the Church into the Whore of Babylon to criticize not only the heretics and enemies of the Church who attack Ecclesia from without, but also the corruption and abuses which threaten her from within. Of course, Dante did not originate the concept of denouncing
one's enemies as the Whore of Babylon. The Cathars and heretics of the twelfth century had accused the Church of Rome of being the "synagogue of Satan" and "great Babylon, harlot, the Church of the Devil." In a similar fashion, the anti-heretical Chartrean iconographers had portrayed "Infidelity" as a false Synagogue. However, Dante, not dependent upon Church patronage, could use this imagery with poetic freedom to denounce the Eternal Church's errors which have transpired on earth. Let us now consider what occurs in this canto, which unfolds like a series of seven tableaux.

In Canto XXXII, by the time that Dante has recovered from the sight of Beatrice, the Heavenly Pageant is moving away. Following, Dante and Statius arrive at the Tree of Good and Evil, to which the Gryphon ties the pole of the Chariot. The hitherto barren tree bursts into bloom. At this sight, the Pageant sings a hymn which Dante does not hear through to the end, for he is overcome with sleep. When he awakes, the Pageant is gone, although Beatrice, attended by the seven nymphs, remains behind with the Chariot. Now the Chariot is besieged, first by an eagle, then by a fox, which Beatrice drives away. Then the eagle descends again to cover the car with its feathers. Next, a dragon emerges to rip apart the floor of the car. By this time, the Chariot, overgrown with golden feathers, has begun to transform itself into a monstrous beast with seven heads and
ten horns. Mounted on the beast is a harlot. She is accompanied by a giant, and, from time to time, the two embrace lasciviously. However, when the harlot casts her roving eyes upon Dante, the giant beats her and drags her away. An examination of the symbolical significance of these occurrences reveals the extreme vigor with which Dante condemns the corruption of the Church and the papacy through their acquisition of wealth and temporal power.

Most of the canto unfolds beneath a towering tree whose branches spread wider as the tree rises higher. This majestic, inverted tree represents many things. Certainly, it represents world-empire, especially Christian empire since it is superior to even the greatest trees of Indian forests. However, this is also the Tree of Law, the Tree of Knowledge from which our first parents ate the forbidden fruit. As Dr. Moore points out, it was widely believed in the Middle Ages that the True Cross was made of the wood of this Tree, so that "the instrument of death should also be that of redemption." In a similar fashion, Mary heals the wound inflicted by Eve and is therefore worthy to be hailed in the Paradiso with "Ave," the reversed from of "Eva." Clearly, this symbolism is central to the passage in which Dante describes the tree:

Io senti' mormorare a tutti "Adamo",
poi cerchiaro una pianta dispogliata
di foglie d'altra fronda in ciascun ramo.
La coma sua, che tanto si dilata
più quanto più è su, fora da l'Indi
né boschi lor per altezza ammirata.
"Beato se', grifon, che non discendi
col becco d'esto legno dolce al gusto,
poscia che mal si torce il ventre quindi".
Così dintorno a l'albero robusto
gridaron li altri; e l'animal binato:
"Si si conserva il seme d'ogne giusto"
E vòlto al temo ch'elli avea tirato,
trassello al pie de la vedova frasca
e quel di lei a lei lasciò legato.169

I heard them all murmuring Adam's name;
and then they formed a circle 'round a tree
whose every branch was stripped of leaf and
fruit.
A tree like this in India's wooded lands
would seem a very miracle of height:
the more it rose, the wider spread its
boughs.
"Blessed art thou, Griffin. Thy sacred beak
tears not a shred of this tree's savory bark,
which makes the belly writhe in deadly pain!"
These words were sung by all the others there
around the tree. And the two-natured beast:
"Thus is preserved the seed of
righteousness."
Then, turning to the pole which he had pulled,
he brought it up against the widowed tree,
returning to it what it once brought
forth.170

By beginning this passage with the name of Adam, which
is murmured at the base of the tree, Dante obviously means
to recall the Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden.
Simultaneously, the tree is the symbol of world empire and
the material wealth of such empire, and the Gryphon is
praised for not partaking of such wealth and temporal power
and for not suffering the internal corruption that is the
inevitable result of such indulgence. Instead, the Gryphon
ties the pole of the chariot to the "widowed" tree, and, in
so doing, returns what had been lost. In large part, of
course, this refers to the Crucifixion, in which Christ, hanging on a Cross made of the Tree of Knowledge, restores for all time that which had been lost by Adam. However, the tree was "widowed" in another sense as well:

The Cross of Christ, derived from the Tree of Knowledge, is the origin of the Papal Seat. If the Cross is made from a branch of the Tree of Knowledge, and the Papal Seat originates in the Cross, it can well be said that the Papal Seat was formed from a branch of that Tree. Christ joins the Papal Seat, Roman in its origin, to the Roman Empire, and that not only in externals, as shown by both Papacy and Empire having their central abode at Rome; but also inwardly, in that, according to Dante, both Pope and Emperor ought to go hand in hand in guiding the human race to its two-fold object and end. 171

The Papal Seat, however, through the corruption and lust for temporal power of popes such as Boniface VIII, had been "widowed." 172 In a similar manner St. Gregory criticizes the heretical preachers of error who, tempted by riches, neglect the Holy Church and refuse to give comfort to the widow of Christ. 173 By the end of this canto, Dante demonstrates how sadly in need of comfort was the Church of his age. First, however, he unfolds to the reader the history of the Church Militant, so that one may understand how the contemporary Church arrived at such a lamentable situation. 174
As we have seen, the first enemy to attack the Church is the eagle, the "bird of Jove." The bird swoops down to tear flowers, leaves, even bark off the Tree and to strike a tremendous blow to the chariot. Clearly, this represents the persecution of the early Church by the Roman emperors, especially Nero and Diocletian. However, the image of the eagle attacking the lofty tree is taken from Ezekiel xvii. In Ezekiel, the Parable of the Eagles Attacking the Cedar is told to illustrate the persecution of the Jews by the Babylonians. Again, St. Gregory provides an explanation:

By the word "eagle," earthly power is also typified. Whence it is said by the Prophet Ezekiel, "A great eagle of great wings, long limbed, full of feathers and variety, came to Libanus, and took away the marrow of the cedar, and plucked the top of his branches." For by this eagle who else is, in truth, designated but Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon? Who, in consequence of the immensity of his army, is described as of great wings; in consequence of the length of his continuance, as of long extent of limbs; for the multitude of his riches, as full of feathers, and because of the countless things that made up his earthly glory as full of variety.

This chapter of Ezekiel ends with the promise that the Lord will bring down the high tree and exalt the low, will wither the green tree and make the dry tree flourish. Such a promise is compatible with the message which Dante asserts
in this passage of the *Purgatorio* which recounts the history of Ecclesia Militans. Simultaneously, Dante reminds us that Ecclesia was exalted in the dry tree of the Cross, while he warns those who exalt in wealth that they will eventually be brought low.\(^{179}\) Thus, Dante uses the Parable of the Eagles and the Cedar to compare the persecution of the Jews by the Babylonians to the persecution of the Christians by the pagan Roman Empire. The Babylonian setting of Ezekiel's story foreshadows the Babylonian setting of the Apocalyptic vision which will unfold at the end of this canto.

Meanwhile, the Church must face another enemy in the form of a fox who pounces upon the Car. In another image from Ezekiel, Dante uses the fox to represent the heresies which threatened the early Church. Specifically, the fox represents the heresy of Gnosticism which threatened the Christian interpretation of the Old and New Testaments, for Gnosticism "claimed to expound by its own principles Christian revelation, and to possess the key of knowledge for the lack of which both the Old and New Testaments had been so far entirely misunderstood."\(^{180}\) Nevertheless, Beatrice is sufficient to drive away this beast, just as the Church Fathers were sufficient to dispel the early heresies.

Dante then describe the internal corruption of the Church through wealth and temporal power which are ultimately more destructive to the Church than heresy and which precede the attack on the Church by the dragon, or
Satan. Beatrice has scarcely driven off the fox before the eagle attacks again to shed his feathers over the Chariot. These feathers of wealth which do more harm than the eagle's first, more violent attack, represent the Donation of Constantine which corrupted the Church with riches and worldly power. Before we see the full damage of this golden plumage, yet another enemy arises to threaten the Chariot of the Church. This enemy is a dragon who rises from the earth between the two wheels of the Chariot to tear away, with his tail, part of the floor of the Car. Obviously, the dragon is the dragon of Revelation, the old serpent, which is Satan. Historically, the dragon recalls heresies which split the Church, most notably, the heresy of Mohammed. According to the medieval view, in accordance with which Dante places Mohammed in the Bolgia of the Schismatics, Mohammed was the father not of a new religion, but of a heresy which split from the Eastern Church:

... If we could regard the two wheels of the Car as the Old and New testaments, it would give meaning to the rising of the dragon between the two, Mohammedanism being an attempt to unite Jewish and Christian elements on a basis of strict monotheism.

By representing a false interpretation of the realtionship between the Old and New Testaments, the dragon represents a heretical "Synagogue of Satan" which will culminate in the
figure of the Whore of Babylon which forms the final, horrifying tableau of the canto.

Now Dante amplifies the imagery of division and corruption. After the dragon rends the floor of the Car, the feathers deposited by the eagle flourish. The Chariot begins to sprout heads and horns so that it is transformed into a monster with seven heads and ten horns. Sitting securely on that beast is an ungirt whore, "una puttana sciolta." This powerful image of the whore from the Book of Revelation is an overwhelming indictment of the Papacy of Dante’s time, corrupted by all of the Seven Deadly Sins. Like the Babylonian Whore who committed fornication with the kings of the earth, the "puttana sciolta" wantonly embraces a giant. This giant represents Philip the Fair and the royal house of France in general who had made many lucrative deals with the Court of Rome.

The lascivious nature of the relationship between the whore and the giant changes when the harlot casts her lustful glance on Dante. This enrages the giant so that he beats the whore from head to foot and drags her and her monstrous mount behind the trees so that they are no longer in Dante's view. With this imagery Dante suggests several contemporary woes. In one sense, Dante represents the individual Christian who looks to the Church to guide him. However, the Church, having prostituted herself to the French monarchy, is unable to effectively respond. In
another sense, Dante represents Italy, for which the papacy lusts. Of course, Philip was not pleased by the pope's political ambitions and alliances in Italy. This culminates in the beating and dragging away of the harlot which can only represent the election of Clement V, arranged by Philip, and the removal of the Papal Seat to Avignon. This "Babylonian captivity" took place after Philip the Fair had sent forces under Sciarra Colonna and William of Nogaret to Anagni where they sacked the pope's palace and made him a prisoner. They subjected the pope to much humiliation, so that he died within a month.\(^{186}\)

Dante had made similar charges about the Papacy, specifically about Pope Nicholas III, in the *Inferno* XIX. Speaking upside down in a flaming baptismal font, Nicholas III mistakes Dante for Pope Boniface VIII who must suffer the same pain for his simony. Dante then exclaims against Nicholas's avarice and his scheming with Charles of Anjou. The poet goes on to describe the Pope as the Whore of Babylon who idolatrously worships the gods of gold and silver. He then concludes by lamenting the Donation of Constantine:

\[Di\ \text{voi,}\ \text{pastor,}\ \text{s'accorse il Vangelo}\]
\[\text{quando colei che siede sopra l'acque}\]
\[\text{puttaneggiar coi regi a lui fu vista;}\]
\[\text{quella che con le sette teste nacque,}\]
\[\text{e da le dieci corna ebbe argomento}\]
\[\text{fin che virtute al suo marito piaque.}\]
\[\text{Fatto v'avete Dió d'oro e d'argento;}\]
\[\text{e che altro è da voi all'idolatre,}\]
\[\text{se non ch'elli uno, e voi ne orate cento?}\]
Ahi, Constantin, di quanto mal fu matre, 
non la tua conversion, ma quella dote 
che da te prese il primo ricco patre!". 187

"Of such as you was the Evangelist's vision 
when he saw she who sits upon the Waters 
locked with the kings of earth in 
fornication.
She was born with seven heads, and ten enormous 
and shining horns strengthened and made her 
glad as long 
as love and virtue pleased her spouse.
Gold and silver are the gods you adore!
In what are you different from the idolator,
save that he worships one, and you a score?
Ah Constantine, what evil marked the hour—
not of your conversion, but of the fee 
the first rich Father took from you in 
dower!" 188

Despite Dante's personal contempt for Boniface VIII, 
expressed in these passages from the Inferno and from the 
Purgatorio, Dante held great reverence for the office of the 
papacy and believed that the pope's person was also sacred. 
For this reason, Dante likens the attack made upon Boniface 
VIII by Philip the Fair to the assault on Christ's body. In 
Canto XX of the Purgatorio, Philip is decried as another 
Pilate and the Pope, as Christ's Vicar, is again mocked and 
crucified, this time between live thieves. 189 Thus these 
passages shed light on Dante's apocalyptic vision in Canto 
XXXII of the Purgatorio. Although the poet describes the 
papacy under Boniface VIII as a whore in the care of a vile 
giant who beats her, Danté remains a loyal son of the 
Church. He has already denounced as sacrilege the outrages 
to the pope's person which were brought about by Philip. 
Unlike the Cathars who denounced the Church of Rome as the
"Synagogue of Satan" and the Whore of Babylon in order to bring people into their heresy, Dante uses the warning voice of the apocalyptic vision to call the Church back to her original pastoral mission. Rather than publicizing clerical corruption in order to weaken people's faith in the sacraments, Dante warns that even when the Papal Seat was occupied by a corrupt pontiff such as Boniface VIII, it was due a certain respect for it was the Office of the Vicar of Christ.

Furthermore, Dante did not believe that the Church would remain forever enslaved to simony and temporal power. In the final canto of the Purgatorio, Beatrice in her explanation of the allegory of the preceding canto, prophesies that the Church will be delivered from its present state of corruption. Dante begins this last canto with Psalm cxxix which laments the destruction of Jerusalem and its holy temple. The use of this lament parallels the destruction of Synagogue by the heathen with the destruction of Ecclesia by the hypocrites and reminds us that Christ compared his body to the temple in Jerusalem. Dante develops these thoughts in the next tercet in which he conflates the identity of Beatrice, Mary, and Ecclesia by comparing Beatrice's grief at the Transformation of the Church to the grief of Mary beneath the Cross. As Ciardi reminds us, this is no mere figure of speech:
The comparison is not a hyperbole. Beatrice, mourning for the crucifixion of the Church, would endure the same grief Mary suffered at the crucifixion of her son, Christ and the Church being one.¹⁹⁰

The closeness of the relationship between Christ and his Church is proclaimed again when Beatrice uses Christ's own promise to return to foretell the restoration of the Church:

"Modicum, et non videbitis me; et iterum, sorelle mie dilette, modicum, et vos videbitis me".¹⁹¹

Just as Christ will return, the true Church will return to the faithful, and the Papal Seat will be restored to Rome.¹⁹² The fact that Beatrice repeats these words as a promise underscores her role as Ecclesia. The promise to return is her promise as well.

Beatrice then shifts from the language of the Gospel to the language of the Apocalypse, for the history of the Church must now form the basis of the prophecy of its deliverance:

Sappi che 'l vaso che 'l serpente ruppe, fu e non è; ma chi n'ha colpa, creda che vendetta di Dio non teme suppe. non sarà tutto tempo sanza reda l'agila che lasciò le penne al carro, per che divenne mostro e poscia preda; ch'io veggo certamente, e però il narro, a darne tempo già stelle propinque, sicure d'ogn' intoppo e d'ogni sbarro,
nel quale un cinquecento dieci e cinque
messo di Dio, anciderà la fuia
con quel gigante che con lei delinquere. 193

Know that the vessel which the serpent broke
was, and is not. Let him who bears the blame
learn that God's vengeance has no fear of
sops.
The eagle that shed feathers on the car
that would become a monster, then a prey,
will not remain forever without heirs;
I tell you this because I clearly see
those stars, already near, that will bring in
a time--its advent nothing can prevent--
in which five hundred, ten, and five shall be
God's emissary, born to kill the giant
and the usurping whore with whom he sins. 194

The warning that the vessel broken by the dragon "was,
and is not" echoes the words of the Apocalyptic vision of
John, "The beast thou sawest was, and is not." 195 In his
vision, John sees the coming of the antiChrist. This
figure, associated with the mysterious number "six hundred
three score and six" will come to persecute the faithful. 196
Beatrice's prophecy also fortells a figure who is associated
with a mysterious number, "five hundred, ten, and five."
However, this figure will bring destruction only on those
who have corrupted the Church. The whore and giant of Canto
XXXII will be destroyed, and the Church will again be
triumphant. Scholars have long sought to identify a
specific historical figure as the man who would fulfill the
DXV prophecy. 197 Such commentary is justified since Dante
clearly intends that this prediction must take place in
historical time. Dante is a poet who hopes to inspire a
leader and give courage to the faithful, rather than a
prophet who is actually the recipient of a mystic vision. As a poet, he can freely interpret the vision of the Whore of Babylon, first to indict the Church of Rome, and then to assure the faithful of her coming purification and restoration.

Although he used iconography and Scripture which were well known to contemporary artists and thinkers, such as the creators of Chartres, Dante, with a creative freedom which was unavailable to church artists, could conflate his vision of sacred history with contemporary political affairs and then with his vision of society as it should be. With similar poetic freedom, Chaucer conflated the imagery of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon to create the Wife of Bath's Prologue and Tale. Like Dante, Chaucer was a true son of the Church. Also like Dante, Chaucer wished to chastise Church corruption as well as to instruct the individual Christian. However, Chaucer's poetic creation is quite unique and different from that of Dante, as we shall see when we compare Chartres's soaring archivolts and Dante's heavenly Pageant to the road which stretches from the Tabard Inn to Canterbury.
Footnotes to Chapter II


3 Katzenellenbogen, pp. 56 and 65.


5 Katzenellenbogen, p. 74.

6 Grodecki, p. 92.

7 Katzenellenbogen, p. 57.

8 Katzenellenbogen, p. 58.

9 Katzenellenbogen, p. 58. For a discussion of the authorship of the letter, Katzenellenbogen refers to M. Jugie, La mort et l'assomption de la sainte Vierge (Studie Testi, CXIV), Cittàdel Vaticano, 1944. For the letter itself see Epistola IX ad Paulam et Eustochium de assumptione beatae Mariae Virginis (P.L. XXX, cols. 126 ff.).

10 For a detailed description of the archivolt figure, see: Katzenellengoben, p. 59 and Grodecki, pp. 96 and 97.

11 Grodecki, p. 96.


13 Marriage, p. 150.

14 Katzenellengoben, p. 62.
15 Grodecki, p. 197.


17 For a detailed list and description of these figures, see: Houvet, I, p. 1. For a discussion of their iconography, see: Grodecki, pp. 97-101. For their significance to Mary, Ecclesia, and the sacraments, see: Katzenellenbogen, pp. 62-65.

18 Houvet, I, p. 1. See also: Marriage, p. 156.

19 Miller, p. 20.

20 Grodecki, p. 97.

21 Marriage, p. 158.

22 Marriage, p. 158.

23 Marriage, p. 162.

24 Houvet, I, p. 1. See also: Marriage, p. 162.

25 Grodecki, p. 97.


27 Miller, p. 20.

28 Marriage, p. 162.

29 Grodecki, p. 98.

30 These typological correspondences were taken from Grodecki, p. 98 who in turn refers to Mâle. For a detailed description of this subject in general and its use in other cathedrals see: Emile Mâle, The Gothic Image, Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century, trans. by Dora Nussey (New York: Harper & Row, Icon Editions, 1972), pp. 152-158. As the most complete patristic source, Mâle cites Isidore of Seville, Allegoriae quaedam Scripturae, P.L., LXXXIII, col. 96.

31 Katzenellenbogen, p. 62. Katzenellenbogen gives the following patristic references: St. Gregory the Great,

32 For the interpretation of this scene, see: Grodecki, p. 102 and Katzenellenbogen, pp. 68 and 69. Of course, the best patristic source for this tympanum is St. Gregory the Great's commentary on Job. Katzenellenbogen offers the following citations: Moralia inJOB, XXIII, 1, P.L., LXXVI, col. 251; Moralia in Job, Praefatio, VII, 16, P.L., LXXV, cols. 525 ff.; and Moralia in Job, Praefatio, VI, 1, P.L., LXXV, col. 729.

33 St. Gregory the Great, Moralia in Liber Job, XIV, P.L., LXXV, cols. 1041 ff.

34 Grodecki, p. 102.


36 Katzenellenbogen, p. 70. For details of the archivolts, see: Marriage, pp. 194-196 and Houvet, I, pp. 2 & 3.

37 Grodecki, p. 107.

38 Katzenellenbogen, p. 73.

39 Katzenellenbogen, p. 73. For a detailed description, see: Houvet, I, p. 2. For the identification of Potiphar's wife as a Synagogue figure, see: the Venerable Bede, In Pentateuchum commentarii, Genesis, XXXIX, P.L., XCI, col. 264.

40 Houvet, I, p. 3 and Miller, p. 18.

41 Grodecki, p. 88; Houvet, I, p. 3; Marriage, pp. 122-124.

42 Grodecki, p. 90.

43 Houvet, I, p. 3. For a more detailed description and a discussion, including plates, see: Marriage, pp. 116-122.

44 Katzenellenbogen, p. 22.
Katzenellenbogen, p. 22. For a description of Peter of Bruy's blasphemous actions, see: Peter the Venerable, *Tractatus adversus Petrobrunsianos*, P.L. CLXXXIX, col. 771.

Marriage, pp. 120-122. Marriage describes the jambs and socles and explains their iconography.

Katzenellenbogen, p. 22. Since Katzenellenbogen draws this conclusion about the Story of Theophilus on the facade at Souillac, we are justified in drawing a similar conclusion about Chartres. See also M. Shapiro, "The Sculptures of Souillac," *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1939), II, pp. 359 ff.

Marriage, pp. 103-104 and pp. 124-125. Also Houvet, I, p. 3.


Marriage, p. 125. Marriage identifies these twelve figures and cites St. Paul as their scriptural basis. See also: Houvet, I, p. 3. Houvet identifies them as attributes of the Virgin. These overlapping terms could be translated as: love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, longevity, meekness, faith, modesty, continence, and charity.

Bulteau, II, p. 226. Bulteau notes the clothing of these figures. For a good description of women's clothing typical of this period, see Blanche Payne, *History of Costume from the Ancient Egyptians to the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 168-169, 174-175, and 199-200. Payne uses as an example the statue of the Queen of Sheba from the North Portal of Chartres, who, interestingly enough, wears a similar headdress.


