MAGNIFICENCE AND THE SUBLIME IN MEDIEVAL AESTHETICS

ART, ARCHITECTURE, LITERATURE, MUSIC

Edited by

C. Stephen Jaeger

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INTRODUCTION

C. *Stephen Jaeger*

The Magnificent and the Sublime as aesthetic principles operated more or less undetected during the period ca. 500-1400, and have gone unrecognized in their relatedness to the Magnificence of the Renaissance and to the Sublime as formulated by antiquity and obsessed over in the eighteenth century. Yet these two principles are infused, not so subtly, in medieval art, architecture, literature, and music; they were often practiced, though seldom theoretically reflected on. An extensive descriptive vocabulary fans out from them. Rhetoric and the art of preaching made direct prescriptions for them. The most penetrating reflection on them in the period appears in the treatises on contemplation by Richard of St. Victor, in which aesthetics and theology become inseparable.[1]

This subject has been noted in modern scholarship on medieval aesthetics, but the discussion has never been sustained. It has not extended beyond the handful of titles given in the bibliography of this volume.

My purpose in this introduction is first to assert the existence of the volume's topic as a viable, rewarding object of study, then to reflect on factors that have hindered lively discussion of it among the various disciplines of medieval studies.

The term "sublime" designates a high rhetorical and literary style recognized and cultivated in antiquity. Many passages in Homer, in Pindar, in Greek tragedy, and in Virgil operate in that mode.

A remarkable tract on the sublime in literary style and oratory has survived from the first century AD: *Peri hypsous,* written in Greek and ascribed to a certain Longinus (although the ascription is uncertain and even if it were not no one knows who this Longinus was). The tract is unfinished and was unknown until the sixteenth century. It had a remarkable life and offers encouragement to all of us whose books remain unread. No one quotes it for 1,500 years or so, and the inference is reasonable that it was unknown in antiquity or the Middle Ages. The text was discovered in mutilated form, with perhaps two-thirds of

the whole tract surviving, and what survived is riddled with missing sentences or whole sections. First published in the sixteenth century, its impact remained minor until Boileau in 1693 published a French translation in his "Reflections on Longinus." The subject catches fire in the eighteenth century. From this point on Longinus would exercise a huge influence on aesthetic and philosophical thought.

The sublime style gets some mention in rhetorical treatises, but not much. The Greek terms are *hypsos, to hypson,* meaning height or loftiness; *megaloprepeia,* meaning suited to grandeur or magnificence; and *megethos,* meaning greatness or grandeur. In Latin, *sublimitas* and *grandiloquentia*. Augustine applied a classical rhetorical category to preaching and spoke of the "grand" or "sublime style" *(grande dicendi genus, sublime dicendi genus, stilus grandis).* Enough said, since Danuta Shanzer's contribution in this volume treats Augustine on the sublime style and its relation to the "humble" style.

The spatial dimensions expanded by the grand style are size and height. The former registers in *grandeur,* and *greatness (megethos),* and the widely used prefixes *mege-* and *magni--,* the latter in the terms *hypsos* (height), *sublimitas,* and *altitudo*.

The essay by Eleonora Stoppino on "The Arrested Sublime of the Giants in *Divine Comedy,* canto XXXI," directs attention to the gigantic as a phenomenon in many ways closer to the sublime of Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant than Longinus (her term: "the gigantic sublime"); what appears to the pilgrim Dante at first glance as towers and windmills reveal themselves, clearly perceived, as gigantic living creatures. This is the "sublime moment of perception" (Stoppino), in which understanding is ushered in by fear.

There are many techniques for "making bigger" in rhetorical and literary style. Praise, for instance, enlarges and elevates its subject. That effect registers in the common usage of the verb *magnificare* to mean praise. When the Virgin Mary "magnifies the Lord" in the opening lines of her hymn following the Annunciation, she means that she enlarges and elevates the Lord by her hymn of praise.[2] Panegyric, the *vitae* of saints, epitaphs, and epic poetry, operate in an "enlarging" mode, though it should be stressed that not all that is grand is sublime. Longinus tends to downplay the Sublime as a mode; it is not a collection of learnable rules and techniques. He claims rather that it exists in the form of individual and isolated acts of genius called forth by a grand subject or a moment of passionate emotionality.

The term "magnificence" registers the aesthetic impulse to enlarge. *Magnijicentia* is, literally, aggrandizing, making big. But the term acquired a much higher cachet than simply enlargement. This is evident in the frequent coupling of *regalis* or *imperialis* with *magnificentia*. Given that virtually any church-building or church-enlarging bishop would be praised for his *magnificentia,* and given that the word in its various grammatical forms recurs in thousands of variants in medieval Latin,[3] there is reason to suppose that the term was functioning in the conception of church and secular

architecture, as well as other forms of art and expression. And there is good reason to reflect on its medieval conception and instantiation. The essays by Paul Binski and Areli Marina in this volume open to view a wide variety of architecture in which "magnificence" as a "virtue" and a form of aristocratic self-representation played an informing role. Binski registers a range of "huge and magnificently finished buildings... which evoked and continue to evoke, those feelings associated with the sublime," exaltation and wonder. Binski's essay surveys the Latin vocabulary of the Magnificent and the Sublime and shows it situated in the context of art and architecture.

Areli Marina's essay treats architecture in northern Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and finds a flourishing ideal of magnificent building, magnificence of patronage, and an accompanying aesthetic ideology.

The association of magnificent buildings with a lavish, even prodigal patron described by the same term was by no means lost on medieval artists. The prominence of Magnificence and the Sublime in the early and high Middle Ages cautions against regarding the two as ancient modalities resuscitated. The essays by Martino Rossi Monti, Christopher Page, and Margot Fassler support this cautioning. But here I want to cite one instance of magnificence observed by an early thirteenth-century viewer, just to mark the existence of the concept and fix its context in architecture and its patronage at this point and not to define it in its medieval instantiation.

The briefbiography of Hugh of Noyers (bishop of Auxerre, 1183-1206) in the *Gesta Episcoporum Autissiodorensium* applies "magnificent" and "magnificence" as a virtual leitmotif and is more interested in the bishop's building than in his spiritual activities.[4] He rose to the bishopric—significantly, given his later prodigality—from his position as "treasurer" (*thesaurarius).* He was famed for his nobility of birth, but far more distinguished for his "magnificence of soul" (*animi magnijicentia).* The author devotes a section to "How Magnificent Was His Lifestyle"[5]: "He lived surrounded by much worldly magnificence, as is the custom of nobles, and, reluctant to lead a solitary life, he lived up to the reputation of his ancestors in his large retinue of clerics and knights and their campaigns [voyages, outings] of ever-growing frequency, in the large throng of courtiers and magnificent trappings." He was a great and eloquent orator, learned in all the liberal arts, including the mechanical; he composed canticles and songs. His building activity is the centerpiece of the biography. The bishop's house was located on a gracious and extensive estate, but the residence itself was humble and "inglorious" when he entered the bishopric. He remodeled the episcopal domicile "with many of his own buildings of magnificent nobility and beauty." His enlargement of his personal residence was likewise "magnificent and worthy of admiration [or amazement: *admiratio],*" but its glory was dimmed because he exploited the property and possessions of other men and of the diocese to glorify his own.

The picture emerges of a lordly gentleman magnificent in both mind and action, bent on establishing a life of pomp and glory around his bishopric

and his personal holdings. What is significant is that magnificence is seen and represented here as an aristocratic virtue ("magnificence of soul") and at the same time a quality of grand buildings, the product of lavish expenditure. This biography points us to the episcopal milieu as the native context of medieval magnificence, alongside worldly courts.

This milieu also looms large in other essays in this volume. The study by Christopher Page, "The Magnificence of a Singer in Fifth-Century Gaul," opens to view an opulent culture of bishops and episcopal courts in the earlier Middle Ages, in which music, along with other refinements, marked a culture of high sophistication. As in later episcopal courts, spiritual authority and material opulence interacted closely and without contradiction. It is the milieu of the bishop and of the clergy aspiring to that position in which ancient Roman culture lived on most visibly; Western bishops in the fifth century inherited, along with kings, "a sense that liturgical and aristocratic culture at an exalted level should be defined by expensive materials sourced in different climates and brought over long distances." It would be possible to support this claim by reference to many bishops from the earlier and high Middle Ages, Adalbert of Hamburg/Bremen and Thomas Becket, to name only two instances.[6]

Margot Fassler's essay, "Helgaud of Fleury and the Liturgical Arts: The Magnification of Robert the Pious," makes clear the continuity of magnificence and singing. The joining of the two offices, cantor and historian, facilitated the "magnification" of kings and bishops in the liturgy.

If we were dependent on the vocabulary of Magnificence and the Sublime, the measure of their character and of the depth of their significance for the Middle Ages would be difficult to take. Fortunately it is possible to compare some monuments—in art, architecture, literature, and music—with contemporary or near-contemporary observations that get us much closer to the deeper conceptualizing of the medieval sublime and magnificent.

The lead essay in this volume by Martino Rossi Monti gets us into the anthropology of greatness. He traces the idea of the human being as "a magnificent work of art" *("opus magnificum").* The inborn excellence of the human condition tunes the inner world in harmony with the sublime and the magnificent in the outer world. The visible and experienceable sublime and magnificent awaken the inner beauty slumbering in man, dimmed through sin and worldliness, but available through discipline and the experience of the beautiful in created nature. The contribution by Stephen Jaeger, "Richard of St. Victor and the Medieval Sublime," also touches on the anthropology of the sublime and magnificent. He cites Bernard of Clairvaux, better known for a dimmer view of the human condition, who proclaims, "we are noble creatures, great of soul, and so we seek height/high-ness/the sublime *(altitudinem)* with a desire implanted by nature." The idea of a humanity-hating, world-despising asceticism overshadowing medieval culture generally does not stand up well in the light of this

anthropology of man, the magnificent work of art. Alongside the miseries of the human condition, Rossi Monti insists that its dignity and excellence maintained a high place in the thought of medieval theologians from late antiquity to the high Middle Ages. The human creature, made with a natural inclination to the sublime and magnificent, creates sublime and magnificent works of art and imagines them as wakening kindred qualities slumbering in the observer.

• * •

Given the abundance and accessibility of the language and monuments of the sublime and the magnificent, the almost complete absence of interest in them in twentieth- and twenty-first-century medieval studies is worth reflection. I want to point to two factors that have at least retarded, if not altogether blocked, a serious critical discussion: the first, embedded conceptions of the Middle Ages, and the second, two major scholars who have downplayed or denied the the topic.

An overarching conception of medieval culture has fallen into place since the late nineteenth century, which I will call the diminutive Middle Ages (DMA). DMA is the internalized and sublimated scholarly consensus of a generation of titanic post-romantic and anti-romantic medievalist scholars, a model that has seeped into and saturated current thinking about the Middle Ages, not only in specialized scholarship.[7] Like embedded levels of software programs, this model sets and limits what can be thought and claimed about medieval culture, and occasionally overrides empirical observation—as in the case of Magnificence and the Sublime.

Viewed through the lens of DMA, the Middle Ages is a period of small, quaint things and people, of miniatures, humble, little, overshadowed by its big neighbors—antiquity in its past and the Renaissance in its future—a conduit between the two; full of ingenious people and little intricate objects; a curiosity cabinet full to overflowing; a treasure trove of folklore, superstition, and weird eccentricities of popular religion with its overheated devotional forms bordering on the fanatical and its transgressive characters and bizarre relics, living and dead. The forests and castles of the DMA teem with spirits, small and folkloric in contrast to the Pans and Chirons of the ancient world. The phantoms that haunt these places shrink in the modern imagination when set against the ghost of mighty Ajax or of Hamlet's father. The art of book illumination, the most colorful and visually pleasant of medieval art forms—ingenious and charming in its wealth of rich design—drastically shrinks what it depicts, renders the human form by cartoonish line drawings, and encloses figures in intricate little architectural details. At the beginning of this enterprise, book art seemed to me to be the medium least amenable to the perspective of the magnificent and the sublime, a medieval counterpart to the eighteenth century's "pleasant and picturesque," colorful, intricate,

and miniature. But that was before I read Adam Cohen's contribution to this volume, "Magnificence in Miniature: The Case of Early Medieval Manuscripts," which teaches us to see splendid books against the background of book magic and medieval *mirabilia*. Shrunk though it is by the dimensions of the book, the emperor and donor portrait still exudes what Alfred Cell has called a "technology of enchantment."[8] Relative size (larger than angels and bishops) plays a greater role than absolute. The charging of the atmosphere around emperor/donor with magic and the supernatural aims at effects in line with the sublime and magnificent in their larger realizations. And while Cohen teaches us to read impressive effects out of Ottonian book art, too often the modern viewer is arrested by a technology of reduction in medieval book illumination, which tends to play into the DMA with its homunculi and homunculae.

The emotional life of medieval people is grotesquely reduced by the DMA, now humble, now strident, often hectic and overwrought, their feelings those of children or dwarves, their anger that of Rumpelstiltskin, not Achilles. Their capacity to love, being expressed in many cases as sublime and romantic passion, is either quaint and fantastic, or otherwise concocted and out of synch with the real character of emotions felt.'' For the DMA, medieval ideals of aristocratic love are pure fantasy and howlingly false when compared with "the real." The intensity and pathos of courtly love was probably invented by Richard Wagner and its vaulting chivalric idealism by Walter Scott. Viewed by modern scholarship, they require shrinkage.

Outside of the disenchanting spell of the DMA one might well take Gothic architecture as sublime and magnificent, both in its empirical givenness and in its authorial/architectural intention. Coleridge, for instance, could rhapsodize on the architecture of the church building: "Gothic art is sublime. On entering a cathedral, I am filled with devotion and with awe; I am lost to the actualities that surround me, and my whole being expands into the infinite; earth and air, nature and art, all swell up into eternity, and the only sensible expression left is, 'that I am nothing!'"[10] But in the nineteenth century, Gothic turns "gothic"—weird and, in its diminutive way, monstrous, its bigness closer to Grand Guignol than to the sublime and magnificent. Notre Dame of Paris is peculiarly suited as backdrop for the Feast of Fools, a residence for a shy, sentimental hunchback and a perverse clergy. Joris-Karl Huysmans gives us a Middle Ages idealized against a decadent present (i.e., the late nineteenth century), but takes a sadistic child-sex-obsessed rapist/murderer/maniac off the shelves of the medieval curiosity cabinet and sets him before us as the object of study to which his hero takes refuge from the decadent present. Huysmans's novel *(La has)* had a strong influence on Johan Huizinga, great cultural historian and vocal spokesman of the DMA.

In short, for the DMA, debunking medieval conceptions and representations is the way to historical accuracy.

Meyer Schapiro swam against the stream in resisting a particular DMA default setting: "The widespread idea that medieval art was the work of monks or of profoundly religious lay artisans inspired by a humble attitude of selfless craftsmanship and service to the church rests on the assumption that this art is through and through religious and that people of the Middle Ages esteemed art only as it was useful, devotional and directly imbued with spiritual conceptions in accord with the traditional teachings of the church. The monuments and writings, especially from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, tell us otherwise."[11]

The purpose of this volume is to look critically at DMA, not to foist a Big Middle Ages on medieval aesthetics, but to explore the language, the visual and auditory reality, the rhetorical practices, the theories, and the limits of the aesthetics of grandeur.

• * •

The second factor limiting discussion of this volume's topics registers in the abbreviated discussion of "the Sublime" among medievalists. Interest in the subject in philosophy and aesthetics generally has remained strong and influential from the late seventeenth century to the present, branching into directions that would have astonished the Greek author who inspired them.[12]

Again, a glance at the bibliography on the subject appended to this volume will give an impression of the depth and breadth of the modern discussion (much abbreviated here). The sphere of relevance of the concept has swollen so as to encapsulate, for Theodor Adorno, all forms of art in modernity. He sees alongside the Sublime, whose purpose is to shatter and reconstruct consciousness, only an inferior, pleasing art that panders to and slavishly affirms social values; the trauma of sublimity erodes the impulse to dominate, hence it is for Adorno a powerful force for freedom. The critical discussion that flared in France in the mid-1980s has stretched the concept far beyond the boundaries set by the eighteenth-century discussion, and well beyond Adorno, though it follows the path he marked out. Jean-Luc Nancy could claim in 1985 that "there is no contemporary thought of art and its end that does not, in one manner or another, pay tribute to the thought of the sublime, whether or not it explicitly refers to this thought."[13] The subject remains prominent two decades later.

However, in the wide scope of medieval studies, I was only able to name a handful of titles directly treating the subject of the Sublime. While writers of the Romantic period made significant use of the Middle Ages in understanding these terms and in achieving their effects in their own writings, serious critical discussion of Magnificence and the Sublime has bypassed scholarship on the Middle Ages. The studies in other areas are so abundant as to outrun the space available in the appendix to this volume. But no title in the area of medieval studies addresses "Magnificence"[14] and only three address

"the Sublime." The latter has inspired studies by medievalists: E.R. Curtius, Erich Auerbach, and Piero Boitani, mighty voices in the field. The essays by Dronke and Doran (see biblio.) respond to Auerbach.

Curtius and Auerbach resist inclusion of the Sublime in discussions of representation in the Middle Ages. Ernst Robert Curtius ended his magnum opus *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* with great rhetorical flourish in a section discussing the concept of the poet as creative genius. In a brief history of the treatise of Longinus, *On the Sublime*, he connected the treatise's absence in the Middle Ages with that era's lack of an idea of creative genius. In a final crescendo of the apodictic, a tone often audible in his work, he evokes a stylistic wasteland separating antiquity from Goethe. The failure of late antiquity to pay any attention to Longinus is "one of the clearest symptoms of its debilitated intellectual energy. Longinus was strangled by that unbreakable chain, the tradition of mediocrity." That tradition, we are free to think, is at work strangling Longinus also in the period 500-1674,[15] though Curtius himself might well have remarked that no one ever cited Longinus, that no work devoted to the Sublime survived from antiquity, apart from the fragments of Longinus, and that the only real reception of Longinus and of the Sublime as a critical or philosophical concept began in the eighteenth century. He was not strangled; he never breathed until the seventeenth century galvanized and the eighteenth resurrected him. The inference that the silence of Longinus and the mediocrity of medieval literature are connected is there for us to make, but it also invites us to ask why so august a scholar devoted so much of his career to a literature he looked down on. Curtius might also have remarked that the concept of the poet as creative genius and the sublime object both in nature and art needs no Longinus to exist and to survive; the absence of Longinus does not mean the absence of the Sublime, far from it. And yet I believe that two big aporias in the study of medieval aesthetics are briefly captured in the assumption: without Longinus, no Sublime; without Aristotle, no Magnificence—as though neither the concepts nor the phenomena to which they refer can exist without their most prominent theoretical formulations.[16] Both the Sublime and the Magnificent come into being for reasons other than poets and artists reading the writings of philosophers and critics.

In the same closing paragraphs Curtius notes that the brief survival of the Sublime in antiquity and the idea of the poet as creator is the work of a cult of Virgil, which died out not long after its idol. Of the Virgil cult he writes: "It gleams like a mystic lamp in the evening of the aging world. For almost a millennium and a half it was extinguished. It shines once again in the dawning radiance of Goethe's youth."[17] Not only would we waste our time looking for titanic creative energy and its products in the Middle Ages; we would violate the force of purple rhetoric in that passage with its sunsets and sunrises and its mystic lamp going dark and installing the long night between a radiant Virgil and a radiant Goethe.

Curtius more than any other major scholar became the spokesperson of a mediocre Middle Ages, a long stretch of time and cultural history whose culture was derivative without rising to the heights of that from which it derived. But his frame of development with its notion of waning intellectual energy infecting the middle period, found another spokesperson in Erich Auerbach. Two essays of interest stretch across two major areas of medieval literary/rhetorical expression: chivalric epic and Christian literature.[18] His essay "Camilla, or, The Rebirth of the Sublime" addresses the first. He compares three scenes in which an imposing figure makes a grand arrival: the warrior woman Camilla in book 7 of Virgil's *Aeneid,* the corresponding scene in the Old French *Roman d'Eneas,* and the arrival of the heavenly messenger in canto 9 of Dante's *Inferno.* Auerbach traces an inverted arc in the sublimity of the scene leading from its high point in Virgil to a low point in the medieval romancier, rising again "reborn" in Dante's *Divine Comedy.* The plain and prosaic style of the medieval author sandwiched between the sublimity of Virgil and Dante argues the absence of a high style and the dominance of a charming, descriptive, moralizing narrative style in classical romance.

Another essay by Auerbach in the same collection looks at specifically Christian writing and argues the dominance of the ***sermo humilis,*** the humble style, in late antiquity and the Middle Ages. Others in this volume will discuss Auerbach's essay; I just have one or two bones to pick with it. Auerbach defines the humble style by reference largely to the Gospels. He shows how the simple style shrouds sublime things, persons, and events and stresses the odd mixture of the ordinary with sacred mysteries: "In the Christian context, humble, everyday things, money or a cup of cold water, become compatible with the lofty style; and conversely, the highest mysteries of the faith may be set forth in the simple words of the lowly style which everyone can understand" (p. 37). Auerbach never loses sight of the sublime or grand style, urged on preachers in certain circumstances by his main informant, Augustine. The humble style is in a sense a mask for the sublime experience conveyed in those simple things, which breaks through now and then—so runs the argument. Auerbach cites the passage in the **Confessions,** which supplied the title and subject of Danuta Shanzer's study in this volume: Augustine, reading scripture, found the language humble when approached from a distance, but sublime at its high point **(incessu humilem, successu excelsam),** the ordinary constantly veiling and revealing mysteries. And the dominant Christian discourse follows that model, in which the humble masks the divine. ***Sermo humilis*** is "secretly sublime"; "a blending of two realms, the sublime and the lowly" (p. 65). Auerbach's reading holds true of the texts he treats, the Gospels, the Acts of Perpetua, and Gregory the Great's **Dialogues.** But he is oddly silent on that long string of quotations from Paul's letters that we find in **De doctrina Christiana,** which Augustine cites to illustrate the lofty style in Christian writings, an example where Auerbach's

model—humble things, humble words, sublime mysteries—breaks down, and sublime mysteries reveal themselves in sublime formulations. Danuta Shanzer's essay, "'Incessu humilem, successu excelsam:' Augustine, ***Sermo humilis***, and Scriptural 6^05," investigates Augustine's rhetorical practice both deep and wide, focusing on the **Confessions.** She shows a sublime style in full flourish in this and other works, and offers a strong answer to Auerbach's privileging of the ***sermo humilis.***

Auerbach's take on *sermo humilis* was slightly skewed by his focus on the Gospels—to which the term applies consistently. But Christian writers had more than the Gospels. They also had Isaiah, The Book of Job, the Song of Songs, the Psalms, Paul's letters, Acts of the Apostles, and the Book of Revelation—works full of the sublime, the noble, the grandiose, and the terrifying, in words, actions, and visions. I might also mention the beginning of Genesis, the creation story, which had impressed Longinus sufficiently that he included a direct quote from "that great lawgiver of the Jews" in his tract on the sublime.

Auerbach is also the author of *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, a major study of literary style in the West which has been vastly influential. It is important to note that the book and the two essays just cited are joined by what the Germans call an *Erkenntnisinteresse*. The kind of insights at which they aim connect at a level beyond the explicit; they share an underlying intellectual agenda. Auerbach's *Mimesis* takes "reality" as its anchor: how Western literature in various phases conceived and represented the real. His readings in *Mimesis* are tethered to that point. As in his presentation of *sermo humilis,* he accommodates the Sublime, the hyperreal, the urge to represent what is beyond reality and realism, but only as particular takes on the real. The god-intoxicated world of Homer and the mysteries of the Old Testament, the fantasies of courtly literature and of Don Quixote, are analyzed from the perspective of an always-varying conception of reality. He is far from reducing them to a "realism" of any stamp; he does, however, accommodate the supernatural, the mysterious, and the sublime as departures from the observable real, and he interprets those differences as elements in the "representation of reality" in Western literature. The Camilla essay and "*Sermo Humilis*" are co-investors in a mimetic conception of literary style. That is the shared *Erkenntnisinteresse*. Auerbach has no particular interest in the extraordinary inflation of reality, of heroism, of human and divine action also present and powerfully at work in classical, Judeo-Christian traditions, and medieval literature. There is a force operating in many works from those traditions that wants to move the represented world beyond anything experienceable in everyday reality and to remove it as far as possible from the real. Auerbach takes as the overriding stylistic determinant what can also be seen as one of various modalities operating by the conscious choice of authors and artists in the traditions of representation just cited.

I am not saying that Auerbach got it wrong, and that where he says "humble style" we can substitute "the Sublime," "Magnificence" or "grandeur." Far from it. He got it right: The grand style lives right behind the humble in many significant instances, as the other world lives or is perceived to live, just behind the created world; its brilliance is concealed behind a veil of realism. Divinity lifts the veil now and then, as an occasional epiphany or theophany breaks through the surface of lived reality—as mystery occasionally emerges in the everyday—in the imagination of the medieval Christian author. In the incarnation of Christ the mystery of the humble style crystallizes in a historical moment. Milton captured the act of cosmic condensation it represents:

> That glorious Form, that Light unsufferable,
> And that far-beaming blaze of Majesty
> Wherewith He wont at Heaven's high council-table
> To sit the midst of Trinal Unity,
> He laid aside; and, here with us to be,
> Forsook the course of everlasting day,
> And chose with us a darksome house of mortal clay.
> ("On the Morning of Christ's Nativity")

The incarnation has its aesthetic counterpart in the peculiar masking of radiance in ordinariness; Christian humility is really majesty compacted (not only, as in Milton's lines, "laid aside"). The power and dramatic potential of the humble form loaded with glory is admittedly great. But Auerbach's interest is not in the wide array of representational forms that place the "blaze of majesty" in the foreground, either represented or evoked, and where the Magnificent and the Sublime are the dominant. He points insistently to their wrapping in the simple and humble.[19]

Whether or not the dioscuri, Curtius and Auerbach, have warded off interest in Magnificence and the Sublime in the Middle Ages, the fact is, no one has dealt with these topics seriously, with the sole exception of Piero Boitani writing on Dante, and while here also the suggestion is rebirth, renaissance of a lost mode recovered from the dominant humble style,[20] Boitani at least cites medieval antecedents of the Dantean sublime. His essay gives a close reading of Dante's image of the ship braving the infinite ocean, which Boitani links to the Bible, Wordsworth, Melville's *Moby Dick,* and T.S. Eliot. He is silent on analogues in earlier medieval literature or secular culture, though he makes a connection with theological literature, Aquinas, and Bonaventure, and a significant passage on Richard of St. Victor, which is the centerpiece of the paper by Jaeger in this volume.

Peter Dronke deserves prominent mention for providing the only contesting voice in the nondebate on the medieval Sublime. In a review of the collection in which both "*Sermo humilis*" and "Camilla" originally appeared,

Dronke pointed to severe limits in Auerbach's thesis, his skewed reading of Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine,* his downplaying of the Sublime as a rhetorical effect. Dronke also questions the qualifications of the *Roman d'Eneas* as paradigm of a romance style senseless of the Sublime. The grand style, says Dronke, is well represented in works such as *The Dream of the Rood,* and Notker's "*Sancti Spiritus,*" or episodes in epic and romance, such as the death of Roland and the final scene of Thomas's *Tristan.*[21]

"Magnificence" has been not so much waved off as ignored in medieval studies. It may be that medievalists have felt the subject co-opted by scholars of the Renaissance (see the essays by Williamson, Binski, and Marina that follow). The artists and patrons of the Middle Ages from early to late cultivated a quality that they called magnificence when it appeared in buildings, cities, and works of art and that they admired when it appeared embodied, ordinarily in a bishop or nobleman. Those who neither cultivated nor admired that quality attested to its prominence by criticizing its worldly character. The primary evidence is architecture and sculpture; it is not only available and visible, but permits re-creation of the medieval viewer's experience of the Sublime in the Magnificent, an experience that did not die out at the end of the Middle Ages—as witnessed by Coleridge's rhapsody on Gothic, quoted earlier. We might even question whether it ever was achieved again in its original intensity, even by devotees of Gothic as fervent as Coleridge and the young Goethe. Is it plausible that such effects should be felt by modern viewers but not medieval ones, perceived in medieval architecture by postmedieval poets and scholars but not calculated and planned by medieval architects?

The essay by Emma Dillon in the present volume ("Listening to Magnificence in Medieval Paris") shows how far the concept may stretch. She takes the reader on a walk, or several walks, through fourteenth-century Paris, our ears tuned to the sounds of the city. These sounds reveal conceptions of grandeur and magnificence built into both the visual and aural experience of a great medieval city. The city possessed a "sonorous reality," evanescent in comparison with its visual reality, but which Dillon finds partly recuperable through texts and images. Sound, be it musical or cacophonous, is a constituent element of urban grandeur, along with buildings and panegyrics. The city "sounds its own glory."

One other inclination of studies on medieval aesthetics is to regard the subject as "transcendental," to see beauty and form in their relation to the divine, to see art as an alternate form of revelation.[22] The present volume is oriented largely to nontranscendental aesthetics, to surfaces, appearances, and sense perceptions, to aesthetic responses, effects of art and the arts, that are immediate and emotional: wonder, amazement, enchantment, awe, shock, fear, and terror. That is not to deny that Christian art, icons, church decoration, and the church building, have the purpose of leading the mind of the devotee to God—just the contrary. But that path is long and has many

intermediate stages. Religious art has a sensual, surface-bound aspect, and its effect on the viewer, listener, or reader is as immediate and powerful as Homer, Wagner, or Stanley Kubrick. An icon's ability to mediate the Divine is directly related to the immediacy of representation and the illusion of real presence it can evoke.

* * *

The upshot of this volume is that the Magnificent and the Sublime were active forces in representation in the Middle Ages. They have operated under the radar and undetected by modern medieval studies, where a large agenda of deconstructing a romantic Middle Ages was and is in force. *Magnificence and the Sublime* sounds a call for an expansion of imagination in contemporary medieval studies. It may be that Coleridge, Wagner, and Walter Scott experienced and represented the Middle Ages in a way closer to medieval sensibilities than what is dreamt of in our philosophy and scholarship.

Nonetheless, some unapologetic justification is in order for offering a publication whose compass is as broad as the present volume of essays. We might have opted for tight focus on the subject in a single discipline, but it seemed more appropriate to aim at a recovery of the topic across a wide spectrum of representational modes.

Some readers may feel that the reach of this volume extends beyond what twelve essays and an introduction can grasp: two big concepts—magnificence and the Sublime—and four representational media: art, architecture, music, and literature. But one tends to long strides in an open field, and the dangers of stumbling are lessened by the lack of crowding. (In any case, every essay in the volume, except my own, has achieved tight scholarly focus while maintaining to some extent an introductory character.)

Still, our point of departure was the absence of critical commentary, and from this point of view the mere demonstration of the Magnificent and the Sublime in the Middle Ages seems an accomplishment. We may have reached our larger goal if we succeed in persuading the reader that these representational forces exist and call out for sharper focus and deeper definitions. The essay by Beth Williamson significantly ends the volume with the question, "How Magnificent Was Medieval Art?" She asserts the limitations on our conceptual apparatus, opposing unreflected to conceptually rigorous usage of the terms. The mere occurrence of the language of Magnificence and the Sublime is not sufficient to set them in any proportion with the usage of the Renaissance and eighteenth century. They may even distort by creating a false parallel to the Renaissance, one which artificially inflates medieval art. An alternate to effects of the sublime is the religious mission of art, which Williamson sets in potential contrast to an aesthetic of the Sublime. She offers a nuanced view of the aesthetics of court ritual. The court ceremonial and architecture of Charles IV, representing the emperor's

person and his era as the culmination of a divine plan, would seem to have a religious and propagandistic motive which outruns in its scope the essentially secular grandeur of the Renaissance. Medieval sublimity and magnificence are not necessarily immediately comparable with their Renaissance counterparts. The fundamentally religious purpose of much medieval art sets medieval magnificence apart from its namesake in the Italian Renaissance. Williamson's essay ends the volume with a wise cautioning on the limits of the terminology this volume draws on.

Notes

1 Pointed out by Piero Boitani, " *'L'acqua che ritorna equate':* Dante's sublime," in P.B. *The Tragic and the Sublime in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 250-278. Metaphysics has long dominated discussion of medieval aesthetics, as in Edgar De Bruyne, *Etudes d'esthetique medievale,* 3 vols. (Bruges: de Tempel), 1946 and Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages,* trans. Hugh Bredin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002). Boitani and Jaeger (below, on Richard of St. Victor) focus decidedly on sublime effects, their cause, and reader/viewer response, not metaphysics, but not in order to argue that the anagogic powers of art somehow exclude the experience of the Sublime. See John Millbank, " 'Sublimity': The Modern Transcendent," in *Transcendence: Philosophy, Literature, and Theology Approach the Beyond,* ed. Regina Schwartz (New York & London: Routledge, 2004).

2 Margot Fassler relates the hymn of the Virgin to musical magnificence in her essay which follows. The Magnificat was the lead image for the conference from which this volume of essays developed: "From Magnificat to Magnificence: The Aesthetics of Grandeur: Medieval Art, Architecture, Literature and Music." April 7-9, 2008 on the campus of University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign. My thanks to University of Illinois College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, The School of Linguistics, Literature, and Culture; Program in Medieval Studies, College of Fine and Applied Arts, the Departments of Germanic Lang. & Lit., Comparative Literature, and French. Thanks also to the Research Board of University of Illinois, which provided a generous publication subvention.

3 A word search of *magnificentia* (noun in nom. & abl. singular) produces 2,323 hits in the 221 volumes of the Patrologia Latina. In all its grammatical forms *(magnific*—* noun, adj., adv., verb), 12,248 hits. Medieval Latin was saturated with the language of magnificence, a claim not diminished by the frequency of Biblical quotations in the Patrologia.

4 *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium: Les gestes des eveques d'Auxerre,* ed. Michel Sot, Guy Lobrichon, Monique Goullet, Pierre Bonnerue, *Les classiques de I'histoire de France au Moyen Age 42* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2002), vol. 2, 140-193. See the analysis by Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration: The Role of the Bishop in Twelfth-Century Auxerre* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1979), 99ff. on the relative prominence of his worldly activities, and on the "magnificence" of his building program, 109ff.

5 "Quam magnifice se habebat," ed. Sot, et al., 142-143: "More nobilium in multa degebat magnificentia saeculari, et uitam agere priuatam indocilis, in euectionum multiplicitate numeroso clericorum et militum comitatu, multa domesticorum frequentia et apparatu magnifico, maiorum suorum titulos adequabat."

6 Other prominent examples: On Adalbert of Bremen's "Gesamtkunstwerk" of Bremen cathedral, see below, Jaeger, "Richard of St. Victor and the Medieval Sublime," and *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939—1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 67—81. And on Thomas Becket, Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170-1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

7 Such a claim based on the gradual decline of Romanticism's Middle Ages is not meant to deny trends like the "American medieval studies" of Charles Homer Haskins and Joseph Strayer. See the siting of that trend in the history of medieval studies by Gabriele Spiegel and Paul Freedman, "Medievalisms Old and New: The Rediscovery of Alterity in North American Medieval Studies," *American Historical Review,* 103 (1998), 677—704. The "alterity" which superseded the "sameness" or evolutionary orientation of Haskins and Strayer makes common cause with a trend in medieval studies focused on eccentricities and weirdly transgressive aspects of the period.

8 Alfred Gell, "The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology," in *Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics,* ed. J. Coote and A. Shelton (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 40-66.

9 This is, briefly put, Johan Huizinga's take on the emotional climate of the late Middle Ages, but also on the cult of courtly love. A welcome critical position: Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 5-6, 9-13.

10 *Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism,* ed. T. M. Raysor (London: Constable, 1936), 12.

11 Meyer Schapiro, "The Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art," in his *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers* (New York: Braziller, 1993), 3.

12 Two recent works survey the modern discussion and include extensive bibliographies: James Kirwan, *Sublimity: The Non-Rational and the Irrational in the History of Aesthetics* (New York & London: Routledge, 2005) and Philip Shaw, *The Sublime* (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), Kirwan stressing aesthetics and Shaw philosophy.

13 Jean-Luc Nancy, "The Sublime Offering," in *Of the Sublime: Presence in Question,* trans. Jeffrey S. Librett (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 26.

14 Except as late-medieval forerunners of Renaissance Magnificence. See the discussion of scholarship below in the studies by Beth Williamson and Areli Marina.

15 The treatise was first published in the Greek original by Francis Robortello (1554) and Niccolo da Falgano (1560) but was largely ignored until its French translation by Boileau (1674).

16 A clear assumption of Kenneth Holmquist and Jaroslaw Pluciennik in their useful summing up of theoretical reflection, "A Short Guide to the Theory of the Sublime," *Style* 36 (2002), 718-737, at 719: "From the time when the Pseudo-Longinian treatise *Peri hypsous* came into existence... until the sixteenth century.. .European intellectuals were not interested in the sublime." By the time "intellectuals" come into existence and get interested in the sublime, a backlog of sublime elements in the arts has accumulated.

17 E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle* Ages, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 400-401.

18 Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages,* trans. Ralph Manheim, Bollingen Series 74 (New York: Pantheon, 1965): "*Sermo Humilis,*" 25-66; "Camilla, or, The Rebirth of the Sublime," 181-233.

19 See the essay by Robert Doran, "Literary History and the Sublime in Erich Auerbach's *Mimesis,*" *New Literary History* 38 (2007), 353-69.

20 Referring to Auerbach's essay: "... the *'sermo humilis'* which, born with the Latin translation of the Bible, dominates medieval literature and is transformed by Dante into a new sublimity." Boitani, "Dante's sublime" (n.l above), 250.

21 Peter Dronke, review of Auerbach, *Literary Language and its Public,* in *The Classical Review* N.S. 16 (1966), 362-4.

22 Esp. Edgar de Bruyne and Umberto Eco (n.l above).

"OPUS ES MAGNIFICUM": THE IMAGE OF GOD AND THE AESTHETICS OF GRACE

Martino Rossi Monti

Glaucus

In a passage of the *Republic* (611b), Plato argues that the human soul in its present condition is comparable to Glaucus, a sea god whose original human features were unrecognizable due to the layer of shells, seaweed, and rubble that covered his body. The "true nature" of the human soul lies under a layer of passions and vices that need to be shaken off. In order to discover the divine principle within his soul, the philosopher must remove and abandon all superfluity: Passions are like weights that drag down the soul and prevent it from seeing its own beauty. Once freed from earthly passions, the soul is able to exercise its rationality to the full extent and gains back its original beauty. The expression "beautiful soul" appears in the *Symposium,* where Plato maintains that inward beauty is superior to outward beauty (209b; 210b). The beauty of the soul lies in virtue, especially injustice. As written in the *Theaetetus,* the just man is the most similar thing to God: "We have to try to escape from earth to the dwelling of the gods as quickly as we can. The escape-route is assimilation to God, in so far as this is possible, becoming just and holy and wise." It is the idea of "likeness" or "assimilation" to God (6l_ioLtt>aic eecp).[1]

This goal may be achieved through philosophical education and dialectic, or through love for beauty. In fact, love can lift man from sensible beauty to divine beauty. Plato also describes this liberating path as a perspectival change in eyesight and attention *(Rep.* 518d). The soul must be converted from the obscurity in which it wanders to the light that is, at the same time, its origin and completion. These images will be used by Neoplatonists as well as by Christian mystics. Several centuries after Plato, Plotinus writes:

> Withdraw into yourself and look. And if you do not find yourself beautiful yet, act as does the creator of a statue that is to be made beautiful: he cuts

> away here, he smoothes there, he makes this line lighter, this other purer, until a lovely face has grown upon his work. So do you also: cut away all that is excessive, straighten all that is crooked, bring light to all that is overcast, labour to make all one glow of beauty and never cease chiselling your statue, until there shall shine out on you from it the godlike splendour of virtue, until you shall see the perfect goodness surely established in the stainless shrine.[2]

The experience described by Plotinus consists in removing all the extraneous elements from the soul in order to let the inward and divine light appear and shine again. According to Plato and Plotinus, the soul is beautiful in itself, but this beauty is buried under a muddy layer of passions. Therefore, as gold is isolated in its purity only when earthly particles are worked out, so the soul must be purified.[3] The final achievement of the moral ascent and purification lies in an ecstatic experience of returning to one's origin and fatherland: The Good.[4]

I have briefly and roughly summarized a doctrine and a spiritual itinerary that enjoyed great fortune among Christian writers. Starting with the Greek Fathers, Christian authors often adapted platonic ideas to the new Christian theology. What one should also bear in mind is that both Platonists and Christians emphasized human misery as well as human dignity. We often forget how magnificently and grandiosely Christian theologians, from early centuries up to the Middle Ages and on, celebrated the nobility, majesty, and dignity of man and his spiritual destination. This oblivion is probably due to the influence of the battle of Augustine against Pelagius and to the Lutheran and Calvinist stress upon the corruption of human nature. What was evident in those celebrations of human nobility, on the contrary, was the awareness of the original beauty of the human soul, created in the image and likeness of God. Even if obfuscated and hidden by sin, beauty continued to exist. I believe that these celebrations fit well within the subject of this volume, *Magnificence and the Sublime*, both for their style and content. In fact, they praise man in order to wake him from his slumber and remind him of his true nature.

Having started with some platonic views on the beauty of soul, I shall, after a look at the Greek Fathers of the church, examine some texts by medieval writers on the same subject and attempt to show their ethical and aesthetic consequences, with particular attention to the problem of grace.

The Greek Fathers

Unwilling to reject completely their classical education, the Greek Fathers famously reconciled the heritage of Greek thought with Christian doctrines. Let us go back to Plato's concept of likeness or "assimilation" to God. This idea had a grand future among the Greek Fathers. Clement of Alexandria parallels it with St. Paul's exhortation to become "imitators of Christ" (1. Cor. 9.1); more often, Christian writers recalled the lines from the Book of

Genesis on the creation of man in the image and likeness of God (KATEIKOVCL Kcd Kae'opotcoaiv).[5] The Greek Fathers typically distinguished likeness from image: while likeness was lost because of original sin, the image still remains, even if obfuscated. How can the soul gain back its original beauty? The platonic and plotinian concept of purification plays a central role here.

In his treatise *On Virginity*, Gregory of Nyssa writes that man is an image (lriliTilia) of divine nature and that when he was created he was not subject to death and passions. Only his freedom of choice and thought, an image of divine freedom itself, brought him to sin. Nevertheless, the purity and beauty of the soul survived, even if covered and blackened by evil. In an analogy that closely resembles Plato's myth of Glaucus, Gregory argues that we can compare the present state of the soul to those who, fallen into the mud, are not recognizable because of the dirt that covers them. Not even their closest friends can identify them. This mud must be washed away:

> The earthly envelopment once removed, the soul's beauty will again appear. Now the putting off of a strange accretion is equivalent to the return to that which is familiar and natural; yet such a return cannot be unless we become again that which in the beginning we were created. In fact this likeness to the divine is not our work at all; it is not the achievement of any faculty of man; it is the great gift of God bestowed upon (xapioa(iEVou) our nature at the very moment of our birth; human efforts can only go so far as to clear away the filth of sin, and so cause the buried beauty of the soul to shine forth again.[6]

The great theologian and patristic scholar Endre von Ivanka sensed in these words a dangerous proximity to the thought of Plotinus. Actually, Gregory's treatise *On Virginity* is probably the most neoplatonic of his works. According to Gregory, the passage of the Gospel that reads "the Kingdom of God is within you" means that The Good is not apart from man but present in everyone, even if "ignored and unnoticed"; it can be found again when one turns one's conscious thinking towards it. As in Plato and Plotinus, the most important thing is the act of removing and scraping away the superfluous and the alien. According to Ivanka, Gregory does not place enough distance between himself and the Platonists. Even admitting the necessity of grace, he still conceives the likeness to God as an already-given property of the soul and not, more orthodoxly, as an act of conversion and a loving motion towards God.[7] (Plato himself conceived the eternal and divine part of the soul as a divine gift; *Rep.* 611e; cf. 509d.) To discuss Ivanka's view on this issue would take us too far. It is more important to point out how Gregory insisted, on the one hand, on the beauty, splendor and "royal dignity" of the human soul and, on the other hand, on the necessity of a moral and intellectual exercise (the purification).

Basil of Caesarea, adopting the platonic imperative, states that man's goal is the assimilation to God as far as possible. Man, Basil dares to say, has to

"become God." This may be achieved only, on one side, through the imitation of Christ, that is through purification and virtue, and, on the other side, through the assistance of the Spirit, this "light perceptible to the mind, supplying, as it were, through Itself, illumination to every faculty in the search for truth." The light of the Spirit, a true "grace," illuminates everyone who embraces it. The Spirit, however, can inhabit the soul only if the soul purifies itself, cleans its "royal image" and recovers its "natural beauty."[8]

It is impossible not to see in these doctrines the neoplatonic influence. However, it is clear that the platonic and neoplatonic images are absorbed into Christian Trinitarian theology. Through the Spirit, one can commune with the Father and the Son. Those who live in Spirit conform to the image of the Son, who is in turn the image of the Father. Moreover, all these concepts are part of the economy of salvation: thanks to the incarnation and death of Jesus Christ, man can recover his original beauty and likeness to God. At the same time, man has to become like Christ so as to become himself God (according to the concept of "deification" through grace).[9] What really concerns us here is the dialectical reasoning involved in these doctrines: This is more important than the neoplatonic "danger" that worried Ivanka. As clarified by Henri de Lubac, man can recover his original beauty precisely because, as an image of God, he is free.[10]

Christian Socratism

In the Song of Songs, Christians recognized the itinerary of the soul towards God. As Origen initially interpreted it, the Bridegroom and the Bride of the biblical poem were identified respectively with Christ and the soul: the soul has to concentrate on itself, contemplate its beauty and dignity and, at the same time, comprehend God as the source of that beauty. The origin of the so-called "Christian socratism" lies in the following verses of the Song of Songs (referred to the soul): "If you do not know yourself, beautiful among women, go forth, and follow after the steps of the flocks, and feed thy kids beside the tents of the shepherds."[11] According to Origen, the exhortation "know yourself" was not originally pronounced by Chilon of Sparta, but comes from Solomon (traditionally thought to be the author of the Song of Songs). Solomon preceded the Greek sage in time and surpassed him in wisdom. The exhortation does not mean that the soul has to know and accept its limits, but that it has to comprehend its source and cause: God. This can happen only if the soul contemplates itself as an image of divine beauty. As shown in full detail by Pierre Courcelle, this doctrine persists throughout the Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.[12] Ambrose, for example, writes:

> O man, know yourself! In the Song of Songs it is said to your soul: "*Unless you know that you are beautiful among women*." Know yourself, O soul; know that you are not of earth or of clay: God has breathed on you and made

> you into a living soul. You are a noble and magnificent work ["opus es magnificum"], breathed upon by God in his act of creating you. "*Pay heed to yourself,*" as the Law says. Pay heed to yourself, that is to your soul. Do not let worldly and mundane things trap you nor earthly things hold you back. Hasten with all your might to him of whose breathing you exist. "*A great thing,*" says Scripture, "*is man, and a merciful man is a precious work. But who will find a faithful man?*" Learn, O man, in what you are great, in what you are precious. Earth shows you to be vile, but virtue makes you glorious. Faith makes you rare, the likeness you bear makes you precious. For what is so precious as an image of God? This likeness to him should fill you with faith. A sort of picture of your maker should shine out from your heart, so that if anyone were to question your soul they would not fail to find the creator.[13]

The influence of the Greek Fathers is evident here. Abstracting from the body and sinfulness, one has to contemplate one's own soul and see in it the trace of the God who created it. As a being capable of virtue and faith and as a shrine holding the precious image of God, man is an *opus magnificum,* a "grandiose work," a magnificent and glorious creation. "Man himself is a greater miracle than any miracle done through man's instrumentality," Augustine writes.[14] Even if as old as Christianity itself, such assertions still surprise those who conceive as a "pagan" prerogative any faith in the value and dignity of man. It is not by chance that Etienne Gilson used the expression "Christian optimism."[15] What is more important, though, is that the contemplation of the beauty of the soul as the image of the infinite and incommensurable beauty of God raises in the medieval mind emotions that typically belong to the "aesthetics of sublime": stupefaction and a sort of terrified admiration.[16]

In *On Christian Doctrine (DC)* Augustine argues that it is not difficult to find examples of majestic and grand style *(grande genus dicendi)* in the works of Ambrose.[17] I believe that the passage quoted above is one of those. In this case, Ambrose's eloquence aims at *movere,* namely at exhorting and convincing in an ardent and impetuous manner, rather than just at *docere* and *delectare,* namely at teaching and delighting (respectively the features of the low and middle style). The goal is to lift the soul of the listener to a higher level, freeing him from the prison of flesh and awakening in him the consciousness of his affinity with the divine. The surge of the orator towards the realm of the spirit intends to involve the listener: the *impetus* and *ardor pectoris* (eagerness of the spirit) of the orator (as Augustine says with reference to the high style)[18] have to conquer the listener and carry him into their movement.

The words of Longinus about the sublime could also be used to describe this experience. Ambrose demands that every man, even if aware of his inclination to sin, "feel his soul uplifted by the true sublimity", one could say quoting Longinus' words.[19] Returning within himself, one contemplates one's own greatness as an image of divine greatness. Is not the listener or the

reader "swayed" and brought to the same sort of "ecstasy" that is presumably experienced by the speaker or the writer? *(On the Sublime,* 1). The passage by Ambrose could be added to the list of examples of sublime style provided by Longinus. Longinian sublimity itself lifts man "near the mighty mind of God [nevaX,o(ppoaijvr) 0eou]" *(On the Sublime,* 36). In fact, as Debora Shuger puts it, "the grand style expresses a passionate seriousness about the most important issues of human life; it is thus the style of Plato and the Bible as well as Cicero and Demosthenes."[20] According to Augustine, all Christian subjects are extremely serious and involve the salvation of the soul. Therefore, it is the *effect* (move, delight, or teach) that defines the appropriate style, not the subject or the "artistic elaboration" (Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric,* 44-561). This way, the Christian grand style can embrace all subjects.[21]

Solemn and lofty passages abound in the medieval commentaries on the Song of Songs and in the works inspired by it, whose greatest flourishing was achieved in the twelfth century. In the *Soliloquium de arrha atiimae (Soliloquy on the Earnest Money of the Soul),* a widely popular work in the Middle Ages, Hugh of St. Victor, for instance, exhorts the soul to direct its love towards itself as its beauty largely surpasses the beauty of visible things. Aware of its own dignity (*dignitas),* the soul should not lower itself by loving inferior entities. The beauty of the soul comes from God and it is not to be questioned. The language of Hugh recalls the Song of Songs:

> You have a Bridegroom, but you ignore it. His beauty is incomparable, but you have not seen his face. He saw you, because if he did not, he would not love you. [...] If you could recognize him and see his beauty, you would not doubt about your beauty anymore.[22]

Being, beauty, life, as Hugh clarifies, are gratuitous gifts of the divine Bridegroom, who redeemed humanity through love and incarnation. The Bridegroom restored to the soul its original beauty and nobility, adorning and decorating it outwardly and inwardly with senses and intelligence in order to be accepted to his marriage bed. Hugh lyrically and powerfully celebrates the highness, sublimity and splendor of the soul.[23] Similarly, in the treatise *De spiritu et anima (On Spirit and Soul),* a popular work in the Middle Ages, often attributed to Augustine, we read:

> The heart of man was created so that God could dwell in it as in a temple and shine in it as through His own mirror, so that He who cannot be seen could be visible through His own image. Therefore, it is a great dignity for man to possess the image of God and always look at His face within himself and feel His presence through a perpetual contemplation.[24]

We are dealing with widely diffused commonplaces repeated all through the Middle Ages and later on. A considerable part of the innumerable compendiums,

treatises, and medieval sermons is dedicated to the topic of the greatness of man created in the image of God. Terms such as "dignity," "nobility," "highness," and "majesty" frequently appear with reference to man and his true nature. The parallel diffusion of works devoted to the so-called genre of *contemptus mundi* (contempt of the world) should not distract us from that fact. As Henri de Lubac has written, "A *de contemptu mundi* is not a *de vilitate hominis!*": A desolate portrait of human misery can originate, by contrast, precisely from the awareness of human nobility. The *De miseria humanae conditionis (On the Misery of the Human Condition)* of Lotario de' Conti Segni, the future Pope Innocent III, was just the *first* section of a work divided in two parts: the following section, never realized, was to be called *De dignitate humanae naturae (On the Dignity of the Human Nature).*[25]

Redundatio

What happens, we may ask, to those who have recovered their original beauty through virtue and with the help of divine grace? If we take a look at the works of the Cistercians, the major exponents of "Christian socratism," we encounter quite a peculiar ethical and aesthetic doctrine, based on the sensible transpiring of the beautiful soul through body, behavior, and gestures. Again, the Song of Songs is the main starting point for these reflections, and the Cistercians are its major commentators. The beauty of the Bride is always inward as well as outward, like the beauty of jesus Christ and the Virgin.[26] The same is valid for *grace (gratia*), which is an inward spiritual richness as well as a visible feature of gestures and expressions. The beauty of the soul touched by grace "overflows" and "erupts" to the outside, turning into aesthetic grace: this grace could be described using Longinus's definition of the sublime: "the echo of a great soul."[27]

The Middle Ages, it is worth repeating, is not solely the time of contempt for the world and the flesh and the consequent escape into the inner world; it is also the time of the ethic and aesthetic ideal (clearly a classical heritage) of *recta anima in recto corpore* (a virtuous soul in a virtuous body), where the sensible is conceived as a sign and a manifestation of the spiritual rather than its negation or falsification. The classical ideal of moderation and temperance in thinking and acting reaches the medieval mind mainly through Ambrose's *De officiis ministrorum (On the Duties of Ministers),* a work written on the model of Cicero's *De officiis (On Duties)* and dedicated to the education of clerics. In addition to classical virtues, we find here fundamental Christian virtues such as simplicity and humility, that consist in purity of intention and poverty of spirit.[28] These virtues confer a somehow spiritual kind of beauty to the body. This beauty shines through in behavior and deeds rather than corporeity as such. It is the same type of beauty that Alcibiades attributed to Socrates, whose bodily ugliness was transfigured by the presence of virtue. What is essential is the process of spiritual purification (the so-called *purgatio):* Once

the soul has recovered its beauty and purity, the body and each of its motions become beautiful, too. It is precisely the meaning of the evangelical admonition: clean the inward, and the outward will be pure, too. It is a moral path that follows the example of classical wisdom and is conceived at the same time as an experience of grace. Medieval writers often refer to the process of (so to speak) beautification of the body as *redundatio* (overflowing): Like an irrepressible current, inward beauty exceeds its limits, overflows and erupts, engulfing the body with a sort of luminous aura. Light is in fact another protagonist of these descriptions: the beautiful soul is enlightened by God and its splendor shines through the body. The classical and mainly neoplatonic image blends with the evangelic metaphor of the light and the bushel and with the episode of the Transfiguration of Christ. Plotinus had already described this phenomenon: those who have rejoined The Good and contemplate Him constantly are not bodies anymore, but *souls inhabiting a body*. Their beautiful soul shines through their body. In fact, no one can be really beautiful if he is not inwardly beautiful (*Enneads*, 2.9.17-18).

Despite their awareness of the immeasurable distance that divides spiritual and divine beauty from sensible beauty, finite and ephemeral, the Cistercians, several centuries later, insisted on the same phenomenon. On one hand, the vanity and finitude of the world act as a motive to take refuge in the cloister and intimacy of the spirit in order to deepen the knowledge of the self and God; on the other hand, moral purification and renewal obtained through grace show a concrete and sensible result in body language and in a new manner of relating to others and to the world. Bernard of Clairvaux wrote one of the most important passages concerning this point. Beauty of soul lies in the *honestum,* that is in "moral beauty" (the term goes back to Cicero and Augustine). The *honestum* is something that pertains to conscience (*conscientia),* but manifests itself through "exterior behavior" (*exterior conversation* it testifies to the purity, innocence and humility of the spirit. Bernard expressed it in these words:

> When the luminosity of this beauty fills the inner depths of the heart, it overflows and surges outward, as a lamp hidden under a basket, or rather, as a light shining in the darkness, incapable of being suffocated by darkness. Then the body, the very image of the mind, catches up this light glowing and bursting forth like the rays of the sun. All its senses and its members are suffused with it, until its glow is seen in every act, in speech, in appearance, in the way of walking and laughing—as long as this laughter is combined with dignity and full of modesty.[29]

Each move shows forth its "gravity, purity and modesty," Bernard adds, and the beauty of the soul becomes outwardly visible (*pulchritudo animae palam erit).*[30] The soul, prevailing over the body, makes the body almost forgettable and inexistent to the viewer. It is the inward that rules, Plotinus had claimed.

Bernard notably uses the verb *erumpere* (to break forth) to describe the overflowing of spiritual beauty into the body. The passage can be paralleled with the particularly striking one that appears in several biographies of Bernard:

> In his flesh there was visible a certain grace, which was spiritual rather than carnal. His face radiated celestial rather than earthly brightness: his eyes shone with angelic purity and dove-like simplicity. So great was the beauty of the inner man, that it must needs break forth outwardly with visible signs, so that the outer man appeared suffused with the overabundance of inward purity and copious grace.[31]

The verb *erumpere* comes up again: the inward beauty and the splendor of the soul overflow and beam outwardly, embracing Bernard's flesh itself with more a spiritual than a sensible grace. Grace is a somehow spiritual and visible quality at the same time. Aesthetics and theology here merge together: Bernard's grace and beauty are the visible sign of spiritual grace, namely the grace of God. As a matter of fact, Christians ascribe this transfiguration to the power of theological grace: It is the Holy Spirit that assists the otherwise vain human effort. The soul in grace inevitably renders the body graceful.. William of Saint-Thierry, for instance, points out that divine grace renews the whole human being, in his flesh as well as in his spirit.[32]

Both the quoted passages, despite their different stylistic elaboration (Bernard's language is much more articulate and refined than his biographer's), share a grandiose tone. The phenomenon they both evoke is well described as "magnificent": a splendor that pierces and embraces the boundaries of the body. Grace, as a divine gift, fills Bernard's soul and shows itself outwardly as aesthetic grace, namely as a sort of luminous aura that suffuses the figure and the behavior of the master. Here we encounter several points of consonance with the meaning of the ancient Greek -/«pig. Among its various significations, this term included "prettiness," "loveliness," "charm," and "charisma." Xapig also meant the gift and the act of giving, namely the favor. As an aesthetic quality, not casually, it was also conceived by the Greeks as a divine gift and was related to light and elegance of movement.[33] In the dialogue *On Love*, Plutarch platonically states that "in bodily beauty and grace" (ev wp<? Kai jcapi™) it is possible to get a glimpse of a beautiful and gleaming soul—a soul akin to the divine.[34] Similarly, in the light of aesthetic grace Plotinus detects the completion of beauty and the sign of the goodness of The Good. The Good (or The One, or God), says Plotinus, "bestows graces" on sensible and intelligible beings, making them lovable (*Enneads,* 6.7.22). Before reappearing in the Renaissance as a conscious rediscovery of Platonism, this doctrine often emerges, even without direct influences, during the Middle Ages. The ninth-century Benedictine monk Haymo of Auxerre describes young Moses' grace of beauty (*gratia venustatis)* as a gift of

divine grace (*gratiae divinae dono).*[35] However, we find the major clues of the survival of this idea in the works of the Cistercians. In the twelfth century, Gilbert of Hoyland, who continued Bernard's commentary on the Song of Songs, writes:

> In fact you may see even the bodily cheeks of some person full of such gracious prettiness that the outer appearance can revive the minds of the beholders and feed them with the inner grace their appearance suggests.[36]

Gilbert is referring to the Bride of the Song of Songs, whose cheeks are compared to a pomegranate. The passage is taken from the twenty-fifth sermon, where the term *gratia* and the adjective *gratus* frequently occur and harmoniously combine their wide variety of possible meanings. In the passage quoted above it is clear how gracious comeliness and outward sweetness are the apparition and incarnation of the soul in grace. This manifestation revives and purifies those who encounter such a grace. Gilbert insists on this aspect:

> In fact, the grace of her mind, beaming on her face, as it were, refreshes those who behold her, while gently affecting them, and pours its passionate love into other minds.[37]

Even more explicitly, Gilbert here states that grace of spirit (or the Augustinian *mens),* which means grace of God, illuminates the body and its actions and exercises a sweet influence on the others, reviving them. There is no separation of the inward from the outward because the outward is completely transformed by the inward and reveals it. Through spiritual discipline and the experience of the sufferings and humiliations endured by Jesus Christ, Gilbert goes on, the fruit of virtue is generated within the soul: grace breaks forth (*erumpere*) and overflows outwardly. Gilbert returns to this idea very often: the simplicity and purity of the spirit, traditionally represented by the "dove-like eyes" of the Bride, "throw light" on the whole body (Gilbert, *Sermons,* 2.275; PL 184:114-115).