Katzenellenbogen, p. 74.

For an excellent description of these figures, see Bulteau, who attributes their basis to St. Anselm. Bulteau, II, pp. 226-230. Abdul-Hak agrees with Bulteau in calling these the Heavenly Beatitudes of St. Anselm. See: Selim Abdul-Hak, p. 138. For a listing and description of the figures also see: Marriage, pp. 108-112 and Houvet, I, p. 3.

For the most complete descriptions of these statues see Bulteau, II, pp. 225 and 230-232, and Marriage, pp. 103-104 and 108-112. They are also mentioned in the following: Houvet, I, p. 3 and Katzenellenbogen, p. 175, and Abdul-Hak, pp. 137 and 139.

Marriage, p. 103. Katzenellenbogen also cites the liturgy as the source of this iconography and points out that the Virgin is the exemplar of these two types of lives. See Katzenellenbogen, p. 74 and ns. 107-110. Katzenellenbogen, who refers to Houvet, points out that the story of Christ's visit to the house of Mary and Martha forms the seventh lesson: Chartres Breviary of the thirteenth century; olim Bibl. de la Ville, MS 588 II. fol. 279 v. For similar allegorical interpretations he cites: Honorius Augustodunensis, Speculum Ecclesiae, P.L., CLXXII, col. 991 and Siccardus, Mitrale, IX, 40, P.L., CCXIII, col. 420. Of course the Scriptural account is to be found in Luke 10: 38-42.


St. Gregory the Great, Moralia in Job, VI, 56-57, P.L. LXXV, cols. 729 ff. All quotations are taken from Parker, I, 355-357. See also: I Peter: 1, Matthew 5: 29, and Mark 9: 47.

For the most detailed description, see Bulteau, II, p. 230. They are also briefly mentioned by the following:
Abdul-Hak, p. 139; Mavrig, p. 104; Houvet, I, p. 3; and Katzenellenbogen, p. 175.

64 For the best description of the pedestals and inscriptions see Bulteau, II, p. 231. They are also mentioned in: Marriage, p. 104, and Houvet, I, p. 3.

65 Bulteau, II, p. 231.

66 Katzenellenbogen, pp. 75-76.

67 Katzenellenbogen, p. 77. Also see Miller, p. 20.

68 Katzenellenbogen, p. 78. Katzenellenbogen puts forth Peter of Roissy as the probable author of the program and provides the following source of Peter's writing: Avranches, Bibl. de la Ville, MS 15, fols. 64 ff.: "Job glossatus secundum Magistrum Petrum Cancellarium Carnotensem." Miller also notes Peter's commentary. See: Miller, p. 20.


70 Katzenellenbogen, p. 77. See also: Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay, Historia Albignensium, c. 41 ff., P.L., CCXIII, cols. 592 ff.

71 Katzenellenbogen, p. 77. For the papal letter, see: P.L., CCIV, col. 81.

Manicheorum itaque secta et heresis et ejus devii sectatores duos Deos aut duos Dominos asserunt et fatentur, benignum Deum videlicet et malignum, creationem omnium rerum visibilium et corporalium asserrentes non esse factam a Deo patre celesti, quem dicunt Deum benignum, sed a dyabolo et Sathanca, malo Deo, quia ipsum vocant Deum malignum et Deum hujus seculi et principem hujus mundi. Sicque duos ponunt creatores, Deum videlicet et dyabolum, et duas creationes, unam scilet rerum invisibilium et incorporalium et alteram visibilium et corporalium.

Furthermore, Gui says that these heretics claim that there are two Churches; one good, which is their sect, and which they say is the Church of Jesus Christ; the other evil, which they claim is the Church of Rome and which they call the mother of fornication, great Babylon, whore and basilica of the Devil, and the synagogue of Satan. They despise all rules, ordinances, and laws of this Church, claiming all who believe in it are heretics, and stating that no one who believes in the Church or Rome can be saved:

Item, duas configunt esse ecclesias, unam benignam, quam dicunt esse sectam suam, eamque esse asserunt ecclesiam Ihesu Christi; aliam vero ecclesiam vocant malignam, quam dicunt esse Romanam ecclesiam, eamque impudenter appellant matrem fornicationem, Babylonem magnam, meretricem et basilicam dyabolii et Sathanca synagogam. Omnesque gradus et ordines ac ordinationes ejus et statua despiciunt et depravant et omnes qui fidem ejus tenent appellant hereticos et errantes nec aliquem posse salvari in fide Romane
ecclesie dogmatizant. (Bermard Gui, I, p. 10).


76 Runciman, p. 4. For a good summary of early heresies and how they relate to Catharism, see: F.W. Bushell, Robert Scotts, 1918), pp. 699-714.

77 Bernard Gui, I, p. 10.

78 Runciman, p. 5.


80 Runciman, p. 6.


83 Runciman, pp. 9 and 10. See Also: Tertullian, *Philosophumena*, VII, 31, P.G., XVI, 3, col. 3338. Of course, the Cathars of the XIIth century would also villify the heroes of the Old Testament. They also detested especially St. John the Baptist. See: Jean Guiraud, pp. 23-24.


Runciman, pp. 17-18.


Runciman, p. 73. Runciman bases his statements on the account of Zibagenus. See: Euthymius Zigabenus, Panoplia Dogmatica, P.G. CXXX, cols.


92 Runciman, p. 169. For an excellent discussion of the importance of the Cathars in the cloth industry, including the role of Cathar women, see: Rene Nelli, La Vie Quotidienne des Cathares du Languedoc au XIIIe Siécle (Librairie Hachette, 1969), pp. 122-125. Interestingly enough, weaving women had threatened the Church before, not by association with heretics, but with Jews. See: Edward A. Synan, The Popes and the Jews in the Middle Ages (New York: Macmillan Co., 1965), p. 25, "Marriages between Jews and Christians attracted the attention of the civil authority. A decree of 339 required that women, formerly under imperial tutelage in that they had been employed in the emperor's weaving establishment, but who had married Jews, must be returned to those manufactories; the Jew who married a Christian woman in the future would do so at the peril of his life."

93 Runciman, p. 117.

94 Daniel-Rops, p. 534.


97 Runciman, p. 122. See also William of Newburgh, Historia Anglicana (London: English Historical Society, ed., 1856), II, xiii, pp. 120-3.

98 Runciman, p. 132.

99 Runciman, p. 33.

100 The history of the Albigensian Crusade and Inquisition is quite complicated, and historians are often influenced by their own backgrounds. Two of the most prestigious historians are Henry Charles Lea, who is rather anti-clerical, and H. Daniel-Rops, who is rather pro-Inquisition. See: Lea, A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages and Daniel-Rops, Cathedral and Crusade, Studies of the Medieval Church, 1050-1350, p. 538 ff. Runciman presents a clear summary of these events. See: Runciman, pp. 130-147. For a very thorough description of the Crusades including political and religious background see:


H.J. Warner, *The Albigenesian Heresy* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967, first published 1922 & 1928, 2 vols.), I., p. 73. According to Warner, the title "Perfecti" is based on Matt. 19:21 and is used outside Scripture as early as the Council of Ancyra in 314 A.D. which is significant because Ancyra was the capital of Galatia, an area associated with Catharism.

For a description of the Cathar Consolamentum as well as other rites see: Wakefield, pp. 36-39; Warner, pp. 80-87; and Runciman, pp. 154-162. For contemporary descriptions, see: Bernard Gui, pp. 19-33 and Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, pp. 3-9.

Runciman, p. 152.

Runciman, p. 152.

Runciman, pp. 158-159. Warner, I, pp. 85-86. As Runciman points out, although there are other instances in the records, two cases are recorded in Döllinger, *Dokumente*, pp. 19 and 25.


Musa, pp. 294-295.


*Purg.* XXVII, 115-117. See: Grandgent and Singleton, p. 558 and Musa, p. 293.

Grandgent and Singleton, p. 558, n. 115.

Musa, p. 299, n. 115.


*Purg.* XXVII, 91-93. See: Grandgent and Singleton, p. 557 and Musa, p. 293.


Musa, p. 293, *Purg.* XXVII, 100-108.


*Ibid.* art 2: 'Istae duae vitae significantur per duas uxorres Jacob: activa quidem per Liam, contemplativa vero per Rachelem; et per duas mulieres qual Dominum hospitio receruperunt: contemplativa quidem per Mariam, activa vero per Martham . . . Diviso ista datur de vita humana, quae quidem attenditur secundum intellectum. Intellectus autem dividitur per activum et contemplativum, quia finis intellectivae cognitionis vel est ipsa cognition aliqua exterior actio; quod pertinet ad intellectum practicum sive activum.'

*Ibid.* qu. clxxxii, art. 2: 'Deum diliger secundum se est magis meritorium quam diligere proximum . . . vita autem contemplativa directe et immediate pertinet ad dilectionem Dei; vita autem activa directius ordinatur ad dilectionem proximi. Et ideo ex suo genere contemplativa vita est majoris meritum quam activa.'


130 Many scholars have discussed the complex role of Matelda: Ciardi identifies her as the Active Life of the Soul, see: Ciardi, pp. 282 and 288. For other discussions

131 Ciardi, p. 212.
133 Musa, p. 302, Purg. xxviii, 67-69.
134 Grandgent and Singleton, p. 566, n. 68. Grandgent and Singleton not only use "trattando", but also translate it as "weaving" and point out the relationship between this image and that of Leah. Even Vernon takes this sense into account: Vernon, II, p. 448.
137 Musa, p. 310.
138 Ciardi, p. 299.
139 Singleton, p. 573. Singleton, pp. 571-574 summarizes the symbolism of this canto. See also: Ciardi, pp. 282 and 297-301. For a fine scholarly explanation of Purg. XXVIII-XXXIII, see: Moore, pp. 178-209. Also see: Vernon, II, pp. 465-630.
140 Moore, p. 183.
141 Vernon, II, p. 487. For the Biblical basis of this passage, see: Ezekiel 1: 4-7 and Revelation 4: 6-8.
143 Grandgent and Singleton, p. 583, Purg. XXX, 1-3.
144 Musa, p. 321.
145 Grandgent and Singleton, p. 584, Purg. XXX, 22-33.
146 Musa, p. 322.
147 Grandgent and Singleton, pp. 585-587, Purg. XXX, 40-81.
148 Musa, pp. 322-323.
149 Ciardi, p. 308, n. 55.
150 Vernon, II, p. 515.
151 Vernon, II, p. 510. In this interpretation, Vernon follows Benvenuto de Imola.
152 Grandgent and Singleton, p. 587, n. 81.
153 Ciardi, p. 316, n. 99.
154 Ciardi, p. 317, n. 118-126.
155 Grandgent and Singleton, p. 598, Purg. XXXI, 118-123.
156 Musa, p. 333.
157 See n. 61 of this dissertation.
158 See n. 62 of this dissertation.
159 Carroll, p. 410. On Beatrice's role as Wisdom, see also: Singleton, Dante Studies 2, Chapter VIII, "Lady Philosophy or Wisdom", pp. 122-138.
161 Musa, p. 334.
162 Singleton, Dante Studies, 1: Commedia, Elements of Structure, p. 57.
163 James I. Wimsatt, "Beatrice as a Figure for Mary," Traditio, 33 (1977), pp. 402-14.
165 See n. 72 of this dissertation.
166 Musa, pp. 354-357.

167 That the Tree represents empire, especially the Roman Empire, is widely held. See: Musa, pp. 349-350; Grandgent and Singleton, pp. 600-601; and Vossler, II, pp. 343-344.

168 Moore, p. 220. See also pp. 195-198. For a history of "The Legend of the Wood of the Cross" see: pp. 219-220. This interpretation of the Tree as the Tree of Knowledge has long been accepted by scholars. See: Grandgent and Singleton, pp. 600-601; Musa, p. 349; and Ciardi, pp. 324-325. Schiller also discusses the medieval belief that the True Cross was made out of the wood of Paradise. However, she believes that this was known, not from legends, but from the liturgy which was used during Holy Week. Furthermore, she links this belief about the Cross to the typology of Adam. Finally, she attributes a reactivation of this belief in the thirteenth century to St. Bonaventure who "describes the Cross as a tree of leaves and flowers, which— as Revelation 22 says— bore fruit for Christians to eat." Schiller II, pp. 133-134.


170 Musa, pp. 344-345.

171 Vernon, II, pp. 577-578.

172 In the Paradiso St. Peter laments that his throne has been "usurped" and is now "vacant." See: Grandgent and Singleton, p. 868, Par. XXVII, 22-24 and John Ciardi, The Paradiso (A mentor book, New York: New American Library, 1970), p. 298.


174 Musa, p. 348, n. 16.

175 Musa, p. 346, 1.112, Purg. XXXII, 112.
This is indeed the standard interpretation. See: Musa, p. 354, n. 109-117; Grandgent and Singleton, p. 601; and Moore, p. 201.

Ciardi, p. 327, n. 112.

Parker, II, pp. 494-495.

For the symbolism of the Tree of Life, the Tree of Knowledge, and the Cross, see Schiller II, pp. 133-136. This includes a discussion of the Cross as a green tree and a withered tree which became associated with Synagogue and Ecclesia, as well as Eve and Mary by the end of the Middle Ages. The antithesis in which the arbor crucis and the arbor cognitionis are contrasted as green and withered trees respectively is expressed in a variety of ways during the waning of the Middle Ages. . . . The antithesis between the trees is occasionally extended to their contrasting fruits and combined with a juxtaposing of Eve and Mary or Eve and Ecclesia. Thus the old confrontation of Ecclesia and Synagogue below the Cross persists in a new antithesis. The fruit that the two female figures pluck from the tree and hand on to two separate groups are the Bread of Life in the form of the host and the fruit of death in the form of a skull, or an apple which Eve picks from the Tree or takes from the serpent's mouth.

Moore, p. 202. For the fox as a representative of heresy in general and Gnosticism in particular, see: Musa, p. 354, n. 118-23; Grandgent and Singleton pp. 601-602; and Carroll, pp. 475-477.

Musa, pp. 355-356; Ciardi, p. 327, pp. 124-129; Grandgent and Singleton, p. 602; and Moore, pp. 202-203.

Grandgent and Singleton, p. 602. See also: Rev. 12: 3, 4, and 9.

Carroll, pp. 478-479. See also: Musa, p. 355, n. 130-135.

Musa, p. 347, Purg. XXXII, 149.

Scholars are rather in agreement as to this symbolism. See: Moore, p. 208-209; Vernon, II, pp. 596-601; Musa, pp. 356-357; Ciardi, pp. 327-328; Grandgent and Singleton, pp. 602-603; and Vossler, II, p. 344. The Biblical text is Rev. 17.

Musa, pp. 357, n. 160 and 223, n. 87.


190 Ciardi, p. 334, n. 5-6. See also: n.1. Vernon also calls Beatrice the "ideal ecclesiastical authority". See: Vernon, II, pp. 603-604.

191 Grandgent and Singleton, p. 614, *Purg.* XXXIII, 10-12. The Scripture is John 16: 16, "A little while and ye shall not see me: and again, a little while, and ye shall see me."


194 Musa, p. 359.

195 Ciardi, p. 335, n. 34-36. The Scripture is Ref. 17: 8. See also: Musa, p. 363, n. 34-35. Moore points this out as well as he points out the shift from "history" to "prophecy". See: Moore, p. 209.

196 The number of the beast is given in Rev. 13: 18.

197 The commentary on the DXV passage is extensive. Grandgent and Singleton, pp. 612-614 provides an excellent summary and recommends the *Enciclopedia Dantesca* as a source for this extensive bibliography. Musa, p. 364, n. 43 as well recommends the article by Pietro Mazzamuto in the *Enciclopedia Dantesca*. See: *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, ed. Umberto Bosco. (l'Instituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana: Roma, 1970).
CHAPTER III
Chaucer's Wife of Bath and the
Windows of Canterbury Cathedral

In this chapter, we will discuss the figure of Chaucer's Wife of Bath as a deceitful, wandering spinner, whose only activities are gossip and lust. She stands in stark contrast to the good figures of the Active Life at Chartres who, like their prototype, the good Wife of Proverbs 31: 13, works wool and flax with her hands. Instead, she resembles, as we shall see, the heretical weavers who were the targets of the message of the north porch of Chartres. Although it is not within the goals of this dissertation to identify the wife specifically with Catharism, she embodies many of their dualist traits such as a perverse attitude toward the Old Testament, a literal rather than typological attitude toward Scripture in general, and an identification of marriage with lust rather than its sacramental nature. Of course, her occupation of weaving was a favorite trade of the heretics.

Allegorically, the Wife represents a Synagogue figure who also betrays characteristics of the Whore of Babylon. Ironically, she tells a tale of an old hag, a Synagogue
figure, who is transformed into a figure of Ecclesia, as we shall see later when we discuss the imagery and language of the tale in detail. Before we consider the tale in detail, we shall also consider the stained glass of Canterbury Cathedral, the pronounced goal of Chaucer's pilgrims. A survey of the glass will reveal that the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia formed the theme of two beautiful rose windows in the cathedral. In addition, a series of typological windows relating the Old to the New Covenants amplified this theme and provided a typological pattern for its interpretation. Thus, the outstanding treatment of the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia and its typological context would not only have been available to Chaucer, but unavoidable to him as well. Before our discussion of either the tale or the windows, however, let us summarize what we have seen of this theme so far.

Thus far, we have examined how the medieval Church used the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia to teach the faithful that the Church of Rome was the true heir to the authority once held by the Synagogue and the Mosaic Law. The Church succeeded to this authority at the Crucifixion, and this historical event is recreated and celebrated in the eucharist which affords salvation to the individual Christian. Therefore, the Church, as the one legitimate ministrant of the sacrament, guides the individual Christian to eternal life. To illustrate this message, artists often
placed the female personifications of Synagogue and Ecclesia within the context of the Crucifixion. However, to further illustrate the legitimate authority of the Church, the personifications of Synagogue and Ecclesia were often placed in a typological context as well, since the Church taught a typological interpretation of Scripture in order to show that the whole of Scripture was fulfilled in Christ, whose Bride is the Church.

We saw this beautifully illustrated on the north transept of Chartres Cathedral where the use of Synagogue and Ecclesia in a typological context served not only to reassure and instruct the faithful that the Church would be his guide through this world and into the next; it also refuted the neo-Manichean heretics who rejected the Old Testament and the Church's authority as ministrant of the sacrament. At Chartres, the personifications of Synagogue and Ecclesia, and Leah and Rachel, or Martha and Mary, testify to the harmony of the Old and the New Testaments. In addition, they testify to the harmony of the perfect Active and Contemplative Lives. This interpretation of the two wives of Jacob, and the two sisters who gave hospitality to the Lord, is amplified by the smaller figures of the archivolts which depict women of the Active Life engaged in the process of cloth making and women of the Contemplative Life engaged in the acts of contemplation.
As we noted in our discussion of Chartres, St. Gregory the Great provided the best-known textural basis for interpreting the two wives of Jacob as personifications of the Active and Contemplative Lives.¹ According to St. Gregory, the beautiful but barren Rachel represents the Contemplative Life, while her weak-eyed but fruitful sister represents the Active Life. In his well-known interpretation of this idea, St. Gregory urges the good Christian to combine both righteous action and contemplation in his earthly life. Christ is the model for the unity of action and contemplation, for, in his Incarnation, he unified two peoples, two lives, and two natures. Furthermore, Gregory warns that, although the merits of the Contemplative Life are better than those of the Active, a faithful Christian must be careful not to overmatch himself with contemplation and theological matters lest he fall into error and heresy. Of course, this advice is especially apt for those who are better suited for action and who lack the facility for contemplation. They are advised to live a righteous active life and avoid the "heights of contemplation" which could precipitate their fall:

When thou art not qualified for the contemplative life by a fitting degree of discretion, keep more safely the active life alone, and when thou failest in that which thou choosest as great, be content with that which thou heedest as very little, that if by the contemplative life thou art forced to fall from the knowledge of the truth,
thou mayest by the active life alone be able to enter into the kingdom of heaven at least with one eye.

As we shall soon see, this advice is precisely the lesson which the Wife of Bath needs to learn. Instead of producing the fruits of a virtuous active life, like the wife of Proverbs 31 and the weaving figures of the Chartrean facade, this wandering, weaving wife follows her own desires. Rather than following the teaching of the Church on spiritual and scriptural matters, she interprets the Scripture to suit her own fancies and thus falls into error. Most of her errors spring from her misunderstanding of Christian marriage. As we saw in our discussion of the Chartrean facade, errors concerning the nature of Christian marriage were rampant in the twelfth century. Indeed, the neo-Manicheans, especially the Cathars, who were the targets of the anti-heretical iconography of the Chartrean facade, rejected marriage just as they rejected the Old Testament. After all, from a dualist standpoint, marriage served to perpetuate the evil world of matter which had been created by the false god of the Old Testament. Obviously, the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia and its auxiliary typological context refute the dualist Manichean heretics who reject the authority of the Church. Furthermore, by placing this theme within the setting of the Crucifixion, iconographers could emphasize the Church's role in the sacrifice of the
eucharist. This served to refute the Donatist tendencies of the heretics who asserted that the sacrament of the Roman Church was rendered ineffectual by clerical corruption.

The introduction of the context of marriage to this theme strengthened the didactic and anti-heretical power of this theme even more. Since Ecclesia, who came into her authority at the Crucifixion, is hailed as the Bride of Christ, marriage is the best description of the relationship between Christ and His Church. To misunderstand or reject the nature of marriage implies that one cannot understand the relationship between Christ and the Church. This misunderstanding of the spiritual nature of marriage manifests itself in the everyday life of a Christian. Persisting in a failed Contemplative Life ironically results in an Active Life of bad works, as Chaucer's Wife of Bath will illustrate. In this context, infidelity signifies both adultery and idolatry, as in the statue at Chartres Cathedral. Furthermore, as Haller notes, Synagogue was also conflated with Idolatria, which is usually represented "by the worship of money or some other animal."