Conclusion

What has been said so far also applies to Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. There is no time here for an in-depth examination of this topic. I shall just recall a couple of examples. The first one is taken, again, from Gilbert of Hoyland, who resolutely states that an extraordinary virtue "shone" (*renitebat)* in the looks, words, and expressions of Jesus. Each of his gestures "breathed a divine grace" (*divinam spirabatgratiam).* The grace that embraces Jesus' motions is, *at the same time,* the beauty and harmony of his bearing as

well as the divine goodness that shines through his entire figure.[38] Gestures diffuse grace as a sort of vital breath, or, vice versa, grace wafts through them: the verb *spirare* (to breathe) evokes the Greek verb ar)lu, used in archaic poetry to describe the grace and beauty that embrace gods, men and works of art.[39]

The second example is taken from the *Tractatus septimus de salutatione angelica (Seventh Treatise on the Angelic Salutation)*[40] by Baldwin of Ford. Baldwin was a twelfth-century Cistercian monk who was abbot of the monastery of Ford and, later, archbishop of Canterbury. Commenting on the *salutatio angelica* (angelic salutation), namely Archangel Gabriel's greeting to the Virgin in the Gospel of Luke (1.28: *Ave, gratia plena),* Baldwin argues that the term "grace" has here three senses: In fact, there are *gratia decoris, gratia favoris* and *gratia honoris* (grace of beauty, grace of favor and grace of honor). Edgar de Bruyne, probably the most important scholar of medieval aesthetics, refers to an aesthetic, moral, and supernatural sense of the word "grace" *(Etudes,* 3:49). In its first sense, grace means the radiance of beauty in a well proportioned, suavely colored and joyful visage. The ideal color traditionally consists in a mix of white and pink; the smile expresses spiritual joy.[41] True beauty, Baldwin goes on, comes from the inside, but this does not mean it has to be confined to the interior, without manifesting itself outwardly. Thus, the beauty of Mary appears as grace and the expression *gratia plena* (full of grace) also means "full of the beauty of grace."[42] Therefore, grace understood as beauty corresponds to the supernatural grace that "fills" Mary. We find a similar interpretation in Bonaventure.[43] These are significant statements. As far as I know, they have not received much attention. In a way, they contribute to the understanding of the ambiguity and richness of meanings that still characterize the word "grace." The fact that Baldwin is arguing such a point means that these ideas were not totally extraneous to the Cistercian tradition. Certainly, they were not extraneous to the Greek-Byzantine tradition: Epiphanius, a ninth-century Greek monk, recalling Ambrose, had interpreted Mary's fullness of grace in an aesthetic manner: *gratia plena,* according to him, meant *divinae gratiae et speciei plena,* "full of divine grace and beauty."[44]

In the majority of the passages quoted so far, the theological and aesthetic realms are deeply mingled together. In ancient times, grace and graciousness, conceived as stylistic features, were normally associated with the "middle style," whose aim was to delight through refined and elegant formal expedients. Therefore, "gracious" was a synonym of "witty," "subtle" and "little." This is the way, at least, Demetrius and Longinus present it to us in the treatises *On Literary Composition* and *On the Sublime*. As a matter of fact, the adjective "gracious" does not recall nowadays any grandiosity or sublimity. Nevertheless, if we skip from grace as a stylistic feature to grace as the aesthetic quality celebrated by Gilbert of Hoyland and Baldwin of Ford, we

may notice that this grace shares something with all the three dimensions involved in the three styles (the high, the middle and the low styles). Grace is, in a certain sense, something sublime and grandiose, because it is the manifestation of divine grace: It is the sensible transpiring of the beautiful soul and of the divine image, and, ultimately, of God himself. Grace, certainly as it appears in the biographical description of Bernard, is "the echo of a great soul." On the other side, grace is also something sweet and lovable, something that delights and brings joy to all who encounter it. It generates in turn grace within those who contemplate it. Finally, grace is humble and modest: it shines in humility, modesty, and simplicity.

Given such an array of meanings, overt and implied, the Cistercian doctrine of grace seems to deserve its place in what has been called the medieval "aesthetics of *grandeur*." In fact, when the Cistercians discuss grace, they always allude to a never completely revealed depth and greatness. In Gilbert of Hoyland, for instance, grace testifies to some inner but somewhat unperceived property of the spirit: "magnum nescio quid illud est, et vere magnum, quod manifeste vel dici non debuit, vel dici non potuit" ("A great mystery is that, unquestionably great, which openly either should not be expressed or could not be expressed.") There is a portion of the beauty of soul that does not overflow outwardly, but "hides within" (*intrinsecus latet*), as the Vulgate version of the Song of Songs reads.[45] This "occult beauty" (*occulta pulchritudo)* is unknown even to the Bride, and known only by the Bridegroom, namely by God: It will appear in its plenitude only at the end of times, in an eternal dimension.[46] As Augustine said, in the soul dwells something more intimate to the soul than the intimacy of the soul to itself: God (*Confessions,* 3.6.11). To the depth of spirit responds the ineffable and unexplorable depth of divine grace, which secretly works within the spirit. Gilbert's words recall the terrified admiration of Augustine before the abyss of memory: "magna vis est memoriae, nescio quid horrendum, deus meus, profunda et infinita multiplicitas; et hoc animus est, et hoc ego ipse sum" ("Great is the power of memory; very wonderful is it, O my God, a profound and infinite multiplicity; and this thing is the mind, and this I myself am"; *Conf.* 10.17.26). Bernard of Clairvaux, facing the "greatness of the soul" (*magnitudo animae)* and its immeasurable capacity to receive all that is eternal and divine, exclaims: "*Celsa creatura in capacitate majestatis*" (Noble is the creature in its capacity for greatness).[47] It is well known that the emotion felt before the infinite enlargement of space and the vastness of beauty pertains to the aesthetics of the sublime. We find examples of it even among the ancient Greeks: "You could not discover the limits of the soul, even if you travelled by every path in order to do so; such is the depth of its logos," Heraclitus wrote (Frag. Diels 22B 45). The overflowing of grace and spiritual beauty throughout the body, one could say referring to the Cistercians, is certainly grandiose, but the hidden grace that lives within the depths of the spirit is even more sublime and impressive.[48]

Notes

1 Plato, *Theaetetus,* 176aff., trans. Robin A. H. Waterfield (London: Penguin Books, 1987), 73 (here with minor changes). Cf. *Republic,* 613b.

2 Plotinus, *Enneads,* 1.6.9, trans. Stephen MacKenna (Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, 2004), 60. Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus,* 252d; 254b.

3 Plotinus, *Enneads,* 1.6.5. Cf. Plato, *Phaedo,* 114dff.

4 Plotinus, *Enneads,* 1.6.8-9. On Plotinian ecstasy see Emile Brehier, *La philosophic de Plotin* (Paris: Boivin, 1928), 152-69; Pierre Hadot, *Plotin: Traite 38* (Paris: Les editions du Cerf, 1987), 58.

5 Gen. 1:26. On this, see Jean Danielou, *Gospel Message and Hellenistic Culture,* trans. John Austin Baker (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1973), 118-20; Vladimir Lossky, *In the Image and Likeness of God,* ed. John H. Erickson and Thomas E. Bird (London & Oxford: Mowbrays, 1974); Claudio Moreschini, *Storia della filosofia patristica* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2004), 544ff.

6 Gregory of Nissa, *On Virginity,* trans. Philip Schaff in *A Select Library of the Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969-1975), 5:358 (PG 46:372).

7 Endre von Ivanka, *Plato christianus: Ubernahme und Umgestaltung des Platonismus dutch die Vater* (Einsiedeln: Johannes Verlag, 1964).

8 Basil of Caesarea, On *the Spirit,* trans. Rev. Blomfield Jackson in *A Select Library of the Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church,* 8:15 (PG 32:109): "Now the Spirit is not brought into intimate association with the soul by local approximation. How indeed could there be a corporeal approach to the incorporeal? This association results from the withdrawal of the passions which, coming afterwards gradually on the soul from its friendship to the flesh, have alienated it from its close relationship with God. Only then after a man is purified from the shame whose stain he took through his wickedness, and has come back again to his natural beauty, and as it were cleaning the Royal Image and restoring its ancient form, only thus is it possible for him to draw near to the Paraclete. And He, like the sun, will by the aid of thy purified eye show thee in Himself the image of the invisible, and in the blessed spectacle of the image thou shalt behold the unspeakable beauty of the archetype."

9 On deification in the Greek Fathers see Jules Gross, *La divinisation du chretien d'apres les peres grecs* (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1938); Marcel Viller, Karl Rahner, *Aszese und Mystik in der Vaterzeit: Ein Abriss derfruhchristlichen Spiritualitat* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1939); Bernard McGinn, Patricia Ferris McGinn, *Early Christian Mystics: The Divine Vision of the Spiritual Masters* (New York: Crossroad, 2003); *Theosis: Deification in Christian Theology,* ed. Stephen Finlan & Vladimir Kharlamon (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2006).

10 Henri de Lubac, *Pic de la Mirandole: Etudes et discussions* (Paris: Aubier, 1974), 182-83.

11 Cant. 1:8: "Si ignoras te o pulchra inter mulieres egredere et abi post vestigia gregum et pasce hedos tuos iuxta tabernacula pastorum." On the Song of Songs in the Middle Ages see Edgar de Bruyne, *Etudes d'esthetique medievale* (Brugge: De Tempel, 1946), 3:30-71; Ann W. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

12 See his *Connais-toi toi-meme de Socrate a Saint Bernard,* 3 vols. (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1974-75).

13 Ambrose, *Expositio psalmi CXVIII,* in *Opera omnia* (Milano-Roma: Biblioteca Ambrosiana-Citta Nuova, 1984-1993), 9:408 (PL 15:1864-66), trans. Ide Ni Riain in *Homilies of Saint Ambrose on Psalm 118* (Dublin: Halcyon Press, 1998), 134, here with minor changes: "Nosce teipsum, homo, tuae animae dicitur, *nisi cognoveris te formosam in mulieribus* [Cant. 1:8]. Cognosce te, anima, quia non de terra, non de luto es, quia insufflavit in te Deus, et fecit in animam viventem. Opus es magnificum, Dei inspiratione formatum: *Attende tibi,* ut Lex dicit [Deut. 15:9], id est animae tuae: saecularia te et mundana non teneant, terrestria non morentur. Ad ilium tota intentione festina, ex cuius inspiratione consistis: *Grande,* inquit, *homo, et pretiosum vir misericors: virum fidelem opus est invenire* [approximate quotation from Prov. 20:6]. Disce, homo, ubi grandis, atque pretiosus sis. Vilem te terra demonstrat, sed gloriosum virtus facit, fides rarum, imago pretiosum. Ubi namque quidquam tam pretiosum, quam imago est Dei? Quae tibi primo fidem debet infundere, ut in corde tuo refulgeat quaedam auctoris effigies; ne qui mentem tuam interrogat, non agnoscat auctorem." Cf. Courcelle, *Connais-toi toi-mime,* l:117ff.

14 Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* 10.12: "Omni miraculo, quod fit per hominem, maius miraculum est homo." Cf. de Lubac, *Pic,* 61.

15 See his *The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy,* trans. A. H. C. Downes (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), 108-27.

16 To describe the effects of the sublime, Longinus uses in chapter I the term eKnXr^ts ("shock, panic, terror, amazement"). Plotinus uses the same term to describe one of the effects of beauty: "The Good is gentle and friendly and tender, and we have it present when we but will. Beauty is all violence and stupefaction (etcjiXr]lis); its pleasure is spoiled with pain" (*Enneads*, 5.5.12). Longinus and Plotinus are probably echoing Plato *(Phaedrus,* 250a), who writes that some souls "are rapt in amazement" (BKrdiTTOvtai) and "are not in themselves anymore" when they face beauty, because beauty is the only "image" of the real world that shines on earth. The shocking effect of beauty is famously described also by Sappho (fr. 31 Voigt) in a poem that Longinus himself quotes as an example of the sublime *(On the Sublime,* 10). It is important to point out that in these texts the sublime is not necessarily confined (as it is in Kant) to the category of the terrifying beauty (high mountains, a storm and so on), *because beauty as such can be terrifying and disconcerting or, in a word, sublime*. On the sublimity of God and his beauty in the Middle Ages, cf. Piero Boitani, *The Tragic and the Sublime in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 252-53. See also *Aevum Antiquum,* 3 (2003), entirely dedicated to the topic of the sublime from ancient to modern times. On the sublime, see also G.W. Most, "After the Sublime: Stations in the Career of an Emotion," *The Yale Review,* 90 (2002), 101-20.

17 Augustine, *DC,* 4.21.50.

18 *DC,* 4.20.42. On the positive effect of Ambrose's eloquence on Augustine, see *Confessions,* 5.13—14. On the problem of the three styles in Late Antiquity and in the Middle Ages cf. Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages,* trans. Ralph Manheim (New York: Pantheon, 1965), 25-66, 183-233; Peter Auksi, *Christian Plain Style: The Evolution of a Spiritual Ideal* (Montreal & Kinsgston: McGill-Queen University Press, 1995), 9-32 (on Augustine, 110-26).

19 Longinus, *On the Sublime, 1,* trans. W. Rhys Roberts (London: Cambridge University Press, 1935) (minor changes to Roberts's translation).

20 D. K. Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric: The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 7.

21 On the other hand, as Shuger points out, the Augustinian shift from a style/subject to a style/function nexus "does not totally deny the link between subject and style. Two farthings or a glass of water can be treated in the grand style precisely because they are matters of the highest importance. Augustine must redefine the relation between subject and style because he accepts the principle that the grand style deals with things of greatest value" (*Sacred Rhetoric,* 44).

22 Hugh of St. Victor, *Soliloquium de arrha animae,* PL 176:954: "Sponsum habes, sed nescis. Pulcherrimus est omnium, sed faciem ejus non vidisti. Ille te vidit, quia nisi te vidisset, non te diligeret. [...] Si cognoscere ilium posses, si speciem illius videres, non amplius de tua pulchritudine ambigeres." There is an English translation by Kevin Herbert, *Soliloquy on the Earnest Money of the Soul* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1956). On the concept of beauty in Hugh see Lenka Karfikova, *"De esse ad pulchrum esse": Schonheit in der Theologie Hugos von St. Viktor* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

23 Hugh of St. Victor, *Soliloquium,* PL 176:961: "Quam sublimis, et quam decora facta es, anima mea. Quid sibi iste ornatus tantum ac talis voluit, nisi quia idem ipse, qui te induit, sponsam suo talamo praeparavit?" Cf. Courcelle, *Connais-toi toi-mSme,* 1:238-42.

24 *De spiritu et anima,* PL 40: 1167: "Ita namque conditum est cor hominis, ut in eo quasi in templo Dominus inhabitaret, et tanquam in quodam speculo suo reluceret: ut qui in se videri non poterat, in sua imagine visibilis appareret. Magna prorsus dignitas hominis est, portare imaginem Dei, et illius in se iugiter vultum aspicere, atque eum semper per contemplationem praesentem habere." The treatise is probably the work of the Cistercian monk Alcher of Clairvaux. Cf. Etienne Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York: Random House, 1955), 169.

25 Cf. de Lubac, *Pic,* 145-50. See also Eugenio Garin, "La 'Dignitas Hominis' e la letteratura patristica," *La Rinascita* 1 (1938), 102—46; Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 1:179-99.

26 Among the Benedictines and the Victorines, see for instance Honorius of Autun, *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum,* PL 172:363; Bruno of Asti, *Expositio in Cantica Cant.,* PL 164:1256; Richard of Saint Victor, *Explicatio in Cantica Cant.,* PL 196:447-48. Among the Cistercians, see Gilbert of Stanford, *Tractatus super Cantica Cant.,* ed. Rossana Guglielmetti (Tavarnuzze: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2002), 179ff., 187.

27 Longinus, *On the Sublime,* 9. Cf. de Bruyne, *Etudes,* 3:38—57.

28 On this see Raymond Thamin, *Saint Ambroise et la morale chretienne au IVe siecle: fctude comparee des traites "Des devoirs" de Ciceron et de saint Ambroise* (Paris: Masson, 1895); Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans I'Occident mediival* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990), 66-79, 173-205; *Disciplina deU'anima, disciplina del corpo e disciplina della societd tra medioevo ed etct moderna,* ed. Paolo Prodi (Bologna: II Mulino, 1994); Alain Michel, *Du "De officiis" de Ciceron d Saint Ambrose,* in *L'etica cristiana nei secoli III e IV: eredita e confronti* (Roma: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1996), 39-46.

29 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo in Cant.* 85.11, in *Opera Omnia,* ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais (Romae: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957-77), 1:314 (PL 183:1193): "Cum autem decoris huius claritas abundantius intima cordis repleverit, prodeat foras necesse est, tamquam lucerna latens sub modio, immo lux in tenebris lucens, latere nescia. Porro effulgentem et veluti quibusdam suis radiis erumpentem mentis simulacrum corpus excipit, et diffundit per membra et sensus, quatenus omnis inde

reluceat actio, sermo, aspectus, incessus, risus, si tamen risus, mixtus gravitate et plenus honesti." The image of the lantern and the bushel is obviously evangelical (Lk. 10:33). Cf. C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 110-11, 269-72 (his translation somewhat altered here).

30 *Sermo in Cant*. 85.11, in *Opera Omnia,* 1:314 (PL 183:1193). Cf. Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum,* CCSL 15:27-28 (PL 16:48-49): "Est enim in ipso motu, gestu, incessu tenenda verecundia. Habitus enim mentis in corporis statu cernitur. [...] motus sit purus ac simplex etc."

31 Geoffrey of Clairvaux, *Vita prima,* PL 185:303: "Apparebat in carne ejus gratia quaedam, spiritualis tamen potius quam carnalis: in vultu claritas praefulgebat, non terrena utique, sed coelestis: in oculis angelica quaedam puritas, et columbina simplicitas radiabat. Tanta erat interioris eius hominis pulchritudo, ut evidentibus quibusdam indiciis foras erumperet, et de cumulo internae puritatis et gratiae copiosae perfusus homo quoque exterior videretur" (cf. *Vita secunda,* PL 185: 479-80). The passage is quoted and discussed by Jaeger, who points out the *charismatic* appearance of Bernard *(The Envy of Angels,* 272-75; here with minor changes to his translation). According to Jaeger, the biographers adopt the same language that their master Bernard used (in a sort of self-identification with the character) for the description of the Irish saint Malachy, archbishop of Armagh *(Vita sancti Malachiae,* in *Opera Omnia,* 3:307-78, particularly 348ff.).

32 William of Saint-Thierry, *Expositio super Cantica Cant.,* CCCM 87:26-27 (PL 180:479): *ratio, mens, vita, mores* and *corporis temperamentum* are all renewed by grace. On William's commentary see Cesare A. Montanari, *Per figuras amatorias: L' "Expositio super Cantica canticorum" di Guglielmo di Saint-Thierry: esegesi e teologia* (Roma: Editrice Pontificia Universita Gregoriana, 2006). On the connection between aesthetic grace and theological grace in the Middle Ages and Renaissance see Martino Rossi Monti, "Gratia plena. Intorno all'indistinzione di estetica e metafisica," *Estetica,* 2 (2005), 67-86, and *II cielo in terra. La grazia fra teologia ed estetica* (Torino: Utet, 2008).

33 On this, see Bonnie MacLachlan, *The Age of Grace: "Charis" in Early Greek Poetry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

34 Plutarch, *Erdtikos,* 766eff., ed. Robert Flaceliere, *Dialogue sur I'amour,* in *CEuvres Morales* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1980),10:48-107.

35 Haymo of Auxerre (pseudo-Haymo of Halberstadt), *Expositio in D. Pauli epistolas,* PL 117:909. We find the same lines in several subsequent authors: see, for instance, Peter Lombard, *Collectanea in epistolas Pauli,* PL 192:495.

36 Gilbert of Hoyland, *Sermons on the Song of Songs,* trans. Lawrence C. Braceland (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1979), 2:305, here with some changes in the translation (PL 184:129: "Et revera etiam corporales genas alicuius ita grata videas venustate refertas, ut ipsa exterior facies intuentium animos reficere possit, et de interiori quam innuit cibare gratia"). On Gilbert, see *Dictionnaire de spirituality* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1967), 6:371-74; de Bruyne, *Etudes,* 3:43ff.; Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages,* trans. Hugh Bredin (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1986), 10.

37 Gilbert of Hoyland, *Sermons,* 2:306, trans, somewhat changed here (PL 184:129-30: "Relucens enim in facie mentis gratia, videntes quasi reficit, dum dulciter afficit, et suam in alios transfundit passionem"). The passage is to be confronted with Bernard's comment on the Song of Songs verse "Oleum effusum nomen tuum" (Cant. 1:3): "Et quicumque munere gratiae exterioris perfusum se sentit, quo et

ipse aliis refundere possit, etiam huic dicere est: *oleum effusum nomen tuum*." Those who have been anointed with the oil of grace (apparently a theological as well as an aesthetic quality), can in turn pour back *(refundere)* this oil on the others, modifying and bettering them (*Sermo in Cant*. 18.1, in *Opera Omnia,* 1:104 (PL 183:859). Cf. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels,* 274.

38 Gilbert, *Sermones in Cant.,* 1:101-02 (PL 184:41: "Nam ut de Verbi apparitione, quae in carne erat, loquar: praeter vitae verba, quae de ore eius procedebant, quantum putas virtutis insigne in ipso exteriori renitebat habitu? quam manifesta eius, quae intus erat, dabant indicia oculus, vox, vultus? denique gestus omnis quomodo divinam spirabat gratiam? Iucunda plane visio ilia, sed Deum in homine credenti"). Cf. Thomas of Citeaux, *Commentaria in Cantica Cant.,* PL 206:301. Cf. also John of Ford, *Sermones super extremam partem Cantici Cant.,* in CCCM 17:157: "Namque etsi sponsus lux sit et reluceat facies eius tota sicut sol, est tamen in ipsis oculis solis huius eximia quaedam admirandae virtus pulchritudinis ac perpetuum quoddam luminis iubar cum gratia coruscantis." See also de Bruyne, *Etudes,* 3:52-55.

39 Hesiod, *Theogony,* 581-84.

40 Baldwin of Ford, *Spiritual Tractates,* trans. David N. Bell (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1986), 1:191-213 (CCCM 99:193-207; PL 204:467-478). See also David N. Bell, "The Ascetic Spirituality of Baldwin of Ford," *Citeaux* 31 (1980): 227-50.

41 Baldwin of Ford, *Spiritual Tractates,* 1:198-99 (CCCM 99:198; PL 204:471-472: "Hie est luculentus color, castitatis candore et verecundiae rubore permistus, in facie huius virginis resplendens, et gratiam pulchritudinis adaugens. Luculente ergo colorata est, pudica pariter et pudibunda, ut in ea impleatur, quod scriptum est: *Gratia super gratiam, mulier sancta et pudorata. Gratia plena*. Accedit ad gratiam, quod hilariter affecta est, facies ejus exhilarata est in oleo exsultationis, quia tota devotione plena charitatis fervore, sese Deo obtulit in odorem suavitatis. Prae omnibus filiabus Sion, quae exsultant in Rege suo, exsultavit spiritus ejus in Deo salutari suo. Vide quam decora facies, quam gratia parilitatis formavit, gratia candoris et ruboris illustravit, hilaritatis gratia laetificavit. Nec sola facie pulchra est, sed tota pulchra, sicut testatur, cui placuit, dicens: *Tota pulchra es, arnica mea, et macula non est in te*. Ecce quam plena gratia decoris.")

42 *Gratia favoris* indicates that Mary is loved and honored by everyone (God, the church and the whole humanity): The term "grace" is to be understood here as "benediction," or rather "gift" and "favor." *Gratia honoris,* instead, refers to the superiority and excellence of Mary in comparison with other creatures.

43 Bonaventure, *De annuntiatione B. Virginis Mariae. Sermo V,* in *Opera Omnia ed. PP. Collegii a S. Bonaventura* (Quaracchi: Ad claras aquas, 1882-1902), 9:678-79: "Plena nihilominus gratia *decorante* ad ornamentum honestatis vitae, ut nihil appareat in ea reprehensibile, et rectissime possit de ipsa dici quod dicitur de Esther, Esther secundo: *Erat formosa valde et incredibili pulcritudine, omnium oculis gratiosa et amabilis videbatur. Gratiosa* erat et *formosa* non tantum corpore, sed etiam mente, quia fallax gratia et vana est pulcritudo; mulier timens Dominum ipsa laudabitur. Et quoniam pulcra erat intus et extra, ideo dicitur Canticorum quarto: *Tota pulcra es, arnica mea, et macula non est in te*."

44 Epiphanius, *De vita beatae Virginis,* PG 120:194. In the fourteenth century, the passage is quoted by the Byzantine historian Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos in the *Ecclesiasticae Historiae* (PG 145:815—18). Nicephorus's work was translated in Latin in 1555 and the description of the Virgin was widely cited, especially as

a point of reference for artistic representations. Nicephorus writes: "in rebus eius [Virginis] omnibus multa divinitus inerat gratia." Cf. Jessica Winston, "Describing the Virgin," *Art History* 3 (2002): 275-92.

45 Cant. 4:1: "Quam pulchra es arnica mea, quam pulchra es, oculi tui columbarum, absque eo quod intrinsecus latet" ("How beautiful art thou, my love, how beautiful art thou! thy eyes are doves' eyes, besides what is hid within.").

46 Gilbert, *Sermons,* 1:277-78 (PL 184:116-18).

47 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo in Cant.* 80.2, *Opera Omnia,* 2:277-278 (PL 183:1166ff.): "Sed dicit mihi aliquis: Quid tu duo ista conjungis? quid enim animae et Verbo? Multum per omnem modum. Primo quidem, quod naturarum tanta cognatio est, ut hoc imago, ilia ad imaginem sit. Deinde, quod cognationem similitudo testetur. Nempe non ad imaginem tantum, sed ad similitudinem facta est. In quo similis sit quaeris? Audi de imagine prius. Verbum est Veritas, est sapientia, est justitia: et haec imago. Cujus? Justitiae, sapientiae et veritatis. Est enim imago haec justitia de justitia, sapientia de sapientia, Veritas de veritate, quasi de lumine lumen, de Deo Deus. Harum rerum nihil est anima, quoniam non est imago. Est tamen earumdem capax, appetensque et inde fortassis ad imaginem. Celsa creatura, in capacitate quidem majestatis, in appetentia autem rectitudinis insigne praeferens. Legimus quia Deus hominem rectum fecit [Eccl. 7:30], quod et magnum capacitas, ut dictum est, probat. Oportet namque id quod ad imaginem est, cum imagine convenire, et non in vacuum participare nomen imaginis, quemadmodum nec imago ipsa solo vel vacuo nomine vocitatur imago. [...] ut supra docui, eo anima magna est, quo capax aeternorum; eo recta, quo appetens supernorum [...].Quippe de capacitate, ut dixi, aestimatur animae magnitudo." Cf. de Bruyne, *Etudes,* 3:39. On this see also, in this volume, the paper by C. Stephen Jaeger.

48 Cf. Dante Alighieri, *Paradiso,* XX:118-120: the divine grace "da si profonda / fontana stilla, che mai creatura non pinse l'occhio infino a la prima onda" (surges from a well so deep that no created one has ever thrust his eye to its first source). On the sublime in Dante, cf. Boitani, *The Tragic and the Sublime,* 250-78 and, in this volume, the paper of Eleonora Stoppino.

THE MAGNIFICENCE OF A SINGER IN FIFTH-CENTURY GAUL

Christopher Page

Most professional musicians, even those of high renown, learn at some time how it feels to be denied any claim to grandeur by those who regard a singer or an instrumentalist as a tradesman like any other. In one of the most famous passages ever written about the status of musicians, composed around 500, Boethius takes that disparaging view. Since musical performance requires practical skill and licensed ostentation, it follows that "the study of music as a rational art is much nobler than composition or performance." Using a metaphor derived from the Roman household, Boethius deems that "physical skill serves as a slave but reason rules like a mistress." Many of the instrumentalists and singers whom he heard in Ostrogothic Italy must indeed have been slaves in the juridical sense, placed even lower in the social scale than free workmen and artisans. In this scheme there can be no such thing as an accomplished performer—still less a magnificent one—who understands the rational basis of music, for only those belonging to a class contemptuous of public display receive the necessary education in the intellectual refinements of musical art. The true musician confines his involvement with practical music to criticism. He understands, with John Keats, that "[h]eard melodies are sweet, but those unheard are sweeter".[1]

Boethius "wrote some pages on Christian theology which are of the greatest consequence,"[2] and at Ravenna he must have heard the chant of Catholics and Arians in some of the most opulent churches of the Christian West. Nonetheless, the first Book of his *De Institutione Musica* shows very little contact with Christian ritual music or musicians, even though this first part of the work is the least technical of the five. Boethius gives no indication that the literate elites of the West had become extensively clericalized in the fifth century, or that many sons of senatorial families in the provinces were now becoming bishops and presbyters, charged with services for which trained

singers were essential. Some of those singers eventually became presbyters themselves, even bishops. To be sure, the *De Institutione Musica* is concerned with immutable aspects of nature, and only to a lesser extent with the mutable judgments of the ear, but that does not mean the treatise lacks any connection with the musical life of Ostrogothic Italy. One passage mentions the vocal techniques used for the recitation of heroic poems, citing the authority of the Roman music-theorist Albinus and perhaps reflecting Boethius's own experience of public recitations or singing competitions (1.12). Nonetheless, there is no trace in the work of Christian liturgical musicianship, unless it lies in a passing reference to the "harsher modes of the Goths" that are perhaps to be identified with the chants of singers in the Arian church of St. Anastasia at Ravenna.[3]

In the late 400s, there were provincial and reduced verisons of Boethius in many parts of the West: men of senatorial family who shared his fondness (but rarely his ability) for literary studies that might include writings of the Greeks, usually in Latin translation. Their outlook was often profoundly conservative, like his, within the limits imposed by the necessity of accommodation with barbarian regimes, and their letters often show them sustaining their sense of belonging to a privileged and cultured elite. They also shared Boethius's willingness to bring the skills and culture of educated Romans to the service of barbarian monarchs, and like him they gravitated to the royal palaces that had replaced the courts of emperors, Roman provincial governors and urban prefects as centers of political power. Yet there is a striking contrast between these provincial figures and Boethius. Their version of his pedigree, learning, and periods of royal service often encouraged them to view musical skill in a light different from any shed in the *De Institutione Musica,* and the difference has profound implications for the course of Western musical culture in the Middle Ages. In some parts of the Occident around 500, young men of aristocratic family who had entered the monastic or the clerical life could be highly valued if they were gifted singers of ritual music, notably when they passed to the higher clerical grades so often associated with men of their background without relinquishing their involvement in performance or choral teaching.