For the scriptural passages which relate idolatry and sexual excesses to the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia, and therefore to the Wife of Bath, we must turn to Romans. Paul begins his letter by pointing out that Christ, who was "made of the seed of David according to the flesh," was for all nations. In his famous passage in Rom. 1: 16, the Apostle
proclaims, "For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek." Thus, Paul is very concerned in explaining the New Covenant as a fulfillment rather than a discarding of the Old Covenant. Paul then goes on to explain the origins of the Covenant with God by explaining human history. The Apostle explains that man, in his folly and vain imagination, fell into the worship of idols and images. Because of this, God gave man over unto his lust and "vile affections." Paul continues in this passage to explain the nature of the Old Law and to condemn those Jews who know the law, but break it, who preach against adultery and idolatry, but who commit those very sins. According to Paul, such sinners are worse than the Gentiles who, lacking the knowledge of the law, were guided by nature to do those things contained in the law. Paul clarifies his explanation of sacred history by tracing the state of mankind from Moses to Christ and from Adam to Moses. Of course Paul concludes that through baptism mankind frees itself from death and sin, "For sin shall not have dominion over you: for ye are not under the law, but under grace." 4

Having explained the relationship between the Old Law and the New, in Chapter 7 Paul uses the example of widowhood and remarriage to explain the constricting nature of the Old Law and the freedom of grace as well as the result this
should have on man's members to "bring forth fruit." This influential passage merits quotation:

Know ye not, bretheren, (for I speak to them that know the law,) how that the law hath dominion over a man as long as he liveth?

For the woman which hath an husband is bound by the law to her husband so long as he liveth; but if the husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband.

So then if, while her husband liveth, she be married to another man, she shall be called an adulteress; but if her husband be dead, she is no adulteress, though she be married to another man.

Wherefore, my bretheren, ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ; that ye should be married to another, even to him who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God.

For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins, which were by the law, did work our members to bring forth fruit unto death.

But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held; that we should serve in the newness of the spirit, "and not the oldness of the letter."

This advice answers the question which the Wife of Bath repeats throughout her Prologue, "how many times might we marry?" All she wants is a legal limit. Under the Old Law, there was no limit, so she appeals to Old Testament examples. Unlike the Woman of Samaria, which she also
mentions, the Wife of Bath is not interested in spiritual or allegorical connotations, just banal realities. She is certainly not interested in Paul's message that, the Old Law being dead, we are free to marry Christ. Chaucer further develops the allegorical significance of marriage in the *Wife's Tale* in which the young knight, through the Pauline "death" in baptism, liberates himself from the Old Law of the loathly hag and espouses the new bride Ecclesia.

Paul gave not only spiritual counsel, but practical advice as well. Just as his writings on the spiritual significance of marriage and bondage under the law apply to the Wife as a Synagogue figure, so his practical advice about widowhood applies to the Wife as a character. Paul used re-marriage to explain the relationship of the law and grace, and he also gave instructions governing marriage and widowhood within the Christian community. Having discussed the status of the widow under the law in Romans, in I Timothy 4 and 5, Paul discusses the role of the widow within the community of grace. Paul prefaces this advice by warning against heretical doctrines of the last days which will forbid marriage and the eating of certain foods. He urges Timothy to abstain from "old wives fables", pointing out that which is created by God is good. Obviously, such a text provides strong ammunition for the Church who wanted to refute the heresy of the neo-Manicheans and Cathars who
condemned both marriage and the eating of meat and other foods.

In I Timothy 5, Paul explains the role of widows under the New Law. Paul urges the Christian community to honor and care for widows, but he makes a careful distinction between those who are "widows indeed" and other types of widows:

Honour widows that are widows indeed.

Now she that is a widow indeed, and desolate, trusteth in God, and continueth in supplications and prayers night and day.

But she that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth.

Not only must one distinguish between those who are widows indeed and those who are not, but one must also consider the age of the widow. Paul warns Timothy to take into the company only widows who are at least "threescore years old, having been the wife of one man." He warns what trouble young widows can cause:

But the younger widows refuse: for when they have begun to wax wanton against Christ, they will marry;

Having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith.

And withal they learn to be idle, wandering about from house to house; and not only idle, but tattlers also and busybodies, speaking things which they ought not.
I will therefore that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the house, give none occasion to the adversary to speak reproachfully.

For some are already turned aside after Satan.

As we shall see in The Wife's Prologue, this is a thumbnail sketch of the Wife. By her own confession, she was in her youth an idle, tattling busybody who wandered by the way from house to house, telling her "gossip" that which she ought not:

For hadd myn housbande pissed on a wal,  
Or doon a thyng that shold han cost his lyf,  
To hire, and to my nece, which that I loved well,  
I wold han tooold his conseil every deel.

The Wife of Bath is one of the young widows Paul warns about who have fallen to Satan. Having waxed wanton against Christ, she is not interested in the New Law of grace, but the Old Law of the flesh. However, before we turn to Chaucer, let us recall Dante's use of the Synagogue and Ecclesia theme in the final cantos of the Purgatorio. Here Dante uses the two wives of Jacob to represent the fulfillment of the Active and Contemplative Lives in the Earthly Paradise. This imagery prepares the reader for the great allegorical procession of the Church in which the unity of the Old Testament and the New Testament and the
authority of Ecclesia are proclaimed. However, Dante transforms this pageant into a vision of the Whore of Babylon seated on her beast and accompanied by a giant. Dante uses the imagery of the Whore of Babylon, which is usually used to denounce heresy, to Chastise papal abuses and the corruption of the Church. Although Dante's message is meant to instruct the individual Christian, the presentation of this pageant in typological and allegorical terms is other-worldly and overwhelming. Indeed, Dante the pilgrim is overwhelmed as well as the reader. Although didactic, this Purgatorial vision is far removed from the everyday life of the earthly experience of the reader.

Like Dante, Chaucer uses the imagery of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon. However, he fuses the other-worldly and the everyday settings so that the typological and spiritual significance of the Wife and her tale are presented through an allegory in an everyday setting. This is Chaucer's unique achievement. The Chartrean artists used typology to convey spiritual messages which would affect the everyday lives of their viewers. Dante, using both typology and allegory, also sought to convey a spiritual message for the betterment of the daily life of the individual. However, the Chartrean facade and Dante's Pageant of Ecclesia soar over the head of the viewer or reader. Chaucer's unique achievement is his ability to bring the pageant down to earth, to ground it in everyday
experience without robbing his message of any of its spiritual power and universal significance. The Chartreans divided their facade into compartments and archivolts. Dante divided his *Divine Comedy* into cantiche so that the *Purgatorio* forms a distinct division of the poem, to which the Pageant of the Church contributes a clear conclusion. Chaucer fuses these elements into a dynamic whole so that the Wife provides for the readers, as she does for her husband, "a purgatory on earth."\(^{10}\)

In order to see how masterfully Chaucer conflates the otherworldly and the mundane, the typological and the individual, let us summarize the basic events of *The Wife's Prologue* and *Tale*. Chaucer's weaving wife, herself much experienced in the "woe that is in marriage," prefaces her tale with her own life's story which is centered on her past five marriages and her quest for husband number six. Her tale itself turns upon the marriage between a young knight and a loathly hag, who eventually transforms herself into a beautiful, young bride. When we examine the Wife of Bath in detail, we shall see that Chaucer describes her in both the *General Prologue* and in the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* in terms of the Synagogue and the Whore of Babylon. Furthermore, the loathly hag in the *Wife's Tale* is portrayed in imagery which connotes first Synagogue and then Ecclesia. Therefore, on an allegorical level, the Wife's tale of revelation and rejuvenation describes the succession of authority from
Synagogue to Ecclesia and the revelation of Ecclesia as queen and bride.

Ironically, a figure who is a conflation of the Synagogue and the Whore of Babylon illuminates the succession of authority from Synagogue to Ecclesia. That the teller does not understand the implications of her tale demonstrates the saying, attributed to Augustine, that, "Truth speaks even in the mouths of her enemies," and adds force to the allegorical meaning of her story. However, the figure of the Wife of Bath is not only an allegory. On a non-allegorical level, she is the figure of a weaving widow who does not understand the nature of the sacrament of the Christian marriage. Just as she does not understand the allegorical implications of her tale which reveals Ecclesia as the Bride of Christ, so she does not understand the role of the Christian wife. Rather than as a path to Christian virtues of the active life, she sees marriage as an avenue to satisfy her sins of lust and greed. To justify her marital goals, she employs a literalistic interpretation of scripture rather than the typological method which was taught by the Church. In this respect, the Wife resembles the literal-minded Cathar dualists who flourished in the cloth trade of twelfth-century France. Such historical background strengthens the realism of her character.

Thus, the Wife of Bath is not just a static personification of Synagogue and the Whore of Babylon, but a
multi-faceted creation who functions on a human as well as an allegorical level. As a dynamic figure, she exerts her presence throughout her lengthy prologue and tale. Chaucer develops her identity throughout the General Prologue, the Wife's Prologue, and the Wife's Tale so that the Wife reveals her allegorical significance as she tells the story of her life. In the General Prologue, Chaucer describes the Wife briefly, giving her certain attributes of clothing, the scarlet hose and broad hat, and the ambling mount and "gat-teeth," which begin to form an image of Synagogue and the Whore of Babylon. He amplifies her image and brings it into sharper focus with references to wandering, oldness, and Jerusalem. Then, in the Wife's Prologue, he reiterates the elements of the scarlet clothes and reveals the depths of her spiritual blindness that ally her to Synagogue. The Wife's allegorical identity is not revealed merely through a static list of attributes, but through the context that gives these attributes significance.

The power of Chaucer's creation is not just in presenting the Wife as a Synagogue and Whore of Babylon figure, but in how he reveals this identity throughout the Prologue and Tale to create an artistic work of great complexity, richness, and irony. Therefore, the task of the reader must be not just to identify the Wife of Bath as a Synagogue and Whore of Babylon figure, but to discern how the revelation of this identity illuminates the Wife's
Prologue and how her Prologue then relates to a tale in which another Synagogue figure is revealed as Ecclesia. Unlike the bride in the Tale, the Wife herself is not a Synagogue revealed as Ecclesia, but a Synagogue who is revealed instead as the Whore of Babylon, the Synagogue of Satan. On a personal level, such a lesson warns the individual Christian that to refuse salvation is to choose damnation. On a broader scale, Chaucer warns the contemporary Church that if she fails to be the faithful Bride of Christ, she will become Satan's whore.

Perhaps the most important contextual clue to the allegorical significance of the Wife of Bath is the Lenten setting of her Prologue. When we examine the Tale, we shall see that this Lenten setting is mirrored on an allegorical level by the revelation of the old hag as Ecclesia with language which connotes the Crucifixion. The Lenten setting of the Wife's Prologue serves as a background to the story of her five marriages which have been based on lust and cupidty. Lamenting her lost youth, she still seeks a husband. Her earth-bound literalism and lack of spiritual rejuvenation seem all the more lifeless when seen against the spiritual renewal signaled by the Easter season and reflected in the natural world by the rebirth of Spring. The Wife's personal story of non-rejuvenation on an individual level contrasts on an allegorical level with the fairy-tale like story of her tale in which marriage results
in revelation and rejuvenation. The Lenten setting of the *Wife's Prologue* acts as a background for typological elements of the Wife's history and for the sacramental symbolism of her *Tale*.

Let us now examine the *General Prologue* closely in order to note what specific language Chaucer uses to create the figure of the Wife of Bath and what imagery he uses to associate her with Synagogue and the Whore of Babylon. Chaucer presents the Wife in a tight cluster of visual images which create a picture of the Wife that is as striking as the glowing personifications of Gothic glass. Then, just as the artists of Gothic glass used an iconographic context to demonstrate the significance of their figures, so also will Chaucer reiterate and amplify her picture in her *Prologue* and *Tale*.

She is introduced by occupation, origin, and physical attributes:

A good Wif was there of biseide Bathe,

But she was somdel deef, and that was scathe.

These lines identify her as a deaf married woman from a locality near Bath, but, as we shall see in her *Prologue*, the words "beside bathe" will be echoed in the words to describe the Samaritan woman "beside a well." The pun on bath and well is obvious. Still later, in the *Tale*, we will
hear of another bath, a "bath of bliss" that refers to the joy of the young knight who marries the loathly hag. Of course, the similarity of the baptism of "living water" which Christ offered to the Samaritan woman and the "bath of bliss" which is symbolic of baptism in the Tale does not become obvious until the final revelation at the end of the Tale. In the second line of her portrait, there is another pun on "scathe" meaning harm or injury, since the Wife's deafness was the result of an actual injury inflicted by one of her husbands. On an allegorical level, her deafness is "scathe" as well since through her deafness to the spirit of Scripture she inflicts harm on herself and those around her.

Later in this passage we learn that the Wife has had five husbands "at chirche dore" in addition to "other compaignye in youthe." Her resemblance to the Samaritan Woman in this respect is so blatant that the Wife herself points out in her Prologue that the Samaritan had five husbands and was living with a man which was not her husband. Unfortunatley, the Wife is not interested in the spiritual implications of such a resemblance. The fact that the Wife, having had so many husbands, is a professional widow who worships money and who is never faithful, connotes the Synagogue as well, for, as we saw in the "Altercation" of the Easter liturgy, Synagogue is depicted as a widow who is accused of lying, idolatry, and adultery.
She is a cloth-maker by occupation, and so proud that if anyone precedes her to the Sunday offering, she is "out of all charity." Indeed, cupiditas, rather than caritas, is her ruling characteristic. This is appropriate since Synagogue and Ecclesia can be seen as "representatives of the two types of love which can be chosen." Chaucer describes the clothing of this cloth maker with great care, and he tells her physical characteristics. She is red both in apparel and complexion:

Hir hosen weren of fyn scarlet red,

Full streyte yted, and shoes ful moyst and newe.

Similarly, her "boold" face is also "reed of hewe." Furthermore, this scarlet woman is "gat-tothed" and sits upon an "amblere." In addition to ten pounds of coverchiefs, she wears a hat which is broad as a "bokeler" or "targe." Such a prodigious hat, especially if it should match her red face and clothing, calls to mind the cardinal's hat, which is the most striking symbol of his office. This ecclesiastical-looking headgear, worn by an unregenerate Synagogue-Whore of Babylon figure, serves as an ironic indictment both of the corrupt clergy who would hide behind the ceremonial garb and of the corrupt individual who would mask her sins with an outward pretense of piety. The outrageous headgear of the Wife could have associations as
well with the large, pointed "Jew's hat" which, along with the goat's head, became associated with Synagogue in the twelfth century. Finally, because the Wife is not only allegory but character as well, the hat can be explained as a pilgrim's hat. Unlike the Gothic artist who had to choose one permanent visual image, the poet Chaucer can conflate these pictures and keep them suspended in the reader's mind.

Certainly, the image of a woman dressed in scarlet, with heavy veils and a large headdress, and seated upon an ambling mount, recalls the images of mounted Synagogue and the Whore of Babylon such as those in the Hortus Deliciarum. If, in addition to the scarlet clothing, bold face, veils, and headdress, we interpret "gat-tothed" as referring not only to spaces between the teeth, but also to "goat-toothed," the similarity between the image of the Wife of Bath and Synagogue is even stronger. As Curry has pointed out, having spaces between one's teeth indicated boldness, gluttony, and lust. Thus, this is quite harmonious with the reference to a goat which, after 1300, although an attribute of Synagogue, no longer signified the sacrificial animal of the Old Testament, but unchastity as well.

Chaucer elaborates upon the lust of this Synagogue figure with an image which connects her lust to oldness and spiritual decrepitude, for, in the line which concludes her portrait in the General Prologue the poet comments, "For she
koude of that art the olde daunce." As a practitioner of
the "olde daunce", she is a physical sister of the Vekke and
a spiritual sister of the unrejuvenated Synagogue. Robert
P. Miller calls the "olde daunce" of the Wife "cupidity" and
"marriage of the flesh" and asserts that in this "praktike"
she closely resembles the Pardoner, a type of the Pauline
Old Man. Miller also describes the rioters in The
Pardoner's Tale as "purveyors of the 'old daunce', the false
feast, the vetus canticum—'Which ben the verry develes
officeres.'" The Wife belongs in such devilish company
because, in rejecting Ecclesia's New Law of grace, she
represents not only the Old Law of Synagogue, but also the
Old Law of sin of the Whore of Babylon.

In addition to the physical and spiritual
characteristics which are attributed to the Wife of Bath in
the General Prologue, she is placed in a geographical
context. She is from "biseide Bathe", but in her "wanderynge
by the weye" she has been to Bologna, St. James, and Cologne.
In addition, she has been to Rome and three times to
Jerusalem. On a literal level, she is familiar with the
famous pilgrimage sites of her day. Furthermore, her visit
to Boulogne-sur-mer is compatible with her occupation of
cloth making, since Boulogne, on the northern coast of
France, would lie along a route to the cloth centers of
Ypres and Ghent, which are mentioned in the General
Prologue. On her pilgrimages she could pick up both trade
and heresy. In fact, Robertson, in an examination of the rise of the cloth industry in Chaucer's day and its results in everyday life, notes the connection between the rise of the cloth industry and heresy:

Bristol became the chief port for the export of cloth. The Wife thus represents a new kind of wealth in a new area whose prosperity was accompanied incidentally, by a spread of heresy.

Of course the proclivity of the French weavers for heresy has been amply demonstrated.

The Wife has also visited Rome, location of the Papal See and the capital of the contemporary Church. Given the implications of the unregenerate spiritual characteristics of the Wife of Bath, her visit to Rome could be a swipe at the corruption which plagued the Church and which manifested itself in the corrupt clerics depicted in the Tales. Her most impressive pilgrimages, however, are surely her three trips to Jerusalem. Three such lengthy journeys certainly qualify her as someone devoted to "wanderyng by the weye." The allegorical associations of three visits to Jerusalem help identify the Wife as a Synagogue figure because they refer to the three times when the Holy Temple was destroyed. Jerusalem was the site where the Holy Temple had been built by Solomon, destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar, and rebuilt by Josiah, eventually to be destroyed again by the Romans. Jerusalem was also the site where the Temple of Christ's
body had been destroyed, only to be "rebuilt" or 
resurrected after three days, in fulfillment of a promise 
which Christ had made at the Holy Temple.35

In fact, Bernard Levy has noted the correspondence 
between the Wife's three trips to Jerusalem and the three 
days which connote Christ's resurrection. Furthermore, Levy 
points out that the lines of the General Prologue which 
describe her pilgrimage to Jerusalem also suggest baptismal 
imagery:

   And thries hadde she been at Jerusalem,
   She hadde passed many a straunge strem.

At the sacrament of baptism, which, especially in the Early 
Church, usually took place at Easter, triple immersion of 
the candidate celebrates Christ's three-day descent into the 
tomb so that the baptismal font is at once a tomb for the 
sinner and a womb from which he is re-born. All of this 
foreshadows the "bath of blisse" which the "good Wif . . . 
of biside Bathe" will describe in her Tale.

Chaucer uses the settings of Spring, Lent, and the 
Crucifixion, with their implied sacramental lessons in the 
General Prologue, the Wife's Prologue, and the Wife's Tale, 
to illustrate the quest for salvation on three levels. In 
the General Prologue, the Wife is described against the 
Spring setting which provides the background for the whole 
of The Canterbury Tales. The Tales themselves, which depict
a group of pilgrims on their way to Canterbury Cathedral, is a model of the larger, earthly pilgrimage to the heavenly Jerusalem. In the Wife's Prologue, Chaucer describes a paritcular Lenten season spent by the Wife of Bath, and he mentions her particular use of pilgrimages. Finally, in the Wife of Bath's Tale, Chaucer describes an allegorical Lenten context in which a young knight's quest for "grace" and his own life also represents Christ's promise of salvation to all individuals who will truly espouse his Church. From the beginning, the Wife's Prologue is studded with imagery of Synagogue and Ecclesia and turns upon the relationship of the Old Covenant to the New. The Prologue also turns upon the theme of marriage which reflects the relationship of Christ and His Church, for which he died.

The Wife begins her Prologue by asserting that, although experience is not authority, it is good enough for her. Indeed, she does not want what is best for her spiritually, only what fulfills her fleshly desires. She is trapped in the "olde daunce" and Old Law and rejects the New. She continues by stating that she has had five husbands, although she is not sure that so many marriages are legal. Infact, she points out that Christ, "both God and man" reproved the Samaritan Woman "beside a welle" who was married five times, telling her that the man with whom she lived was not her husband. Missing the point of Christ's message, the Wife asks, "How many myghte she have in
Although she alludes to Christ's hypostatic nature, which Dante represented in the unearthly image of the gryphon, the Wife misses the point of Christ as the source of Living Water. Dead to the promise of Christ's offer of spiritual fulfillment which is the point of the story of the Samaritan, she wants a literal answer to the question, "how many times might we marry?" She is interested only in attaining a legal limit for multiple marriages. Claiming not to understand the Gospel, she falls back on the Old Testament injunction to "wexe and multiplye", which she claims to understand full well. John Mahoney traces the associations this "gentil text" had with heresies which allowed sexual excesses. Mahoney also points out the Wife of Bath's fundamental misunderstanding of the story of the Wedding at Cana, which, like the story of the Samaritan Woman, interests the Wife only as it relates to the number of times one might marry:

While it may be to argue the obvious, we might in wondering what this is all about, point out that the only reliable reading of Christ's visit at Cana, however it may be sketched, has never concluded that the Christian principle of matrimony, its monogamous and indissoluble character, was to be symbolized by the fact that the Gospels record Christ attending only one marriage. Moreover, it seems both Alice, and the reading she is citing, have confused the issue of Christ's words to the Samaritan woman: the Samaritan woman's current husband was apparently not a rightful one because her marriages had been bigamous, that is, not
successive-or quingamous, in what would have been Alice's coinage. The Church, though it has frequently counselled against remarriage after the death of one's spouse, has never forbidden it.

Just as the Wife is not interested in the Living Water which Christ offered at the well to the Samaritan Woman, she is not interested in the New Wine into which Christ transforms the water at the Wedding in Cana. Instead, she falls back on the Old Testament figure of "Salomon" who was "refreshed" by many wives. As we saw at the facade at Chartres, Solomon and the Queen of Sheba were types of the Church coming to Christ. The use of the word "refreshed" underscores this Christological connection, since the Wife will use it again shortly to refer to Christ's feeding of the multitude. This miracle is celebrated on Refreshment Sunday, the fourth Sunday in Lent. Unconcerned by Solomon's typological connection to the spiritual life of Christ and the Church, the Wife again is only interested in him literally as he relates to her question, "how many times may one legally be married?"

As we shall see in our discussion of the stained glass at Canterbury Cathedral, these stories mentioned by the Wife are prominently depicted in the cathedral windows, which also provide a key to understanding their allegorical and typological significance. The "Wedding at Cane" was prominently depicted in the fourth typological window at
Canterbury. In the next window, Jesus was depicted with the Woman of Samaria. The pictures surrounding this scene included the "Samaritans Brought to Jesus," "the Gentile Church Comes to Christ," "Synagogue and Moses," and "Jacob and Rachel at the Well." Included also in this fifth window were scenes of "Jesus with Mary and Martha," "Jacob with Leah and Rachel," and "Peter Fishing and John Reading." In such a context, the lesson of the Samaritan Woman is clear. After she learns of Christ's Living Water at the well, she brings others to him so that they might receive this gift as well. She leaves her old life and engages in a good active life. She therefore belongs in the company of Synagogue and Ecclesia as well as Mary and Martha and Leah and Rachel. Unfortunately, the Wife of Bath resembles the Samaritan Woman only in her unredeemed state.

Still unconcerned with the Christological significance of the Old Testament figures which she names, the Wife then calls upon "Lameth", Abraham, and Jacob, as examples of figures who had more than one wife. Lamech was the descendent of Enoch, the son of Methuselah, and the father of Noah. He was, of course, an ancestor of Christ and was depicted as such in Canterbury Cathedral by one of the most outstanding twelfth-century masters of stained glass, the Methuselah Master. Abraham, the great patriarch, was also an ancestor of Christ. Jacob has special significance since his two wives particularly represent the Old and New
Covenants and the Active and Contemplative Lives. Blind to the typological significance of these Old Testament types, the Wife of Bath presents them only as examples of polygamy.

After these references to the Old Testament and the Gospel, the Wife cites Paul, in order to point out that "at leeste" he did not command virginity. Just as Paul, basing his writings upon the Gospels, is the great expositor of the relationship between the Old and New Testaments, so he is also the great expositor of Christian marriage. Of course, Paul did not command virginity, and the Gospel passage which forms the basis for Paul's writing is contained in Matthew 19: 8-11 in which Christ explains that celibacy is a gift which is not given to everyone. However, Christ did make clear the importance of marriage under His covenant. Because of the "hardness" of the human heart, Moses had allowed divorce, even though that had not been true in the beginning. However, under the New Covenant, a man is forbidden to put away his wife, except for fornication. Thus, Christ recalls the unfallen purpose to which God created man, male and female, to be one flesh and blessing them with the commandment to "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth ...". The Christian marriage will restore this blessing of being one flesh so that marriage will be no mere contract, but a sacrament.

Just as Christ did not command celibacy, so Paul points out that everyone has his own gift. In fact, the well-known
passage from I Cor. 7 spells out the particulars of Christian marriage. Although virginity is good, in order to avoid fornication, marriage provides a spouse. This is to be a true marriage, and not one of celibacy. Husbands and wives are to remain together, and, if the wife does depart, she is to remain unmarried. A husband is not to put away his wife. Although virginity is commended, marriage is allowed to the unmarried, and remarriage to the widows. Paul concludes:

The wife is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth; but if her husband be dead, she is at liberty to be married to whom she will; only in the Lord.

But she is happier if she so abide, after my judgment; and I think also that I have the Spirit of God.

The Wife persists either in ignoring or misconstruing Paul, just as she ignores the allegorical significance of her Old Testament examples. For example, ignoring the fact that Paul said, "it is better to marry than to burn," the Wife offers the proverb, "For peril is bothe fyr and tow t'assemble."47 She then goes on to declare that she is happy being a wooden vessel, and will not boast of her "estaat."48 The proper natures of the wifely estate we shall see when we discuss the Canterbury typological windows. For the metaphor of the vessels, we need only to
return to Paul who uses this figure of speech to warn the followers of Christ to abstain from inquity:

But in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some to honour, and some to dishonour.
If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified, and meet for the master's use, and prepared unto everygood work.

Paul concludes this advice with a further injunction to "Flee also youthful lusts."

The lesser vessel is lust and inquity, rather than righteousness, which may be practiced in marriage or celibacy. The Wife insists in setting up a false dicotomy between marriage and virginity rather than a true dichotomy between sin and righteousness. She does this so that marriage, which is permitted, may be an excuse for lust, which is not permitted. In this context, the Wife points out that everyone has his own gift, and not everyone is called, like the rich young man in the Gospel, to sell all that he has and live "parfitly." The Wife ignores the perfection that is to be striven for in marriage and widowhood and the duty of each individual to live perfectly in the estate to which he is called.

The Wife then demands to know the purposes of the "membres" of generation and of the husband's "sely instrument." According to Paul, the sexual members are
"instruments of righteousness unto God." That this question should come from someone who cites Paul is ironic indeed, since in Chapters 5-7 of Romans Paul discusses the use of the sexual organs to explain the Old Law and the New Law of grace as well as sin and righteousness. Furthermore, Paul applies this message about the relationship between the Law and grace by using the example of widowhood. Paul begins this passage by briefly recounting sacred history from Adam to Christ and the accompanying change in mankind from death to salvation and grace. Under the reign of grace, the sexual organs are to be "instruments of righteousness." This new state which Paul earlier calls "a circumcision ... in the spirit" to replace the physical circumcision of the Old Law. Uninterested in grace, the Wife is concerned with the members only as instruments for the gratification of lust. She is bound by the Old Law of flesh and of sin, a law which, Paul explains, makes the members war against reason. He also warns that the "fruit" of such uncleanness is shame and death, whereas the "fruit" of righteousness is everlasting life.

It is useful at this point to recall that Paul wrote this letter to the Church at Rome in large part to reassure them that the message of Christ was freely to be given to both Jew and Gentile. It presents, therefore, a very complete explanation of the relationship between the Old and
New Covenant, the law of circumcision and the freedom of grace. Indeed, Paul begins the letter by declaring that Jesus Christ was "made of the seed of David according to the flesh," a lesson which the Wife overlooks in her attempt to enlist the ancestors of Christ in her discussion of marriage. 57

Continuing her rambling prologue, the Wife asserts that she does not need to strive for perfection anymore that the barley bread with which Christ fed the multitude needs to be bread of pure white seed. The Wife has already mentioned "refreshment" in relation to Solomon. Now she mentions Christ's miracle so that it functions as a New Testament antitype to her allusion to the Old Testament king. This miracle, depicted in Canterbury glass and celebrated as the fourth Sunday of Lent, strengthens the other Lenten connotations of the Wife's Prologue:

I nyl envye no virginitee.
Lat hem be breed of pured whete-seed,
And lat us wyves hoten barly-breed;
And yet with barly-breed, Mark telle kan,
Oure Lord Jhesu refreashed many a man,
In swich estaat as God hath cleped us
I wol persevere; I nam nat precius.
In wyfhod I wol use myn instrument 58
As frely as my Makere hat it sent.

At this point, a bitter quarrel between two corrupt ecclesiastics begins to swirl about the figure of the Wife. The Pardoner interrupts the Wife, but she brushes him aside,
since she has more to tell about the "tribulation in marriage." However, the Pardoner is not the only cleric to interrupt the Wife, for, at the end of her Prologue, the Friar intrudes to comment:

    Now dame, quod he, so have I joye or blis,  
This is a long preamble of a tale!  

The Friar's interruption occasions the Summoner's angry retort:

"Lo," quod the Somonour, "Goddes armes two!  
A frere wol entremette hum everemo.  
Lo, goode men, a flye and eek a frere  
Wol falle in every dyssh and eek mateere.  
What speketstow of preambulacioun?  
What! amble, or trotte, or pees, or go sit doun!  
Thou lettest outr disport in this manere."

Before the host can intervene and instruct the Wife to continue her story, both Summoner and Friar have sworn that they will tell outrageous tales on each other.

Obviously, the Friar and Summoner have a certain economic basis for their quarrel, since they are both competing for the same slice of the ecclesiastical pie. However, as Bernard Huppé explains, their hatred has a deeper root:
... Their antipathy, as will be seen, has an economic basis, but an explanation of the dramatic occasion for it must begin with an answer to the question of why the disreputable ecclesiastics cluster around the Wife of Bath like bees around a flower. The Friar and the Summoner alone quarrel; the third bee, the Pardoner, does not become involved; however, the General Prologue links him with the Summoner, and the tale he tells also ensues in a violent quarrel between himself and the Host, which ends in a kiss of peace enforced by the Knight.

Why Chaucer shows the ecclesiastical rogues attracted to the Wife springs from his development of the social implications of the marriage theme. ...

An hierarchical progression is involved. The Church is to society as society is to the family. As Christ married His Church, so must the ruler marry his state, and the husband be wedded to his family. The default of authority in the husband has grievous social consequences; the default in the ruler has graver consequences; however, the most damaging consequences follow from default in spiritual leadership. The Church is the vessel of salvation; as the family is expressed in society, society is expressed in the Church. In this light the drama of the defiant Wife of Bath takes on added significance. Because no husband has succeeded in taming her, she has become obdurate in her rebellion, and no spiritual authority has quelled her rebelliousness. Indeed, she seems to be at the mercy of spiritual guides who are in fact confidence men.

Huppé also explains that this antipathy between the Summoner and the Friar mirrors the friction between the
secular clergy and the friars which became "the most active and widespread controversy of a controversial age." In part, this antipathy was caused by the fact that the fraternal orders were perceived as being out of the traditional hierarchy of the Church and, therefore, of placing that hierarchy in "desray." Not only did the fraternal orders not fit into the traditional hierarchy; they did not fit into the tripartite division of the Church into the active, contemplative, and prelatical states. On this point, the seculars attacked the friars:

... The seculars levelled their charges not only at the corruption of the friars—a double-edged weapon at best—but more generally at their violation of the established tripartite structure of the Church; that is, into the Active, Contemplative, Prelatical states, each with its fixed place in the hierarchical scheme.

The corrupt ecclesiastics, who exemplify the perversion of the active and contemplative lives within the Church, and the Wife, who exemplifies the corruption of marriage, both as a sacrament and as a metaphor for the Church's relationship to Christ, form a perverse Pageant of the Church Corrupted into the Whore of Babylon. The Wife and the corrupt clerics bring this Pageant of the Corrupt Church down to earth as they trot along toward Canterbury Cathedral. This image of the Wife as a Whore of Babylon figure will be developed later as the Wife reveals herself,
in the tale of her five husbands, as a harlot who sells to her husbands, and perhaps to others, that gift which should be freely given and which is, indeed, a debt which she owes to her husband. If we interpret the Wife allegorically as the failed Bride of Christ, then her harlotry signifies the simony of the corrupt Church, who sold holy things which belonged to Christ, such as the salvation which was to all believers. Unlike Dante who presents this theme in a majestic and celestial pageant, Chaucer brings this imagery and his message down to earth by making his Whore of Babylon a real widow who behaves promiscuously.

The profundity of the consequences of the Wife's corruption does not become clear until she tells her Tale. The transformation of the loathly hag into a beautiful bride, which allegorically represents the succession from Synagogue to Ecclesia, heightens by contrast the tragedy of the unredeemed Wife of Bath who degenerates from Synagogue to the Whore of Babylon. In an article which deals with the political significance of the "mystical marriage," Michael Wilks gives examples of Old Testament marriages which are described as both "fair and foul" and which are interpreted as representing Israel's relationship to God. In the New Testament, this theme was developed with the imagery of Ecclesia as the Sponsa Christi:

. . . Throughout the Old Testament the chosen people of Israel appears in the guise of the bride of God, as for
example in the Song of Songs, where it may be noticed that Israel, the bride of Solomon, has both fair and foul aspects. Through his marriage to Israel the ruler of the chosen people becomes the earthly mouthpiece and instrument of God, the community's divine husband. This is particularly marked with the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Hosea, the latter referring to Israel as Jacob's wife; and at a later date Philo was to explain that Abraham's wife, Sarah, was a symbol of sovereignty and imperishable virtue, to whose will Abraham was bound to submit. In the New Testament this is then developed into the familiar theological doctrine that the whole Church is the sponsa Christi, the earthly community being united to the divine power of God through the agency of the head. The kingship of Christ is matched by the regal nature of the Ecclesia universalis: as his queen, regina mundi diginnissima, she is the immediate source of the divine justice and righteousness inherent in the heavenly king, and has therefore an absolute right to wield sovereignty over the faithful members of the Christian body. Here again the fair and foul nature of the society is preserved: medieval theologians stressed the Pauline theory that Christ as caput Ecclesiae would take the Church, his bride, in all her foulness and transform her in glory so that she might become without blemish.

In both the Old Testament and New Testament marriages which exemplify the theme of the mystical marriage, the brides are entitled to "maistry" for, through the mystical marriage, the individual submits to the Covenant of God. This explains why the young knight's submission to the loathly hag brings rejuvenation and joy. By submitting to
the lawful authority of Ecclesia, the individual gains the joy and power of salvation while he symbolically celebrates, in imitatio Christi, in the rejuvenation of the Church.

Each individual, therefore, celebrates the central Christian paradox of dying with Christ to be born into salvation. The legitimate and rejuvenating sovereignty which the loathly lady requests, contrasts with the illegitimate and enslaving demands of the Wife for "maistry". Because she is a corrupt and false Bride of Christ, submission to her represents submission to a Covenant not with Christ but with the powers which support the Whore of Babylon.

The sovereignty conferred by a mystical marriage was also used by both temporal rulers and the pope to explain the "maistry" which they hoped to exert over their subjects. Such political use of the theme of the mystical marriage dates back to classical times but was common as well in medieval European literature and the Celtic mythology which included the sources and analogues for The Wife of Bath's Tale.67 By the twelfth century, the papacy as well made good use of this theme:

... By the twelfth century the Pope, vice Christi, commonly figures as the universal husband. In 1198, for instance, Innocent III devotes the whole of his third consecration sermon to this theme. There is, he says, amongst other sorts of marriage, a spiritual union between Christ and his Church. Since the power of Christ now devolves upon the Pope by virtue of the Petrine comission, the same may be said of the Roman
pontiff: "Ergo, qui habet sponsam, sponsus est. An non ego sponsus sum?"--a husband of the Roman church which is mother and mistress of all the other faithful, the cuncti fideles, and thus the whole universal community of believers. . . . Then follows a list of wives from the Old Testament who prefigured the Roman church in this respect. He continues: "Cum hac mihi sacramentale coniugium, cum hac mihi commercium nuptiale. Mira res, qui coelibatum, nec fecunditas huius coniugis tollit virginitatis castitatem."68

Used by both popes and kings, the theme of the mystical marriage had both political and theological implications. In fact, Dante, in *Purgatorio* vi, 112-114, conflates both the political and theological significance of this theme in a depiction of Rome "vedova e sola" crying for her lost Caesar. The immediate target of Dante's message was, obviously, the Holy Roman Emperor who had abandoned his responsibilities to Italy and who failed to be a new Caesar to restore the *pax Romana*.69 However, the image which Dante uses comes from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, in which the prophet describes the widowed Jerusalem weeping alone at night in the period of her Babylonian captivity.70 Obviously, Dante is conflating the image of the widowed Rome with that of the widowed Synagogue of Jeremiah, and, just as the prophet concludes his Lamentations with a prayer, so Dante prays:

E se lìcito me'è, o sommo Giove
che fosti in terra per noi
crocifisso,
son li giusti occhi tuoi rivolti
altrove?
O Supreme Jove, for mankind crucified,
if you permit the question, I must
ask it:
are the eyes of your clear Justice
turned aside?

Just as Dante conflates classical pagan culture, the
Old Testament, the New Testament, and contemporary events in
his image of the widowed Rome, Chaucer conflates classical
allusions with Old Testament and New Testament imagery
around the figure of the oft-widowed Wife of Bath who, as a
Synagogue figure, has fallen under a Babylonian captivity of
Church corruption. Thus, the Wife's allusions to the ante-
legem multiple marriages of Abraham and Jacob are especially
ironic since their dual marriages reflect the Old Covenant
between God and Israel and proclaim the New Covenant between
Christ and the Church. Furthermore, the two wives of Jacob
are closely identified with both Synagogue and Ecclesia as
well as the ideal active and contemplative lives which could
be contained in the Church. Seen against this background,
the Wife of Bath, surrounded by the corrupt friar, summoner,
and pardoner who have failed to live any sort of good life,
whether active, contemplative, or prelatical within the
Church, form an allegory of a mystical marriage which is "on
the rocks."
Just as Chaucer and Dante used imagery of Synagogue and Ecclesia, the mystical marriage, the active and contemplative lives, and the sacraments to inform their poetry, so the designers of the glass at Canterbury Cathedral used these themes as the iconographical basis for some of their finest windows. Although the problem of reconstructing the original placement of these windows is enormous, Bernard Rackham provides an authoritative conjecture about what the medieval pilgrim would have seen:

A worshiper entering the choir of Canterbury would have seen facing him as he raised his eyes toward the clerestory of the apse, behind the High Altar; three windows appropriate to the dedication of the Cathedral Church of Christ; each contained three panels depicting the most important incidents in the Life and Passion of Our Lord, from the Nativity to the Ascension. Flanking these were possibly a pair of windows restored by George Austin the Younger, relating to Moses and John the Baptist as the earliest and latest of the prophets who foretold his coming. These five windows in the apse interrupted a series in the clerestory of the choir, beginning and ending at its western end on the north and south sides respectively. The series displays the lineal descent of Christ from Adam as set forth in the third chapter of St. Luke's gospel (with six figures from the St. Matthew pedigree inserted to give the requisite number). In each window were two figures, one above another. In the upper half of the first window of the series was the subject, now lost, of the Creation of Adam; the lower contained the figure of Adam delving, still existing, but now placed in the West Window of the Nave. The last window of the series facing the Adam window, was
occupied by figures of the Virgin and Christ. For a parallel to this scheme of clerestory windows we may turn to Bourges Cathedral; in the clerestory of its eastern end, slightly later in date than that of Canterbury we find an easternmost window of two lights filled with figures of St. Stephen as patron of the Church and the Virgin and Child, flanked by nineteen figures on each side—on one side, the Prophets together with Moses, David, and John the Baptist; on the other, the Apostles, the Evangelists, and three of the earliest Disciples. A difference from the Canterbury scheme is that at Bourges each light contains a single figure only, standing, whereas at Canterbury there are two figures in each window.

Facing one another at clerestory level in the end walls of the North-East and South-East Transepts were circular windows; the surviving remnants of the northern one show that it was devoted to the illustration of "the Law of the Prophets", with Moses and the Synagogue in the centre. The corresponding window in the South-East Transept doubtless symbolized the Church and the Gospel as in the modern restoration designed by Austin.

In the aisles of the choir, as we know from an ancient manuscript in the Chapter Library, of which more will be said on a later page, were twelve "theological" windows illustrating the Gospel narrative and its sequels, together with the subjects from the Old Testament by which these events were held to be foreshadowed. What was here set forth was epitomized in the eastern most windows of the Cathedral, the middle windows of Becket's Crown, still fortunately remaining for the most part intact. This was doubtless flanked on either side by windows with appropriate subjects; one of these, to be more fully discussed on a later page, contained a "Tree of Jesse,"—the genealogy of
Christ concisely represented in symbolic form.

Like the Wife of Bath who begins her Prologue with references to Lamech, Abraham, and Jacob, the cathedral windows "began" in the clerestory with the series of windows depicting Christ's genealogy. Therefore, it will be useful to mention this series before noting how our themes are developed in the great typological or theological series and the roses of the north-east and south-east transepts.

Unfortunately, reconstructing the identity and location of all the windows in the genological series is an extremely difficult problem. However, Madeline Harrison Caviness provides the best theory about the original position of these windows, which were among the most famous examples of the English Romanesque period:

... Although they have been removed from the clerestory and placed in random order in the south window of the southwest transept and in the great west window of the nave, it is possible to attempt a reconstruction of the original order from the notes published by Gostling in 1777, and from measurements of the glass and ironwork. Lacunae already present in the eighteenth century can be filled from two biblical genealogies, contained in Luke 3: 23-38, and Matthew 1: 1-17. The list given by Luke goes back to Adam; there are seventy-six figures including Christ, or seventy-seven if God the Father is counted as the creator of Adam. Matthew lists only forty-one figures, from Abraham to Christ, and diverges sharply from Luke's list after King David. The
generations are counted as fourteen from the Creation of David, fourteen from David to the exile in Babylon, and fourteen from that time to Christ; in fact the last section has thirteen only, but Jeconiah may have been counted twice to give equal divisions and to avoid thirteen. We have seen that the Canterbury clerestory figures may have numbered eighty-eight, including God the Father and Christ. It is evident from Gostling's notes that the sequence was that of Luke's complete genealogy except for an interpolation in at least three windows on the north side of the Trinity Chapel—N: VI (20), N:V (21), N:VI (22)—in which Rehoboam, Abijah, Josiah, Hezekiah, and Jeconiah were taken from Matthew. Austin noticed that if the list from Luke were resumed in Window S: IV (28), where it had been broken off in Window N: VIII (19)—after five narrative windows in the apse—and if the Virgin were included as well as Joseph, there would be enough figures to fill the remaining windows of the clerestory.

One of the most extensive series of this type, the Canterbury series differs from most earlier examples in that it basically follows Luke, rather than Matthew. For an iconographic guide, one should turn to the Glossa Ordinaria. The Glossa, which interprets the figures in Matthew's genealogy as "precursors of Christ in a spiritual sense" also name Methuselah, Enoch, and Seth of the Luke account as Christ figures. In fact, the Glossa follows the same theme in Genesis, even producing a favorable comment on Lamech. Caviness points out that, obviously, the Canterbury iconographers were interested in the
typological and allegorical significance of Christ's ancestry, rather than its historical nature:

... Although the generations from Adam to Christ represent the history of the world from the Fall to the Redemption, they more importantly demonstrate the spiritual unity of the Old and New Testaments, the continuity from the epoch before grace to that under grace. Conversely, the gnostic Marcion, who wished to sever the links between the Old and New Testaments, cut the genealogy out of his edition of Luke. The bond between the Testaments is also the theme of the "twelve" typological windows of the choir and presbytery, which therefore reinforce the message of the upper windows.