An outstanding case can be documented in the axial period between 450 and 530 that produced the new political order of kingship in the West. The evidence comes from southern Gaul where a Gallo-Roman elite combined a late *romanitas* (easier to sense than to define) with a sharp sense of what was necessary for accommodation to barbarian rule and for their own advantage in the longer term. The literary sources for his activity principally comprise various letters of Sidonius Apollinaris and his own treatise on the nature of the soul. Sidonius, bishop of Clermont and brother-in-law of a Roman Emperor, has no peer outside Italy in the fifth century for the cultivated urbanity of his correspondence; he mentions a clerical singer who lived and worked in a post-Roman political order but who was valued

precisely because he represented a measure of continuity with the Roman past and the imperial Church by virtue of his Gallo-Roman ancestry, his education, and the material culture of his class. This individual is Mamertus Claudianus, presbyter of Vienne, whose case-history shows an accomplished singer reaching the highest ranks of the clerical *cursus honorum* for the first time on record in any Western kingdom.

Mamertus Claudianus is the only liturgical singer of the late-antique West who has left a corpus of writings. Although their transactions with music are slight, they nonetheless provide a unique opportunity to explore the musical thought of a late-antique singer for whom the public exercise of musical skill was a daily discipline by no means impossible to reconcile with a social status defined by the finest imported Greek or Coptic textiles, by spices brought up from Marseille, and by a relatively scrupulous form of written Latin. Claudianus would probably have concurred with Boethius that many musicians, both among the secular entertainers and the clergy, lacked a true understanding of their art and therefore deserved to be treated with contempt; but he could scarcely have agreed with the Senator that a public display of musical skill was work for a slave. To borrow an expression that Sidonius uses of another correspondent, Mamertus Claudianus was both a clerical singer and a *vir magnificus* (Letters 5.22).

Episcopal Magnificence

Mamertus Claudianus sang the liturgy of Vienne in the service of his bishop. As a presbyter, he was entitled to impart the Eucharist and was therefore decisively separated (in theory, if not always in practice) from the deacons immediately below him in the clerical *cursus*. He communicated prior to the deacons and was entitled to sit when deacons were required to stand, a reflection of palatine decorum. Nonetheless, like any presbyter, his status was inseparable from the spiritual authority and material opulence of his prelate and the cathedral. As many Western cities during the fifth century continued their contraction down to a cathedral complex with interstitial housing and decaying public buildings, the bishops began to emerge as important figures in urban life and politics while the city councils wasted away through truancy and the urban prefects vanished. A bishop was still "an arbiter and an honest broker rather than a civic head who could enforce his decision." But he had the right in Roman law to judge clergy and any layman who wished to be tried before him. He could be an emissary for his city and its representative, especially when a parley might avert some imminent danger. To a king, who might at this date have limited ability with the higher forms of self-expression in Latin, a bishop could be a valuable source of expertise in the Latin language and Roman vulgar law. Holding his office for life, he inherited what could still be maintained of Roman public charges, some of them stable and routine such as control of weights and measures, and others

requiring ad hoc reaction to emergencies like a famine or outbreak of disease. Once in his seat, a bishop might control more financial resources in his city than the count or any other notable, and although his church might date from a period when the relatively good state of temples, theatres and other public buildings in the urban core meant that space was only available near the walls, and so in a peripheral position, the cathedrals tended to gain in importance, and in magnificence, at the expense of the old forum area to the point where there are some Western cities today in which the forum area is scarcely detectable (at Brescia, for example, "the forum is now in a quiet residential quarter of the old town"). In southern Gaul, Aries provides a striking case of a cathedral that was moved from its original and peripheral site to be nearer the old forum area.[4]

Only in the later fourth century could Christian communities and their leaders begin to raise the money, and secure the benefactions necessary, for the creation of an episcopal church with any claim to magnificence, but while many Western cities must have acquired a cathedral by 500, the evidence for these buildings is fragmentary or as yet lies beyond the reach of archaeological investigation. Nonetheless, a very general picture is possible. Where any traces of a structure remain, the building suggested is often comparatively small relative to the magnificence of late structures. Archaeological and literary sources both suggest that the bishop's church and its ancillary buildings, the *domus ecclesiae,* might be the only public structures still maintained to a relatively high standard of craftsmanship save when kings, conscious of Roman precedent, decided to intervene in the cities they had chosen as their capitals. Moreover, the cathedral complex was liable to expand by accretion at a time when many of the older public buildings were receiving an infill of poor-quality domestic building, or what French archeologists call *l'habitat parasitaire*. At Geneva, where excavations in the cathedral and *domus ecclesiae* have yielded important results, the cathedral grew in a corner of the third-century walls, acquiring many ancillary buildings that included an impressive audience hall of the fifth century, supplied with a heating system with floor mosaics. This is a reminder that a bishop, attended by his presbyters and deacons, exercised what amounted to a magistrature in the service of God, receiving his clients in a ceremony akin to the Roman *salutatio*. Beyond such a hall, a site like this might acquire chapels, reception-rooms, dining rooms served by a kitchen, a baptistery, residences for senior clergy, lodgings for urban ascetics dwelling *in domo ecclesiae,* quarters for the bishop's wife and a lodging house for guests or paupers, a *xenodochium*. Some of these rooms were probably used for training, rehearsing and even lodging the singers since the division between hotel, hostel, and hospital was very flexible at this period and was long to remain so.[5]

By the late 400s, cathedral singers therefore worked in surroundings of some opulence relative to the degradation of older public buildings and the indifferent quality of many new constructions, often in the form of interstitial

housing. The bishops and kings of the early Middle Ages espoused an Asian religion whose ceremonies, in their most exalted form, were associated with the luxurious material culture of sixth-century Italy under Theoderic or with Byzantine Rome and the continuing tradition of imperial gifts. The favored materials of that bounty, like the silken and purple-dyed cloak offered to the Frankish king Clovis by the Emperor Anastasius I (491-518), reflected the vast geographical scope of the Roman Empire's trading links across to India and even to China through nomadic intermediaries. Western kings and bishops of the fifth century inherited from the Roman achievement a sense that liturgical and aristocratic culture at an exalted level should be defined by expensive materials sourced in different climates and brought over long distances, not simply obtained in the local markets where artisans, peasants and domestic staff obtained their farming tools, their cooking pots and their ceramic jars. A team of presbyters from late-antique Gaul, fully vested and ostentatiously sacrificing an expensive imported spice in the form of incense, was no doubt an impressive sight.

Mamertus Claudianus of Vienne (d. 470-1)

Among the inland cities of the Western Mediterranean, those on the banks of the Rhone below Lyon were still relatively well connected during the fifth century. To be sure, the shipping college at Aries may already have been disbanded by as early as c. 400, and the ports at Narbonne and Fos were going into eclipse, but the harbor at Marseille was still a crucial gateway from the Mediterranean into the Rhone-valley route. Bulk goods such as the oil, papyrus "and other wares" mentioned by Gregory of Tours came up from Marseille, together with more luxurious commodities such as the many kinds of spices sought by the Frankish kings at Metz, Rheims, or Trier. There were wealthy churches in southern Gaul, notably at Marseille, Vienne, Aix, Narbonne, and Aries, proud of their deep Roman past and already possessing (or in the process of acquiring) cathedrals enriched by the abundant spoils of Roman public buildings, as in the opulent Gallo-Roman baptistery of Aix-en-Provence. Here, as elsewhere, the status of clergy in minor orders may have generally risen with the formation of a clerical *cursus* in the fourth century, widely regarded as the equal of the secular course in prestige and naturally considered by many clergy to be superior. The implications are nowhere made more explicit than by Sidonius Apollinaris: "The lowest ecclesiastic ranks higher than the greatest secular official."[6]

In the time of Mamertus Claudianus, the city of Vienne was still a major late-Roman site with an imposingly monumentalized center and a continuing tradition of rhetors. The cathedral was of modest size, measuring more than 23 meters by 16 meters and therefore occupying only a small proportion of the later-medieval site, and yet Vienne had every reason to maintain an exemplary clerical establishment. It was locked in competition with Aries,

"the Rome of Gaul," in a way that shows how easily the kind of rivalry between competing *civitates,* so well known in earlier phases of Roman history, could be translated into fifth-century terms as a rivalry of prelates and their churches. Vienne was a civil metropolis facing the challenge of a metropolitan *ecdesia* that claimed a continuous history reaching back to the apostolic period. Claudianus Mamertus, the brother of the bishop of Vienne, held a secure place in the network of friendships and epistolary connections that kept the higher clergy of Gaul in contact. He corresponded with Sidonius Apollinaris who commemorated his death in a long and revealing letter that includes an illuminating epitaph in verse. In addition, two of Claudianus's own letters survive, together with an extensive theological treatise, *De statu animae,* which places him in the front rank of contemporary minds.[7] Sidonius revered Claudianus as a teacher:

> Gracious heaven! What an experience it was when we gathered to him for the sole purpose of having discussions! How he would straightaway expound everything to us without hesitation and without arrogance, deeming it a great delight if some questions presented a labyrinthine intricacy that required him to ransack the treasure-houses of his wisdom.[8]

The principal source for the life of Claudianus is the letter and epitaph that Sidonius wrote to a certain Petreius, otherwise unknown. Sidonius describes Claudianus as everything a bishop could reasonably expect from one of his presbyters, and more. He was "a deputy *[vicarium]* in the bishop's churches" serving as celebrant in the cathedral, when the bishop was absent, and at times in the episcopal foundations *intra muros.* He was also an agent (*procurator)* for the bishop as landlord, and an accountant or *tabularius,* supervising the records of rents and other revenues. He was also a "counsellor in the bishop's court." Sidonius also describes him as the bishop's companion in his private reading and his advisor on matters of scriptural interpretation. Fortunately, the epitaph Sidonius composed for him says more about the musical aspects of Claudianus's liturgical duties and skills:

> psalmorum hie modulator et phonascus;
> ante altaria fratre gratulante
> instructas docuit sonare classes.
> Hie sollemnibus annuis paravit
> Que pro tempore lecta convenirent.[9]
> a singer of psalms and choir-director; admired by his brother,
> he taught the trained companies to sing before the altar. He selected
> readings appropriate for each season for the yearly festivals.

Claudianus was an orator, a philosopher, a poet, a geometer, and a musician, or *musicus.* All these accomplishments imply the greatness of sentiment that

prompts Sidonius to call a learned and fellow Gallo-Roman "magnificent," *magnificus,* the term he applies to the scholar and lawyer Leo of Narbonne. But the term also implies greatness of action, and on this count it would be easy to miss what Sidonius admires in Claudianus. The last lines of the passage quoted above imply that Claudianus was involved in the compilation of a lectionary some time in the 450s and 460s. In retrospect, this may seem humble work, but in the context of the fifth-century churches both east and west, it was a great deal more. The Jerusalem lectionary, with a choice of psalmody for each reading and surviving only in an Armenian translation, dates from 417-39, while the liturgical work of Pope Celestine I, which may have been comparable, dates from 422-32. More pertinent still is the lectionary with psalmodic responses prepared by a presbyter during the episcopate of Venerius at Marseille (428-52). Since Sidonius mentions Claudianus's work immediately after his proficiency as a singer and teacher of psalmody, it seems virtually certain that he was engaged in the work of choosing a schedule of psalmodic responses to the lessons. During the fifth century this work of consolidation, so important to the development of the various liturgies, seems to have been proceeding across Christendom.[1]"

Sidonius does not call Claudianus a *cantor* in the epitaph. As a term of clerical (or quasi-clerical) office, the term *cantor* does indeed make its first recorded appearance during the generation of Sidonius and in southern Gaul, but Mamertus Claudianus had ascended too far in the clerical *cursus* to be called by the name of a minor order he had long since relinquished, if indeed he had ever held it. Instead, Sidonius gives him the more grandiose and periphrastic title *psalmorum modulator*. The "ranks" or *classes* whom Claudianus teaches "before the altar" are perhaps best interpreted as the other clerics of Vienne, for the expression *ante altaria* was generally used to mean the area of ministry, the sanctuary; the meaning here is probably comparable to the sense implied in the pre-Christian Latin of Juvenal who refers to making an oath before a votive altar in *Satires* 10.268, or in the Vulgate text of Deuteronomy 26.4 which describes the priest's offering of first fruits. There seems to be no question of any lay presence in the part of the cathedral to which Sidonius alludes. Instead, the work of psalmody is somehow divided between the different ranks of clergy. *Classis* is often used in later Latin to denote a throng ordered into sub-groups or files, whence the "distinct classes" of musicians that Niceta of Remesiana attributes to Moses in his fourth-century treatise *De psalmodio bono,* or Augustine's reference to the *classes* of string players and singers among the Levites. Two centuries later, Aldhelm of Sherborne refers to psalmody *classibus...geminis,* "with twinned companies." In all these instances there is a sense of assigned musical functions in worship that involve a division into teams or some kind of sub-groupings, comparable to the divisions of a military company (Isidore defines *classes* as maniples, the small subdivisions of a Roman legion in *Etymologiae,* 9.3.60). Sidonius's epitaph for Claudianus is probably referring to some kind of divided labor in

chanting, either antiphonal or responsorial psalmody, apparently among the clergy alone.[11]

In calling Claudianus a *phonascus,* Sidonius uses a rare and grandiose Hellenism that has no doubt been carefully chosen both for its meaning and for its implied compliment to the Greek learning (mostly in Latin translation?) for which Claudianus was known. In Ancient Greek, (ptovaoKog meant "one who exercises the voice, a singing-master, a declamation master," and Sidonius could have quarried the word in its Latin guise from Quintilian or Suetonius, two authors whom he names in his letters and evidently admired. Both of them use the word in senses close to the Greek, for it was evidently a specialized term. Suetonius mentions a *phonascus* who taught declamation at the highest level, since he was one before whom an emperor might rehearse his speeches; another is a master given the unenviable task of training Nero for the competitions where he sang, declaimed, and played the lyre. For Quintilian, the *phonascus* was a more exclusively musical figure and certainly more of a Greek: a singing teacher who could "tune his voice at leisure from the lowest to the highest notes" who looked after his body with great care; he could "soften all sounds, even the highest, by a certain modulation of the voice" in contrast to the orator who must often "speak with roughness and vehemence, frequently watch whole nights, imbibe the smoke of the lamp by which he studies, and must remain long, during the course of the day, in garments moistened with perspiration." In the epitaph for Claudianus, the word beautifully suggests both a precentor who would hear his singers rehearse and a singer in his own right who took such care of his voice as was consistent with his ascetic inclinations.[12]

In part, the interest of the Claudianus dossier lies in the way it shows how a kind of *musicus* who is entirely absent from Boethius's scheme of things in the *De Institutione Musica* could nonetheless emerge in ecclesiastical milieux where the bishops and presbyters were often reduced and provincial versions of Boethius himself. Claudianus and his brother, the bishop of Vienne, were Gallo-Roman aristocrats and members of a local clerical dynasty with impressive connections, not least because they were friends of Sidonius Apollinaris who had known high civil office in Rome. Boethius had a vocation to translate the riches of Greek philosophy and liberal studies for the Latins, and by the standards of any age had the skills to fulfill it; Claudianus's reputation for expertise "in three literatures, namely the Latin, Greek and Christian" was exceptional for southern Gaul in his time, and nothing else from there in the later fifth century rivals the ambition of his treatise on the soul, *De statu animaeP*

What of Claudianus's musical learning? How much does Sidonius imply by calling him a *musicus*? Educated Gallo-Romans in the later-fifth century knew, with their contemporary Boethius, that the formal study of music was largely a Greek matter to be conducted with a great wealth of technical terminology. Claudianus certainly knew it. One of his two surviving

letters addressed to a rhetor of Vienne named Sapaudus offers an appropriately rhetorical lament that the liberal studies of music, geometry and arithmetic (*musicen vero etgeometricam atque arithmeticam)* "are now cast out as if they were thieves"; the unexpected Hellenism in the form *musicen* suggests that Claudianus had not forgotten where the fount of wisdom in musical matters lay. Claudianus also refers to "Greece the teacher of all studies and arts," and elsewhere in his writings mentions Aristoxenus on music, geometry and arithmetic (materials he almost certainly did not know first hand), and Varro for writings on the same three subjects.[14]

It is difficult to assess what this means for the musical learning of a choirmaster in late fifth-century Gaul, although it is important to avoid the implication that if Claudianus and his friends did not pursue Greek learning in music then they *should have done* for the sake of their craft and its development as a literate and rational art. As far as we may discern, the musical art of the liturgical singer in the time of Claudianus was essentially oral. Only in the sense that there were records of the texts to be sung in psalters and other books was it a literate practice. There is no trace of musical notation in the Occident at this date, with the result that we do not know, and almost certainly never will, what actually happened when Mamertus Claudianus sang a psalm in response to a liturgical reading, for example, at Mass. He and his contemporaries may have been the masters of an extemporized practice, compiling music on the spot from elements, learned during their apprenticeship, that provided them with melodic formulas, with ways to mark a pause in the sense of the text with a musical figure of the appropriate weight, and so on. In that case, the principal constraints were presumably that a singer should voice the appointed text in the expected way and bring his chanting to a satisfactory close. Simply speaking, it is possible for liturgical singing in this manner to contain no melodies if the term "melody" means a contour of pitches judged more appropriate to its ritual purpose than anything likely to be achieved by improvising something on the spot or by making significant changes to the memorized material. The fact that Claudianus was involved in the compilation of a lectionary suggests that important elements in the liturgy of his cathedral of Vienne were still largely unproperised for much of his lifetime, and that the choice of psalm texts for any feast still lay with the bishop. It would not be surprising, in such a context, if the musical materials of the psalmodic response(s) were not fully properised either, and that the liturgical meaning of the music used did not inhere in it being perceived as a fixed, canonical melody in the sense defined above. There is no sure sign in the Claudianus dossier that singers in a wealthy and prestigious see of Gaul in the late fifth century felt either the practical need or the intellectual impetus to codify their materials and practice for the sake of teaching or memorization. If anyone could be expected to reveal that such work had begun, it would be Claudianus, but it seems he does not.

The musical terminology of the Greeks may have done little to commend musical studies to the Gallo-Roman elite of the late 400s, which produced no equivalent to Martianus Capella. Sidonius believed that "the most stony teachings of philosophy" were those that required the student to master words like *diastemata,* a Greek musical term, and he supposed that the only option for a man who did not care for such things was to abandon the study of music altogether:

> music... cannot be made intelligible without these terms; and if anyone look down on them, as being Greek and foreign expressions (which they are), let him be assured that he must forever renounce all mention of this sort of science or else that he cannot treat the subject at all, or at least that he cannot treat it completely, in the Latin tongue.[15]

Despite the attention Sidonius draws to the Greek learning of Claudianus, fifth-century Gaul was probably not a place where anything more than a shadow of Boethius's competence could be found. The tone of what survives from the period is mostly Latinate, theological, and literary, not Greek, secular, and technical.

Claudianus has left no treatise on music, but the relatively abundant materials pertaining to his life and work nonetheless provide an opportunity, quite exceptional at this date in the West, to form some general impression of the higher reflections upon music that were of interest and importance to a busy church musician of the later 400s. Claudianus considers music several times in his treatise on the soul, *De statu animae*. Prompted by Sidonius and by the bishop of Vienne, Claudianus wrote this tract towards 470 in opposition to a treatise by bishop Faustus of Riez; Faustus had argued for the corporeal nature of the soul, contrary to the teaching of Augustine (to say nothing of Plato), and Claudianus's extensive reply caused some disturbance among the friends who dominated the church in later-fifth century Gaul, temporarily ending amicable contact between Faustus and Sidonius. It says much for a set of Gallic churchmen often regarded today as impressive but bland epigones of Roman senatorial culture that the matter aroused such strong feeling amongst them, for anyone who attempts to follow the arguments of *De statu animae* will understand why Sidonius praises the author for being a most demanding teacher and be impressed that busy bishops and presbyters contending with their dioceses (and with their kings or their military representatives) should have found any time for it. Yet they did; Sidonius possessed a copy of Claudianus's *De statu animae* and valued it, as we know from the letter in which he asks a fellow ecclesiastic to return the copy given to him on loan.[16]

De statu animae offers an essentially platonist defence of the proposition that the soul is not a corporeal entity, modulated through a careful reading of Augustine's *De quantitate animae*. For Claudianus, as for Augustine, the soul

is the incorporeal and immortal source of intellection, memory, and discernment, possessing neither length nor breadth, and having its proper habitation in God. The soul, therefore, is what allows a bodily sensation, such as musical sound, to be remembered and judged in the light of reason that is inherently virtuous, for as Augustine says in *De quantitate animae,* 16, "virtue is a certain equality of a life completely in harmony with reason." Music is therefore remembered and judged in that part of the human entity that returns to God and is made in the image of his perfection. Since damage to the body, such as the amputation of a limb, does not impair the functions of the soul, it must be dispersed throughout the human organism and possess no precise location. Although Claudianus had probably never read Plato in the original, his view of music is essentially Platonic in that it extends the concept of music to everything that is in due equilibrium and accord. Hence he uses musical terms like *harmotiia, dissonantia* and *concinentia* for the equilibrium of the four elements which give things their due form and their life, just as imbalance promotes disease and death. Thus a healthy tree is musical in this sense because it shows an integrated harmony of parts (1.21).[17]

In one passage concerned with intellection, Claudianus engages in a less allusive way with the materials of the art in which he was so proficient:

> Num aliquis cantilenae modificatus et per tempus fluens canor illic [sc in intellectu] insonat... ?[18]
>
> Surely the ordered melody of any song, flowing by *tempus*, does not sound [in the intelligence]... ?

The meaning of the passage in its full context seems to be that a musical sound, like an odor, is not sensed by the intelligence but judged there. The point is a straightforward one and Claudianus does not linger over it, save to remark that an ability to understand the process of understanding is a gift that Man shares with the angels. Fortunately, there is something considerably more specific in his choice of technical terms. Melody is sound that has been *modificatus,* regulated and submitted to rational control, and it flows out through *tempus*. This is a technical term from the vocabulary of metrics, denoting the indivisible unit of time that sounds once in every short syllable and twice in every long. It does not indicate a *pulse* but rather the unitary element from which the calibrated durations of metrical verse and music are made, for both arts share the same ideal of harmonious number or *numerositas*. Claudianus may be referring to the performance of secular Latin poems in meter here, or perhaps to liturgical hymns such as those of Ambrose; alternatively, he may be alluding to subtleties of performance in liturgical chant where the duration of a pitch is precisely calibrated at the ends of phrases (the technique that medieval theorists will call *numerose canere)* or perhaps continuously so.

When Claudianus speaks of music "flowing," the most helpful context for clarifying a seemingly impressionistic expression is once again metrical.

Augustine speaks of skillfully made verses "running," *currens,* the voice encountering no obstruction or disruptive flaw in the craftsmanship. Even when Augustine chooses other language, the prevailing sense is always offluency and grace unobstructed by ill-chosen or inept effects. "What can I say," says Augustine's interlocutor of some metrical verses, "save that they sound pleasing and harmonious?" In another passage, Augustine asks whether his partner in the dialogue has not been cheated by a metrical fault of the "equality and sweetness" he had been expecting. At every point where specific verses are offered for judgment, Augustine endorses a classical (and political) ideal of sound as the expression of equity and decorum. It is no surprise to find Claudianus's friend and admirer Sidonius describing the experience of reading verse by one of his fellow bishops as akin to passing a finger "over plaques of crystal or onyx."[19]

There are so many medieval discussions of musical sound in terms of metrical poetry that it is easy to forget what a subtle form of ear-training metrical theory could offer. It combined a keen appreciation of rational principles with an appetite for the sheer *lilt* of an intelligent reading with its wealth of unclassifiable nuance. Augustine's *De musica,* so often misread (when it is read at all) as an essentially non-musical work on the subtleties of metrics, proposes a course of lessons for developing a finer discernment in the judgment of vocal sonorities in which the ideal is always one of elegance and civility because discernment in such matters tempers and civilizes the soul. The music that Claudianus Mamertus taught to the singers of Vienne has vanished forever, but much remains to suggest the sophistication of musical judgment, and perhaps of Latin terminology, that was necessary to reach the summit of a musical art that entitled a cleric to the grand, indeed magnificent, title of *phonascus.*

Notes

1 For the *De Institutione Musica* of Boethius see *Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boetii De Institutione Arithmetica Libri Duo: De Institutione Musica Libri Quinque,* ed. G. Friedlein (Leipzig: Teubner, 1867), 223-5.

2 H. Chadwick, "Introduction", in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence,* ed. M. Gibson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981).

3 Friedlein, *De Institutione Musica,* 181.

4 The bishops: Adriaan H. B. Breukelaar, *Historiography and Episcopal Authority in Sixth-Century Gaul: The Histories of Gregory of Tours Interpreted in their Historical Context* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994); Martin Heinzelmann, *Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien* (Munich: Artemis, 1976); idem, *Gregory of Tours: History and Society in the Sixth Century,* trans. Christopher Carroll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); William E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Aries: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 137-168 (source of the "honest broker" quotation used here); idem, *Barbarians and Bishops: Army,*

Church and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); R. Lizzi Testa, *Vescovi e strutture ecclesiastiche nella citta tardoantica: I'ltalia Annonaria net IV-Vsecolo d. C* (Como: New Press, 1989); S. T. Loseby, "Bishops and Cathedrals: Order and Diversity in the Fifth-Century Urban Landscape of Southern Gaul," in *Fifth-Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?,* ed. J. Drinkwater & H. Elton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 144-155; Celine Martin, *La geographie du pouvoir dans I'Espagne visigothique* (Villeneuve dAscq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion); Ralph W. Mathisen, "Barbarian Bishops and the Churches *in barbaricis gentibus* during Late Antiquity," *Speculum,* 72 (1997): 664-97; Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005); C. Sotinel, "How Were Bishops Informed? Information Transmission Across the Adriatic Sea in Late Antiquity," in *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity: Sacred and Profane,* ed. Linda Ellis & Frank L. Kidner (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 63-72; idem, *L'evique dans la cite du IV au V sihle. Image et autorite,* ed. E. Rebilard & C. Sotinel (Rome: Ecole Francaise de Rome, 1998). For the Brescia forum see Christopher Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society 400—1000* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989), 83.

5 For Geneva, see Ch. Bonnet, "Les salles de reception dans le groupe episcopal de Geneve," *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana,* 65 (1989): 71-86, and idem, "Elements de la topographie chretienne a Geneve (Suisse)," *Gallia,* 63 (2006): 111—15. See also J.-Ch. Picard, "La fonction des salles de reception dans le groupe episcopal de Geneve," *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana,* 65 (1989): 87—104. For the early cathedrals, see especially J. Guyon, "Emergence et affirmation d'une topographie chretienne dans les villes de la Gaule meridionale," *Gallia,* 63 (2006): 85—110.

6 For Gregory of Tours and the goods into Marseille, see *Libri Historiarum Decern,* 5.5. Context in S. T. Loseby "Marseille and the Pirenne Thesis, I: Gregory of Tours, The Merovingian kings and 'un grand port'," in *The Sixth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand,* ed. Richard Hodges & William Bowden, *The Transformation of the Roman World 3* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 15-40, and idem, "Marseille and the Pirenne Thesis, II: 'ville morte'," in *The Long Eighth Century,* ed. I. L. Hansen & C. Wickham, *The Transformation of the Roman World 11* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 167-93. See also P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), *passim.* "The lowest ecclesiastic": Sidonius, Ep. 7.12.4. For aspects of the clerical *cursus,* see Ralph W. Mathisen, *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul: Strategies of Survival in an Age of Transition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), and the essays in *Les Pfres de l'£glise et les ministires,* ed. P.-G. Delage (La Rochelle, 2008).

7 For Vienne, see *Vienne aux premiers temps chretiens,* ed. M. Jannet-Vallat et al. (Paris: Ministere de la culture et de la communication, direction du patrimoine, 1986), and J. F. Reynaud and M. Jannet-Vallat, "Les inhumations privilegiees a Lyon et a Vienne (Isere)," in *L'lnhumation privittgiie du IV au VIII' s. en Occident. Actes du colloque tenu <5 Criteil les 16-18 mars 1984,* ed. Y. Duval and J.-Ch. Picard (Paris: De Boccard, 1986), 97—107; Andre Pelletier, *Vienne gallo-romaine au Bas-Empire, 275—468 apris J.-Ch.* (Lyon: Bosc freres, 1974). For trading links, more up-to-date information appears in the collection of essays entitled *Le Rhdne romain* published in *Gallia,* 56 (1999). See also Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300—900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 77—82. For the Mamertus Claudianus dossier

see Sidonius, Ep. 4.2 (Mamertus Claudianus writes to Sidonius); 3 (Sidonius replies); 11 (Sidonius's letter to Petreius with the encomium of Claudianus and his epitaph); 5.2 (Sidonius asks Nymphidius to return his copy of Claudianus's treatise *De statu animae).* For the text of the treatise, see *Claudiani Mamerti Opera,* ed. A. Engelbrecht, CSEL XI (Vienna: C. Geroldi, 1885), comprising the *De statu animae* and, at 203—6, Claudianus's letter to Sapaudus. Further bibliography is assembled in C. Brittain, "No Place for a Platonist Soul in Fifth-Century Gaul? The Case of Mamertus Claudianus," in *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul: Revisiting the Sources,* ed. Danuta Shanzer and Ralph Mathisen (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 239-62.

8 Sidonius, Ep. 4.11.2.

9 Ep. 4.11.13-17.

10 The epitaph, Ep. 4.11.6. For the proposal that the preface to Claudianus's lectionary survives, see Dom G. Morin, "Notes liturgiques," *Revue Benedictine* 30 (1913): 226—34. For the Jerusalem lectionary and its significance there is P. Jeffery, "Rome and Jerusalem: From Oral Tradition to Written Repertory in two Ancient Liturgical Centres," in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes,* ed. Graeme M. Boone (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Department of Music, 1995), 207-48. For the lectionary at Marseille see R. E. Cushing, "Hieronymus liber de viris inlustribus—Gennadius liber de viris inlustribus," *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur,* 14 (1896): 1—112, entry LXXX in the catalogue of Gennadius. Commentary in Kl. Gamber, "Das Lektionar und Sakramentar des Musaus von Massilia," *Revue Benedictine* 69 (1959): 198—215. For possible traces of Musaeus's lectionary see *Das iilteste Liturgiebuch der lateinischen Kirche,* ed. Alban Dold (Hohenzollern: Beuron, 1936). For the account of Celestine see the text in H. Geertman, "Le biografie del *Liber Pontificalis* dal 311 al 535: Testo e commentario," in *Atti del colloquio internazionale II Liber Pontificalis e la storia materiale. Roma, 21—22 febbraio 2002,* ed. H. Geertman, Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome: Antiquity, 60—1 (2001—2), 285—355.1 interpret the evidence relating to Celestine somewhat differently from P. Jeffery, "The Introduction of Psalmody into the Roman Mass by Pope Celestine I (422—432): Reinterpreting a Passage in the *Liber Pontificalis,*" *Archivfur Liturgiewissenschaft,* 26, (1984): 147-65.

11 *Ante altarium/a:* see, for example, Ambrose, *De sacramentis,* PL 16:419; Pseudo-Isidore, *Epistola ad Leudefredum,* PL 83:895; Aldhelm, *Aldhelmi Opera,* ed. R. Ehwald, MGH, AA 15, 16, line 46 ("Classibus et geminis psalmorum concrepat oda"); Niceta of Remesiana: C. H. Turner, "Niceta of Remesiana II," *Journal of Theological Studies* 24 (1923): 235. Augustine: *Questiones ex veteri testamento,* PL 35:2247.

12 *Phonascus:* Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria,* 2.8.15 and 11.3.19; Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars,* Augustus 84.2 and Nero 25.3. See also Tacitus, *Annals,* 14,15.

13 For the argument that Claudianus probably read all his Greek material in Latin translation, see Brittain, "No Place for a Platonist Soul."

14 For the Letter to Sapaudus see *Claudiani Mamerti Opera,* 204, and for "Greece the teacher," *Claud. Mam. Opera,* 203. For the reference to Aristoxenus see *Claud. Mam.,* 105, and for Varro, 130.

15 For Sidonius's letter to Polemius see Carmina, XIV [introductory letter] 1—2.

16 *De statu animae:* For details, see n.7 above and Brittain, "No Place for a Platonist Soul." For the dispute (beginning with a work of Bishop Faustus of Riez) that inspired the treatise see Ralph W. Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism and Religious*

Controversy in Fifth-Century Gaul (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1989), 235-44. The loan: Sidonius Ep. 5.2.

17 Augustine, *De Quantitate Atiimae,* PL 32:1050: "Nunc ergo illud attende, utrum tibi videatur virtus aequalitas quaedam esse vitae, rationi undique consentientis." Musical terminology in *De statu animae, Claudiani Mamerti Opera,* 73, 75 et passim.

18 *Claudiani Mamerti Opera,* 76.

19 Augustine and metrical effects: *Aurelii Augustini De Musica,* ed. G. Marzi (Florence, 1969), 230, 232. Onyx: Sidonius, Ep. 9.7.3.

"INCESSU HUMILEM, SUCCESSU EXCELSAM": AUGUSTINE, *SERMO HUMILIS,* AND SCRIPTURAL

Danuta Shanzer

Introduction

C. Stephen Jaeger has characterized our modern Middle Ages, the new "Diminutive Middle Ages," as a time of grotesque and marginal homunculi, and, increasingly, conferences where papers are about marginal and abject and scatological topics. The contributors to this volume were asked to turn their eyes elsewhere, to reassert their *rectus status,* and meditate on Magnificence as instantiated in their respective fields. Just as munificence is not an absolute, but something *experienced,* so too Magnificence is often a thing *felt,* rather than something intellected or anatomized. Magnificence resides in a very special inaccessible place. Like poetry and pornography, we have trouble defining it, but know it when we see it.[1] Think of what A.E. Housman once said about poetry:

> Experience has taught me, when I am shaving of a morning, to keep watch over my thoughts, because, if a line of poetry strays into my memory, my skin bristles so that the razor ceases to act. This particular symptom is accompanied by a shiver down the spine; there is another which consists in a constriction of the throat and a precipitation of water to the eyes; and there is a third which I can only describe by borrowing a phrase from one of Keats's last letters, where he says, speaking of Fanny Brawne, "everything that reminds me of her goes through me like a spear." The seat of this sensation is the pit of the stomach.[2]

Secondary Anchor

Magnificence can be a sensitive subject for the later Latinist. All too often one must face the inevitable classicizing dogmatic judgments about the decadence of the Latinity of the later Roman period and the barbarity of the

medieval variety. The declension goes from bad to worse. Into this debate came Erich Auerbach with his classic *Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages* (1958 and 1965). Auerbach advocated a historicist (and hence relativist) approach to literature. He advocated a new way of thinking and talking about stylistics in the early Middle Ages, a period that had received excessively short shrift in his *Mimesis*.[3] In his first chapter, on *Sermo humilis,* he argued for a new redemptive Christian sublime. And in the second chapter of *Literary Language* he made a lasting contribution to the "DMA" with his analysis of the nun, the devil, and the lettuce from Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*.[4] More than fifty years have passed since the publication of *Literary Language,* and the ten *lustra* are an invitation to revisit and reevaluate Auerbach's work. And recantation will be required, for *Mimesis* had always been a stumbling block for me. In 1994 I imprudently delivered myself of an oral *recusatio* that I should now retract:

> I'm not dealing with Auerbach. The combination of "soft stylistics" (i.e., stylistics that factors in subject matter heavily), big "readings," high-points treated as representative,[5] and a lack of historicity alarm me. He's one of Robert Graves's ogres, storming the most rare and obstinate maidenheads with his grand yard. I leave him to those who like him and can discern a methodology, rather than aggravated belle-lettristics. No "thundering text," for me, I'll turn to the "sniveling commentary."

Philologists have difficulty talking about anything without specific illustration from a specific corpus. But OIIK eat' 8X1)^105 X0705 oiitog... Now it is clear to me that one cannot make an exoteric case (as opposed to an esoteric one) without exemplary readings to illustrate the linear qualities one wishes to describe.[6] So understand that in this instance I shall not be making a "measurable case,"[7] but using descriptive techniques with specific examples.

Primary Anchors

Longinus (External)

Grandeur and Magnificence are felt or experienced subjectively as matters of taste. Most scholars (as opposed to popular literary critics) feel uncomfortable pronouncing on the subjective—except in the classroom. There, all good humanists must and do. Secondly, however, this elusive topic is actually treated in scholarship, for when classicists hear words such as "grandeur" and "Magnificence," they automatically reach for their pseudo-Longinus, that quirky, but intriguing anonymous, probably first-century AD treatise *De sublimitate,* or, more properly *Peri hypsous.* So Magnificence will be explored

with some reference to "Longinus," as I shall call him to save time. Why ignore the rare ancient treatise that discusses at least part of the topic of this volume?

Augustine (the Author for Examination): Why?

I will concentrate on Augustine for various reasons: (1) His preaching was the focus of Auerbach's first chapter. (2) We have an exceptionally large and generically varied corpus of his writing. (3) The writing covers a long time period. (4) Augustine was a *rhetor* and a preacher, a secular and Christian "language professional"[8] engaged with rhetoric in multiple contexts. We have prescriptive writing of the author's own ("how to," "what not") in the *De Doctrina Christiana*. (5) We have an autobiography, the *Confessions,* as well as *Retractationes,* both of which permit us to listen in on our author examining and reexamining himself. The former contains the most remarkable ancient account of a writer's acquisition of and engagement with language.[9] (6) He is an indisputably magnificent and great, innovative, and influential writer.

Augustine Explicitly Problematized the High and the Low

Above all, Augustine explicitly (if not most memorably)[10] problematized style, grandeur, the pagan literary past, and a number of especially significant authors, including Virgil and Cicero. Whole books explore his use of classical and pagan sources and his program to disembarrass himself of them.[11] Biblical *auctoritas* justified what use (*usus*) as opposed to what enjoyment *(fruitio)* was permitted.[12] All know Jerome's exegesis of pagan literature as the fair captive from Deuteronomy 21.10-14[13] and Augustine's image from Exodus 3.22: The Platonic philosophers were the gold that the Hebrews were permitted to steal from the Egyptians.[14] Augustine could descend to exceptionally puritan literary fundamentalism, when he tried to banish personifications such as Fortune or the Muses from his writings altogether for fear of idolatry.[15] Fortunately for medievalists he did not get his way. *Boethio aliter visum}*[6]

The Biblical High-Low Problem Exemplified as a Choice of Reading

The *Confessions* is dominated by reading, readings, and by strategic books, the pivotal reading and book coming in *Conf.* 8.12.29 where Augustine has his moment of conversion with Romans, reading in silence.[17] Even more important will be his exegetical readings of Genesis in the later books of the *Confessions*. By then he has arrived.

False Starts and the Scheideweg

More interesting, however, are his various false starts. Virgil[18] and Cicero, for example. The latter in particular features in an "unrecognized epiphany" sequence in *Conf.* 3.4.7 and 9. Augustine presents a *synkrisis* of the *Hortensius* and the Bible. Both are goods, but he prized the lesser one and failed to recognize and penetrate the mysteries of the latter. Scripture seemed *indigna* in relation to Tullian *dignitas*. (All emphasis, unless otherwise indicated, is mine.)

> inter hos ego imbecilla tunc aetate discebam libros eloquentiae, in qua eminere cupiebam fine damnabili et uentoso per gaudia uanitatis humanae, et usitato iam discendi ordine perueneram in librum cuiusdam Ciceronis, cuius linguam fere omnes mirantur, pectus non ita. sed liber ille ipsius exhortationem continet ad philosophiam et uocatur Hortensius. ille uero liber mutauit affectum meum et ad te ipsum, domine, mutauit preces meas et uota ac desideria mea fecit alia, uiluit mihi repente omnis uana spes et immortalitatem sapientiae concupiscebam aestu cordis incredibili et surgere coeperam, ut ad te redirem.
>
> itaque institui animum intendere in scripturas sanctas et uidere, quales essent. et ecce uideo rem non compertam superbis neque nudatam[19] pueris, sed **incessu humilem, successu excelsam** et uelatam[20] mysteriis, et non eram ego talis, ut intrare in earn possem aut inclinare ceruicem ad eius gressus. non enim sicut modo loquor, ita sensi, cum attendi ad illam scripturam, sed uisa est mihi indigna, quam Tullianae dignitati compararem. tumor enim meus refugiebat modum eius et acies mea non penetrabat interiora eius. uerum autem ilia erat, quae cresceret cum paruulis, sed ego dedignabar esse paruulus et turgidus fastu mihi grandis uidebar.
>
> This was the society in which at a vulnerable age I was to study the textbooks on eloquence. I wanted to distinguish myself as an orator for a damnable and conceited purpose, namely delight in human vanity. Following the usual curriculum I had already come across a book by a certain Cicero, whose language (but not his heart) almost everyone admires. That book of his contains an exhortation to study philosophy and is entitled *Hortensius*. The book changed my feelings. It altered my prayers, Lord, to be towards you yourself. It gave me different values and priorities. Suddenly every vain hope became empty to me, and I longed for the immortality of wisdom with an incredible ardour in my heart. I began to rise up to return to you.
>
> I therefore decided to give attention to the holy scriptures and to find out what they were like. And this is what met me: Something neither open to the proud nor laid bare to mere children; a text lowly to the beginner but, on further reading, of mountainous difficulty and enveloped in mysteries. I was not in any state to be able to enter into that, or to bow my head to climb its steps. What I am now saying did not enter my mind

> when I first gave my attention to the scripture. It seemed unworthy to me in comparison with the dignity of Cicero. My inflated conceit shunned the Bible's restraint, and my gaze never penetrated its inwardness. Yet, the Bible was composed in such a way that as beginners mature, its meaning grows with them. I disdained to be a little beginner. Puffed up with pride I considered myself a mature adult.[21]

In 1992 I wrote about Prodicus's *Choice of Heracles* in the structure of the *Confessions,* where various allegorical figures appear at different stages to offer choices for Augustine on his quest: For Wisdom, for Virtue, and finally for Right Reading. The *Arete-like* figure of Continentia versus the Kakia represented by the *antiquae amicae* is easily recognizable in Book 8. In Book 3, however, the choice is veiled: The second group of paired women features OT *Sapientia* and Manichean *Stultitia.* But the first pair is pagan wisdom (the *Hortensius)* and the right reading choice (the Bible). But the Bible, goddess in disguise, fools Augustine. He fails to see her for what she is.

Scripture's Lowliness and Loftiness

His description of scripture is weirdly pregnant and mysterious. It is at times both a *res,* a goddess[22] and a sacred place, probably a temple.[23] The lines quoted in my title are most ambiguous: *incessu humilem, successu excelsam:* "at entry/first step humble, in closer approach/success/outcome/[24] lofty." Scripture is a female figure like Virgil's Fama who starts small, but can grow monstrously. Or it is a place, low to enter, but lofty, once one has entered. I remind you that Homer's allegory of Eris, which Virgil echoed in his Fama, was singled out by "Longinus" for its *hypsos.*[25] It mentioned the distance between heaven and earth. Augustine's paradoxical description of Scripture, as low at first and high later, deliberately challenges the standard criticisms of the Old Latin Bible (OLB).[26] His hieratic, ambiguous description of this seemingly lowly *res* itself uses tropes associated with *hypsos.* Augustine would return to this feature, seeming humbleness, actual Sublimity in *DC* 4.26 of the *eloquentia* of biblical writers:

> ita est quaedam, quae uiros summa auctoritate dignissimos planeque diuinos decet. hac illi locuti sunt nec ipsos decet alia nec alios ipsa; ipsis enim congruit; alios autem, quanto uidetur **humilior,** tanto **altius** non **uentositate,** sed **soliditate** transcendit.
>
> There is a certain eloquence that befits men worthy of the highest authority and clearly divine. They spoke using it, nor does any other eloquence befit them, nor their style itself [befit] others. It matches them; however, the more **humble** it seems, the **higher it rises** above other men not in **windiness,** but in **solid substance.**

The Classical/Biblical Culture Wars

Now the culture wars between classical and biblical style have been recently painted as largely a creation of Christian writers, who, we are told, found the objections easy to counter.[27] This may not be true.[28] Given the censorship of Porphyry, a pagan author who attacked Scripture and deployed the higher criticism against it, we can hardly expect much of that debate to survive. We have to recover it from Christian defensive maneuvers, a few explicit hints of the criticism, and their own rewritings of the unacceptable.[29] Wilhelm SiiB may have been closer to the mark when he said that we cannot overestimate the *Befremdett* and the *Entsetzen* that an educated reader would have experienced when first reading any scripture in the Old Latin Bible.[30] *De catechizandis rudibus* 9 seems to have fallen out of the discussion, but is important for documenting how to handle the educated, but not intellectually profound catechumen who cared about standards of Latinity: *sententiae* had to be put before words as the soul before the body.

> Cat. Rud. 9.13. Sunt item quidam de scholis usitatissimis grammaticorum oratorumque uenientes, **quos neque inter idiotas numerate audeas, neque inter illos doctissimos,** quorum mens magnarum rerum est exercitata quaestionibus. his ergo qui loquendi arte ceteris hominibus excellere uidentur, cum ueniunt, ut Christiani fiant, hoc amplius quam illis illitteratis impertire debemus, quod sedulo monendi sunt, **ut humilitate induti Christiana discant non contemnere, quos cognouerint morum uitia quam uerborum amplius deuitare, et cordi casto linguam exercitatam nec conferre audeant quam etiam praeferre consueuerant. maxime autem isti docendi sunt scripturas audire diuinas, ne sordeat eis solidum eloquium, quia non est inflatum,** neque arbitrentur carnalibus integumentis inuoluta atque operta dicta uel facta hominum, quae in illis libris leguntur, non euoluenda atque aperienda ut intelligantur, sed sic accipienda ut litterae sonant; deque ipsa utilitate secreti, unde etiam mysteria uocantur, quid ualeant aenigmatum latebrae ad amorem ueritatis acuendum, discutiendumque fastidii torporem, ipsa experientia probandum est talibus, cum aliquid eis quod in promtu positum non ita mouebat, enodatione allegoriae alicuius eruitur. **his enim maxime utile est nosse, ita esse praeponendas uerbis sententias, ut praeponitur animus corpori.** ex quo fit, ut ita malle debeant ueriores quam disertiores audire sermones, sicut malle debent prudentiores quam formosiores habere amicos. nouerint etiam non esse uocem ad aures dei nisi animi affectum: ita enim non irridebunt, si aliquos antistites et ministros ecclesiae forte animaduerterint uel cum barbarismis et soloecismis deum inuocare, uel eadem uerba quae pronuntiant non intellegere perturbateque distinguere. non quia ista minime corrigenda sunt, (ut populus ad id quod plane intellegit, dicat amen), sed tamen pie

toleranda sunt ab eis qui didicerint, ut sono in foro sic uoto in ecclesia benedici. itaque forensis ilia nonnumquam forte bona dictio, numquam tamen benedictio dici potest.

There are likewise some who come from the most ordinary schools of grammar and rhetoric, who you would not dare to number either among the uneducated, nor among the highly educated whose mind has been exercised by questions concerning great matters. To these people who seem to surpass other men in the art of speaking, when they come to be converted, we ought to impart this additional thing too (beyond what we impart to the illiterate): **They need to be carefully admonished that, when they have put on in Christian humility, they must learn not to despise those people whom they know avoid vices of character more than errors of speech, and not to dare to compare a practiced tongue to a chaste heart, even though they used before to prefer the former to the latter.... These people above all must be taught to hear divine scripture, lest its solid eloquence seem despicable to them, because it is not inflated____For these people it is especially important to know that thoughts must be put before words just as the soul is put before the body.**

Defending the Lowly Bible

After his return to Africa, Augustine, as exegete and preacher, had to argue from biblical authority. But what of its poor and embarrassing style? Christian authors who needed to cite it extensively and intended to incorporate its matter and cadences[31] into their own writing commonly adopted some or all of the following strategies:

1. Recalibrate how the style of the Bible was regarded and evaluated (e.g., claim that salvation was preached by *piscatores,* not *oratores,* and that *humilitas* was right for Christian religious subject matter).[32] Exalt the classical *genus humile*,[33] Emphasize spirit above form, substance above ornament. Why should the word of God conform to the rules of Donatus?[34] All, of course, enunciated in far from *vitiosus sermo*.
2. Depreciate what the Bible was not (i.e., attack classical stylistic values it failed to achieve).[35] In this sort of discussion terms such as grandeur, magnificence, *magnitudo,* and *hypsos* morph instead into their evil twins,[36] *ventosus,*[37] *tumor,*[38] *turgidus, pompa.*[39]
3. Claim that the Bible really was eloquent in a classical sense.[40]
4. Excuse its style, claiming that it had its own *consuetudo.*[41]
5. Claim that its form *had some higher purpose.*

Augustine engages in many of these arguments, especially 3, 4, and 5. Three was easy to do, because the Bible itself had so many different styles. *Divide et impera!* Part of the time he reminds us, a la Moliere, that the apostle Paul used classical rhetorical figures, such as the *climax*.[42] But 4 worked also: He wrote the *Locutiones in Heptateuchum* to explain its dissonant Hebraisms.[43] When that failed, there remained strategy 5, the one he usually adopted.[44] In his narrative of his first encounter with Scripture in the *Confessions,* his own insufficiency and failure are to blame for his lack of appreciation.[43] In *DC* 4.27 he tells us that obscurity in the word of God was intentional: it was designed to make us work and think.

Biblical Spoliation "On the Ground"

All of this is by way of preface to the problem at hand. The Bible's style was embarrassing to educated Christians and to Augustine in particular. Yet it had to be cited and, as we shall see, was even incorporated and imitated. How did Augustine handle the Bible in contexts where splendor, Magnificence, and *hypsos* were required? Fine leather shoes and gloves make the outfit. What did Christian rhetoric do with the Birkenstocks and burlap it had to sport? I will concentrate on the *Confessions* (to be different from Auerbach) and will start with one of the most notable features of Augustine's style there. He quotes a great deal of that formerly despised scripture, and he quotes it in passages that are clearly intended to and do create emotional intensity and *hypsos,* not flat-footed quotation,[46] or the passages qua passages quoted for content in *Conf* 7.21.27.[47] Instead I mean those passages where the scripture is incorporated directly into Augustine's own writing. Marrou long ago showed us the "*cas limite*" (approaching centonization) where there is virtually no Augustine (cake) to bind the scripture (raisins).[48] These were the two extremes. I'll work in the middle. But I would first like to say a few words about the styles of the *Confessions*.

Augustine's Biblical Style

Melchior Verheijen discerned two main styles in the *Confessions*. The first was a classical periodic style with considerable hypotaxis, comparable to the expository writing of the *City of God*. The other was Augustine's 'confessional style: Paratactic with verbs at the beginning of sentences, copiously strewn with *ets,* often rhymed. There can be little doubt where it came from—the Bible was the source. One starts with the Hebrew vav conjunctive,[49] and with structures such as the parallelisms of Hebrew poetry that tend (in Latin) to generate verbs that can rhyme, by ending at least. Voice is more elusive, but Verheijen made some apposite comparisons to moments in the Psalms.[50] Thus when Augustine composed one of his more rapturous and exalted and sexy moments in *Conf.* 10.27.38 readers would hear in those second-person

singulars the tones of the Psalmist.

> *Conf.* 10.27.38. Sero te amavi, pulchritudo tarn antiqua et tam nova! sero te amavi! Et ecce intus eras, et ego foris, et ibi te quaerebam; et in ista Formosa quae fecisti, *deformh* irruebam. Mecum eras, et tecum non eram. Ea me tenebant longe a te, quae si in te non essent, non essent. Vocasti, et clamasti, et rupisti surditatem meam. Coruscasti, splenduisti, et fugasti caecitatem meam. Fragrasti, et duxi spiritum, et anhelo tibi. Gustavi, et esurio, et sitio. Tetigisti me, et exarsi in pacem tuam.
>
> Late have I loved you, beauty so old and so new: Late have I loved you. And see, you were within and I was in the external world and sought you there, and in my unlovely state I plunged into those lovely created things which you made. You were with me, and I was not with you. The lovely things kept me far from you, though if they did not have their existence in you, they had no existence at all. You called and cried out and shattered my deafness. You were radiant and resplendent, you put to flight my blindness. You were fragrant, and I drew in my breath and now pant after you. I tasted you, and I feel hunger and thirst for you. You touched me, and I am set on fire to attain the peace which is yours.[51]

These observations show that whatever Augustine thought about the style of the Bible in his youth up until his conversion in 386/7, by the time he came to write the *Conf.* in 397/402 he had fully internalized a Biblical style and voice,[52] so much so that he would use it for some of his most intimate passages.

The Spolia and Confessions 1.1

But what of alien material, the stylistic *scandala* rife on every page? While there could be a congregational uproar when Jerome altered one word in the text of the OLB in the Book of Jonah,[53] and Jerome himself was aware that his Gallican psalter was safer than the one translated from the Hebrew[54] the OLB itself was not a ready model or promising material. How could it be acclimated and made to sing cheek-to-cheek in *hypsos?*

Ancient authors liked to make a splash at the beginnings of works, to run a flag up a pole, to hit their exordia running, to issue programmatic statements.[53] Augustine did so brilliantly in the opening paragraphs of the *Confessions* and likewise, though with greater complications, in the exordium of the *City of God*. We need to be re-introduced to the first paragraph of the *Confessions*. There is an analysis by Burton[56] and one by O'Donnell,[57] but I have yet to find one that lays bare the structure of the passage to show various important features of its *ornatus*. Now it may be hard to see what Augustine is doing:

> *Conf.* 1.1. Magnus es, domine, et laudabilis ualde: magna uirtus tua et sapientiae tuae non est numerus. et laudare te uult homo, aliqua portio

creaturae tuae, et homo circumferens mortalitatem suam, circumferens testimonium peccati sui et testimonium, quia superbis resistis: et tamen laudare te uult homo, aliqua portio creaturae tuae. tu excitas, ut laudare te delectet, quia fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum, donee requiescat in te. da mihi, domine, scire et intellegere, utrum sit prius inuocare te an laudare te et scire te prius sit an inuocare te. sed quis te inuocat nesciens te? aliud enim pro alio potest inuocare nesciens. an potius inuocaris, ut sciaris? quomodo autem inuocabunt, in quem non crediderunt? aut quomodo credunt sine praedicante? et laudabunt dominum qui requirunt eum. quaerentes enim inueniunt eum et inuenientes laudabunt eum. quaeram te, domine, inuocans te et inuocem te credens in te: praedicatus enim es nobis, inuocat te, domine, fides mea, quam dedisti mihi, quam inspirasti mihi per humanitatem filii tui, per ministerium praedicatoris tui.

"You are great, Lord, and highly to be praised: great is your power and your wisdom is immeasurable." Man, a little piece of your creation, desired to praise you, a human being "bearing his mortality with him," carrying with him the witness of his sin and the witness that you "resist the proud." Nevertheless to praise you is the desire of man, a little piece of your creation. You stir man to take pleasure in praising you, because you have made us for yourself, and our heart is restless until it rests in you. "Grant me Lord to know and understand" which comes first—to call upon you or to praise you, and whether knowing you precedes calling upon you. But who calls upon you when he does not know you? For an ignorant person might call upon someone else instead of the right one. But surely you may be called upon in prayer that you may be known. Yet "how shall they call upon him in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe without a preacher?" "They will praise the Lord who seek for him." In seeking him they find him, and in finding him they will praise him. Lord, I would seek you, calling upon you—and calling upon you is an act of believing in you. You have been preached to us. My faith, Lord, calls upon you. It is your gift to me. You breathed it into me by the humanity of your Son, by the ministry of your preacher.[58]

Now it should be easier:

1. Magnus es, DOMING,
   et laudabilis valde
   Magna virtus **tua**
   et sapientiae **tuae**
   non est numerus.

2. et laudare **te** vult homo,
   aliqua portio creaturae **tuae**
   et homo circumferens
   mortalitatem suam
   circumferens testimonium
   peccati sui
   et testimonium quia superbis
   resistis.

3. et tamen laudare **te** vult
   homo,
   aliqua portio creaturae **tuae.**
   tu excitas
   ut laudare **te** delectet,
   quia fecisti nos ad **te**
   et inquietum est cor
   nostrum
   donee requiescat in **te.**

4. Da mihi, DOMINE,
scire et intellegere,
utrum sit prius invocare **te**
an laudare **te**
et scire **te** prius sit
an invocare **te.**

5. sed quis **te** vocat
nesciens **te?**
aliud enim pro alio
potest invocare nesciens.
an potius invo*caris,*
ut sci*arisi*

6. quomodo autem invocabunt
in quern non crediderunt?
aut quomodo credunt
sine praedicante?

7. et laudabunt dominum
qui requirunt eum.
quaerentes enim inveniunt eum
et invenientes laudabunt
eum.

8. quaeram **te,** DOMINE,
invocans **te.**
et invocem **te**
credens in **te:**
praedicatus enim es nobis.

9. invocat **te,** DOMINE,
fides mea,
quam ded/'sfi *mihi,*
quam inspired' *mihi*
per humanitatem filii *tui,*
per ministerium praedicatoris *tui.*

A few observations: Parallelism: *passim.* Strategic repetitions: *passim.* Rhyme: 1. domine... valde, 5. *Invocaris.. .sciaris 9. dedisti, inspirasti,* filii *tui.. .*praedicatoris *tui.* Repetition: 1. *magnus... magnus* underlined; Polyptoton in bold: *tua... tuae, ad te... in te* and far more. "Distinctly biblical" word: 2. *creatura;*[59] Christian word 9. *praedico* and *praedicator.* Note the efs in 2. While they may *sound* like Hebrew rw-conjunctives, they are not.[6]" The *et* in *et laudare* is a "yet," the *et* in et homo is an *etiam,* and the final *et* in *et testimonium* is a simple copula. Etymological point with *variatio:* 3. et *inquietum* est homo donee *requiescat* in te. The vocative, *domine,* in small capitals, appears at four key moments. Chain of infinitives: 4. *scire, intellegere, invocare, laudare, scire, invocare.* Climax: a textbook figure that Augustine commented on in DC 4.31: "Quaerentes inveniunt, invenientes laudabunt."

There are other cumulative and subliminal effects: First and foremost, this is what Eduard Norden would have called a "Du-stil" prayer. The *basso ostinato* of forms of *tu* in different cases brings that out clearly;[61] likewise the praise of *magnus* and the four repetitions *of domine.* The passage is easy to understand from a pedagogic point of view: The changes rung force the hearer to think about the words, to focus on x vs. y: *invocare* vs. *laudare, scire* vs. *invocare.* But from further away one sees larger structural features such as the division using *domine.* The texture is varied with questions. The sheer number of repetitions of forms of *laudare* reinforces the concept of *confessio laudis.*[62] *Magnus es, domine.* Perish who dares to say that parataxis is "mostly an expression of incoherence,"[63] or to talk of the *Stillosigkeit* of the *Confessions*![64] We have a parallel paratactic style influenced by the cadences of the Bible, a passage of profound intellectual meaning

that is nonetheless easily comprehensible. And the *exordium* challenges us with a direct quotation of a psalm, waved as a flag.[65] If read well—though never intended to be performed except with the inner voice—it would be both magnificent and profound. This virtuoso passage shows what he can do. I'd now like to turn to his citation technique in particular.

Pagan and Christian in Parallel

Implicit Parallel

The great Harald Hagendahl pointed out the emotional effect of highly charged passages from Virgil, (*Aen*. 2.361-5 and 369) and from Ps. 78.1-3 put side by side at the climax of Jerome's *Ep*. 127.12 on the fall of Rome.[66] Here Biblical and pagan poetry, implicitly at the same high level, juxtaposed, sing in antiphonal lament and horror:[67]

> "nocte Moab capta est, nocte cecidit murus eius. (Cf. Is. 15.1) deus, uenerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum tuum, posuerunt Hierusalem in pomorum custodiam, posuerunt cadauera seruorum tuorum escas uolatilibus caeli, carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terrae. effuderunt sanguinem ipsorum sicut aquam in circuitu Hierusalem et non erat, qui sepeliret.
>
> "quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
> explicet aut possit lacrimis aequare dolorem?
> urbs antiqua ruit multos dominata per annos
> plurima perque uias sparguntur inertia passim
> corpora perque domos et plurima mortis imago."