In addition to the clerestory genealogical series and the great typological series, the rose window of the north-east and south-east transepts proclaimed this "bond" as well. Having as their theme the Old Covenant and the New Covenant, respectively, in the figures of Synagogue and Ecclesia, these beautiful roses celebrate Ecclesia's authority and the fulfillment of the Old Covenant in the New. Such a wealth of iconography and allegory, like the Biblia Pauperum which formed the basis for so much medieval glass, obviously refuted any notion of dualism or neo-Manicheanism, such as that spread by the Cathar weavers in France. Simultaneously, these windows illustrated the Christian remedy for the literal-minded carnality of Chaucer's wandering, weaving widow.
In its didactic goals, the Canterbury glass shares much with the north porch of Chartres as well as with the Chartrean glass to which it is related. At Chartres, Old Testament prototypes form a basis, both structurally and scripturally, to the themes of Synagogue and Ecclesia and the Active and Contemplative Lives which are united in Christ through His Crucifixion and re-enacted in the eucharist of the Church. Similarly, at Canterbury, the genealogical windows celebrate these themes and reaffirm the human as well as the divine nature of Christ, "both God and Man," and his descent through the flesh. In addition, the genealogical windows prepare the viewer for the typological windows and, together, these provide a context for the rose windows.

The exact reconstruction of these rose windows is impossible. Although the south rose window still contains a great deal of original background foliage, the figures date from 1850 and are the work of George Austin, Jr. Austin's reconstruction, generally acknowledged as correct, depicts the New Dispensation with Christ and Ecclesia in the center, surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists and the Christian Virtues of Faith, Hope, Charity, and Humility, and eight Apostles. The north rose, which has fared a bit better through the centuries, retains its original armature. Dating from 1178, the center piece may well have been inserted under the direction of the architect, William of
Sens. In the center of this rose, which has for its subject the Old Dispensation, stand Moses and Synagogue, who was probably originally blindfolded like the statues at Strasburg and Rochester. Both Moses, who holds the tablets of stone, and Synagogue, who holds the tablets of the Law, are identified by inscription. Also identified by inscription are the four cardinal virtues which surround them: Prudence, Justice, Temperance, and Fortitude. These are accompanied by the four major prophets identified as: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. The outer part of the window, which contains the eight minor prophets, was added in the early twentieth century according to a design by S.C. Caldwell, acting under the direction of Canon A.J. Mason.

Obviously, the theme of this glass is similar to that expressed in much of the finest French glass, especially that of the north aisle windows at Chartres:

The first window (7), although seven scenes from the apex down the centre are modern, is similar to the windows at Bourges, Le Mans, Rouen, Tours, and Canterbury. Four scenes from the Passion of Jesus Christ set in four squares are prefigured by mostly Old Testament scenes in the surrounding semicircles. For example, beneath the top square, in which Christ carries His cross, the bunch of grapes brought back from Canaan symbolizes Christ's body on the cross, for He is the mystic grape whose blood fills the chalice of the Church. In the second square Christ is crucified, flanked by Ecclesia to His right, and the Synagogue, blinded, to His
left. Beneath Him, holding a chalice, is Adam, who led mankind to death; as Christ the second Adam, through His sacrifice, leads to eternal life. To the left of this scene, in the border, Moses lifting up the brazen serpent, as in the North Porch, is a symbol of Christ the Healer on the cross.

Although they are based upon the same typological outlook which informs the Chartrean glass, and the Chartrean sculpture as well, the Canterbury roses of the north-east and south-east transepts achieve a masterful compression of allegorical significance. Westlake says of the north rose:

... It seems to represent a sort of theological nut, of which the Law and the Synagogue are the kernal, the Four Cardinal Virtues the rind, and the Prophets the shell; or taken in another way, Religion as developed from the revealed law and its teaching, the practice of the virtues, and the fulfillment of the prophecies.

The layers of meaning which form the compressed structure of the rose windows reflect the layers of meaning represented in the genealogical and typological series of which the roses are the culmination. Just as the structure of the round windows culminates in the allegory of Moses and Synagogue or Christ and Ecclesia, so the typological and genealogical windows progress from the depiction of fleshly ancestors of Christ to typological depictions of the Old and New Testament to the allegorical depictions of the roses.
There is a progression as well of a series of revelations depicting the Covenant before the Law maintained through Christ's ancestors through the flesh to a typological revelation of the Covenant with the figures under the law who foreshadow the revelation of grace. The final revelation is the relationship between Christ and His Church, which is the culmination of the Covenant. Chaucer's structure of *The Wife of Bath's Prologue and Tale* reflects a similar progression from genealogy to allegory. The Wife prefaces her *Tale* with a lengthy prologue which both mentions the ancestors of Christ and reveals, ironically, the relationship between the Old and New Covenants. Finally, in her *Tale*, she reveals the sacramental significance of Christ's mystical marriage to his Church. Her *Prologue* and *Tale* thus form a series of revelations about a series of revelations.

Now let us examine the typological windows, for they illustrate lessons about the theme of marriage which have particular significance to the Wife of Bath. The twelve windows in the upper Church were very well known in the Middle Ages. Copies of the inscriptions of their verses exist in manuscripts of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. In addition to the twelve "traditional" typological windows, Caviness proposes that the east window of the corona be included in the series:
Although it was never included in the cycle as recorded in the medieval manuscripts, the east window of the corona has to be considered in relation to the "twelve" typological windows of the choir, transepts, and presbytery, from which it is separated by the flight of steps from presbytery level and by the Trinity Chapel ambulatory. Like the Jesse Tree on its north flank, it is in part the summation of a more extensive program to the west. Possibly two or three of the five New Testament scenes it contains—the Crucifixion, Entombment, Resurrection, Ascension, and Pentecost—were planned for the last window in the south choir aisle (s: XVI), which no groups of subjects given in the medieval records will fit satisfactorily (Appendix figs. 8-20).

At the time the decision was made to extend the Trinity Chapel and add the corona, the plan for the windows would have been altered, to give the Redemption the most prominent position in the east end. The Crucifixion, Entombment, and Resurrection had already been represented, with some of the types, in the twelfth window (Appendix fig. 19), but the Ascension, Pentecost, and Last Judgment were needed to complete the cycle. As we have seen, the last was placed in the axial window of the clerestory, directly above the corona's east window as seen from the choir.

Caviness divides this cycle, the longest of the period, into three groups of windows and into three themes:

... There are, effectively, three groups of windows. In the choir are the first three, which deal with the early life of Christ up to the temptations. The ministry began in the northeast transept with the Calling of Nathanael. Six windows were given to teaching and miracles, and the series of twelve
closed with three windows treating the Passion; had these been placed on the south side of the choir, as perhaps originally intended, the distribution would be quite symmetrical. The decision to extend the program into the presbytery and to add a thirteenth window, with the Passion and Redemption, in the corona, threw off the symmetry of the program.

In the selection of subjects several themes are favored. This underlying unity also extends to the corona window, indicating that it was composed in the spirit of the rest of the program. Dominant ideas are the authority of the Church and condemnation of the Jews for rejecting Christ; in the ministry cycle eschatological teachings are emphasized over moral teachings or miracles.

The first theme noted by Caviness, that of the authority of the Church, is clearly illustrated throughout the cycle. This forms a logical basis for the decoration of a great cathedral. However, the second theme named by Caviness, that of a condemnation of the Jews because of their rejection of Christ is:

surprising on the part of a religious house that was on good terms with its local Jewish community, who actually built a synagogue on land rented from Christ Church.

Indeed, this problem is resolved when one recalls that the Canterbury windows were not addressed to the the Jews, but to the contemporary Christian pilgrims who came to worship
there. The windows were not preoccupied with condemning Jews, but with warning Christians not to turn away from Christ's message and the authority of the contemporary Church. It is for this reason that scenes of those who turn away from Christ are always matched with scenes of those who come to Him. These themes obviously apply to the Wife of Bath who, in choosing to remain bound by the Old Covenant, refuses to accept the authority of the New. On a personal level, the third, eschatological, theme depicted in many of the parables of the windows, calls out to the Wife as well. The lessons of salvation and damnation present the personal price which each sinner must pay for rejecting grace.

Let us now examine more closely three windows which pertain most directly to the Wife of Bath because they deal with the themes of marriage, widowhood, the active and contemplative lives, the role of exegesis, and the idea of "fruitfulness" which are so central to her Prologue and Tale. I will follow the reconstructions of Caviness which are based on the state of the existing armatures and glass, medieval records, and much exhaustive scholarship. Caviness provides figures and complete listings for all the windows in her appendix.91

As reconstruction of the fourth typological window, Caviness proposes the following arrangement from top to bottom, with three scenes per row. Capitals are used to indicate glass that is extant, but not necessarily in situ:
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<tr>
<td>1. Adam and Eve</td>
<td>2. CALLING OF NATHANIEL</td>
<td>3. Israel under the law</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. SIX AGES OF WORLD</td>
<td>5. MIRACLE OF CANA</td>
<td>6. SIX AGES OF MAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Paul &amp; gentiles</td>
<td>8. DRAUGHT OF FISHES</td>
<td>9. PETER &amp; JEWS</td>
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This window relates particularly to The Wife of Bath's Tale because it places the Miracle of Cana in a typological and allegorical context and teaches how the individual Christian should apply the lesson of that miracle to his life on an individual basis. Although the Wife refers to this miracle, she misinterprets it because she is single-mindedly interested only in the question of multiple marriages. Of course, the incident of the Miracle of Cana falls within the public life of Christ, which is depicted in this fourth window from "The Calling of Nathanael" to the cure of the leper after the "Sermon on the Mount." The Miracle of Cana can only be understood within the context of the Six Ages of the World and the Six Ages of Man, since the inscriptions for all three are mutually descriptive:

"Our Lord is seated at the right-hand end of the table, with his Mother next to Him. Next to her is one of the disciples—perhaps the Evangelist—as denoted by the nimbus. Next are the bride and bridegroom, and at the left end the governor of the feast (wearing a mitre). One of the servants is bearing to him a bowl of miraculous wine; the other is still filling the waterpots ("hydriae") with water, and looking up at the Lord for direction. The six waterpots are prominently displayed in front... No inscription, the significance of the subject being explained in the legend to the type of which this is the antetype. Originally No. 4 in Window III.

5. Sex etates mundi. The Six Ages of the World, referring to the mystical meaning of the six waterpots of No. 4. The explanation SEX ETATES SVNT MVNDI is written above. The names of the representations of these ages, ADAM, NOE, ABRAH, DAVID, IECHONIAS, are given over the heads of the seated figures (except in the case of Christ, who is distinguished by a crossed nimbus)... Round the border, the verses: YDRIA METRETAS CAPIENS EST QVELIBET ETAS.
LIMPHA DAT METRETAS CAPIENS EST QVELIBET ETAS.
LIMPHA DAT HISTORIAM V(INVM)
NOTAT ALLEGROIAM (Any one of the ages is a waterpot containing firkins. The water gives the story, the wine signifies the allegory.)...

6. Sex etates hominis. The Six Ages of Man, continuing the interpretation of No. 4. In the field above is the title: SEX ETATES HOMINIS. The ages are represented by standing figures—each with his name attached on a label—respectively of a babe (INFANTIA), a boy carrying "a ball with a hole in it and a curved stick, like a hockey stick" (PUERITIA "boyhood"), a youth "bearing a sort of sceptre, perhaps as academic distinction" (ADOLESCENTIA), a bearded
young man with a sword. . . . (IVVENTVS, "young manhood"); a man, also bearded, with a crutch (SENECTVS, "old age"). . . . Round the border the inscription (in part nearly obliterated): PRIMVM SIGNORVM DEVS FACIENDO SVORVM IN VISORS MORVM CONVERTIT AQUAM VITIORVM (By working the first of his signs God converted the water of vices into the wine of good morals.)

Just as the Marriage at Cana shares its inscription and message with the scenes of the Six Ages of the World and the Six Ages of Man, so these three scenes also have in common their stylistic composition which is based on a division into six parts each. By organizing these scenes in a manner which is visually similar, the designer emphasizes the similarity of their theological significance. We see the same device illustrated in the scene above the Marriage of Cana in which the scene of Adam and Eve, the Calling of Nathanael, and Israel under the Law, are given theological kinship because they share the motif of the fig leaf.

Such equations of the Marriage at Cana, the Six Ages of the World, and the Six Ages of Man serve to remind the individual not only of the typology and timelessness of the message of Christ's ministry, but that he, the individual, must apply this message to the morality of his own life. In a similar fashion, Chaucer's Wife of Bath as a Synagogue and Whore of Babylon figure has typological significance, but, as an errant widow, she teaches an individual moral lesson as well. Of course, it is through the sacraments of the
Church that the individual participates fully in the message of Christ. Therefore, at the bottom of this fourth typological window was the scene of Paul baptizing, which is another transformation of water into the water of salvation. As we shall see in our discussion of The Wife of Bath's Tale, Chaucer utilizes this imagery as well when he describes the hag's "bath of bliss."96

The fifth typological window would have had even greater significance for The Wife of Bath's Prologue and Tale since it contained depictions not only of the Samaritan woman, to which the Wife alludes, but also places the scene of the Samaritan within the context of the active and contemplative lives and the redeemed prostitute. Again, let us turn to Caviness for a logical reconstruction:

2a. Jesus casts out devil
1. Angel casts...
2b. Magdalene washes feet of Jesus
3. Drusiana feeds the poor
3. Drusiana clothes the poor
5. Jesus with Mary and Martha
6. Jacob with Leah and Rachel
4. Peter fishing, John reading
8. Jesus and apostles gather corn
9. Peter and Paul with people
7. Apostles making bread
8. Jesus and woman of Samaria

13. Synagogue and Moses

10. Jacob and Rachel at the well

14. Samaritans brought Jesus

15. Gentile Church comes to Christ

12. Rebekah and Eliezer

In this fifth window, thus reconstructed, we see the marriage theme developed in the context of the good active and contemplative lives and its typological implications. Furthermore, all of this imagery is repeated in the story of the Samaritan woman, a story which so puzzles the Wife of Bath. Of course, we have already seen three pairs of female figures in this window: Leah and Rachel, Mary and Martha, and Synagogue and Ecclesia, depicted on the north porch of Chartres. Based primarily on the writings of St. Gregory, these pairs of female figures teach the individual Christian that the Church, as the lawful successor of Synagogue, is the true ministrant of the sacrament and the true guide of the Christian to the good active or contemplative life. Furthermore, the Chartrean facade, with its weaving figures who produce the good works of Prov. 31, proclaim an anathematical message which warns the individual against overwhelming himself in contemplative questions which are better left to theologians.
The Canterbury inscriptions confirm the traditional roles of Leah and Rachel and identify the Apostles as serving similar functions:

Petrus in nau
Iohannes legit
   Equoris unda ferit hinc. ille
   silencia querit.
   Sic requies orat dum mundi cura
   laborat.
Lya et Rachel cum iacob.
   Lya gerit curam carnis Rachelque
   figuram.
   Mentis cura grauis est hec est
   alterna suavis.
Ihesus et apostoli colligunt spicas.
Mota. fumus (furnus). et apostoli
facientes panes.
   Quod terit alterna mola lex uetus
   atque moderna
   Passio crux Christe tua sermo tuus
   cibus iste.
Petrus et paulus cum populis
   Arguit iste reos humiles alit hic
   phariseos.
   Sic agipe trite panis sunt uerbaque
   uite.

Thus Peter and Paul fulfill the active and contemplative functions of Leah and Rachel, Martha and Mary, while they also demonstrate how the harmony of the Old and New Testaments is fulfilled in words of Christ. Through the works of these apostles, the faithful come to Christ as his Church. However, this is illustrated not as at Chartres through the figures of weaving women and nuns in contemplation, but rather through the image of a wife found at a well. It is in this capacity that the Woman of Samaria plays such a significant role, for not only is the woman
depicted with Christ, but also, in another scene, are
depicted with Christ the Samarians which the woman brings to
Christ. This theological message is repeated in scenes of
wives found at the well. Just as in the preceding window we
saw the scene of Adam and Eve, the Calling of Nathanael, and
Israel under the Law, were linked by the image of the fig
leaf, so in this window, we find water and the well serving
to equate scenes theologically. The Latin inscriptions
clarify the lessons of the pictures:

Ihesus cum Samaritana.
Synagoga et Moyses cum .v. libris
Potum questisti fidei cum christe
sitisti
Equa uiri cui sex synagoga libri
eque sex.
Ecclesia de gentibus ad ihesum.
Delicta delicta notat ydria fonte
relicta.
Ad te de gente deus ecclesia
ueniente.
Samaritana adduxit populum ad ihesum.
Rebecca dat potum iacob
Fons seruus minans pecus ydria
uirgo propinans.
Lex Christo gentes mulierque fide
redolentes.
Jacob obuiat Racheli cum grege.
Jacob lassatus Rachel obui a grex
adaquatus.
Sunt deus et tyrbe mulier quas
duxit ab urbe.

Thus, the Wife from "Bisode Bath" shares kinship not
only with the Woman of Samaria, but with a long line of
wives beside wells going all the way back to Rebekah. The
fruits of these marriages were not only physical offspring,
as the progeny of Jacob and of Isaac, but also the good
works and redemption, as in the case of the mystical marriage
to Christ. This window gives an in-depth answer to the
Wife's interpretation of the text to "Be fruitful and
multiply." Furthermore, in the sixth typological window, we
shall see the theme of "fruitfulness" linked specifically to
the three estates of virginity, marriage, and widowhood.

Luckily, some of the most important scenes of this
widowhood are still extant, as Caviness indicates with
capitals in her reconstruction:

1. GENTILES
   Jesus & Apostles
   5. PHARISEES

6. PHARISEES TURN
   AWAY
   3. SOWER: STONES &
   BIRDS

   4. Pharisees
   tempt Jesus

9. THREE RIGHTEOUS
   MEN
   8. SOWER: THORNS &
   & GOOD GROUND

   7. JULIAN &
   MAURICE

12. THREE VIRTUOUS
    STATES
   11. three measures
    of meal

   10. THREE SONS
    OF NOAH

13. Jesus beckoning
    the saved
   14a. the net

   15. sinners sent
down

13b. just in heaven

   14b. the harvest

   15b. sinners in
   hell

16. Christ as priest
    and king
   17. feeding the
    5000

   18. Synagogue &
   Moses
   Ecclesia &
   John

Reconstruction of this window is particularly difficult
because, as James notes, it is in this window that the
scribe of the fourteenth-century roll has made his worst
mistakes. It is therefore particularly fortunate that
the scenes of fruitfulness and marriage which concern us are still extant. For these scenes, the inscriptions are particularly enlightening and, as we saw in the fourth and fifth windows, serve not only to explain individual scenes, but to explain the overall relationship of the different parts of the windows. For an explanation of these inscriptions in their original text, let us turn to Rackham:

(15) "The Parable of the Sower" (first scene). Some of the seed falls on a road where it is devoured by birds of various colours, other lies on "stony ground" (rocks and yellow soil). (17) Christ abandoned by the Parisees (John 6. 66). Inscr: NISI MANDVCAVERITIS CARNEM F(iii) HEBES NEVIVS (on the scroll held by our Lord, "Except ye eat of the flesh of the Son of Man"); SEMEN RORE CARENS EXPERS RADICIS ET ARANS HI SVNT QVI CREDVNT. TENTANTVR SICQ; RECEDVNT ("See lacking dew, having no root and parched, these are they who believe, are tempted, and thus fall back").

(20) "The Parable of the Sower" (second scene). In the foreground, thorn-bushes; the bare soil of the good ground behind with seed scattered over it. The inscription: . . . IDIATOR, inserted from elsewhere. (19) The deceitfulness of Riches personified by IVLIANVS and MAVURICIVS—the Emperor Julian the Apostate and Maurice (the opponent of St. Gregory), with attendants; a bowl heaped with coins; between them, their fur-lined mantles thrown over a rail above. Insc.: (defective and disordered).: DELICIOSI NIL FRVCTVS REFERVNT QVONTNE (displacing IAM) TERRESTRIA QVERVNT . . . NOSI (The inscription originally began: Iste spinosi locupletes deliciosi, "These thorny ones are the rich and luxurious; they bear nought of fruit since they
seek earthly things"). (21) The good
ground, personified by Job, David, and
Noah, the three righteous men of Ezekiel
14: 14. They hold scrolls with their
names: DANIEL, IOE, NOE: three angels
descend from a cloud to set three-
pointed crowns on their heads. Noah
rests one foot on a rainbow. Inscr.
(disordered): VERBA PATRIS SEVIT DEV
.. ONA CTVS SIBI CREVIT: IN TELLVRE
BON SVA (verba Patris sevit deus hijis
fructus sibi crevit. In tellure bona
triplex sua cuique corona, "God sowed
the words of the Father; to these fruit
was brought forth. In the good ground
to each was given a triple crown"). The
medallion has been cut and completed by
part of another from the same window,
with the Parable of the Draw-net,
inscr.: REPROBANTVR: PARS EST A
DO(MINO) .. ("These who are cast to
the left are they that are rejected;
this part, cursed by the Lord, is
destined to be burnt in the furnace").

(16, 18) The panels originally flanked,
as their antitype, the "Parable of the
Leven" or "Three Measures of Meal."
(16) "The Church and the three sons of
Noah," symbolical of scroll with a mock
inscription; beside her, SEM, CHEV
(Ham), and IAPHTET supporting the world
(MVNDVS), which is divided between them
into three positions, variously
coloured, and circled by an inscription:
PARTE NOE NATI MICHI QVISQ; SVA DOMINATI
("Noah's sons ruling for me, each in his
own part"). Inscr. (above): VNA FIDES
NATIS EX HIS TRIBVS ET (for est)
DEITITATIS ("From these three sons one
faith in the Godhead"). .. (18) The
three blameless states of life,
Virginity, Continence, and Marriage,
typified by men holding scrolls with
inscriptions (VIRGO, CONTINENS,
CONIVGATVS) filled out with mock
characters, apparently Hebrew,
Arabic, and Latin. Inscr.: above and
below: (FERMENTATA S) ATA TRIA TRES
FRVCCTS OPERATA-SVNT VXORATIS ET
VIRGINIBUS VIDVATIS ("Three seeds when
leavened produce three fruits, for the
The central message of this window urges the individual Christian to "Be fruitful and multiply," to be fruitful ground to receive Christ's words. The words of Christ are the seeds of the Sower which must fall upon good ground in order to take root and multiply as they do in the case of the Three Righteous Men. The worldly rulers Julian and Maurice teach by negative example. Because they seek only earthly things, their spirits are not receptive to the words of Christ and, like barren soil, they do not bring forth "good fruits." As an apostate, Julian turned from Christ, preferring the old law of sin. Maurice Tiberius was likened to Julian the Apostate by Gregory the Great who accused him of reviving the "old laws" of Julian. Like the Pharisees who turn away, Julian and Maurice represent those who out of the hardness of their hearts will not follow the New Covenant. The category of those who follow the Old Law is expanded to include not just those Jews who did not accept Christ, but anyone who refuses grace and chooses to remain spiritually unregenerate. The moral significance of this is clearer since the emperors revel in earthly treasure while the Three Righteous Men, as we are told in the inscription, brought forth fruit from the word of God.