Explicit Parallel

If one quotes explicitly, one draws attention to what one is doing or bolsters it. In Jerome, *Ep*. 127.6, for example, Plato, Paul (2x), Luke, Ecclesiastes, and Persius all testify together. Jerome heaps up *auctoritas* on *auctoritas*.

> annis igitur plurimis sic suam transegit aetatem, ut ante se uetulam cerneret, quam adulescentulam fuisse meminisset, laudans illud Platonicum, qui "philosophiam meditationem mortis esse" dixisset. unde et noster apostolus: "cotidie morior per uestram salutem" et dominus iuxta antiqua exemplaria: "*nisi quis tulerit crucem suam cotidie et secutus fuerit me, non potest meus esse discipulus*" multoque ante per prophetam spiritus sanctus: "propter te mortificamur tota die, aestimati sumus ut oues occisionis" et post multas aetates ilia sententia: "*memento semper diem mortis et numquam peccabis*" disertissimeque praeceptum satirici: "*uiue memor leti, fugit hora, hoc, quod loquor, inde est*." sic ergo—ut dicere coeperamus—aetatem duxit et uixit, ut semper se crederet esse morituram.

No Markers

When one quotes without markers, however, one preaches to the choir, plays peek-a-boo, or adds top notes or bottom notes to one's perfume that (the right) people will recognize or feel. There is no distancing, nor any adduction of authority. Such is the high intensity "tessellated work" (so Hagendahl called it), where, as Burton says, "citations are part of the texture of the work, not a superficial ornament."[68] Longinus spoke of channeling other authors as roads to *hypsos (Subl.* 13). The passages I'll discuss next explicitly avoid specific allusion to the author.[69]

Personal Contact with the Divine

After Jerome's juxtaposition it is time to turn to some Augustinian *opus musivum* that co-incorporates pagan material and biblical allusions. His Vision at Ostia in a dense and magnificent style recreates an ecstatic journey in the mind. This style cannot be simply categorized in terms of purpose (teach, admonish, move) for it is narrative, or of subject matter (which Augustine and Auerbach told us was irrelevant to the Christian orator),[70] or indeed even of register. My hopelessly unscientific analogies would be from music. You could think of an unexpected harmony or resolution, a sudden diminuendo, anything that produces a shudder, shiver, shimmer, or radiance. This is very much a "special effect," and that is ultimately what *hypsos* is.[71] Augustine uses such unexpected collocations to showcase his *spolia*. The context can hardly be described as one of persuasion, but of feeling: Longinus would have said ecstasy.[72]

> Vision at Ostia: *Conf.* 9.10.24-25. cumque ad eum finem sermo perduceretur, ut carnalium **sensuum delectatio quantalibet** (Plot. *Enn.* 1.6.7.19-21) in quantalibet luce **corporea** prae illius uitae iucunditate non **comparatione,** sed ne commemoratione quidem digna uideretur, **erigentes nos ardentiore affectu** (Plot. *Enn.* 1.6.7.1-2) *in id ipsum* (Ps. 4.9) perambulauimus gradatim cuncta corporalia et ipsum caelum, unde sol et luna et stellae lucent super terram. et adhuc **ascendebamus** *interius* **cogitando** et loquendo et *mirando* **opera** tua et **uenimus** in **mentes** nostras et *transcendimus* eas, ut attingeremus regionem *ubertatis* indeficientis, *ubi pascis Israhel in aeternum* **ueritate pabulo,** et ibi *uita sapientia* (Plot. *Enn.* 5.1.4.6—10) est, **per quam fiunt** *omnia* ista, et quae fuerunt et quae futura sunt, et ipsa non fit, sed sic est, ut fuit, et sic erit *semper,* quin potius/wisse *et futurum esse* **non est** *in ea,* sed *esse solum,* (Plot. *Enn.* 5.1.4.21-24) quoniam **aeterna** est: nam *fuisse* et *futurum esse* non est **aeternum.** et dum loquimur et inhiamus illi, **attigimus** earn modice toto *ictu* cordis; et suspirauimus et reliquimus *ibi* religatas *primitias spiritus* et remeauimus ad strepitum oris nostri, ubi uerbum et incipitur et finitur. et quid simile uerbo tuo, domino nostro, *in se permanenti* sine uetustate atque *innouanti omnia?*

This passage's sources were discussed by Mandouze,[73] who used Roman for Augustine's own words, italics for material taken verbatim from sources, and bold for material that paraphrases sources. The mark-up is his. Essentially this is an almost inextricable mosaic (to mix metaphors) of Plotinus and the Bible.

Augustine and Monica mount in spirit above the luminaries of heaven, but the journey is inner, to their own minds, which they transcend to reach, not the desolate *regio egestatis* of the Lucan prodigal (Luke 15.11-32), but the Saturnian-Kronian, *regio ubertatis indeficientis*,[74] So far, so Plotinian. But suddenly, Augustine's surprising, pagan-Christian collocation, a marvelously non-false *biblical* note—*ubi pascis Israel in aeternum*. This place they touch briefly, with an elan of the heart; sighing they leave there the first fruits of the spirit and return to the world of sound in time. It is no coincidence that the citation technique here reverses the hard distance and distinction of sources in the failed Plotinian ecstasy of *Conf.* 7.10.16, where Augustine and the Plotinian *regio dissimilitudinis* are far from the Voice of God:

> *Conf* 7.10.16. et cum te primum cognoui, tu assumpsisti me, ut uiderem esse, quod uiderem, et nondum me esse, qui uiderem. et reuerberasti infirmitatem aspectus mei radians in me uehementer, et contremui amore et horrore: et inueni **longe** me esse a te ***in regione dissimilitudinis***, tamquam audirem **uocem tuam de excelso:** "cibus sum grandium: cresce et manducabis me. nec tu me in te mutabis sicut cibum carnis tuae, sed tu mutaberis in me."

Particularly interesting is the use of such techniques, including the problematic biblical citations, in passages that are designed to exhibit "loftiness." We've seen an Augustinian proem and how it imitates and parades biblical material in addressing God. We've seen a mystic highpoint that uses the technique of juxtaposition to show how one can reach the Sublime.[75] "Uno itinere non potest perveniri ad tam grande secretum____"[7<s] I'd like to conclude with a case-study of an interesting rhetorical innovation of Augustine's that shows him creating his own "hypsotic" moments in a context where we can compare other contemporary practitioners.

Friends and the Divine: Obituary Valedictions

Thomas D. Hill once drew attention to the "variegated obits" in Bede.[77] After touching the divine in this life, it is time to examine biblical *hypsos* in some late fourth-century obituary passages. We have three "vanilla" examples, where one expects to find them, in the work of Ambrose: The perorations of his funeral orations for his brother Satyrus, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I. After all, high style was particularly appropriate for perorations.[78] And there are also a number of consolatory *epitaphia* in the letters

of Jerome. This example, from *Ep.* 108 (A.D. 404) is fairly representative in picturing the white martyrdom of the deceased, in focusing on the survivor, Eustochium (the *tu),* in depicting Paula's ascent to heaven, and cleverly using Ruth 1.16 of the heavenly kingdom. But all the biblical citations are sourced—with all that entails.[79]

> Be not fearful, Eustochium: you are endowed with a splendid heritage. The Lord is your portion; and, to increase your joy, your mother has now after a long martyrdom won her crown. It is not only the shedding of blood that is accounted a confession: the spotless service of a devout mind is itself a daily martyrdom. Both alike are crowned; with roses and violets in the one case, with lilies in the other. Thus in the Song of Songs it is written: "my beloved is white and ruddy;" for, whether the victory be won in peace or in war, God gives the same guerdon to those who win it. Like Abraham your mother heard the words: "get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, unto a land that I will shew thee;" and not only that but the Lord's command given through Jeremiah: "flee out of the midst of Babylon, and deliver every man his soul." To the day of her death she never returned to Chaldaea, or regretted the fleshpots of Egypt or its strong-smelling meats. Accompanied by her virgin bands she became a fellow-citizen of the Saviour; and now that she has ascended from her little Bethlehem to the heavenly realms she can say to the true Naomi: "thy people shall be my people and thy God my God."[80]

In Augustine the great unwashed—such as his father Patricius—could die in an ablative absolute (*Conf.* 4.4.7). But others were treated quite differently. Take the anonymous friend of Book 4.7-12. But far more distinctive are the deaths of Book 9, itself in many ways a valedictory book.[81]

Verecundus

Augustine's epitaph of Verecundus (*Conf.* 9.3.5) provides a good starting-point.

> nondum christianus coniuge fideli ea ipsa tamen artiore prae ceteris compede ab itinere, quod aggressi eramus, retardabatur nec Christianum esse alio modo se uelle dicebat quam illo, quo non poterat. benigne sane obtulit, ut, quandiu ibi essemus, in re eius essemus. retribues illi, domine, in resurrectione iustorum, quia iam ipsam sortem retribuisti ei. quamuis enim absentibus nobis, cum Romae iam essemus, corporali aegritudine correptus et in ea Christianus et fldelis factus ex hac uita emigrauit. ita misertus es non solum eius sed etiam nostri, ne cogitantes egregiam erga nos amici humanitatem nec eum in grege tuo numerantes dolore intolerabili cruciaremur. gratias tibi, deus noster! tui sumus. indicant hortationes et consolationes tuae: fidelis promissor reddis Verecundo pro rure

> illo eius Cassiciaco, ubi ab aestu saeculi requieuimus in te, amoenitatem sempiterne uirentis paradisi tui, quoniam dimisisti ei peccata super terram "in monte incaseato, monte tuo, monte uberi." (Ps. 67.16)
>
> He was not yet a Christian, but his wife was a baptized believer. Fettered by her more than anything else, he was held back from the journey on which we had embarked. He used to say that he did not wish to be a Christian except in the way which was not open to him. Most generously he offered us hospitality at his expense for as long as we were there. Repay him, Lord, at the rewarding of the just. Indeed you have already rewarded him with their lot. For when we were absent during our stay in Rome, he was taken ill in body, and in sickness departed this life a baptized Christian. So you had mercy not only on him, but also on us. We would have felt tortured by unbearable pain if, thinking of our friend's outstanding humanity to us, we could not have numbered him among your flock. Thanks be to you, our God: We are yours. Your encouragements and consolations so assure us. Faithful to your promises, in return for Verecundus' country estate as Cassiciacum where we rested in you from the heat of the world, you rewarded him with the loveliness of your evergreen paradise. For you forgave his sins upon earth and translated him to the mountain flowing with milk, your mountain, the mountain of abundance.[82]

Verecundus was a rich Christian catechumen with a Christian wife, barred from the celibate Christianity to which he aspired. He could not follow Augustine in retreat, but lent him his estate at Cassiciacum. He fell ill, was baptized, and died when Augustine had left for Rome. Augustine gives thanks to the Lord for Verecundus's baptism, and ends with a prayer: That the Lord grant Verecundus rest in paradise for the rest Augustine enjoyed at Cassiciacum. The sentence ends with a citation of Ps. 67.17 "in monte incaseato, monte tuo, monte uberi." The literal meaning suggests that despite its position the quotation should be in apposition to *uirentis paradisi tuiP* But the line is highly problematic: What is this *mons incaseatus?*

The meaning of the Hebrew word, 03323, translated by *coagulatus* is unknown.[84] The Septuagint guessed that it had something to do with cheese from a similar word: Hence xetupconevov, "turned into cheese."[85] The lines are rarely discussed. The one Westerner to take them on before Augustine was Hilary of Poitiers, who has a pejorative interpretation: The mountains are diabolical powers because cheese is corrupted milk.[86] The context makes clear that for Augustine the *mons* was a happy place with paradisiacal connotations. And he would later elucidate it as Christ, for He fed the young on milk and appeared on the mountain.[87] But note this aggressive and very deviant exegesis paraded in a climactic position here to make his hearers rethink the Psalm and hear a clear pun between Cassiciacum and incaseatus.[88] To achieve this end he used an Old Latin Bible text that seems not to be attested elsewhere.[89] After a lovely periodic structure resolved by *e vita emigravit,* he

makes us rethink an ugly odd biblical word, so that it echoes beautifully at the culmination of this elegant, learned, and conceitful epitaph.

Nebridius

The death of Verecundus is paired with that of Augustine's close friend, Nebridius:

> *Conf.* 9.3.6 quern non multo post conuersionem nostram et regenerationem per baptismum tuum ipsum etiam fidelem catholicum castitate perfecta atque continentia tibi seruientem in Africa apud suos, cum tota domus eius per eum Christiana facta esset, **carne solvisti.** et nunc ille "uiuit in sinu Abraham." (Lc. 16.22) quidquid illud est, quod illo significatur sinu, ibi Nebridius meus uiuit, dulcis amicus meus, tuus autem, domine, adoptiuus ex liberto filius: ibi uiuit. nam quis alius tali animae locus? ibi uiuit, unde me multa interrogabat **homuncionem** inexpertum. iam non ponit aurem ad os meum, sed spiritale os ad fontem tuum et bibit, quantum potest, sapientiam pro auiditate sua sine fine felix. nec eum sic arbitror inebriari ex ea, ut obliuiscatur mei, cum **tu, domine,** quem potat ille, nostri sis memor.
>
> Soon after my conversion and regeneration by your baptism, he too became a baptized Catholic believer. He was serving you in perfect chastity and continence among his own people in Africa, and through him his entire household became Christian, when you released him from bodily life. Now he lives in Abraham's bosom. Whatever is symbolized by "bosom," that is where my Nebridius lives, a sweet friend to me, but, Lord, your former freedman and now adopted son. There he lives; for what other place could hold so remarkable a soul? There he lives in that place concerning which he used to put many questions to me—poor little man without expert knowledge. He no longer pricks up his ear when I speak, but puts his spiritual mouth to your fountain and avidly drinks as much as he can of wisdom, happy without end. I do not think him so intoxicated by that as to forget me, since you, Lord, whom he drinks, are mindful of us.[90]

Here again appears some of the same rhetorical elegance found in Verecundus' obit, for example, the periodicity of *came solvisti*. As in a classical consolation,[91] Augustine speculates about where Nebridius is, but, as with Verecundus, it is a biblical citation that provides the coordinates—*in sinu Abraham*. This, like the *mons incaseatus,* is another exegetic puzzler inserted into a lofty context, where one should not be worrying about such things. And attention is drawn to it, too. How to make sense of this? And then there is the vulgar Terentian, *homuncio*,[92] Augustine, I suspect, is being whimsical. Nebridius was a notorious questioner, someone he says who hated a brief answer to a big question: Aug. *Ep.* 98.8, "diligentissimus et acerrimus inquisitor, valde oderat de

quaestione magna responsionem brevem." This was the man who asked (*Conf.* 7.2.3) what would happened if God refused to fight the realm of darkness? That vulgarism, *homunrio,* reflects Augustine's own comic exasperation with his friend and gives us a glimpse of their shared joshing. Augustine knows that Nebridius is in the Bosom of Abraham (wherever that is)—after all, he asked. And there he does not hear Wisdom, but drinks directly from the source.

The contexts could not be loftier, the ultimate fate of the soul, but Augustine insisted on using more recondite biblical images of Heaven, not the safe *Paradisus*. Both images, the curdled mountain and the bosom of Abraham, sound odd to classically educated ears. Ambrose had to cite the *divinum testimonium lectionis* in *De obitu Theodosii* 53 when mentioning Abraham's *sinus*. Augustine may have been practicing what he preached in the *De Cat. Rud.* 9, that the educated must be especially taught *to hear* divine scripture, so that its "solid" language may not seem sordid to them because it is not "highfalutin'," and so that they may understand that matter veiled in carnal clothes needs to be unveiled.[93] These exegetic changes rung on Paradise both acclimate the ear to the biblical oddity,[94] so it eventually "sounds right," and provoke thought in the reader, where otherwise feeling alone would prevail.

Common Rhetorical Maneuvers

I will end my analysis of examples with a few general remarks that apply to both obits. There are various rhetorical maneuvers going on, and Augustine could be disingenuous. Despite all the negative things he said about rhetoric (e.g., *Conf.* 3.3.6), he once tellingly courted the rhetorician Hierius *(Conf.* 4.14.21-23) and was himself appointed *rhetor* at Milan with the help of Symmachus, a man who could appreciate a grand speech *(Conf.* 5.13.23). Augustine would have been expected to compose panegyrics and quite possibly funeral laudations of the sort delivered by Ambrose.[95]

Starting from that point these passages can be recognized as miniature funerary laudations, or *epikedic* or epitaphic moments inserted into the *Confessions*. Augustine is doing something very new, even though it has clear classical antecedents. One to cite would be the end of the *Agricola* where Tacitus modulates from history monograph into funerary laudation *(Agr.* 45.3): "Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate... 46.4 posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit." The apostrophe of the deceased should be noted.[96] There are far more precedents for this in poetry. Funerary poems such as Ausonius' *Parentalia* and *Commemoratio professorum* were written in the second person. And, much shorter, but infinitely poignant, Virgil's Hellenistic apostrophes, where he breaks narrative continuity of his epic to address the dead:

> *Aen.* 5.870-71: [Palinurus] O *nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno, nudus in ignota,* ***Palinure,*** *iacebis harena* ("Palinurus, because you trusted too much in calm sky and sea, you will lie naked on unknown sand.").

Aen. 6.882-87: [Marcellus] *Heu miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas...et fungar inani/munere* "(Alas, pitiable boy... if you could somehow break your harsh fate____").

Aen. 7.1-4: [Caieta] ***Tu*** *quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix*____("You also, nurse of Aeneas, gave to our shores____").

Aen. 9.446-49: [Nisus and Euryalus] *Fortunati ambo! Si quid mea carmina possunt*.... ("O blessed, both of you, if my songs could do anything_____").

Aen. 10.506-9: [Pallas] O *dolor atque decus magnum!* ("Oh pain and great glory!").

Augustine uses epikedic moments to mark various good deaths, but with a difference. Instead of addressing the departed with the customary classical *tu*,[97] which, as we have seen, he likes to reserve for God, he patches God into the conversation in a prayer formula. This procedure is similar to some of Ambrose's concluding funerary prayer-perorations *(De obitu Theodosii* 81).[98] Augustine is playing very deliberately with his pronouns. Augustine is present only as a "we" in the obit for Verecundus, whereas the obit of Nebridius is graced by the intimate and affective first-person and *meus*. The interconnected and contrasted pronouns and pronominal adjectives *you, your, he, his, me, mine,* are used in a triangulation that shows that true friendships are *in a third party*—God.[99]

Exemplary selective commentary is a laborious business, and there is no existing commentary on Augustine's *Confessions* that helps with any of these more subjective and emotional matters. One can only hope not to have killed the poetry for the reader by trying to detail what is going on and why. But there is no other satisfactory method other than the exemplary reading. Which brings us to the end and to Auerbach.

Ad Auerbachium redeamus

Auerbach wrote, "We have taken the sermon as the basis of our investigation. But the domain of *sermo humilis* in late antiquity includes all the forms of Christian literature. It pervades philosophical disquisitions as well as realistic records of events."[1011] He later criticized Schrijnen for overestimating the difference between cultivated and popular Latin of the early Christians *(Lit. Lang.* 57). He acknowledges generic differences within the same author, but still maintains, "But the spirit of *sermo humilis* is everywhere the same." Through these broad statements he may have made his own contribution to the DMA.[101]

Auerbach ran into trouble first because he generalized from too few examples (he may not have read many late antique letters),[102] second because he took *topoi* of writerly *humilitas* at face value,[103] and third because he failed to distinguish literary criticism and precept (the *DC)*[104] from practice. In "Latin Prose in the Early Middle Ages" he is wrong about Gregory of Tours,

seeing not "faulty education," but a "new mode of expression."[105] In addition it is far from clear that Auerbach has correctly labeled the passages he characterizes as *sermo humilis*. Sociolinguistic approaches now permit a distinction between writers who have multiple registers[106] available to them and those who write as they can with what they have, whatever it is. No one now would consider Perpetua (who exhibits elements of *sermo plebeius)* as a practitioner of the sort of *sermo humilis* (in a neutral sense) mentioned by Cicero.[107] And he fails to distinguish letter (style) from spirit (content) when he cites "holy sublimity... rooted in everyday life" and "a kind of realism" as characteristic of this alleged *sermo humilis.*[10]* He worked from Augustine, but only from the sermons (for practice) and the *De doctrina* (for precept). He was certainly right about the exegetical underpinnings of his *sermo humilis,* the Incarnation, etc. (40-43). But one might be left with the impression that Augustine created one style and wrote it all the time. Auerbach doesn't consider audience and development sufficiently. Augustine himself certainly did in the *Retractationes* when he criticized residual paganisms in the Cassiciacum dialogues (*Retr*. 1.1—3).

This volume is about Magnificence and *hypsos,* so discussion has concentrated on a few passages where man makes contact with the divine while alive: The programmatic high-low epiphanic moment where Augustine met Scripture, his attempt to talk to God in prayer in the proem to the *Confessions,* the Vision at Ostia and the failed ecstasy of Book 7, and finally two of Augustine's loveliest obits. Here, if anywhere, one should find *hypsos,* yevvouov Jt&eog, "true feeling" *(Peri hypsous* 8.4)—as opposed to fulmination (Cf. *Conf.* 1.16.25-26).

If style is strictly linked to subject matter (as it was for Cicero), then writers were automatically locked in to certain stylistic levels for certain topics. Chamber pots (or mangers) might not make a good showing in high style. One had to resort to elaborate and almost certainly distracting periphrases. Augustine's uncoupling of style from subject matter was, as Miiller reminds us, truly revolutionary.[109] It enabled him to claim that all Christian topics were *magna* and to use any stylistic level he chose. Incidentally, it also permitted aggressive quotation from the Bible. Audience and function rather than subject matter became the determinants of style.[110] As I hope to have shown, Augustine was well aware of the Bible's stylistic shortcomings and obscurities, but by citing it centonistically, without *auctoritas,* and imitating its cadences in many of his most magnificent original prose writings, he was able to authorize it, adorn with it, and habituate to it. A public for a stylistic revolution is not made in a day.

Practice and arguments about subjective effect suggest that for Augustine *hypsos* and magnificence and high style were alive and well. The Old rhetorical Adam did not die that easily.[111] They did not take the form of tiresome poetic[112] or ceremonial rhetorical *epideixis*[113] or the "jeweled style."[114] They could accommodate the occasional "low" word.[115] They used heavy doses

of the very characteristically Christian parallelism with antithesis (which, after all, are Gorgianic and Asianist in general), but also and equally the more classicizing periodic style in grateful vicissitude. Augustine was deeply engaged in the old debate about the *hypsegoria* of the Bible, clearly seeing the other side's points all too clearly, but talking himself and his readers around. In addition, he took even recalcitrant biblical elements on board in high style and sublime passages, he avoided distancing by citation, he allowed them to ring alongside classical *spolia*. Ultimately this practice would change how we heard the quotations: Not just as "bad Latin," not a cacophony of dissonant overtones, but as exegetic problems in their original context, and above all as glorified by and glorifying the company they keep.

Notes

1 Even Housman thought so. See A. E. Housman, *The Name and Nature of Poetry* (New York & Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), 45—46: "A year or two ago... I received from America a request that I would define poetry. I replied that I could no more define poetry than a terrier can define a rat, but I thought we both recognized the object by the symptoms it provokes in us."

2 Ibid. A Lecture, May 9, 1933, at Senate House, Cambridge, England.

3 Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages,* Bollingen Ser., vol. 74 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965).

4 The present author must bear some guilt for considering the possibility of a Christian "tweeness" or "cuteness." See Danuta R. Shanzer, "Laughter and Humour in the Early Medieval Latin West," in *Humour, History and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,* ed. Guy Halsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 46, but arguing not for naivete, but intentional humor.

5 A similar reservation is voiced by Peter Dronke, "Style in Late Classical and Medieval Latin" *Classical Review* 16 (1966): 362: "Here the generalized inferences go too far beyond the texts on which the author has concentrated and the texts themselves do not offer a wide enough spectrum of the period, style, genre, or sensibility discussed, to shoulder the constructions placed upon them."

6 Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public,* 19 notes that they provide ideal starting points.

7 Richard Sharpe's useful phrase, from the oral version of Richard Sharpe, "The Varieties of Bede's Prose," in *Aspects of the Language of Latin Prose,* ed. J. N. Adams and M. Lapidge, *Proceedings of the British Academy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 339-55.

8 The phrase is Burton's. See Philip Burton, *Language in the Confessions of Augustine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 9.

9 Christine Mohrmann, "Saint Augustin ecrivain," *Recherches Augustiniennes* 1 (1958): 45 speaks of his taste for linguistic speculation.

10 Those laurels go to Jerome and his dream in *Ep*. 22.30.

11 Maurice Testard, *Saint Augustin et Cichon* (Paris: Etudes augustiniennes, 1958); Harald Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 6)* (Goteborg: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958); Harald Hagendahl, *Von Tertullian zu Cassiodor: Die profane literarische Tradition in dem lateinischen Christlichen Schrifttum (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* 44) (Goteborg: Berlings, 1983);

Harald Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* 20) (Goteborg & Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967); Sabine MacCormack, *The Shadows of Poetry: Virgil in the Mind of Augustine, Transformation of the Classical Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

12 For *fruitio* and *usus,* see *DC* 1.7, 1.39-56, 63, 75, 79.

13 Jerome, *Ep.* 21.13.5 and especially 70.2. On both see Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics,* 208.

14 *De doctrina Christiana (DC)* 2.144-47.

15 Christine Mohrmann, "Comment Saint Augustin s'est familiarise avec le Latin des Chretiens," in *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: Etudes augustiniennes, 1954), 112; Danuta R. Shanzer, "Augustine's Disciplines: *Silent diutius Musae Varronis?*" in *Augustine and the Disciplines,* ed. K. Pollmann and M. Vessey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Jerome, *Ep.* 70.2.5 speaks explicitly of idolatry.

16 Shanzer, "Augustine's Disciplines: *Silent diutius Musae VarronisV* 110.

17 Joseph Balogh, "Augustins 'alter und neuer Stil'," *Die Antike* 3 (1927): 360.

18 *Conf.* 1.20-22, 27.

19 Cf. Macrobius, *Comm.* 1.2.19 for Numenius and the Eleusinian goddesses.

20 Cf. Augustine, *Serm. 51, Revue Benedictine* 91: 2156: "honora in eo quod nondum intelligis; et tanto magis honora, quanto plura uela cernis. quanto enim quisque honoratior est, tanto plura uela pendent in domo eius. uela faciunt honorem secreti. sed honorantibus leuantur uela. irridentes autem uela, et a uelorum uicinitate pelluntur."

21 Trans. Henry Chadwick, *Saint Augustine: Confessions, The World's Classics* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 39-40.

22 This is the implication of *inclinare cervicem ad eius gressus,* which suggests obeisance to an entering dignitary. Burton, *Language in the Confessions of Augustine,* 112: "bend my neck to its steps," soft-pedals the personification.

23 Danuta R. Shanzer, "Latent Narrative Patterns, Allegorical Choices, and Literary Unity in Augustine's Confessions," *Vigiliae Christianae* 46 (1992): 46.

24 See Augustine, *Speculum de sacra scriptura 23: uiri mendaces non erunt illius memores, et uiri ueraces inueniuntur in ilia et successum habebunt usque aspectionem dei.*

25 *De sublimitate* 9.4—5, where there is a lacuna in which Longinus must have discussed Homer's Eris II. 4.442 TJT oUyri JIIV jtparta KopitaaExai, aiJtdp ejteira ot'pavqj EottjptgE tcdpr] teat em xQovi patvei-. x6 *in*' oijpavdv aji6 vrjg 6iaax»ma- icai. xoOx' av ЕЛЛОL Tig *ov* liaXXov xfjg "Epi&og fj 'Olirlpov (i£xpov.

26 E.g., Jerome's *sermo horrebat incultus (Ep.* 22.30). For a modern discussion of the OL Gospels in particular, see Philip Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of Their Texts and Language (Oxford Early Christian Studies)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 151-54. Burton, *Language in the Confessions of Augustine,* 112 rightly notes that the stylistic objections were often raised by Christians themselves, and suggests that this was more often as an imaginary objection than a real one. For discussion of the second (more debatable) proposition, see below 56-58. I am using the expression "Old Latin Bible" (OLB) as a collective to designate the surviving versions of the pre-Vulgate Bible. There is of course no one Old Latin Bible, but many.

27 E.g., Burton, *Language in the Confessions of Augustine,* 112.

28 There are hints however of deeper engagement with stylistics. Take *DC* 4.41 where Augustine suggests that Christian writers deliberately avoided metrical *dausulae:* sane hunc elocutionis ornatum, qui numerosis fit clausulis, deesse fatendum est auctoribus nostris. quod utrum per interpretes factum sit an

(quod magis arbitror) consulto illl haec plausibilia deuitauerint, affirmare non audeo, quoniam me fateor ignorare. Likewise Augustine's discussion of the anomalous plural *sanguinibus* at *DC* 4.24 and *Enn. in Psalm.* 50.19 discussed by ibid., 117. Also, Augustine, *Loc. in Heptateuch* 1 Genesis 143 *et misit uxor domini eius oculos suos in Joseph: solet et apud nos uulgo esse usitata locutio pro eo, quod est "amauit eum." et ait: dormi mecum.et ista usitata est locutio pro eo, quod est "concumbe mecum."*

29 *Bibelepik* is not a bad place to start.

30 Wilhelm SiiG, *Augustins Locutiones und das Problem der lateinischen Bibelsprache,* vol. 29.4, *Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis (Dorpatensis*) (Tartu: 1932), 103. Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public,* 45 agrees. For more documentation, see Henri Irenee Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique,* vol. 145 and 45 bis, *Bibliotheque des Ecoles fran(aises dAthenes et de Rome,* vol. 145, 145 bis (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1938), 473.

31 Think for example of the "pseudo-biblical" plurals favored by Augustine, on which see Burton, *Language in the Confessions of Augustine,* 117—26.