In the next three scenes, Three Virtuous States, Three Measures of Meal, and Three Sons of Noah with Ecclesia, the
individual Christian is taught that the Church is to be his
guide in the bringing forth of fruit from the words of God.
The Three Measures of Meal refer to Christ's description of
the Kingdom of Heaven which He likened to a leaven which a
woman hid in three measures of meal until the whole was
leavened. As the inscription to the scene proclaims:

Three seeds when leavened produce three
fruits, for the espoused, the Virgin,
and the widowed.

Obviously, all of this takes place under the guidance of the
Church, who guides the three virtuous estates just as she
guides the three sons of Noah who represent the dominion of
Ecclesia throughout the whole world.

Ironically, the Wife, who in her carnality does not
provide good soil in which to multiply the new grace of
Christ, likens herself to both flour and bread, once as a
lament and once as a boast. As she recalls her lost
youth, she cries:

The flour is goon, there is namoore to
telle;
The bren, as I best kan, now moste I
seeel;

The carnally-minded wife expresses the harvest of her life
in terms of selling. Knowing that she has lost her
attraction for any potential "customer", she has already
exclaimed:
Lat go, farewell! the devil go therewith! 107

In addition to this image of "bren" the Wife describes herself as being like the hot barely loaves with which Christ fed the multitudes. 108 This miracle, which was depicted in the bottom of the sixth typological window, which was depicted in the bottom of the sixth typological window, was celebrated as Refreshment Sunday on the fourth Sunday in Lent. 109 Flanked by a scene of Christ as priest and king and a scene of Synagogue and Moses with Ecclesia and John, Christ's bread, which is offered to the five thousand is obviously offered to the individual Christian who participates in viewing the scene. However, one cannot participate in Christ's feast or receive the "seeds" of his words if one is barren soil, such as the Wife, in whom the seeds are choked with carnality and vice.

Let us now return to The Wife of Bath's Prologue and examine in detail how the theological concepts illustrated in the Canterbury windows relate to Chaucer's tale. After being interrupted in her Prologue by the Pardoner, the Wife resumes her story and tells about her five marriages. Unfortunatley, she has not leavened the seeds described in the Canterbury window to produce the fruits proper for the virgin, espoused and widowed states. She had by her own account three good husbands and two bad ones. The three
good husbands were "good" because they kept her "law," which
she describes in terms of law, statute, and bounds:

The thre were goode men, and riche, and
olde;
Unnethe myghte they the statut holde
In which that they were bounden unto me.
Ye woot wel what I meene of this,
pardee!
As help me God, I laughe whan I thynke
How pitously a-nyght I made hem swynke!
And, by my fey, I tolde of it no stoor.
They had me yeven hir lond and hir
tresoor;

The bacon was not fet for hem, I trowe,
That some men han in Essex at Dunmowe.
I governed hem so wel, after my lawe;
That eche of hem ful blissful was and
fawe
To bruuge me gaye thynges fro and
fayre.

Obviously, the Wife translates her covenant into sexual
terms, for such must be the reward for obedience to her law.
Obedience, however, is not enough, since financial sacrifice
is also required. On an individual level, her "law" is the
old law of cupidity and carnality. On an allegorical level,
her "law" is the Old Law of Synagogue. She reveals both of
these levels of meaning ironically in her detestation of
pork, for she cares neither for the bacon of "Dunmowe" nor
the "old bacon" of her elderly husband. Furthermore, by
requiring a price for sexual duties of a wife, she displays
the overtones of harlotry which link her to the Whore of
Babylon.
In spite of his financial prosperity, she is not happy with her first husband, and she harangues him with her favorite word "benedicite!" which was of great significance to the heretical, weaving Cathars. The Wife complains because she does not have more expensive clothing. She even complains about his complaints, which have to do with the vicissitudes of marriage and his suspicions of their apprentice Janckyn. She wants freedom to come and go as she pleases. She also wants to dress as richly as she pleases, even though her husband feels this vanity leads to unchastity:

Thou seyst also, that if we make us gay
With clothyng, and with precious array,
That it is peril of our chaste tee;
And yet with sorwe! thou most enforce thee,
And seye thise wordes in the Apostles name:
"In habit maad with chastitee and shame
Ye wommen shul apparaile you," quod he,
"And noght in tressed heer and gay perre,
As perles, ne with gold, ne clothes riche."
After thy text, ne after thy rubrice
I wol nat wirche as muchel as a gnat.

The Apostle Paul gives this advice in I Tim. 2:9, but the context of Paul's Letter to Timothy also applies to the Wife. Of course, Paul begins the letter with a warning against false doctrine and bad teachers of the law. The specific context of Paul's advice about modest womanly attire is even more applicable to the Wife of Bath. Chapter
two of Paul's letter begins with an exhortation to prayer and a reminder that Christ died for all men as a "ransom."

Therefore, Paul declares that he is a preacher to the Gentiles. He then goes on to urge men to pray in the spirit of holiness without "wrath and doubting." Just as men are supposed to pray this way, women are to dress modestly, for such attire accords with the woman's role which is not to teach, but to be silent:

In like manner also, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; But (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works. Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression. Notwithstanding she shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety.

All of Paul's advice applies to what the Wife's conduct should have been like during the period of marriages. Furthermore, Paul goes on to give advice about widowhood, and this advice also applies directly to the wandering Wife. In Chapter five of this letter Paul urges against admitting old widows into the community of the faithful, lest they become idle tattlers:
And withal they learn to be idle, wandering about from house to house; and not only idle, but tattlers also and busybodies, speaking things which they ought not.

I will therefore that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the house, give none occasion to the adversary to speak reproachfully. 118

As Paul warned, such a woman as the Wife ends up being not only a bad student of her faith, but a bad teacher as well. She goes on to rebuke her husband and his "parables," swearing that she could even outwit Argus. 119 This Ovidian reference complements the New Testament reference to Paul and the Old Testament reference which is to follow, so that the context of her protestations span all historical periods, ante legem, sub lege, and sub gratia. The Old Testament reference is itself ironic, since she is refuting her husband's criticism of women's love to hell, barren land, and fire. This cluster of images is from Proverbs, and their context is very significant for the Wife of Bath:

The horseleach hath two daughters, crying, Give, give. There are three things that are never satisfied, yea, four things say not, It is enough:

The grave; and the barren womb; and the earth that is not filled with water; and the fire that saith not, It is enough.

Such is the way of an adulterous woman; she eateth, and wipeth her mouth and saith, I have done no wickedness. 120
The criticism of these proverbs is clearly applicable to the Wife of Bath. Furthermore, they precede Proverbs 31, which contains the praise for a good wife. Of course, we have already discussed Proverbs 31 in connection with the antithetical weaving figures of the active life on the north porch of Chartres. Clearly the iniquitous Wife, who is never satisfied, contrasts even more glaringly with the good wife of Proverbs 31 "who seeketh wool and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands," because she is by trade a weaver.

In the face of her husband's jealousy, the Wife asserts her innocence by falsely swearing, by calling on Jankyn and her niece to back up her phony stories, and by nagging. She is so proud of the pain which she inflicts upon her husband through her ability to "whyne" that she swears "by Godes sweete pyne!" This is not the last time that she will use the Crucifixion to describe her husband's marital agony, for she will also use the image of the Cross with a sexual reference. Since Christ is wedded to the Church, and he gave His life on the Cross for her, such imagery indicates that the Wife recalls Ecclesia, but something has gone awry. Indeed, lust and greed have corrupted what should be a union of marriage so that it more resembles harlotry glossed over with the name of marriage, like the situation of the Samaritan woman in her unredeemed state.
Thus, because of her mastery of the tactics of nagging, she carries the day, especially because she knows how to strike first. As she points out, "Whoso that first to mille comth, first grynt". Given the context of the "fruits" and seeds of the Canterbury windows, and the typological imagery of the Prologue and Tale, this imagery also brings to mind the rather common picture of "Saint Paul as a miller grinding the grain of the Old Law to produce the flour of the New." In fact, as we have seen, the fifth typological window at Canterbury presented a similar mill with both typological and exegetical connotations. James describes the milling scene in the context of the fifth window, which also contained Mary and Martha, Leah and Rachel, Jesus with the Samaritan, and the Synagogue with Moses:

Peter fishing; John reading. Peter & John are to be taken—like Martha & Mary, Leah & Rachel—as types of the active and the contemplative life.

A mill and oven; the Apostles making bread. This subject is comparable with one that appears in later art, of Christ in a wine-press, and the Apostles distributing the wine that flows thence to the world. In later art the picture of the mill is applied specially to the Eucharist. It occurs at Bernre, where the Apostles are making Hosts out of the flour. Here at Canterbury, as we see from the inscription, the upper and lower mill stones represent the two Testaments and the bread is simply the word of Christ.
The inscription clarifies the meaning of the scene:

Mola fumus (furnus) et apostoli facientes panes.

\[ \text{Quod terit altera mola lex uetus atque moderna/} \]

\[ \text{Passio crux Christe tua sermo tuus cibus iste.} \]

Perversely, the Wife turns this image of the mill, which is used to describe the words of Christ, into an image of her own grinding nagging. In addition, the Wife explains that her talent for nagging is God-given:

\[ \text{Deceite, wepyng, spynnyng God hath yive} \]

\[ \text{To woman kyndely, whil that they may lyve.} \]

Thus, she is a deceitful, wandering spinner, whose only activities are gossip and lust. She is the inverse of the good figures of the Active Life at Chartres who, like their prototype, the good wife of Proverbs 31:13, works wool and flax with their hands. In fact, we shall see how closely she resembles the heretical weavers who were the targets of the message of the north porch of Chartres. The Wife reveals her allegorical relationship with these heretics when she explains how she always got the better of her first three husbands in bed, since they had to pay for her sexual favors. On a human level, such abuse of the sacrament of
marriage amounts to harlotry. On an allegorical level, the Wife represents Synagogue, the predecessor of Ecclesia. However, she also reveals characteristics which indicate that she is a Synagogue who is being transformed not into an Ecclesia figure, but into the Whore of Babylon. The "ransom" which interests her is not Christ's ransom from sin through his Crucifixion, but money exchanged for favours. She vows she would continue such practice even in the face of the "pope," and she swears by God, "Though I right now sholde make my testament." 128 The use of the word "testament" must recall the Old and New Covenants revealed in the Old and New Testaments. Ironically, the Wife does indeed have her own, heretical testament which identifies her as the Whore of Babylon. In this context, the harlotry of the Wife symbolizes simony or the sale of sacred things by the Church. Chaucer criticizes such abuses allegorically in the figure of the Wife as Ecclesia corrupted to the Whore of Babylon and in the figures of the corrupt ecclesiastics who cluster around the Wife. In the Wife's Prologue, we also see her husband Jankyn, the clerk who, tempted by gold, marries her. This is another example of the intrusion of money into church affairs.

The Wife returns to a similar cluster of images with the same implications of simony and harlotry, but she, first advises her husband to be like Job:

Sit ye so preche of Jobes pacience
Suffreth alwey, syn ye so wel kan
preche;
And but ye do, certein we shall you
techo
That it is fair to have a wyf in
pees. 129

This comparison to Job and Job's marital situation is well
timed, serving both to provide humor by likening the Wife of
Bath's henpecked husband to Job, and, therefore, herself to
Job's wife. It is also amusing since it demonstrates that
the Wife turns her deaf ear to the moral of Job. The
Christological significance of Job and the typological
significance we have already discussed in relation to the
tympanum of Chartres which illustrates Job's story. The
scene was depicted as well in the Canterbury typological
cycle in the eleventh window of the series (S:XIV) which
contained the scene "Job with boils" at the bottom of the
scene of the flagellation, while Elisha mocked was to the
right. James provides the explanatory inscription:

    Job percussus ulceres.
    Christi testatur plagas Job dum
    cruciatur.
    Ut sum iudge iocus pueris
    helisee. 130

Given the relationship between Job and Christ, the use of
such imagery serves to strengthen the image of the wife
"flailing" her husband. The Wife returns to her story,
describing how she used to needle her fourth husband about
what a good whore she would be:

    Peter! I shrew you, but ye love it
    well
    For if I wolde selle my bele chose,
    I koude walke as fressh as is a rose; 131

The fact that she swears by Peter, first pope and Apostle to
Jews is very significant, since the pope should be the very
person to combat simony and Church corruption.

Nevertheless, the Wife concludes that her price on the
market has declined with age:

    Unto this day it dooth myn herte boote
    That I have had my world as in my tyme.
    But age, al as! that al woole envenyme,
    Hath me birait my beautee and my pith.
    Lat go, farewell! the devel go
    therwith!
    The flour is gon, the is namore to
telle;
    But yet to be right myrie wol I fonde.
    Now wol I tellen of my fourthe
    housbonde. 132

As a Synagogue figure, she did have the world in her
time, but that supremacy is no longer hers. However, she is
at present a Whore of Babylon figure, since she wishes to
sell what things or "bren" she has left. Unlike the image
of St. Paul who grinds the grain of the Old Testament into
the flour of the New, the Wife has bartered away her flour
and is left with the "bren" of heretical doctrine.
This imagery is followed by the description of her marriage to her fourth husband as a parody of the Cross with sexual implications and a purgatorial setting:

I made hym of the same wode a crose;  
Nat of my body, in no foul manere;  
But certeinly, I made folk swich cheere  
That in his owene grece I made hym frye  
For angre, and for verray jalousye.  
By God! in erthe I was his purgatorie,  
For which I hope his soule be in glorie.

In the *Purgatorio*, Dante the pilgrim saw a procession which revealed to him the triumph of Ecclesia, rooted in the Old Dispensation. Furthermore, Dante saw the triumph of Ecclesia transformed into the spectacle of the Whore of Babylon mounted on a beast. In that vision, the pole of the Chariot represented the Cross, made from the wood of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Chaucer brings all this imagery down to earth, while utilizing the typological significance of the figures. Thus, the Wife's fourth husband undergoes his purgatorial pilgrimage on earth. The full allegorical implications are not developed until the *Wife's Tale* when the young knight must go to bed with the loathly hag. In the case of the Wife and her fourth husband, no regeneration takes place as a result of the purgatorial experience.

Whatever the fate of the spirit or soul of the fourth husband, he died when the Wife returned from Jerusalem,
which functions both as a pilgrimage destination for the Wife of Bath and the spiritual source of the Synagogue.\footnote{135} The Wife commences her tale of her fifth husband, who had been a "clerk of Oxenford," but who had gone to board with the "gossip" of the Wife.\footnote{136} Although she is married at that time, the Wife is like Paul's idle widows who tell what they ought not, for she tells all of her husband's counsel to this "gossip" as well as to her niece and to another wife.

The tale of the Wife's courtship of Jankyn foreshadows her \textit{Tale} because in both stories an old hag marries a young man, who after a period of unhappiness, gives into her domination so that they both live happily ever after. When read on an allegorical level, the \textit{Prologue} foreshadows the \textit{Tale} ironically because in the imagery of both the \textit{Wife's Prologue} and the \textit{General Prologue}, the Wife is revealed as an old hag who remains spiritually unregenerate. However, the Wife, depicted in terms of Synagogue and the Whore of Babylon, tells a tale of an old hag who becomes rejuvenated and who is transformed from an image of Synagogue to an image of Ecclesia. The \textit{Tale} is also foreshadowed in the Lenten setting of the courtship of the Wife and Jankyn since, as we shall see upon examination, the \textit{Tale} is told with imagery and allegory which recall the Crucifixion, when Ecclesia gained her position of authority.
The Wife does not treat Lent as an opportunity for spiritual reflection, but as a holiday which can be exploited for her own amusement. Instead of Lenten solemnity, the Wife likes to be "gay" and to wander about gossiping. Therefore, it was very convenient that her husband was in London all one Lent, so that she could "pleye" and could see and be seen by "lusty folk." She particularly likes her "grace" to be seen at church functions:

... What wiste I wher my grace Was shapen for to be, or in what place? Therefore I made my visitaciouns To vigiles and to processiouns, To prechyng eek, and to thise pilgrimages, To pleyes of myracles, and to mariages, And wered upon my gaye scarlet gytes. Thise wormes, ne thise motthes, ne thise mytes, Upon my peril, frete hem neer a deel; And wostow why? for they were used weel.

Obviously, the Wife is not participating in the observances of the Church with the desire to derive spiritual benefit. She is abusing these religious ceremonies, trying to turn them to her personal advantage and use, while hiding her baser desires behind a show of devotion. In this, she is like the Whore of Babylon who seems fair on the outside but who holds forth a cup of abominations. She resembles the Whore as well in the color of her dress. Smugly, the Wife points out that her "gaye
scarlet gytes" will never spoil because she will wear them rather than lay them up. The humor of this passage turns upon the Wife's literal-minded misinterpretation of Christ's advice in the "Sermon on the Mount":

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal:

But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal:

For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

Obviously, the Saviour was not giving a how-to lesson on the preservation of fine fabrics, but advice about attaining the heavenly kingdom, something which the Wife does not consider. Just as she is a Whore of Babylon figure on an allegorical level, who is concerned with an elaborate appearance although she is inwardly corrupt, so on a personal level the Wife is concerned with all the earthly celebrations of the Church, which she sees as a party, while she ignores the spiritual messages which these festivals are to convey.

Finally, the Wife begins to give the particulars of how she came to marry Jankyn clerk. The Lent that her husband was at London provided the Wife much time for "dalliance" with the young clerk, and she manipulated him adroitly by
telling him that if she were a widow, he should marry her. She used other tricks as well:

I bar hym on honde he hadde enchanted me--
My dame taughte me that soutiltee.
Akd eek I seyde I mette of hym all nyght,
He wold han slayn me as I lay upright,
All my bed was ful of verray blood;
But yet I hope that he shal do me good,
For blood bitokeneth gold, as me was taught.
And al was fals; I dremed of it right naught,
But as I folwed ay my dames loore,
As wel of this as of others thynge more.

But now, sire, lat me se,
what I shal seyn?
A hal by God, I have my tale ageyn.

Whan that my fourthe housbonde was on beere.

This passage reveals that the Wife is a corrupt individual interested in greed and lust, while, on an allegorical level, the imagery of the passage recalls the deeper corruption of the Whore of Babylon. As a follow-up to the Wife's hint that, if she were widowed, she would marry Jankyn, her claims of enchantment and her false dream are ways of telling Jankyn what he should do. The young man, lured by her money and tempted by her wiles, will abandon the possibilities of a higher calling. This is a down to earth manifestation of the simony and corruption which has been associated with her allegorically. Significantly, the Wife describes the blood
in her bed which betokens gold as "verray blood". If we interpret this in eucharistic terms, the false Ecclesia, who is the Whore of Babylon, is proposing the worst type of simony, seeking gold and trafficking in holy things. Allegorically, she represents the corrupt Church who is an unfaithful Bride of Christ, a harlot, who in profaning the sacraments, exchanges His blood for gold. She resembles the Whore of Babylon also in the false prophecy of her dream, which was not God-given, but invented to serve the purposes of greed and lust.

Through her description of her behavior just before and after her husband's death, the Wife arouses suspicions about the circumstances of that death. After spending a great deal of time describing her dalliance with Jankyn and her false dream of blood and gold, which would provide motives for the elimination of her husband, the Wife interrupts herself and resumes her story with the description of her husband's funeral. The usually loquacious Wife provides no details about the demise of her husband. She does not even mention the cause of death. Instead, she describes how much she enjoyed ogling Jankyn at the funeral of her husband. In the absence of any details about the death of her husband, the juxtaposition of the Wife's temptation of Jankyn before her husband's death and her lust for him at the funeral is suspicious indeed.
In addition to arousing suspicions about the death of
her husband, the description of the Wife at her husband’s
funeral also recalls her portrait as a Synagogue and Whore
of Babylon figure which was presented in the General
Prologue. At this funeral, the Wife enjoys lusting after
Jankyn who is twenty years younger than her age of forty.\textsuperscript{143}
She is not bothered by the age difference since she declares:

\begin{quote}
But yet I hadde alwey a coltes tooth.
Gat-tothed I was, and that bicame me
weel.\textsuperscript{144}
\end{quote}

This description of the Wife's physiognomy recalls her
description as "gat-tothed" in the General Prologue and
clearly associates the lustful implications of her "coltes
tooth" with the goat of lust and Synagogue. Furthermore,
her lustful behavior recalls the wantonness of the Whore of
Babylon whose imagery furnishes so much of the description
of the Wife both in the General Prologue and throughout her
Prologue and Tale.

Like the Whore of Babylon in Dante's vision who was
beaten by the giant, this Whore of Babylon figure also meets
with rough handling from her "paramoor." The incident of
this abuse takes place a month after the marriage of the
Wife and Jankyn. Although the Wife had turned over to
Jankyn all of the property which she had acquired from her
previous husbands, Jankyn did not give in to all her wishes
and irritated her by reading aloud from a book about wicked wives. When Allyson, in exasperation, tore three pages from this book, Jankyn responded by hitting her on the ear. The force of this blow was so great that the Wife remained deaf in the ear struck by young Jankyn. Thus, her physical deafness corresponded to her moral or spiritual deafness.

The Wife shows deafness as well to the meaning of the stories in Jankyn's book of "Valerie and Theofraste." To the Wife, the stories of wicked wives from pagan antiquity and from the Old Testament are merely insults to women in general. She ignores the lesson for moral improvement which underlies these stories. Similarly, she ignores the typological significance which underlies the story of Eve and concentrates on Eve only as a figure of wickedness:

But now to purpos, why I tolde thee  
That I was beten for a book, pardee!  
Reede on his book, as he sat by the fire,  
Of Eva first, that for hir wikkednesse,  
Was al mankinde brought to wrecchednesse,  
For which that Jesu Crist hymself was slayn,  
That boghte us with his herte blood agayn,  
Lo, heer expre of womman may ye fynde,  
That womman was the los of al mankinde.