32 Sulpicius Severus, *VSM Praef.* 3—4 : "bona venia id a lectoribus postulabis, ut res potius quam verba perpendant et aequo animo ferant, si is aures eorum vitiosus forsitan sermo perculerit, quia regnum Dei non in eloquentia, sed in fide constat. 4. meminerint etiam, salutem saeculo non ab oratoribus, cum utique, si utile fuisset, id quoque Dominus praestare potuisset, sed a piscatoribus praedicatam esse. " For more, see Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public,* 43.

33 For the genus *humile* and for *oratio humilis,* see Roman Miiller, *Sprachbewujitsein und Sprachvariation im lateinischen Schrifttum derAntike, Zetemata* (Miinchen: C. H. Beck, 2001), 95, 97-104.

34 Greg. Mag., *Moralia in Job, epistula* 5: *indignum vehementer existimo, ut verba coelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati.*

35 H. D. Jocelyn, "Virgilius Cacozelus (Donatus Vita Virgilii 44)," in *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar,* ed. Francis Cairns (Liverpool: 1979), 114. Classical criticism regularly decried *verba humilia, illiberalia, vilia, vulgaria,* etc.

36 The three-style system turned into a double tripartite system, with each style's shadow being its degenerate or abused form. See *Ad Herennium* 4.16 with Philomen Probert and Rolando Ferri, "Roman authors on colloquial language," in *Colloquial and Literary Latin,* ed. Eleanor Dickey and Anna Chahoud (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 12-41, esp. 21-22.

37 Augustine, *CA* 1.1: *ventosam professionem; DC* 4.26: *tanto altius non ventositate, sed soliditate transcendit.*

38 Augustine, *DC* 4.6: *non magnitudine, sed tumore praeponunt.*

39 E.g., Quintilian 8.3.18: *clara ilia atque sublimia plerumque materiae modo discernenda sunt: quod alibi magnificum, tumidum alibi, et quae humilia circa res magnas, apta circa minores videntur.*

40 Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public,* 46. Augustine does this in the *DC* (e.g., *DC* 4.41) where he claims that if sentences were rearranged and words substituted the Bible would have everything that rhetoricians and grammarians value.

41 Ibid., 47; Burton, *Language in the Confessions of Augustine,* 114. See also DC 4.41: et multa reperiet locutionis genera tanti decoris, quae quidem et in nostra, **sed maxime in sua lingua decora sunt,** quorum nullum in eis, quibus isti inflantur, litteris inuenitur. Here Augustine is adverting to Hebraisms.

42 *DC* 4.31-32.

43 *Retract.* 2.54; also SiiB, *Augustins Locutiones.*

44 See SiiB, 20 on the *Dunkelheit* of scripture; also the excellent treatment of Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique,* 484-88.

45 For a reiteration see *Conf.* 6.5.8. More in Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public,* 49.

46 Such as *Conf* 3.4.8 quoting Col. 2.8.

47 Burton, *Language in the Confessions of Augustine,* 114 pointed out that in the Cassiciacum dialogues, "Scripture is evoked and discussed, but biblical language tends not to spill over into his main 'authorial' voice."

48 Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique,* 501.

49 Melchior Verheijen, *Eloquentia Pedisequa: Observations sur le style des Confessions de Saint Augustin,* vol. 10, *Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva* (Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1949), 120.

50 Ibid., 115 and especially 18 discussing Ps. 29.

51 Trans. Chadwick, *Saint Augustine: Confessions,* 201.

52 See Mohrmann, "Comment Saint Augustin s'est familiarise avec le Latin des Chretiens," 111—16.

53 Augustine, *Ep.* 71.3.5. Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public,* 45 discusses the Christian failure to replace the Old Latin Bible.

54 *Ep.* 106.12 and 30 with SiiB, *Augustins Locutiones,* 18.

55 See Mohrmann, "Saint Augustin ecrivain," 50 on the subject of the work in the first words.

56 Burton, *Language in the Confessions of Augustine,* 114—15.

57 James Joseph O'Donnell, *Augustine: Confessions,* 3 vols., vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 8ff.

58 Trans. Chadwick, *Saint Augustine: Confessions,* 3.

59 Burton, *Language in the Confessions of Augustine,* 114.

60 Ibid, says (mysteriously): "Even so, the sentence-initial position is unusual."

61 Eduard Norden, *Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiijser Rede,* 7th ed. (Stuttgart: Verlag B. G. Teubner, 1996), 150, to take one example.

62 Cato the Elder did something not dissimilar with forms of *laudare* in the proem to his *De Agricultura.*

63 Anna Chahoud, "Idiom(s) and Literariness in Classical Literary Criticism " in *Colloquial and Literary Latin,* ed. Eleanor Dickey and Anna Chahoud (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 42-64.

64 Constantin I. Balmus, *Etudes sur le style de Saint Augustin dans les Confessions et la Citi de Dieu, Collection d' kudes anciennes* (Paris: 1930), 241 citing Gudemann.

65 For the rarity of explicit allusion to psalms qua psalms in the *Confessions,* see Georg Nicolaus Knauer, *Psalmenzitate in den Konfessionen Augustins* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955), 183-84. A psalm is cited as such one time and the word " 'psalm'" used twice.

66 Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics,* 259.

67 One might also consider passages of rolling vituperation such as *Conf.* 1.16.25-26, culminating in the final quotation from Terence.

68 Burton, *Language in the Confessions of Augustine,* 115.

69 Mary Dolorosa Mannix, *Sancti Ambrosii Oratio de Obitu Theodosii. Patristic Studies,* vol. 9 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1925), 6 on Ambrose's pattern: "Ait dominus," "Habet scriptura," etc.

70 Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public,* 35—36 and 38—39. Even the smallest things were of the greatest importance. *DC* 4.18.35 lies behind this.

71 D. A. Russell, " *'Longinus'" on the Sublime* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), xxxvii and xlvii.

72 *Peri hypsous* 1.4 ou *yap* Eig jtEt0«) xoiig aKporonEvoxig *aXl'eig* EKOxaatv ayeixa intEptpua-

73 Andre Mandouze, " 'L'extase d'Ostie:' "Possibilites et limits de la methode des parallels textuels," in *Augustinus Magister* (Paris: Etudes augustiniennes, 1954), 70—79.

74 See Plot. *Enn.* 5.9.8.7-8 "Ecrxtv *ovv* ouxog o vofig EV aiitfij KAL exa>ˇ Eaux6v EV r]avxt<? Kdpog aa. And *Enn.* 3.8.11.39-41.

IldvTcog *xoi* OCTE vofig EKEivog OVXE Kopog, *aXXa* Kal jxpd voti Kai Kdpou- ^Exa *yap* avixdvvoCg KaiKdpog. For identification of *Kronos* and *nous,* see *Enn.* 3.5.2.19 and 5.1.4.9.

75 The same technique ofjuxtaposition appears at the climax of the failed ascent of *Conf.* 7.10.16 with the *regio dissimilitudinis,* but there the distance is emphasized and the two sources carefully distinguished: "et reuerberasti infirmitatem aspectus mei radians in me uehementer, et contremui amore et horrore: et inueni longe me esse a te in regione dissimilitudinis, tamquam audirem uocem tuam de excelso: 'cibus sum grandium: cresce et manducabis me.'"

76 *Symm. Rel.* 3.10. Perhaps echoed by Augustine in *Sol.* 1.13.23 and retracted at *Retr.* 1.4.3. There could be no *via* other than Christ.

77 Thomas D. Hill, "The 'Variegated Obit' as an Historiographic Motifin Old Engish Poetry and Anglo-Latin Historical Literature," *Traditio* 44 (1988): 101-24.

78 For *hypsos* in perorations, see Quintilian 11.1.6: "*ita nec Vetera aut tralata autficta verba in incipiendo, narrando, argumentando tractabimus neque decurrentis contexto nitore circuitus, ubi dividenda erit causa et in partes suas digerenda, neque humile atque cotidianum sermonis genus et compositione ipsa dissolutum epilogis dabimus, nec iocis lacrimas, ubi opus erit miseratione, siccabimus.*"

79 Jerome, *Ep.* 108.31: secura esto, Eustochium; magna hereditate ditata es. pars tua dominus et, quo magis gaudeas, mater tua longo martyrio coronata est. non solum effusio sanguinis in confessione reputatur, sed deuotae quoque mentis seruitus cotidianum martyrium est. ilia corona de rosis et uiolis plectitur, ista de liliis. unde et in **antico** scribitur **canticorum:** "fratruelis meus candidus et rubicundus," et in pace et in bello eadem praemia uincentibus tribuens. mater, inquam, tua audiuit **cum Abraham:** *exi de* "terra tua et de cognatione tua et ueni in terrain, quam ostendam tibi," (Gen. 12.1) et **per Hieremiam** dominum praecipientem: "fugite de medio Babylonis et saluate animas uestras" (Jer. 28.6) et usque ad diem mortis suae non est reuersa Chaldaeam nec ollas Aegypti et iurulentias carnium desiderauit, sed choris comitata uirgineis ciuis est saluatoris effecta et de paruula Bethlem caelestia regna conscendens dicit **ad ueram Noemi:** "populus tuus populus meus et deus tuus deus meus." (Ruth 1.16)

80 Trans. P. Schaff, *Jerome: Letters and Select Works,* ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church: Second Series* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), 211.

81 Also *Conf.* 9.14 on Adeodatus and 9.17 and 37 on Monica.

82 Trans. Chadwick, *Saint Augustine: Confessions,* 157-58.

83 But it probably is not. Instead it is parallel to *in te* (God the Father).

84 See Francis Brown et al., *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament: With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic: Based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius as Translated by Edward Robinson.* Reprinted with corrections (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 148 for aaa. My thanks as always to Howard Jacobson who helps me with my Hebrew.

85 See LXX Ps. 67. opog xoi) 9EOC 6pog mov, opog xextipcDji&vov, opog Jtiov. iva xi tireoXapPdvEXE, oprl Texi>pio(i£va, x6 6pog, o E:USOKTIOEV o 0e6g KOXOIKEIV *iv* auxtp; Kai yap o Kupiog KaxaaKT|v«)OEI Eig XE^og.

86 Hilary, *In Ps. 67 Tract.* 9: "Ut quid suscepistis montes coagulatos? et quantum intelligi conceditur, montes interdum etiam diabolicas potestates, ut nunc in hoc loco, significari arbitramur: qui constitutiones divinae legis transgressi, tamquam **ex lactis sinceritate, vitiosa coaguli corruptione coagulaverint.** Et hos esse potentissimos inimicos suos psalmus anterior locutus est." (an *in malum* interpretation)

87 *Augustine, Ennarr. In Ps.* 67.22: "Sed quem montem intelligere debemus montem Dei, montem uberem, montem incaseatum, nisi **eumdem Dominum Christum,** de quo et alius propheta dicit: Erit in novissimis temporibus manifesto mons Domini, paratus in cacumine montium? Ipse est **mons incaseatus, propter parvulos gratia tanquam lacte nutriendos:** mons uber, ad roborandos atque ditandos donorum excellentia: nam et ipsum lac, **unde fit caseus,** miro modo significat gratiam; manat quippe ex abundantia viscerum maternorum, et misericordia delectabili parvulis gratis infunditur."

88 Knauer, *Psalmenzitate in Augustins Konfessionen,* 122—23 finds the similarity in the sounds quite a plausible motivation for Augustine's citing the verse here. Augustine may also have been thinking of the Eucharistic and heavenly reward in cheese attested in *Pass. Perp. 4 de caseo quod mulgebat dedit mihi quasi buccellam; et ego accepi iunctis manibus et manducaui; et uniuersi circumstantes dixerunt: Amen.*

89 Contrast Gallican Psalter text *iuxta* LXX is *mons dei, mons pinguis, mons coagulatus, mons pinguis. Ut quid suspicamini montes coagulatos.* and *Vulg. Iuxta Hebr. Is mons dei, mons pinguis, mons excelsus, mons pinguis. Quare contenditis montes excelsi adversum montem quem dilexit deus ut habitaret in eo.*

90 Chadwick, *Saint Augustine: Confessions,* 158—9.

91 Men. Rhetor. *Peri Epideiktikon,* 414.17 Spengel ojtoi) 'Pa6dliav0f5, *6nov* MeviXetog, Sjtou Jtatg 6 nrj^etug Kai Q£u6o5, *6ПОV* Mijivtov- icai T&xa Jtou fia/./.ov peta xajv 8ЕСЇ)v diareatat vOv, jieputoXet T6V ai6epa Kal EJUAKOTIEI XA Tfi&E.

92 See *Conf.* 1.16.26.

93 **"Maxime autem isti docendi sunt scripturas audire diuinas, ne sordeat eis solidum eloquium, quia non est inflatum,** neque arbitrentur carnalibus integumentis inuoluta atque operta dicta uel facta hominum, quae in illis libris leguntur, non euoluenda atque aperienda ut intelligantur, sed sic accipienda ut litterae sonant." One suspects that Augustine had people like himself in mind.

94 Even though in *DC* 4.61 he thought some of their obscurities should in no way be imitated. But cited?

95 Ambrose, *De obitu Theodosii* (395) *De obitu Valentiniani (392); De excessu fratris, all in CSEL 73 (1955).*

96 The *Laudatio Turiae* (Dessau, *ILS* 8393) is also written in the second person.

97 Used by Ambrose momentarily in *Ob. Val.* 57, though not as a vocative.

98 *De obitu Theodosii,* 81.

99 See *DC* 1.39—43 for *usus* of people and *fruitio* of God.

100 Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public,* 53.

101 Emphasis on quaint subject matter as well as selective omissions (e.g., of Venantius Fortunatus), also humble and diminish the early Middle Ages.

102 Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public,* 87 however, does list some and describes them as "mannered to the point of absurdity." He may not be counting them as "Christian texts."

103 For such *topoi* see Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,* trans. Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Ser. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973) and Peter Auksi, *Christian Plain Style: The Evolution of a Spiritual*

Ideal (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 20. Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public,* 91 certainly knows about them.

104 Where Augustine never uses the word *humilis* in connection with the doctrine of the three styles. See Miiller, *Sprachbewufitsein,* 112.

105 See Danuta R. Shanzer, "Gregory of Tours and Poetry: Prose into Verse and Verse into Prose," in *Aspects of the Language of Latin Prose,* ed. J. N. Adams, Michael Lapidge, and Tobias Reinhardt, *Proceedings of the British Academy* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 303-19 on Gregory's real aspirations.

106 Registers are linguistic variations that are determined by the context rather than by the speaker.

107 *Pace* Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public,* 60—63, with some quibbling about whether her diary is a literary document.

108 Ibid., 65. A humble spirit is by no means required by hagiographical subject matter even in the early Middle Ages.

109 Miiller, *Sprachbewufitsein,* 112.

110 Ibid., 113.

111 And perhaps for that reason he avoided the word *humilis* when speaking of rhetorical levels. See ibid., 112.

112 See Augustine's criticism of Cyprian's *Ad Donatum* in *DC* 4.84.

113 Rightly condemned by Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public,* 53.

114 Michael John Roberts, *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

115 See Longinus, *Peri hypsous* 31.

MAGNIFICENCE IN MINIATURE: THE CASE OF EARLY MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS

Adam S. Cohen

In his provocative introduction to this volume, Stephen Jaeger raises the spectre of the "Diminutive Middle Ages"—a prevailing view that the medieval period was one of small, humble things—and calls for a reconsideration of medieval thought and experience on the related notions of "Magnificence" and the "Sublime." Art historians have much to offer in the assessment of these concepts, as Paul Binski, Beth Williamson, and Areli Marina demonstrate in their essays on later medieval architecture and painting. What, then, can an investigation of medieval books contribute to the formulation of a theory of medieval Magnificence, especially for the early Middle Ages? For this early period, there are familiar obstacles: how to transpose more clearly defined ancient and Renaissance ideals of Magnificence, and how to negotiate the paucity of textual sources that articulate medieval responses to art and architecture. Compounding this is the very nature of a book, whose small size and essentially personal function would seem to militate against any significant role in conversations about art, theory, and magnificence. Yet there is ample evidence that people in the Middle Ages brought ideas of magnificence to bear on at least some books, and it is worth exploring how these items could be used in the Middle Ages to communicate and engender awe and sublimity.

It is not surprising that the early medieval book has not figured heretofore in scholarly discussions of Magnificence. Focus has tended to be on grand buildings; early medieval commentators themselves verbalized their awe over remarkable structures far more often than they rhapsodized about books. In part, the relative silence on the subject of decorated books is consistent with most early medieval writing on the subject of art, which centered on whether or not art was even valid in the Christian tradition. The theological debate about art had a long history in the Middle Ages in both East and West, in the former case centered especially on the iconoclast controversy, and in the

latter on the dictum of Gregory the Great, which focused on the pedagogic value of pictures for the edification of illiterate laity.[2] Because western discussions on the efficacy of art were based throughout the Middle Ages on Gregory, the actual art taken into consideration was essentially restricted to public church decoration—wall frescoes for the most part, usually mediated through textual inscriptions.[3] Already in the early fifth century, Bishop Paulinus of Nola discussed at length the narrative wall paintings with Old and New Testament pictures in his shrine and liturgical complex dedicated to St. Felix,[4] stating that the images were meant to engage ignorant pilgrims so they could be moved spiritually to understand the deeper truths of Christianity.[5] Even Bernard of Clairvaux's well-known twelfth-century diatribe centered on church building and the relatively public or, at least, communal, art of cloister sculpture.[6] Books, the quintessential metier of the literate, simply had no place in this literature about the value of art.

Nonetheless, early medieval books do contribute to the discourse on the magnificent. In the Aristotelian formulation rearticulated by Italian Renaissance thinkers, Magnificence was understood primarily as the attribute of a man who spends money, especially as a patron, on a grand but tasteful scale based on pure motives.[7] Alternatively, as delineated by Pseudo-Longinus or Augustine, Magnificence could be used to characterize a grand oratorical or literary style.[8] Both of these classical formulations can be applied to illuminated medieval books by considering, first, the internal *visual* (not textual) style of those books, and second, the representations of patrons themselves as the visual correspondence to textual descriptions of an individual's characteristics. By focusing on material, formal, and iconographic components of early medieval books, it is possible to comprehend how they stimulated awe and served as expressions of Magnificence.

The Book as Magnificent Object

On the most basic level, many medieval books were, in fact, impressively large. The two earliest extant full Bibles, the Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus from the fourth century, originally comprised 759 and 730 leaves and measure, respectively, 27 x 27 cm and 38 x 34.5 cm, requiring hundreds of animals just to produce the necessary vellum.[9] The Codex Amiatinus, made in Monkwearmouth-Jarrow around 715, has 515 pages and measures an astounding 50.5 x 34 cm—and it was originally one of three such codices (Plate 1). The one extant volume in the Laurentian Library is typically carried by three men, and the initial outlay for this single book would have required over 1,500 calves.[10] A thirteenth-century Bohemian Bible, called Codex Gigas on account of its size, measures 89.5 x 49 cm and weighs 75 kilograms, and choir books from the later Middle Ages regularly attained sizes of 55 to 65 cm in height and beyond.[11] Anyone encountering such books presumably

would have marveled not only at their size but also at the financial and material resources needed to underwrite their production.

The choir books had to be large enough for several members of the chorus to see them, a purely functional reason for their great size, but at least in the case of the Codex Amiatinus we can presume that part of the motivation was to impress. According to Bede's account, the book was created at the behest of Abbot Ceolfrith for presentation to Pope Gregory II. Based on the meticulousness of the text and the iconography of the images, several scholars have concluded that Ceolfrith's goal was to impress upon the pope the abilities of the English church and to demonstrate its place within the larger Christian *oikumene*.[12] Yet such a task could have been accomplished with a book half this size; creating and presenting a book of such magnitude was surely meant to take the pope's breath away, and part of the wonder engendered might have been based on the accomplishment of transporting such a large book over such a vast distance (analogous to the common topos of wonder at transporting heavy building materials over a long distance, as discussed by Binski). With regard to the Codex Gigas, a legend sprang up attributing the creation of such a remarkable book to a pact made between the monk and the Devil that allowed the scribe to complete the Bible in only one night. Cloaking the object in demonic activity was probably yet another way of projecting the transcendent nature of the book.

The Codex Amiatinus and Codex Gigas were, admittedly, exceptional in their size (though it should be remembered that such cathedrals as Amiens and Bourges were equally exceptional in the grand scheme of European building). But size was not the only feature of their magnificence. Another, much more common one, was the rich decoration they received on their covers (Plate 2). Hundreds of extant medieval books, usually themselves illuminated, retain splendid covers or containers made of gold and silver, inlaid with precious and semiprecious gems, and worked with exquisite filigree, engraving, or enamel; one can only guess at the thousands more lost over the centuries as these valuable metal objects were melted down for their monetary value.[13] The practice of adorning books with spectacular cladding was consistent throughout the Middle Ages, from the mid-sixth-century gilt covers found in the early Byzantine Sion Treasure to the beautiful covers of the books in the library of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (d. 1490).[14] For the majority of people in the Middle Ages, viewing a gospel book during the Mass was their only experience of books altogether, and the glittering cover communicated the value—both material and spiritual—of the Word of God within.[15] Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans and advisor to Charlemagne, articulated this idea in a description of his own early ninth-century Bible codex (Plate 3): "The work of this codex Theodulf executed out of love for Him whose blessed law resounds here. For on the outside it shines with jewels, gold, and purple, yet glitters with more splendor inside."[16] These verses appear in two extant Bibles of Theodulf, luxurious

products with selected pages dyed in sumptuous purple and executed with gold and silver ink; one even retains its cover wrought in gold, precious stones and pearls.[17] It is evident that just as Christ is made manifest through the written words of the Bible, the rich materials of the cover pointed to the preciousness of the materials within and hence metonymically conveyed the grandeur of God himself.

The link between a book's cover, its contents, and a transcendent reality beyond could be expressed in many ways. In the ninth-century Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram, to take but one example, approximately 40 raised gold mounts holding gems are rendered as small buildings, evoking as a whole the heavenly Jerusalem (Plate 2).[18] Micro-architecture was a feature of much medieval art, as when a saint's shrine emulated a church; what is notable in the Codex Aureus and other such cases is how both the material and the form so patently manifest the sublime.[19] The book box of the eleventh-century Uta Codex, like many liturgical books, is adorned with an imposing representation of Christ in Majesty worked in gold and surrounded by precious stones and enamels, explicitly demonstrating the splendor of the depicted universal God, but implicitly suggesting, as Theodulf wrote, that even these tangible riches paled in comparison to the ultimate divinity described and mystically contained within.[20]

A cover, then, could allow the viewer to judge the book itself, but obviously the contents were most important. In the dedicatory verses of one Carolingian lectionary, Godescalc (who was responsible for the book's production) wrote at great length about the preciousness of the materials—gold, silver, purple, and other colors—and how they reflected more eternal and heavenly phenomena.[21] Moreover, books like Theodulf's Bibles or the Godescalc Evangeliary were not only an expression of divine sublimity, but also a reflection of the patron's own status. In Godescalc's case, he stated that "this extraordinary work" *(hoc opus eximium)* was ordered by Charlemagne and his wife, Hildegard; it stands to reason, though it was not said explicitly, that the greater the material value of a book the greater the glory that would redound to the patron. Such books were surely made, in part, to elicit awe, and this was made explicit in one well-known case. Writing in 735 from the wilds of Germany, where he was attempting to convert the Frisian inhabitants, Saint Boniface asked Abbess Eadburg to send him a copy of St. Peter's Epistles written in gold so he could "impress honor and reverence for the Sacred Scriptures visibly upon the carnally minded to whom I preach."[22] The passage is usually adduced to demonstrate the literacy and scribal activity of Anglo-Saxon nuns, but it is also important to underscore the function of the proposed book to inculcate proper appreciation of the Bible among the "heathens." Boniface noted, not surprisingly, that the golden letters would shine for the glory of Christ, but he also specified that he was sending Eadburg the necessary material with his messenger. While advancing Eadburg the gold might have been a purely practical matter, the act is also suggestive: Upon

receiving the Epistles, Boniface could show that the local ore familiar to the natives had been transformed into the mystical letters of Christ.

Despite the capacity of gold and precious gems to convey magnificence, at least one medieval author, Theodulf again, anticipated the charge of Jaeger's "Diminutive Middle Ages" with regard to books. Writing about a Bible, he said, "Do not spurn me, I pray, because you see me to be a small body; I am modest in body yet ample in strength. Whoever you are, when you see me, I beg, remember Theodulf, whose diligence founded me, fashioned, and loved me, and adorned me on the outside with silver, jewels, and gold, and whose file polished me inside."[23] What is notable is that, despite the fact that the book was clad in precious materials, Theodulf still thought it necessary to beseech the viewer not to disparage the object due to its small size. For, as he wrote with regard to his own commentaries on the Bible, "Do not disdain these, exalted reader, as something insignificant; a cheap box usually holds a beautiful thing, for an iron key made from cheap metal gives access to the place of silver and gold____Let them not displease you because they are small in body; great weights lie concealed under a small cover. For it is by small nails that a huge structure is held together, and a small hammer smooths large pieces of metal." Again and again the passage juxtaposes *parvus* and *magnus* to reveal that, ultimately, the two are not incompatible: grandeur can reside even within the small and insignificant, "the flowers contained in the grand meadows of books" can be found in a single "basket."[24]

Another early medieval text provides additional insight into the effect that books *qua* objects could have. This is a riddle from the famous tenth-century Exeter Book, one of the most important compendia of Anglo-Saxon poetry.[25] Detailing the construction process of a book, the riddle makes reference to such steps as the soaking, scraping, and folding of the parchment and the writing of the text.

> ... Then a man
> Wrapped me with protective boards, bound me with hide,
> Adorned me with gold; and so there shines upon me,
> Surrounded with wires, the wondrous work of smiths.[26]

The gold cover, and the subsequent identification of "the protector of noble nations" and description of the great benefits that would accrue to any user of this object, make clear that no ordinary book is meant, but specifically a Bible. A key to the magnificent nature of the object is in the use of the word *wrcetlic* to describe the work of the smiths. Appearing almost exclusively in poetry, and often within mysterious riddles, this is an artful, unusual word that is commonly alliterated with *wundor* to underscore the sense of the miraculous or otherworldly.[27] Other contexts in which it appears include *Beowulf,* where it describes the head of the monstrous Grendel when brought

to the hall of Heorot (line 1650), in the poem *Phoenix,* and in several biblical texts referring to miraculous things. Coupled with the craftsmanship of the cover and, by extension, the book itself, *wrcetlic* conveys the extraordinary nature of the object, aligning it with other wondrous and even supernatural things.

It is in this light that we should approach the most famous medieval account of an encounter with an illuminated manuscript, that penned by Gerald of Wales in his 1188 *Topographia Hibernica.*

> Among all the miracles of Kildare, none are more miraculous to me than that marvelous book, which, they say, was written in the time of the Virgin [Saint Brigid] through the dictation of an angel. This book contains the concordance of the four Gospels according to Jerome, where there are nearly as many different figures as pages, and most distinguished by varied colors. Here you may see the face of majesty divinely drawn; here the mystical forms of the Evangelists, now having six, now four, now two wings; here the eagle, there the calf, here the countenance of a man, there of a lion; and nearly infinite other figures. If you gaze superficially and in the usual way without care, you would see them more as blots than as interconnected lines; nor will you see any subtlety at all though nothing is without subtlety. If, however, you would summon the sharpness of your eyes for perspicacious looking, deeply and at length, you would penetrate into the mystery of the art and you would be able to distinguish intricacies so delicate and subtle, so dense and artful, so bound up in knots and links, that you would assert that all these things truly had been made more by angelic than by human industry.[28]

In large part because Gerald was writing about a book he had seen in Ireland, it has long been assumed that what he is describing is either the Book of Kells or a sister manuscript (Plate 4).[29] Indeed, virtually no modern discussion of the Book of Kells fails to quote Gerald, and the line about the "intricacies so delicate and subtle, so dense and artful, so bound up in knots and links" is as fine a description of a Kells page as anything a modern scholar could write. Whether or not Gerald was looking specifically at the Book of Kells, his passage vividly conveys the admiration born of viewing and contemplating an illustrated page closely.

What most scholars have ignored, however, is the context for Gerald's description. His reaction—"you would assert that all these things truly had been made more by angelic than by human industry"—is not merely the language of awe, but a rhetorical device that is meant literally to indicate that the book had supernatural origins. The passage appears in Book 2 of the *Topographia,* "De mirabilibus Hiberniae et miraculis," in which Gerald recounts a long list of miraculous items and events.[3]" Examples include islands where no one dies and no corpses decay; Stonehenge, called the "Giants' Dance," before it was miraculously transported to England by Merlin; a wolf

that spoke with a priest; a pathetic man with the features of an ox; and a stone in a church near Cork that daily produced wine for the Mass.[31] After describing various miracles associated with Kildare and its patron, Saint Brigid, including the inextinguishable fire, Gerald moves seamlessly into the account of the gospel book of Kildare, which he says was created by a monk after being shown pictorial models by an angel.[32] After describing the book, Gerald immediately discusses the talking cross of Dublin and the prophesying fanatic of Ferns, and ends the section with his view that the saints of Ireland are more vindictive than those of other places.