Clearly the Wife does not understand that Eve is not important as a "wikked wyf," but as a foreshadowing figure of the Virgin who bore Christ and thus made possible
mankind's salvation. Ironically, the Wife who dreamed of "verray blood" and gold reminds us of the proper price which the blood of Christ is to pay. This redeeming act is re-enacted each time an individual participates in the Eucharist. Furthermore, we must not overlook the parallels between Eve who fell and Mary who as the second Eve bore the Saviour of mankind.\textsuperscript{147} Adam and Eve were depicted in a typological context in Canterbury. In the fourth typological window one would have found, on either side of the "Calling of Nathanael," "Adam and Eve with Fig Leaves" and "Israel under the Law."\textsuperscript{148} James gives the inscriptions:

\begin{verbatim}
Vocatio natanael iacentis sub ficu.
Adam et eua cum folijs.
Populus sub lege
    Vidi in his christus sub ficu
    natanaelem.
    Lex tegit hanc plebem quasi ficus
    natanaelem.\textsuperscript{149}
\end{verbatim}

Underneath these depictions were the "Six Ages of the World," the "Miracle of Cana," and the "Six Ages of Man." Beneath these figures were "Paul and the Gentiles," "The Draught of Fishes," and "Peter and the Jews."\textsuperscript{150} Clearly, the designers of the Canterbury windows were anxious to place the Fall of Adam and Eve as the first step toward the giving of the Law and the fulfillment of the Law in Christ. Thus, the lesson that the Wife draws about Eve is distorted because she fails to understand the typological significance
of Eve's story. Eve is not important as a "wikked wyfe," but as the foreshadowing figure of the Virgin.

The scene in which Jankyn boxes the ears of the Wife illustrates beautifully the difference between Chaucer's didactic technique and that of Dante because it demonstrates how Chaucer situates his allegory in an everyday setting rather than Dante's Purgatorial pageant. Unable to stand more of Jankyn's reading from his book, and perceiving that he intended to read it all night long, the Wife tears out three pages. It is this act which elicits a blow from Jankyn. The blow knocks her to the ground, and she feigns great injury. Terrified that he has killed her, he bends down close to her. Although she responds by hitting him on the cheek, she assures everyone that she and her husband reached an accord:

But atte laste, with muchel care and wo,
We fille accorded by us selven two.
He yaf me all the bridel in myn hond,
To han the governance of hous and lond,
And of his tongue, and of his hond also;
And maide hym brenne his book anon right tho.
And whan that I hadde geten unto me,
By maistrie, all the soveraynetee,
And that he seyde, "Myne owene trewe wyf,
Do as thee lust the terme of all thy lyf;
Keep thyh honour, and keep eek myn estaat"
After that day we hadden never debaat.
When we compare Chaucer's scene in which a Whore of Babylon figure is beaten to Dante's use of this imagery, we see the difference between the didactic techniques of the two poets. In Dante's *Purgatorio*, after the transformation of the Pageant of the Triumph of Ecclesia, the giant beats the Whore of Babylon as she sits upon her beast. Chaucer brings his allegory down to earth in a story in which a harlot wife is beaten by her husband. Whereas Dante presents his allegory in terms of spectacle and pageant, Chaucer situates his allegory on the human level of a domestic squabble, translating the marriage metaphor into everyday, domestic terms. Of course the Wife does not understand the significance of her own story. She thinks her account has a happy ending because she achieves "maistry". This foreshadows the Wife's Tale in which the young knight does achieve happiness when he gives the old hag "maistry". The case of the young knight is different, however, because his wife undergoes a rejuvenation and is revealed to be no longer a Synagogue figure, but an Ecclesia figure, as fair as "any lady, emperice, or queene".¹⁵² Let us keep this difference between the "teller" and the tale in mind as we examine the tale.

In the *General Prologue* and the *Wife's Prologue*, Chaucer has presented the Wife with images which recall both Synagogue and the Whore of Babylon. An extraordinary weaver, she is deaf and wears a large headdress or hat. A
gat-toothed figure in scarlet, she sits on an "amblere". She is well acquainted with both Jerusalem and Rome. Chaucer develops this imagery further in the *Wife's Prologue*. Concerned with the letter of the Scripture, she is completely blind to the spirit. This blindness, an attribute of Synagogue, is represented physically by the Wife's deafness. Again, she is described as gat-toothed and wearing scarlet. However, the climax of the *Wife's Prologue* is the story of the death of her fourth husband, a story which takes place during Lent, the season in which each Christian anticipates the anniversary of the Crucifixion and Resurrection and participates in the transition from bondage to grace.

Indeed, the transition from bondage to grace recurs as a dominant theme in the Wife's tale of the loathly lady. On a superficial level the knight strives to escape the bondage of Arthur's death sentence by the grace of the queen, and he strives to escape the bondage of marriage to the hag. Allegorically, he must escape from the bondage of his sin and crime through grace. Typologically, he must escape from the bondage of the Old Law to the grace of the New, which can only be accomplished by the revelation of Ecclesia by Synagogue. These personal, allegorical, and typological themes of bondage and grace apply as well to the teller of the tale. The Wife, bound by her own sin and blindness, makes her own marriages a type of bondage in which both
participants strive for maistry. She will not choose the New Law of grace over the old bondage of sin. Typologically, she is a Synagogue figure who conflates with the Whore of Babylon rather than emerges as Ecclesia. Chaucer's use of this theme and his examination of its implications on all of these levels serve as an indictment of the individual who rejects the regeneration offered through the Mystic Marriage of Christ. He indicts as well the contemporary Church who, through abuses and corruption, acts as an unfaithful spouse to Christ. Chaucer achieves this by presenting the Wife and the hag in the tale both as allegorical figures and as "realistic" characters so that he can simultaneously present both the Mystic Marriage and a domestic row.

In telling her Tale, the Wife refers to historical periods, the time of King Arthur and the time of clerics, and, as the action of the Tale reveals, these times refer as well to periods of sacred history, the time under the Law and the time under grace. The Wife sets her Tale in the time of King Arthur, a hallowed time in which the "elf-queene" and her train "daunced ful ofte in many a grene mede." 153 This was a time before the land was overrun with clerics, who drove out the fairies. At least, says the Wife, this was the "olde opinion." 154 Therefore, the elf-queene represents a period before the New Law. During this time, a young and lusty
knight rapes a maiden and, for such a crime, is "dampned" "By cours of lawe" to die. 155 The knight can only be saved by the "grace" secured for him by the queen and court ladies. 156 This grace is conditional upon the knight's securing an answer to the question, "What thyng is it that wommen moost desiren." 157 If after a year and a day he cannot find the answer, the penalty will be death. Trying to secure his life, the knight sets out, hoping to finalize this brief period or promise of grace:

He seeketh every hous and every place Where as he hopeth for to fynde grace, To learn what thyng wommen loven moost; 158

By the end of the *Tale*, he will have saved his life, and the story of his personal salvation will signify, on an allegorical and typological level, the transition from the Dominion of the Law to the Dominion of Grace, from the authority of Synagogue to the authority of Ecclesia.

Before the Wife recounts the success of the knight's journey, she digresses in order to speculate about the various opinions concerning the question which the young knight must solve, and her speculation reveals that she has nothing in common with the virtuous wife described in Proverbs. Ironically, the things which the Wife notes as possible answers are the things for which she, herself, has shown most affection, things such as fine clothes, riches,
sexual satisfaction, to be often widowed and remarried, and above all:

And somme seyen that we loven best,  
For to be free, and do right as us lest,  
And that no man repreve us of oure vice.  

The desires of the Wife are like those of the adulterous woman of Proverbs who "eateth, and wipeth her mouth, and saith, I have done no wickedness." Therefore, the Wife contrasts sharply with the virtuous, weaving wife described in the next chapter of Proverbs.

As the Wife continues her digression, she cites a story from Ovid which both demonstrates her inability to understand classical literature and which represents the Wife's interpretation of marriage in the period ante-legem. The Wife alludes to the tale of Midas's wife who betrayed the secret of his ass's ears. She refers her listeners to Ovid for the full story. Since in Ovid's story Midas's barber, not his wife, betrays the secret, the Wife reveals that she is no better at interpreting and understanding classical literature than she is at understanding Holy Writ. Just as the Wife ignored the typological and Christological implications of the story of the Fall and concentrated only on Eve as a figure of a wicked wife, so too with the story of Midas the Wife concentrates only on the figure of the wicked wife. Ironically, a woman who is
deaf both physically and morally does not realize that the point of the story is that Midas was given the ears of an ass because he preferred the music of Pan to that of Apollo. His punishment consisted of receiving a physical debasement corresponding to his debased spirit and intellect. Furthermore, like the pre-Christian Arthur, King Midas and his wife represent an example of marriage in the ante-legem period.

When the Wife resumes the plot of her tale, she describes the encounter of the knight with a loathly hag who functions allegorically in the Tale as a Synagogue figure who reveals herself as Ecclesia. The knight encounters the lady when, returning in failure to Arthur's court, he beholds a mysterious dance of twenty-four ladies who vanish, leaving behind only a foul, old woman or "wyf":

And in his wey it happed hym to ryde,
In all this care, under a forest styde,
Wher as he saugh upon a daunce go
Of ladyes foure and twenty, and yet mo;
Toward the whiche daunce he drow ful yerne.
In hope that som wysdom sholde he lerne.
But certeinly, er he cam fully there,
Vanysshed was this daunce, he nyste where.
No creature saugh he that bar lyf,
Save on the grene, he saugh sittynge a wyf—
A fouler wight there may no may devyse.
Agayn the knyght this olde wyf gan ryse,
And seyde, "Sire knyght, heer forth ne lith no wey.
Tel me what that ye seken, by youre Fey!
Paraventure it may the bettre be;
This olde folk kan muchel thyng," quod she.
The loathly hag who later in the tale will be transformed into the young queen Ecclesia shares a certain similarity to Dante's Ecclesia figure in the *Purgatorio*. Like Dante's Ecclesia figure who is revealed in a procession of twenty-four elders representing the books of the Old and New Testaments, Chaucer's unrevealed Ecclesia figure appears in a dance of twenty-four ladies. In addition to Dante's procession, this dance recalls both the dance of the elf-queen and her train who reigned before the greedy clerics, and the old dance of carnality and sin of which the Wife was a skilled practitioner. Finally, the knight's vision of this dance, like Dante's vision, leaves behind a female figure. In this case, however, the lady who is left behind is not an Ecclesia figure, but a loathly hag who will claim authority under Arthur's law, a Synagogue figure who will reveal herself as Ecclesia.

In the knight's first address to the loathly hag, he calls her "leeve mooder," which is perhaps an ironic reference to Holy Mother Church. When he tells the hag his problem, she offers him aid. First, however, she tells the knight:

"Plighe me thy trouthe heere in myn hand," quod she,
"The nexte thyng that I requere thee,
Thou shalt it do, if it lye in thy myght,
And I wol telle it yow er it be nyght."
The knight willingly agrees, and they return to court where the ladies assemble to hear his answer. It is very clear that all three estates, virgin, wife, and widow, are represented. These are, of course, the three virtuous estates which were depicted in the sixth typological window at Canterbury. This window also contained depictions of "The Three Measures of Meal," "The Three Sons of Noah with Ecclesia," "Three Righteous Men," "Julian and Maurice," "The Feeding of the Five Thousand," and "The Parable of the Sower." As we have seen, these depictions were intended to urge the Christian viewing them to bring forth good fruits out of the words of Christ. Furthermore, these good fruits can be cultivated in any of the three virtuous estates, and all three are honorable:

The three estates here the knight's answer;
Ful many a noble wyf, anad many a mayde,
And many a wydwe, for that they been wise,
The queene hirself sitting as a justise,
Assembled been, his answere for to heer;

The comment on the widow's wisdom is amusing since the Wife, who had so little wisdom herself, thinks she is quite learned and would like to proclaim such wisdom for all her estate. Not only do the three estates hear the knight's
answer that women most desire "maistrie," but they concur on its validity:

In al the court ne was ther wyf, ne maybe,
Ne wydyg, that contraried that he sayde.

At this point, the "old wyf" demands "Mercy" and asserts her rights over the knight. She is consistently called a "wyf" which, of course, can mean woman, but which invites comparison with the widowed Wife of Bath. She will be the knight's "old wyf" because she is aged, but she is old as well in the sense that she prepares the way for the revelation of the beautiful young woman who will be the knight's new wife. To fulfill the knight's bargain, the "old wyf" demands that the knight marry her. Naturally, the young knight is dismayed and, in his panic, tries to ransom himself with his property. "Taak all my good, and lat my body go," he begs. This is of no avail since, until Christ paid the ransom for all, the Law admitted no ransom. The young knight was "constreyned" to marry the old hag. On a superficial level, the panic that the young man feels about marrying this loathly lady whom he calls his "damnacioun" is humorous because it is believably human. On an allegorical level this reminds us of Paul's warning that we are all damned under the law.
On their wedding night, as the young man lies tossing and turning in bed beside the hag, she complains because he is so "dangerous":

Is this the lawe of kyng Arthures hous?
Is every knyght of his so dangerous? 172

She further protests, "I am she which that saved hath youre lyf." 173 Again, the loathly lady is pointing out that the young knight is under Arthur's law, and she is his salvation. Nevertheless, she inquires what it is that the knight has against her, and she promises to amend it, if possible. In a frank fashion, the knight tells her that he does not love her because:

Thou art so loothly, and so old also,
And thereto comen of so lough a kynde. 174

Although the knight despairs of the remedy for these faults, the hag assures him that she can quickly cure herself:

"Now sire" quod she, "I koude amend al this,
If that me liste, er it were dayes thre. 175

The "old wyf" fulfills her remarkable promise of rejuvenation in a scene which uses the imagery of the Crucifixion. Just as the scene of her rejuvenation recalls the Crucifixion, so her promise recalls Christ's promise to
rebuild the temple in three days. The context of this promise is significant as well, for it occurs as a consequence of Christ's cleansing the temple of the moneychangers. The equation between the temple and the temple of Christ's body, and the fact that the apostles later recalled the prophesy, is stated in the text:

And the Jews' passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem;
And found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting:
And when he had made a scourge of small cords, he drove them all out of the temple, and the sheep, and the oxen; and poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables;
And said unto them that sold doves, "Take these things hence; make not my Father's house an house of merchandise."
And his disciples remembered that it was written, The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up.
Then answered the Jews and said unto him, What sign shewest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things? Jesus answered and said unto them, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up."
Then said the Jews, "Forty and six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou rear it up in three days?"
But he spake of the temple of his body.
When therefore he was risen from the dead, his disciples remembered that the had said this unto them; and they believed the scripture, and the word which Jesus had said. 176

Christ's promise to raise the temple in three days follows his cleansing of the temple and follows as well the
Marriage in Cana which opens the second chapter of St. John's Gospel. In a similar fashion, the loathly lady's promise follows her wedding and will not be fulfilled until she cleanses the young knight from some of his notions. In order to do so, the "old wyf" delivers a pillow-lecture concerning the faults he has found with her. She first addresses the question of "gentillesse." Citing Dante as her authority, she points out that:

Crist wole we clayme of hym oure gentillesse,
Nat of oureseldres for hire old richesse.

The Wife bases her discussion of gentillesse and "antica ricchezza" on Dante, but this is not her first reference to the Florentine poet. In ll. 1126ff., Chaucer is clearly referring to Purg., vii, 121ff. when the Wife likens man's descent to a tree:

Wel kan the wise poete of Florence,
That highte Dant, speken in this sentence.
Lo, in swich maner rym is Dantes tale:
"Ful selde up riseth by his branches smale
Prowesse of man, for God, of his goodnesse,
Wole that of hym we clayme oure gentillesse";

The lines of the Purgatorio to which Chaucer refers are worth consideration:
Rade volte risurge per li rami
l'umana probitate; e questo vole
Quei che la dà, perché da Lui si
chiami.

Anche al Nasuto vanno mie parole,
non men ch' all' altro, Pier, che con
lui canta,
onde Puglia e Provenza già si dole.

Tant' e del seme suo minor la pianta,
quanto più che Beatrice e
Margherita,
Constanza di marito ancor si
vanta.

Rare is the tree that lifts to every
limb
the sap of merit—He who gives, so
wills
that men may learn to beg their
best from Him.

And what I say goes for that bignosed
one
no less than for the other who
sings with him.
On his account Provence and Puglia
mourn.

By as much as Margaret and Beatrice
must yield when Constance speaks
her husband's worth
that much less than the tree the
seedling is.

Curiously enough, after the lesson about the branches
of different merit and the moral about turning to God, Dante
presents an image of three royal widows, Constance,
Margaret, and Beatrice. Dante's language is difficult, but,
according to Ciardi, the passage may be interpreted as
meaning:
The seedling (Charles II) is inferior to the tree (Charles I) by as much as Constance (widow of Pedro III) may praise her husband above the husband of Margaret and Beatrice (they were the two wives of Charles I). 183

This scene in the Purgatorio occurs in The Flowering Valley which forms an Ante-Purgatory for the Negligent Rulers who, because they had to give so much attention to fulfilling their God-given tasks as rulers, did not spend enough time on their souls. 184 We see how similar in sentiment the two passages are since Chaucer's line, "Crist wole we clayme of hum oure gentillesse," expresses the idea of Dante's line, "Quei che la dà, perché da Lui si chiami." The idea expressed in both these liens recalls the imagery of the Sixth Typological Window of Canterbury. This window contained "The Three Virtuous Estates," "The Three Sons of Noah with Ecclesia," and "The Three Righteous Men" who contrasted to the bad rulers Julian and Maurice. The message of this window, along with the message of Dante, supports the old hag's argument about gentilesse. God calls everyone, even kings, to flourish like plants and to bring forth good fruit. Gentilesse must be interpreted allegorically to mean grace, rather than literally to mean noble birth. Furthermore, this allegorical interpretation fuses with the typological significance of this virtue. The "old wyf" hints at this typological significance when she points out:
Thy gentillesse cometh fro God allone.
Thanne comth oure verray gentillesse of grace;
It was thyng biquethe us with oure place.

In other words, grace is now freely given to all, and the Jews no longer hold a special authority because of their descent. The "gentillesse of grace" is available to all the sons of Abraham through the sacrifice of Christ. This was illustrated in the Sixth Typological Window in the scene of "The Three Sons of Noah with Ecclesia." This scene illustrated both the worldwide authority of the Church and the inclusion of all peoples in her Dispensation of Grace.

The "old wyf" then addresses the problem of her poverty, and, because she is soon to be revealed as an Ecclesia figure, this praise of Christ-like poverty must be interpreted as a rebuke of greedy clerics. She explains to the knight that poverty is actually a blessing, since Christ chose to live in poverty:

and certes every man, mayden, or wyf,
May understonde that Jhesus, hevene kyng,
Ne wolde nat chese a vicious lyvyng.

Obviously, poverty is appropriate to any estate, since it was chosen by heaven's king. Again, the windows at Canterbury teach the same lesson, since the evil kings Julian and Maurice as well as many of the bad seeds in the
Parable of the Sower, were lead astray by love of money, unlike Christ, the priest and king depicted in the bottom of the Sixth Window who chose poverty. The "old wyf" continues to praise poverty by pointing out that poverty brings a man closer to God. Because it is spoken by a figure who is soon to be revealed as Ecclesia, this praise of honest poverty serves to criticize the wealth of those ecclesiastics of the contemporary Church who gained financially from simony and who lined their pockets by turning spiritual matters into financial profit.

The "old wyf" concludes her pillow lecture by discussing her advanced age, which obviously distresses the young knight. She maintains that the knight ought to respect such age and should welcome it as a guardian of her chastity. Nevertheless, since she knows what he wants, she promises to fulfill his "worldly appetit." However, she first gives the knight a choice between having her be foul and true or fair and perhaps untrue. At this point the knight gives her "maistry," telling her to choose which is best. Having achieved this "maistrie," the "old wyf" makes a startling announcement:

I prey to God that I moote sterven wood,
But I to yow be also good and trewe
As evere was wyf, syn that the world was newe,
And but I be to-morn as fair to seene
As any lady, emperice, or queene,
That is bitwixe the est and eke the west,
Dooth with my lyf and doth right as you lest.

Cast up the curtyn, I looke how that is is. 188 (my italics)

The transformation of the "old wyf" is revealed when the curtain is cast aside. Thus, the tale is the story of the succession of authority from Synagogue to Ecclesia at the time of the Crucifixion, when the temple veil was torn asunder to reveal the New Covenant. 189 The knight's bride reveals that she is as good and true as any wife since the beginning of time. Indeed, as an Ecclesia figure, she is as true as the Virgin Mary, the new Eve. In addition, she is as fair as any queen from east or west. This claim is justified because, as the depiction of "Ecclesia and the Three Sons of Noah" demonstrates, Ecclesia's sovereignty is worldwide.

Overcome with joy, the knight embraces his bride, and "His herte bathed in a bath of blisse." 190 The sacramental significance of this bath and the three days has been explained by Bernard S. Levy:

... the amendment that the Hag mentions is the amendment of sin, and the reference to the three days alludes to the symbolic three-day descent into the tomb which the baptismal candidate undergoes in his triple immersion into the baptismal waters. It thus seems quite appropriate that the final image of the bliss that the knight enjoys after his conversion should be suggestive of the paradisal bliss that
the converted sinner experiences in Baptism.

It also appears to me quite suggestive that it is "a good Wif . . . of biside Bath" who should tell a tale with such an appropriate conclusion. 191

Such baptismal imagery is well in keeping with the Crucifixion imagery of the scene, since Easter was a traditional season for the baptism of converts and since the three days' descent referred to both baptismal immersion and Christ's descent. Unlike the Wife, who made her body a cross to her unfortunate husband so that he might experience purgatory on earth, the "old wyf" of the tale induced her husband to participate symbolically in the Crucifixion by submitting to the authority of the Church so that he would attain paradise. In fact, the marriage between the transformed hag and the knight is a type of paradise on earth characterized by a state of mutual affection and natural orderliness in which the wife obeys him in all that might please him.

As an ironic conclusion, the Wife herself offers a type of prayer in which she prays for her own will and for all the wrong types of gifts:

And thys they lyve unto hir lyves ende
In parfit joye; and Jhesu Crist us sende
Housbondes meeke, yonge, and fressh abedde,
And grace t'overbyde hem that we wedde;
And eek I praye Jhesu shorte hir lyves
That wol nat be governed by hir wyves;
And olde and angry nygardes of dispence,
God sende hem soone verray
pestilence! 152

The Wife prays for gifts which are carnal, not spiritual. She asks Christ for grace, not to maintain herself in virtue, but to achieve "maistrie" in marraige and gratification of her carnal desires. Furthermore, she wants Christ to curse those husbands who will not relinquish their position of authority which was esteemed natural and spiritually correct in the Pauline tradition.

Such a topsy-turvy prayer, which demands self-gratification rather than virtue, demonstrates how unregenerate is the Wife who tells this tale of spiritual rejuvenation. Although her tale has as its theme the revelation of Ecclesia and the succession of spiritual authority from Synagogue to Ecclesia, the Wife remains a figure associated with Synagogue and the Whore of Babylon. However, the Wife of Bath is not only a type she is a character. By depicting her in human terms, Chaucer criticizes the individual Christian while he criticizes on an allegorical and typological level the abuses of the Church. The Wife of Bath shows us what it means in human terms to choose the bondage of sin over the Dispensation of Grace. Rather than the majestic spectacle of Dante's heavenly pageant, the soaring grandeur of Chartres, or the brilliant procession of shimmering typological scenes in the
Canterbury windows, Chaucer parades before us the mundane sinner, who is continuously making a spectacle of herself. 193
Footnotes to Chapter III


4Romans 6: 14. All biblical quotations are taken from the King James Version. Although modern biblical scholarship questions the authorship of the New Testament Epistles, for the purposes of our discussion we shall refer to them as "Pauline" since, to the medieval mind, they carried all the weight of that great Apostle.

5Romans 7: 1-6.

6I Timothy 4 and 5.

7I Timothy 5: 3, 5, and 6.

8I Timothy 5: 11-15.


17. Seiferth, p. 36.


24. Blanche Payne, *History of Costume From the Ancient Egyptians to the Twentieth Century* (Harper & Row: New York, 1965), p. 75. According to Payne, the broad hat which became "the official symbol of a cardinal" was derived from the ancient Greek petasos.


W.C. Curry, "More about Chaucer's Wife of Bath," *PMLA*, XXXVII, (1922), 45. Robinson, p. 663, n. 468, notes that "gap-toothed" or "gate-toothed" according to the Wife herself refers to her amorous nature, *WRP* III, 603. He refers to Curry's article on physiognomy. In these lines, the Wife refers to her "coltes tooth" and again calls herself "gate-toothed". I find this association quite logical. Finally, Robinson refers to A.J. Barnouw with whom he does not agree, saying, "To accord with this interpretation the unlikely etymology, "goat-toothed" has been proposed." Of course, I do not find it unlikely. See: A.J. Barnouw, "The Prente of Seinte Venus Seel," *The Nation*, CIII, p. 540.

Seiferth, p. 103. Seiferth gives an example of this, the goat in the narthex of Freiburg cathedral. He also provides an illustration, fig. 40, "Luxuria".


Miller, p. 195.


John 2: 19.
36. SP, 11. 463-464. See also: Levy, 112-113 and n. 15. For the relationship between the Wife's visits to Jerusalem and the resurrection, Levy refers to Holland, pp. 279-290.

37. WBP, 1. 23. Robinson, p. 76.

38. WBP, 1. 28. Robinson, p. 76.


40. WBP, 11. 35-38. Robinson, p. 76.


43. Genesis 4 and 5.

44. Caviness, p. 52. Other depictions in the genealogical windows by the Methuselah Master include Adam delving, Jared and Enoch, Methuselah and Lamech. The figure of Noah shows his design, but not his execution, according to Caviness.

45. WBP, 1. 73. Robinson, p. 76.


47. I Corinthians 7: 9 and WBP, 1. 89. Robinson p. 77.

48. WBP, 1. 98. Robinson, p. 77.


51. Huppé, pp. 112-115.


54. Romans 5-7.

55. Romans 2: 29.
56 Romans 7: 23-25.
57 Romans 1: 3.
58 WBP, 11. 142-146. Robinson, p. 77.
60 WBP, 11. 830-831. Robinson, p. 84.
61 WBP, 11. 833-839. Robinson, p. 84.
62 Huppé, pp. 184-190.
63 Huppé, p. 192.
64 Huppé, p. 192.
65 Michael Wilks, "Chaucer and the Mystical Marriage in Medieval Political Thought," BJRL, 44 (1962), 497.
66 Wilks, pp. 497-498.
72 Purgatorio, VI, 11. 118-120. Ciardi, p. 77. 11. 121-123.


WBP, I.15. Robinson, p. 76.


86 Westlake, I, pp. 68-69.

87 Caviness, p. 115. For the inscriptions see: M.R. James, The Twelve Theological Windows of Canterbury Cathedral, The Source of the Verses (Cambridge Antiquarian Society: London, 1903), 6. James, who records the inscriptions, is interested in the relationship between the inscriptions in the Canterbury cycle, the "Pictor in Carmine" and the series of paintings which decorated the stalls at Peterborough Cathedral.

88 Caviness, p. 115.

89 Caviness, pp. 117 & 118.

90 Caviness, p. 119.

91 Caviness, appendix figures pp. 168-175. Caviness uses James's numbering of the subjects. Capitals are used to indicate glass that is extant, but not necessarily in situ.


93 Caviness, p. 126. For Scriptural basis, see John 2: 1-11. For artistic prototypes, Caviness suggests a group of eleventh-century ivories and a twelfth-century manuscript in the British Library, Add. MS 37472. See Goldschmidt, 1926, no. 312, pl. LXXIX, p. 60 and O. van Falke, Robert Schmidt and G. Swarzenski, Der Welfenschatz, Frankfurt am Main, 1930, no. 43, Pl. 6.)


95 Caviness, p. 127. Caviness notes it is the fig leaf that binds type and antetype. Such fusion of verbal and theological imagery recalls the depictions of the mounted Synagogue and Ecclesia figures in the Hortus Deliciarum.


98 James, The Twelve Theological Windows of Canterbury Cathedral, the Source of the Verses, p. 17.


100 Caviness, p. 171, appendix fig. 13. Reconstruction of sixth typological window (n: XI).

101 James, The Twelve Theological Windows of Canterbury Cathedral, the Source of the Verses, p. 31. James also gives his reconstruction, p. 30, and Austin's restoration, p. 31. For inscriptions, see pp. 18-20.


109 Huppé, p. 117. See also: Delasante, p. 205.


111 WBP 1. 418. Robinson, p. 80.


114 WBP 11. 337-347. Robinson, p. 79.

115 1 Timothy 2: 6.

116 1 Timothy 2: 8.

117 1 Timothy 2: 9-15.

118 1 Timothy 5: 13-14.
119 WBP, 1. 358-369. Robinson, p. 79.
121 WBP, 11. 385-386. Robinson, p. 79.
125 James, The Twelve Theological Windows of Canterbury Cathedral, the Source of the Verses, pp. 11-12.
126 WBP, 11. 401-402. Robinson, p. 80.
127 WBP, 11. 403-430. Robinson, 80.
130 James, The Twelve Theological Windows of Canterbury Cathedral, the Source of the Verses, p. 24. Caviness, p. 173, appendix figure 18a provides a reconstruction of the window.
135 WBP, 1.495. Robinson, p. 81.
136 WBP, 1.527. Robinson, p. 81.
137 WBP, 1.545. Robinson, p. 81.
140 Matthew 6: 19-21.


Caviness, p. 170, appendix figure 11.

James, *The Twelve Theological Windows of Canterbury Cathedral, the Source of the Verses*, p. 16.

Caviness, p. 170, appendix figure 11.


WBP, 11. 598-600. Robinson, pp. 81-82.

WBP, 11. 602-603. Robinson, p. 82.


Caviness, p. 170, appendix figure 11.

Caviness, p. 170, appendix figure 11.

WBP, 11. 811-822. Robinson, p. 84.

WBP, 11. 860-861. Robinson, p. 84.

WBP, 1. 862. Robinson, p. 84.


WBP, 1. 905. Robinson, p. 85.


Proverbs 30: 20.

Proverbs 31: 13.
162. WBT, 1. 990. Robinson, p. 86.
166. WBT, 1. 1005. Robinson, p. 86.
167. WBT, 11. 1009-1012. Robinson, p. 86.
170. WBT, 1. 1061. Robinson, p. 86.
173. WBT, 1. 1092. Robinson, p. 87.
180. WBT, 11. 1125-1130. See Robinson, p. 704, ns. 1109 ff.
183. Ciardi, p. 92, n. 129.
193. Robertson, "Simple Signs from Everyday Life in Chaucer," pp. 25-26. Robertson points out that the Wife is "deaf to spiritual understanding" and resembles the Synagogue and the Samaritan woman in her unconverted state. Robertson even points out that the Wife functions in a "Babylonian" or spiritually confused state.
CONCLUSION

In his figure of the Wife of Bath, Chaucer employs the theme of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon to create an allegory which instructs the individual Christian to choose the New Law of Grace over the Old Law of Sin. Furthermore, this allegorical imagery enables Chaucer to criticize the contemporary Church for its corruption. As this background study has shown, Chaucer in his poetry was able to draw upon a theological theme which was the product of almost a millennium of Church history. In addition, Chaucer was sustained in his efforts by a wealth of artistic expression of this theme and by the poetic precedent of Dante. However, although Chaucer's Wife of Bath's Tale is one of the finest examples of the use of this theme in literature, is it by no means the last. The theme endured in popularity in the visual arts until it came to an end in the Reformation. At that time, the theme would manifest itself for the last time in an outstanding poetic work, The Faerie Queene. However, before we note the conclusion of this theme, let us recall its theological basis and artistic background which made the imagery of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon so poetically useful to Chaucer.
As we noted in Chapter I, the terminus post quem of the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia beneath the Cross in the Sacramentary of Drogo of Metz corresponded to the eucharistic controversies of the ninth century. These Carolingian controversies centered upon the question of real presence or transubstantiation of the eucharist. Although some theologians, such as Ratramnus, argued that it was only the mystical body of Christ which was present at the sacrament, the realistic interpretation of Paschasius Radbertus carried the day. As a result of this victory, the Church, as ministrant of the sacrament, acquired a greater authority among both theologians and the laity.

These theological ideas manifested themselves in Carolingian art, especially in ivory carvings which were used as bindings for liturgical manuscripts. Originally, these ivory carvings presented compositions which emphasized the harmonious transition of authority from the Old Covenant to the New which was accomplished at the Crucifixion. However, this scene of harmony began to break apart in ivories of the tenth century as elements of disputation between Ecclesia and Synagogue were emphasized so that, by the eleventh century, Synagogue was depicted in defeat. Again, the artistic representations of the theme reflected eucharistic controversies, this time with Berengarius of Tours (died 1088) who once more advanced a symbolic interpretation of the eucharist. At this period as well,
the eucharist was emphasized by liturgical changes which included the elevation of the host, the permanent display of the host in a monstrance, and the practice of giving the lay congregation bread but not wine at communion. 4

By the Gothic period, we must turn away from ivory carving to cathedral art of glass or stone in order to find meaningful representations of Synagogue and Ecclesia since the Gothic carvers broke not only the compositional balance of the theme, but its symbolism as well, by transporting these female personifications from the Crucifixion to scenes of the Deposition and the Entombment, where their presence was meaningless. 5 However, if the theme suffered at the hands of the carvers of Gothic ivories, it reached the height of its artistic expression in the work of Gothic masters of sculpture and stained glass. As before, the renewed attention to this theme reflected theological controversies. This time, however, the disputation occurred not between theologians, but between the Church and the Cathar heretics.

Chartres Cathedral furnishes an excellent example of the use of this theme to refute heretics who challenged the authority of the Church of Rome and the efficacy of the eucharist which the Church-administered. On the facade of the north transept, which was built between 1200 and 1225, figures of Synagogue and Ecclesia and Leah and Rachel or Mary and Martha stood as a testimony to the harmony of the
Old and the New Covenants and as a promise of the fulfillment of the Old in the New. They proclaimed as well Ecclesia's authority, to which she had succeeded at the Crucifixion. In addition, these figures acted as types of the Active and Contemplative Lives, which were also to be guided by the authority of the Church, the ministrant of the sacrament. In the archivolts above these personifications the Chartrean iconographers included figures of women engaged in the acts of contemplation, to represent the Contemplative Life, and in the acts of cloth making, to represent the Active Life. Thus, in the face of heretics who challenged the legitimacy of the Church and its sacraments, the Chartreans proclaimed the authority of the Church, who is to be the guide to the perfect life of action and contemplation. Furthermore, these iconographers demonstrated that Ecclesia's authority to guide was rooted in the Old Covenant and fulfilled in the New through the sacrifice of Christ, which is re-enacted in the eucharist.

When we compare the facade of the north transept of Chartres to the final cantos of Dante's Purgatorio, we see a striking similarity of imagery. Like the Chartreans, Dante employs the figures of Leah and Rachel in the Earthly Paradise to represent the Active and Contemplative Lives, the Old and the New Covenants. The Chartrean activities of weaving and contemplation are also represented in Leah's weaving of a garland of flowers and Rachel's contemplation
of her reflection in a mirror. This imagery is amplified in canto XXVIII when Dante introduces Matilda, for she also gathers flowers and represents the Active Life of the Soul. In her perfection Matilda recalls the representations of the Beatitudes of the Soul which were depicted at Chartres above the figures of Leah and Rachel, and Synagogue and Ecclesia.

In the following cantos which describe the Pageant of the Triumph of the Church, Dante continues to employ imagery which is comparable to that of the Chartrean facade because it emphasizes the harmony between the Old and the New Dispensations and glorifies the authority of Ecclesia. Standing on the Mountain of Purgatory, the pilgrim Dante gazes overhead as the Triumphal Pageant approaches. Beneath the glorious light of seven golden candelabra march twenty four elders crowned with lillies to represent the books of the Old Testament. They are followed by the four Gospel beasts and the chariot of Ecclesia which rests on wheels representing the Old and New Covenants. The chariot is drawn by the Gryphon, who represents Christ, the hypostatic union of the Old and New Testaments, the Old and New Dispensations, as well as flesh and blood, the bread and wine of the eucharist. Thus far in his pageant which celebrates the Triumph of the Church, Dante, like the Chartreans, stresses the harmony of the Old and New Covenants in order to proclaim the legitimate authority of
the Church. However, unlike the balanced program of the
Chartrean facade, Dante's imagery will soon transform itself
into a picture of discord.

The elements of discord which Dante introduces into the
Pageant of the Triumph of the Church culminate in the
transformation of the pageant into a vision of the Whore of
Babylon, a vision which Dante creates in order to criticize
corruption and papal abuses which he felt were tainting the
Church's mission as the Bride of Christ. This
transformation takes place as the chariot is attacked by an
eagle, a fox, and a dragon and emerges as a beast with four
heads and ten horns. Upon the beast sits a harlot, and by
her side stands a giant. When she turns her lustful gaze
upon Dante, the giant beats her and drags her away. This
technique of denouncing one's enemies as the Whore of
Babylon recalls the historic background of the north facade
of Chartres since the Cathar heretics, who were the targets
of its anti-heretical message, had accused the Church of
Rome of being the "synagogue of Satan" and "great Babylon,
harlot, the Church of the Devil."10 Similarly, the
Chartrean iconographers had portrayed "Infidelity" as a
false Synagogue. However, Dante, who was a true son of the
Church although not dependent upon Church patronage, could
use this imagery with poetic freedom to chastise
ecclesiastical abuses and corruption without questioning the
authority of the Church of Rome as ministrant of the sacrament.

Dante's goal to criticize the corruption of the contemporary Church is shared by Chaucer, whose *Wife of Bath's Prologue and Tale* is informed by the imagery of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon as well as a weaving figure of questionable orthodoxy. However, in spite of the goals and imagery which Chaucer shares with Dante, his technique is strikingly different. Dante divides his poem into the realms of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise so that his characters function as representations of a particular spiritual state defined by their place within the context of the poem. He presents the imagery of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon in an allegorical spectacle which soars above the Mountain of Purgatory. In contrast, Chaucer conflates these spiritual realms into the earthly setting of the road to Canterbury so that his characters function both as expressions of various spiritual states and as characters. Instead of the Purgatorial pageant expressing the relationship between Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon, Chaucer presents the story of the Wife of Bath who provides "on earth a purgatory."\(^{11}\)

Although Chaucer's creation of the Wife of Bath is the product of a theme which is rooted in the Carolingian eucharistic controversies and which manifested itself in the
Cathedral of Chartres and the poetry of Dante, he would by no means have been limited to Continental expressions of Synagogue and Ecclesia. Indeed, Chaucer had in England one of the most beautiful examples of this theme in the magnificent stained glass windows of Canterbury Cathedral, the destination of the pilgrims in his Tales. This spectacular assembly of Gothic windows included a genealogical series, rose windows, and a typological series. The genealogical windows of Canterbury, which were related to the glass of Chartres, reaffirmed the human and divine nature of Christ and prepared the viewer for the typological windows which stressed the authority of the Church and the New Covenant. Of these typological windows, the fourth, fifth, and sixth dealt particularly with themes which appear in the story of the Wife of Bath. These themes are marriage, widowhood, the Active and Contemplative Lives, the role of exegesis, and "fruitfulness." Finally, the roses contained personifications of the Synagogue and Moses, Christ and Ecclesia. Thus, the overall program of glass at Canterbury provided not only a masterful presentation of the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia, but also a typological pattern for its interpretation.

Drawing upon this rich tradition of the theme Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon with its wealth of artistic and poetic associations, Chaucer creates the Prologue and Tale of the Wife of Bath, one of the finest
achievements of *The Canterbury Tales*. To identify the Wife with Synagogue, Chaucer uses many of the attributes that are traditionally associated with that personification such as oldness, lack of perception, and an ambling mount. In addition, she is concerned with the law and the letter of the law rather than in its spirit as she demands a scriptural answer to the question of how many times one may marry. Similarly, the loathly hag of her *Tale* binds the young knight to the letter of his promise so that he is obliged to marry her in spite of the unwillingness of his spirit. The Wife resembles the Whore of Babylon in her expensive scarlet array and in her lust. She is also suspect because of her habit of wandering and her occupation of weaving, which was a favorite trade of the Cathar heretics with whom she shares a misunderstanding of the nature of marriage. The imagery of Ecclesia is represented in the scene in which the hag is transformed into a queenly new bride amid symbolism which connotes the Crucifixion, the historical occurrence of the revelation of Ecclesia. Thus, we see that in the creation of the Wife of Bath, Chaucer makes full use of the complex imagery which was the result of the rich tradition of this theme.

In using the imagery of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon Chaucer also relates the tale to the teller in a rather complex way, for a figure who is a conflation of Synagogue and the Whore of Babylon tells the story of a
Synagogue figure who is revealed as Ecclesia. As in the case of Dante's Purgatorial pageant, the use of the symbolism of the Whore of Babylon acts as an indictment of the corruption of the contemporary Church. However, because the Wife functions not only as allegory but as character, her tale of rejuvenation reflects upon her own state of spiritual deterioration and indicts her choice of the old bondage of sin rather than the New Covenant of grace.

Although the theme of Synagogue and Ecclesia continued in the visual arts of the Middle Ages, it came to an end both in the arts and in poetry at the time of the Reformation. We see the last great treatment of this theme in the poetry of Edmund Spenser. Thus, a brief consideration of The Faerie Queene will illuminate the historical context for the conclusion of this theme. By Spenser's time, the split within the Church had replaced interest in the contrast between Synagogue and Ecclesia with a concentration upon the contrast between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. In Roman Catholic countries, the Blessed Virgin would become an increasingly popular theme. Meanwhile, in Protestant England, monasteries and cathedrals had been through a period of spoliation under Henry VIII. Nevertheless, Spenser, whose debt to Chaucer is clear in so many ways, uses the theme of Ecclesia, but with a uniquely Renaissance an Protestant twist. In Book I of the Faerie Queene, Spenser presents the figures of Una and Duessa.
Although Una is depicted in the traditional imagery of Ecclesia, she is not the traditional Church of Rome. Instead, Duessa, depicted in the imagery of the Whore of Babylon and accompanied by the giant Orgoglio, represents the Church of Rome. The obvious point of this contrast is the denunciation of papal corruption and the abuses of the Roman Catholic Church. In this manner, Spenser asserts the Anglican idea that the English Church was not schismatic, but has continued in the true Christian faith, while Rome under the papacy had wandered into error and corruption. Despite the Chaucerian trappings of Spenser's language, his use of the Ecclesia figure and her contrast to the Whore of Babylon is very different from the use that Chaucer, or any of his medieval contemporaries, would make of the imagery. Spenser's perspective on the contrast and balance among the triad of Synagogue, Ecclesia, and the Whore of Babylon had changed, and that made a world of difference.
Notes to Conclusion


2 Schiller, II, 9-12 and 99-115.

3 Schiller, II, 10.

4 Schiller, II, 11.


9 Musa, p. 318, ns. 113-114.


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: "Beatrice as a Figure for Mary," *Traditio*, 33, 1977, pp. 402-14.
Figures to Chapter II

**Figure 1.** The left doorway of the north transept of Chartres Cathedral. View of the Tympanum (Corporation of the Virgin) and lintel (Nativity: Adoration and Dream of the Magi).

**Figure 2.** The right doorway of the north transept of Chartres Cathedral. View of the tympanum (Suffering of Job) and lintel (Judgment of Solomon).

**Figure 3.** Central doorway of the north porch of Chartres Cathedral. View of the trumeau (St. Anne and the Virgin), lintel (Death and Assumption of the Virgin), and tympanum (Triumph of the Virgin).

**Figure 4.** Statues to the left of the central doorway of the north porch of Chartres Cathedral (Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Samuel, and David).

**Figure 5.** Statues to the right of the central doorway of the north porch of Chartres Cathedral (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Simeon, St. John the Baptist, and St. Peter).

**Figure 6.** Central doorway of the south porch of Chartres Cathedral.

**Figure 7.** Left bay of the north porch of Chartres Cathedral.

**Figure 8.** Jamb figures on the left side of the door of the left bay of the north porch of Chartres Cathedral (Isaiah over dragon, Gabriel over devil, and the Virgin over dragon amid leaves and apples).

**Figure 9.** Jamb figures on the right side of the door of the right bay of the north porch of Chartres Cathedral (Virgin over burning bush, Elizabeth over the prophet Habakkuk, and Daniel over dragon of Babylon).
Figure 10. Left side of the two outer cordons of the left bay of the north porch of Chartres Cathedral (Active Life and Heavenly Beatitudes).

Figure 11. Right side of the outer two cordons of the left bay of the north porch of Chartres Cathedral (Contemplative Life and Heavenly Beatitudes).

All figures reproduced are my own.
Figure 1. The left doorway of the north transept of Chartres Cathedral. View of the tympanum (Coronation of the Virgin) and lintel (Nativity: Adoration and Dream of the Magi).
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