Gerald's account of the Gospels of Kildare is remarkable as the only direct report of an individual's reaction to the illuminations in an early medieval book, but it does not fit the paradigm established by medieval writers for the justification of art. The Kildare pictures are in no way said to be didactic, the accepted primary function of art in the West. They might be considered, within the larger context of the *Topographia Hibernica,* commemorative of St. Brigid's intervention, though this is hardly Gerald's emphasis in the passage itself.[33] At most, the pictures could be said to be inspirational, but Gerald's language is hardly typical in this regard; he speaks less of being transported than about the process of looking itself—"see" (thrice), "gaze," "sharpness of your eyes," "perspicacious looking."[34] The climax is not so much a mystical transformation as a rational recognition that the pictures in the book, like the proximate objects in the *Topographia,* are the result and signs of the divine presence on earth. In this regard, it is important to recall the opening line of the passage that sets the tone for the whole account, with its repeated emphasis on the miraculous (*miracula, miraculosius, mirandus).* The instructions of the angel further situate the creation of the gospel book in the context of other divinely inspired creations, reaching back to God's model of the sanctuary to Moses and the revelation of the pattern of Armagh to St. Patrick.[33] In like manner, several Insular monuments, including the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Gospels of St. Margaret of Scotland, were said to have been saved miraculously from immersion in the sea, further proof of the magnificence that attached to the books themselves and, by extension, to their pictures.[36]

The Magnificence of Patrons in Book Illumination

Gerald's awe was based in large measure on the exceptional artistry evident in the book's pictures, but it is unlikely that he would have described them in miraculous terms if the book were not itself sacred. Such Gospels, like the Book of Kells, would have included canon tables, evangelist portraits, symbolic pictures (Plate 4), and perhaps narrative images from the life of Christ. The abundance and sophistication of illuminations in Gospels, Bibles, Psalters, and other religious books of the early Middle Ages testify that pictures could advance spiritual causes or articulate theological concerns, even if writers failed to comment on them explicitly.[37] Similarly, the

inclusion of pictures of contemporary figures—kings, nobles, ecclesiastics, scribes—added other layers of meaning to many medieval manuscripts, and these open a window into how people expressed personal magnificence in medieval books.[38]

As much as or more than any textual description, an image like that of Charles the Bald in the S. Paolo Bible of circa 875 can reveal profound insights about how important personages thought of themselves and were thought of by others (Plate 5).[39] Here, Charles's magnificence is communicated in several ways, from his towering size and centrally enthroned position to the rich trappings he wears, from his royal purple and bejeweled chlamys down to golden shoes upon a platform of variegated marble. The king's grandeur is signaled further by his attendants—military males to his right, his wife and her servant to his left—and especially by the personifications of the four cardinal virtues above his head and the two angels in the upper corners; even without the poem at the bottom of the page it would be clear that King Charles is associated with the virtues and has the approval, indeed the support, of heaven. The poem makes that explicit and expresses such other aspects of Charles's magnificence as his defense of the church.[40] In addition, the other pictures in the Bible presents other kings, both positive (Solomon) and negative (Pharaoh), as a mirror for Charles himself.[41]

As William Diebold has made clear, there were no doubt multiple audiences for the pictures of the S. Paolo Bible, including perhaps Archbishop Hincmar of Reims and the pope in Rome, to each of whom the pictorial program would have meant something different, though no written testimony records any medieval reactions to the Bible and its illuminations.[42] Furthermore, the representation of the ruler in the S. Paolo Bible and other manuscripts, in contrast to images of Christ or scenes of biblical narrative, did not conform to any of the accepted theoretical justifications for images. Yet the lack of any express justification clearly did not prevent patrons, makers, and viewers of early medieval books from creating such ruler images and attaching meaning to them.[43] That all of these ruler images appeared in religious, primarily liturgical, books instantly signals that the depictions were implicated in a theologically driven view of the early medieval ruler—his magnificence was bound up with that of Christ and the church. In Anglo-Saxon England, for example, images of King Edgar were situated prominently in the monastic books of Winchester, including one attached to a Benedictine Rule Book in which he takes central stage between Saints Dunstan and ./Ethelwold, two of the great tenth-century reformers of the Anglo-Saxon church.[44] A host of Ottonian examples similarly integrated pictures of the ruler in bibles, evangeliaries, and sacramentaries, ideologically culminating in the Aachen Gospels's portrayal of Otto III in Majesty, a Christomimetic replacement of Jesus himself (Plate 6).[45]

Such images not only articulated a self-reflexive, royally sanctioned view of kingship, but also broadcast that message more widely, for the pictures

were embedded in liturgical books that were distributed and used throughout the realm. Even manuscripts made expressly for the ruler were usually given to specific foundations, forging theopolitical networks between the king and representatives of the church. Like all gifts, such books bound giver and recipient: in return for material support and protection, the monks and clergy gave religious and political sanction to the ruler, providing him with legitimacy, reciprocal material support, and priceless prayers during his life and later. When the book was open to the picture of the ruler, the images manifested his presence in the community and were a reminder of their intimate relationship. When closed, the images were unseen but their very presence in a book often on the altar nonetheless proclaimed the acknowledged relationship of ruler to God.

A closer look at some of these images reveals more precisely the messages being articulated about rulers and other patrons who took the extraordinary step of including their painted self in a sacred book. On the most basic level, these pictures are restricted to a limited number of iconographic themes. The figures represented tend to be shown either as donors or recipients in a sacred transaction; they are often depicted in the act of prayer or supplication.[46] Through various formal conventions, the illuminations set out hierarchical relationships among those depicted and, above all, serve to aggrandize the figures. This is especially so in a series of examples that takes advantage of the structure of the book by spreading the illuminations over two facing pages. In the history of medieval book illumination such double-page spreads were relatively rare; their frequent use for patronal and related images, especially in the tenth through twelfth centuries, was a deliberate format choice that itself functioned to indicate the grandeur and magnificence of the individuals depicted.[47]

That the image of majesty (and thus majesty itself) could be enhanced by manipulating the compositional format is evident from the well-known gospel book representation of Otto III enthroned between members of his court, on fol. 24r, and approached by personified provinces on the facing 23v (Plate 7).[48] Compositionally, Otto's grandeur is evident through his size, centrality, and strictly frontal pose, and iconographically through his dominion not just over his palace and court, but also the entire realm as represented by the provinces, led by Rome, offering him tribute.[49] The composition is based on a slightly earlier version depicting Otto II on a single folio; the major difference is the way the artist of the Otto Gospels has stretched the composition over two facing pages to emphasize the act of tribute, the authority, and the monumentality of the king.[50] Several Western and Byzantine manuscripts similarly exploit the two-page opening to make more explicit the grandeur of the ruler. In a sacramentary of circa 1080, a monumental Henry IV fills folio 2v, while opposite him on fol. 3r are two rows of arcades with smaller figures representing his sons and Regensburg abbots; the status of Henry is underscored by direct visual contrast with the secondary figures on the

facing page.[51] Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates, by contrast, appears on both sides of an opening in a manuscript of 1074-81 (Plate 8): first he stands with Empress Maria as both are crowned by Christ, and next he is the central figure, dwarfing his courtiers and even the angels at his shoulders. On both pages, Nikephoros is clad in extraordinarily rich imperial garments and set against the transcendent golden background, which proclaim his lofty status. What is especially evident is the transfer of authority from Christ to the emperor on the left of the opening and Nikephoros's exercise of that authority on the right, a traditional expression of divine authority that masks Nikephoros's actual usurpation of power and tenuous grip on the throne.[52]

Not all imperial images were quite so heavy handed. Alexios I, Nikephoros Ill's successor, appears in a manuscript of the *Patioplia Dogmatica,* a theological compendium written by Euthymius Zigabenus at the behest of the emperor (Plate 9).[53] The verso, on the left, depicts a row of nine church fathers, whose works Euthymius drew together; as a group they move to the right to approach Alexios on the recto. In verses above the pictures, Alexios prays that his efforts in collecting the works of the venerable fathers will result in his acceptance in heaven, while the fathers in return pray that the ruler receive the grace of God and be gathered into heaven with his family.[54] The pictures themselves, though they reinforce the verbal message, are not mere illustrations of the accompanying texts. As befits his office, Alexios is dressed in magnificent splendor and raised on a footstool, but more to the point, he appears in splendid isolation, already receiving the hoped-for blessing from a small figure of Christ in the upper left. The gold background makes explicit that Alexios exists in a realm of heavenly magnificence, though whether this reflects the status of the emperor while still on earth or after being received in heaven after death is ambiguous—probably both are meant. Furthermore, by splitting the fathers and Alexios across the central gutter, the artist communicates the ontological difference between the saintly church fathers and the contemporary ruler, while at the same time casting a dramatic spotlight on the sole figure of the emperor, whose exceptionalism is further increased by eliminating the family mentioned in the inscription.

Another element that the use of the two-page spread enables is an enhanced sense of motion. Standing on his footstool in the center of the picture, Alexios is absolutely static, despite the fact that he is turned to the left with hands upraised to receive the blessing of Christ. The church fathers, in contrast, are relatively active as they turn to the emperor and even seem to shuffle forward.[35] Such a contradistinction is even more explicit in other examples that capitalize on the two-page opening to communicate difference, as in the Otto Gospels where the provinces move toward the static ruler (Plate 7). A similar case, which shows that such a compositional format was not restricted to royalty, is seen in a Psalter made around 975 for Archbishop Egbert of Trier.[56] He is shown enthroned on the recto, fol. 17, with a squarish halo indicating his holiness; his strict frontality is broken only

by the awkward gesture to his right to receive the donation of this very book from the monk Ruodprecht on fol. 16v (Plate 10). Ruodprecht's bent posture and sideways position, with feet lifted in obvious motion, are all indicators of his subservient status and therefore highlight Egbert's magnificence. But the following pair of images in the Egbert Psalter indicates that status could be as much relative as inherent (Plate 11). In a pair of images that follows on fols. 18v-19r, it is now Egbert who assumes the subservient posture on the verso as he approaches to donate the book in turn to St. Peter, patron of the see, who occupies the privileged enthroned position on the recto.[57]

The pair of openings in the Egbert Psalter is essentially a slight twist on the relatively common depiction of the dedication of a book from a living donor to a holy figure (a saint, Mary, or Christ), a composition that often was spread across facing pages, especially in the Ottonian period.[58] A fairly early example precedes a copy of Gregory the Great's Homilies in Vercelli, produced in northern Italy around 800 (Plate 12).[59] In this opening, Deacon Davidpertus on the left is accompanied by St. Peter as he presents the book to the enthroned Christ on the right, who signifies his acceptance of the gift through his gesture. Any book dedication involves an exchange from one figure to another, and the gift itself forges a relationship between donor and recipient.[60] Most often the living individual gives his book to a heavenly figure in expectation of some kind of spiritual return in this world and/or the next. This accounts for the frequent inclusion of an intercessory saint to help mediate between the world of the patron and that of the holy recipient, and the Vercelli Homilies is a representative example. In short, such pictures were a way not just to make manifest and permanent very particular acts of dedication, but above all to enshrine the *relationship* between donor and recipient; it was only the act of giving, the establishment of that relationship with the holy figure, that justified representing the donor. It is important to recall that most medieval books had no illumination at all, and it is in this regard, that such pictures of the patron/donor speak most directly to the issue of Magnificence, for if the inclusion of any image is a demonstration of luxuriousness in a medieval book, then the appearance of such painted representations is truly a bold step in asserting the grandeur of an individual deemed worthy of such treatment. This is why the double-page spread is so effective. In all of these examples, splitting the donor and recipient allowed artists simultaneously to magnify the amount of space given over to the donor and to separate him from the sacred figure across the gutter of the opening. According the donor a full page was a true act of material and ideological magnificence, though the formal and iconographic markers noted above always underscored his (or, rarely, her) status relative to the divine recipient.

Very few pictures communicate the message of the dedication more dramatically than a bifolium added around 975 to the so-called Egmond Gospels (Plate 13).[61] On the verso, neatly framed by the arches of the church at Egmond, are Count Theoderic II and Countess Hildegard, who grasp the Gospels over

the altar in the center of the page. According to the inscription at the top, the couple is presenting the book to the patron of the church, St. Adalbert, but the image itself focuses not on the saint, here represented only by the altar and church, but on the book itself and the action of Theoderic and Hildegard.[62] The saint appears on the facing recto, where his intercessory role is made clear in both the image and the accompanying inscription: "Highest God, I pray that you show compassion and preserve these people, so that they may continue to labor worthily for you."[63] Adalbert indicates with one hand the supplicating figures of Theoderic and Hildegard at his feet and with the other gestures up to Christ, where the alpha and omega around his mandorla give the interaction eschatological force. Christ is enjoined by the saint to preserve the count and countess in both this world and the next on the merit of their "labor." The chronicle record indicates that Theoderic was responsible for bringing Benedictine monks to Egmond, and after 950 replacing the wooden church with a stone one for which he and his wife provided a luxuriously bound gospel book at the consecration. All of this must count as the couple's "labor," but the picture telescopes that in the single act of donating the book, which, prominently situated at the exact center of the left page, is a synecdoche for all of Theoderic and Hildegard's pious activities. By taking advantage of the full-page opening, the artist is able to suggest both a temporal and causal flow from one side to the other: on the verso, the count and countess first donate their gospel to Egmond's patron saint, and then because of this Adalbert is in a position to aid their supplication for eternal favor.[64]

About 75 years later and 275 kilometers due south of Egmond, the monks of the abbey of Echternach produced several exceedingly luxurious gospel books, including one made at the behest of Henry III for his foundation at Goslar (Plate 14). The silver mines near this Saxon town had produced much of the wealth for the Ottonians, and Goslar had become the new center of the Salian dynasty, marked in particular by the palace and cathedral constructed by Henry.[65] The gospel book now in Uppsala opens with a double-page spread that is at one and the same time a picture of dedication, supplication, confirmation, and magnificence.[66] On the right, a smaller standing Henry approaches to offer the gospels to the seated figures of Simon and Jude, the patron saints of Goslar; the scene takes place in an architectural setting meant to suggest the Goslar cathedral itself, and the dedication is witnessed by four angels in the surrounding medallions, elevating the sacrality of the space in which Henry acts.[67] On the left side of the opening, a monumental figure of Christ in Majesty, surrounded by the four symbols of the evangelists, crowns Henry and his wife, Agnes, who stand to either side with their hands uplifted in a beseeching gesture. "May Henry and Agnes, ruling through me, live" ("Per me regnantes vivant Heinricus et Agnes") reads the inscription above, and the picture represents the prayer of the imperial couple, divine validation of their rule, and a proleptic affirmation that the prayer has already been answered. The essential message differs little from many other expressions

of the divine right of kings in the Middle Ages and beyond, but what is so striking about this spread is the central emphasis on the book itself. Not only is Henry's piety manifested in the presentation of a book, but a book is also shown prominently in Christ's lap. In addition to being exceedingly luxurious, with pages in gold, purple, simulated rich textile patterns (all evident in this opening), gorgeously ornamented canon tables, and countless decorated initials, the Goslar Gospels is also relatively large, measuring 38.1 x 29.2 cm. The oversized book in Christ's lap, then, is not merely the iconographic detail common in many Majesty images, but a suggestion that it is Henry's book itself, presented to Goslar's patron saints Simon and Jude, which has made its way successfully to heaven and been accepted by the almighty, effecting the quid pro quo that results in the crowning of the imperial couple.

The size, richness, and message of the Goslar gospel book remind us that in the early Middle Ages books could be glorious items whose decoration and dedication were manifestations of their patron's own status. If the precious external cladding of a book was seen as a reflection of the intrinsic worth of the contents within, then metonymically that value also reflected the piety and magnificence of the patron, and the greater the material value invested in the book the greater the earthly status and spiritual reward. This was made particularly explicit in those books that took the extraordinary step of including pictorial representations of the donor, who was often shown in the act of presenting the book to God, his mother, or the saints. And in certain instances, those images were themselves magnified by being spread across the full opening of the book. Despite the paucity of textual accounts that indicate how people in the early Middle Ages viewed such illuminated manuscripts, the value invested in them and the structure of their pictures allow us to conclude that at least for some people, books, and by extension their patrons, could be monumental in their own right.

Notes

1 1 am grateful to Professor Jaeger for inviting me to attend the original conference and to submit a contribution for the publication; my thoughts on the subject benefited greatly from the opportunity to hear all the speakers. The material on two-page openings in the second part of this essay is derived from my forthcoming monograph, *The Open Book: Reflections on Medieval Art and Experience*. My thanks go to Erika Loic, Hannah Moland, Anna Biicheler, Susannah Brower, Caitlin McMahon, Elizabeth Teviotdale, Jill Caskey, and above all to the magnificent Linda Safran for invaluable assistance.

2 For Byzantine image theory, see Charles Barber, *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). On Gregory the Great's dictum and its reception, see Celia Chazelle, "Pictures, Books and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word & Image* 6 (1990): 138-53, and Herbert Kessler, "Real Absence: Early Medieval Art and the Metamorphosis of Vision," in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichitct e alto medioevo,* 2 vols. (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo,

1998), 2:1157—213, repr. in Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 104-48, and idem, "Gregory the Great and Image Theory in Northern Europe in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *A Companion to Medieval Art Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe,* ed. C. Rudolph (Maiden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 151-72.

3 See, for example, Herbert Kessler, "Corporeal Texts, Spiritual Paintings, and the Mind's Eye," in *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication,* ed. M. Jageman and M. Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 9-61, and, in general, idem, *Neither God Nor Man: Words, Images, and the Medieval Anxiety about Art* (Freiburg: Rombach, 2007). Jeffrey Hamburger has outlined the disjuncture between statements of Gregorian theory and the actual use of images, often of small scale, in later medieval practice. See, for example, "The Visual and the Visionary: The Images in Late Medieval Monastic Devotions," in idem, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 111-148.

4 The complex is known only through texts and archaeological excavations. See Rudolf Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches at Nola: Texts, Translations and Commentary* (Amsterdam: N. v. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1940); Tomas Lehmann, *Paulinus Nolanus und die Basilica Nova in Cimitile/Nola: Studien zu einem zentralen Denkmal der spatantik-friihchristlichen Architektur* (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 2004); Gaelle Herbert de la Portbarre-Viard, *Descriptions monumentales et discours sur I'ldification chez Paulin de Nole: le regard et la lumikre (epist. 32 et carm. 27 et 28)* (Leiden: Brill, 2006). See also in general Dennis Trout, *Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters, and Poems* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

5 More informed viewers, like Paulinus himself, could also use the images in conjunction with the texts for their own moral edification. For the didactic and moral function of the paintings, see Catherine Conybeare, *Paulinus Noster: Self and Symbols in the Letters of Paulinus of Nola* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), esp. 91-110, and Sr. Maria Kiely, "The Interior Courtyard: The Heart of Cimitile/Nola," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 12 (2004): 443-79. For Paulinus's concept of how visible images could reveal the invisible, see also Giselle De Nie, " *'Divinos Concipe Sensus':* Envisioning Divine Wonders in Paulinus of Nola and Gregory of Tours," in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,* ed. G. de Nie, K. Morrison, and M. Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 69-117, esp. 74-77.

6 Conrad Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance": Bernard of Clairvaux's "Apologia" and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), and Binski in this volume. Bernard, of course, was also making a distinction about the suitability of images for different audiences; his presumption was that monastics should have no need of them at all. See, for example, Hamburger, "Visual and Visionary."

7 Aristotle, *The Nichomachean Ethics* 4, trans. D.P. Chase (London: Dent, 1915), 74-89; E. H. Gombrich, "The Early Medici as Patrons of Art," in *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance,* 2nd ed. (London: Phaidon, 1971), 35-57; Richard Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 206-47. For the link between medieval patrons and munificence, with some important qualifications, see Jill Caskey, "Whodunnit? Patronage, the Canon, and the Problematics of Agency in Romanesque and Gothic Art," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic,* ed. Rudolph (n. 2 above), 193-212.

8 Longinus, *On the Sublime* 1-8, trans. W.H. Fyfe, rev. D. Russell (Loeb Classical Library 199), (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 160-83; Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine* 4.12-4.27, trans. D.W. Robertson (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958), 136-65; Ernst Robert Curtius, "Epilogue: Imitation and Creation," in *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,* trans. W. Trask (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 396-401; Erich Auerbach, "Sermo Humilis" and "Camilla, or, The Rebirth of the Sublime," in *Literary Language and Its Public,* trans. R. Manheim (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965), 27-66, 183-233.

9 Christopher De Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon, 2001), 50—52. Scot McKendrick, *In a Monastery Library: Preserving Codex Sinaiticus and the Greek Written Heritage* (London: British Library, 2006), 14-15.

10 Richard Gameson, "The Cost of the Codex Amiatinus," *Notes and Queries* 237 (1992): 2-9.

11 Stockholm, Royal Library, Cod. Holm. A 148. Perhaps written in the Benedictine monastery of Podlazice, the book is the largest known Bible from the Middle Ages. It also contains other texts in addition to the full Old and New Testaments, including two historical works byjosephus, Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae,* Cosmas of Prague's *Chronicle of Bohemia,* and medical and exorcism texts. See Kamil Boldan, et al., *Codex Gigas—The Devil's Bible: The Secrets of the World's Largest Book,* trans. K. Millerova and S. Miller (Prague: National Library of the Czech Republic, 2007). For a representative selection of choir books, see Claudia Parmeggiani, *Canto e colore: i corali di* San *Domenico di Perugia nella Biblioteca comunale Augusta (XIII-XIV sec.)* (Perugia: Volumnia, 2006), and, for a consideration of the sizes of such books, Elizabeth Teviotdale, "A Pair of Franco-Flemish Cistercian Antiphonals of the Thirteenth Century and Their Programs of Illumination," in *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books,* ed. L. Brownrigg and M. Smith (Los Altos Hills, CA: Anderson-Lovelace, 2000), 231-58.

12 Celia Chazelle, "Ceolfrid's Gift to St Peter: the First Quire of the *Codex Amiatinus* and the Evidence of its Roman Destination," *Early Medieval Europe* 12 (2004): 129-57, with further literature, and idem, "A Sense of Place: Wearmouth-Jarrow, Rome, and the Tabernacle Miniature of the Codex Amiatinus," in *The Transmission of the Bible in Word, Image, and Song,* ed. M. Budny and P. G. Remley (Tempe, Ariz., forthcoming). I thank Dr. Chazelle for sharing the text of her latter article with me in advance of publication.

13 See, in general, Frauke Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband im frtihen Mittelalter, von den Anfangen bis zum Beginn der Gotik* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag fur Kunstwissenschaft, 1965), and Christel Meier, *Gemma spiritalis: Methode und Gebrauch der Edelsteinallegorese vom frtihen Christentum bis ins 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: W. Fink, 1977).

14 Ernst Kitzinger, "A Pair of Silver Book Covers in the Sion Treasure," in *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy Miner,* ed. U. McCracken, L. Randall, and R. Randall (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1974), 3-17; Otto Mazal, "Die Einbande der Bibliotheca Corviniana," in *Matthias Corvinus und die Bildung der Renaissance: Handschriften aus der Bibliothek und dem Umkreis des Matthias Corvinus aus dem Bestand der Osterreichischen Nationalbibliothek,* ed. E. Gamillscheg and B. Mersich (Vienna: Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1994), 29-32.

15 John Lowden, "The Word Made Visible: the Exterior of the Early Christian Book as Visual Argument," in *The Early Christian Book,* ed. W. Klingshirn and L. Safran (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 15—47.

16 "Codicis huius opus struxit Theodulfus amore / Illius, hie cuius lex benedicta tonat. / Nam foris hoc gemmis, auro splendescit et ostro, / Spendidiore tamen intus honore micat." *MGH, Poetae,* I, ed. Ernst Diimmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), 538—39. Another translation can be found in Nikolai Alexandrenko, "The Poetry of Theodulf of Orleans: a Translation and Critical Study" (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1970), 247. Corrections incorporated here take into account Lawrence Nees, "Problems of Form and Function in Early Medieval Illustrated Bibles from Northwest Europe," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible,* ed. J. Williams (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 121-77, esp. 131, n.\22, and Erik Thuno, "The Golden Altar of SantAmbrogio in Milan: Image and Materiality," in *Decorating the Lord's Table: On the Dynamics between Image and Altar in the Middle Ages,* ed. S. Kaspersen and E. Thuno (Copenhagen: Museum of Tusculanum Press, 2006), 63-78, esp. 70.

17 The two manuscripts are Paris, Bibliotheque nationale, MS lat. 9380 and Le Puy Cathedral, MS 1 (with the cover). On the Theodulf bibles, see Nees, "Problems," 125—31, and Marie-Pierre Laffitte and Charlotte Denoel, *Tresors carolingiens. Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne a Charles le Chauve* (Paris: Bibliotheque nationale de France, 2007), 161-62, with further literature.

18 This can be seen clearly when the cover is viewed from the side. See the detailed photographs in Paul Gichtel, *Der Codex Aureus von St. Emmeram: Die Restaurierung des Cod. lat. 14000 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek Miinchen* (Munich: Callwey, 1971). On the Codex Aureus in general, see Katharina Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek,* Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in Miinchen, 1 (Munich: L. Reichert, 1990), 127-31, with further literature.

19 Francois Bucher, "Micro-architecture as the 'Idea' of Gothic Architecture and Style," *Gesta* 15 (1976): 71—89. On the Heavenly Jerusalem and art, see, for example, Genevra Kornbluth, "The Heavenly Jerusalem and the Lord of Lords: a Sapphire Christ at the Court of Charlemagne and the Shrine of the Magi," *Cahiers archeologiques* 49 (2001): 47-68, and the important essay by Thuno, "Golden Altar."

20 Jutta Riitz, "Der Buchkastendeckel des Uta-Evangelistars in seiner Bedeutung fiir die Liturgie," in *Wort und Buch in der Liturgie: lnterdisziplinare Beitrage zur Wirkmdchtigkeit des Wortes und Zeichenhaftigkeit des Buches,* ed. Hans P. Neuheuser (St. Ottilien: EOS-Verlag, 1995), 445-70. For a color reproduction of the Uta Codex cover (Munich, Bavarian State Library, Clm. 13601), see Adam Cohen, *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy, and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), pi. 1, and, most recently on the manuscript, Elisabeth Klemm, *Die ottonischen undfruhromanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek,* Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in Miinchen, 2 (Munich: L. Reichert, 2004), 43-49.

21 Paris, Bibliotheque nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 1203. See, in general, Laffitte and Denoel, *Tresors carolingiens,* 93-94, and, most recently, Lawrence Nees, "Godescalc's Career and the Problems of'Influence,'" in *Under the Influence: The Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts,* ed.J. Lowden and A. Bovey (London and Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 21-43. The manuscript is discussed extensively by Bruno Reudenbach, *Das Godescalc-Evangelistar. Ein Buch fiir die Reformpolitik Karls des Groflen* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1998), esp. 98—101, where he provides the text and translation of the dedication poem on fols. 126v-127 (the end of the lectionary).

22 "Sic et adhuc deprecor, ut augeas quod coepisti, id est, ut mihi cum auro conscribas epistolas domini mei, sancti Petri apostoli, ad honorem et reverentiam sanctarum scripturarum ante oculos carnalium in praedicando," *Ep.* 35 of "S. Bonifacii et Lulli Epistolae," in *MGH, Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi, I,* ed. E. Diimmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), 285-86. Translation by Ephraim Emerton, *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, repr. 2000), 42-43. See also Barbara Yorke, "The Bonifacian Mission and Female Religious in Wessex," *Early Medieval Europe* 7 (1998): 145-72.

23 Nec me sperne, precor, quia cernis corpore parvam
Corpore sum modico, viribus ampla tamen.
Me quicumque vides, Theodulfi sis memor, oro
Cuius me studium condidit, aptat, amat
Et foris argento, gemmis ornavit et auro
Cuius et interius lima polivit, ave.

Poem 42, "A Foris in Prima Tabula Bibliothecae," printed in *MGH, Poetae,* I, 540, and translated by Alexandrenko, "Poetry of Theodulf," 250.

24 Non has, lector ovans, quasi quaedam vilia tempne
Vilis rem pulchram capsa tenere solet;
Ferrea nam clavis, de vili facta metallo
Argenti atque auri dat penetrare locum.
Quaeque est servanti seu sarcina parva ferenti
Quo gravis est pretii sarcina monstra iter.
Nec tibi displiceant, quoniam sunt corpora parva
Tegmine sub parvo pondera magna latent.
Nam modicis clavis grandis structura tenetur
Marculus et parvus magna metalla polit.
Sic segetes magnae nascuntur semine parvo
Pondus et arboreum germine deque levi.
Obstrusa aperiunt, panduntque latentia plura
Parvaque velamen ungula grande levat.
Quosque tenent flores librorum grandia prata
En simul hie calathus dat tibi: carpe manu.

MGH, Poetae, I, 539; translation Alexandrenko, "Poetry of Theodulf," 248-49. The trope of the text as a flower to be plucked has a long history in the Middle Ages, as, for example, in the many florilegia or Herrad of Hohenbourg's illustrated *Hortus Deliciarum*. See, for example, Fiona Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 82—107. My emphasis here, though, is on the "*grandia* prata." On the way small can be remarkable, see Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1984).

25 On the manuscript, see Bernard Muir, *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry: an Edition of Exeter Dean and Chapter MS 3501,* rev. 2nd ed. (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000). For the riddles, see *The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book,* ed. Craig Williamson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), esp. 82-83, 211-15, and John Porter, *Anglo-Saxon Riddles* (Norfolk: Anglo-Saxon Press, 1995), esp. 38-39.

26 Mec sij^an wrah
hseled hleobordum, hyde bejienede,

gierede mec mid golde; forJ>on me gliwedon
wraetlic weorc smijja, wire bifongen.

This is part of an unpublished translation of Riddle 24 by Andy Orchard; I am grateful to him not only for permission to use his work but also for discussing the nuances of *wratlic* with me. C. R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 201-03, briefly treated this passage in his compilation of evidence about metalwork covers in Anglo-Saxon art, none of which are known to survive.

27 J. Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1898), 1271.

28 "Inter universa Kildarie miracula, nichil michi miraculosius occurrit quam liber ille mirandus, tempore virginis, ut aiunt, angelo dictante conscriptus. Continet hie liber 11II Evangeliorum iuxta Ieronimum concordantiam: ubi quot pagine fere tot figure diverse, variisque coloribus distinctissime. Hinc maiestatis vultum videas divinitus impressum; hinc mysticas Evangelistarum formas, nunc senas, nunc quaternas, nunc binas alas habentes; hinc aquilam, inde vitulum, hinc hominis faciem, inde leonis; aliasque figuras fere infinitas. Quas si superficiliater et usuali more minus acute conspexeris, litura potius videbitur quam ligatura; nec ullam prorsus attendes subilitatem, ubi nichil tamen preter subtilitatem. Sin autem ad perspicacius intuendum oculorum aciem invitaveris, et longe penitus ad artis archana transpenetraveris tam delicatas et subtiles, tam arctas et artitas, tam nodosas et vinculatim colligatas, tamque recentibus adhuc coloribus illustrates notare poteris intricaturas, ut vere hec omnia potius angelica quam humana diligentia iam asseveraveris esse composita."

Topographia Hibernica 2. My translation, though somewhat stilted, preserves as much as possible the language and lilt of the original Latin. See, in general, Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146-1223* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), esp. 104-22.

29 For example, Antonia Gransden, "Realistic Observation in Twelfth-Century England," *Speculum* 47 (1972): 29—51; Fran^oise Henry, *The Book of Kells* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974); George Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells. The Insular Gospel-books 650-800* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 195-98. Henderson is convincing when he argues that the manuscript Gerald describes was not Kells itself, but his claim that the book would have been produced in the same scriptorium does not necessarily follow.

30 For the entire text, see *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera,* ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock, and G. F. Warner, 8 vols., Rolls Series, 21 (London: Longman, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1861-91), vol. 5 (1867). A translation is available by J. J. O'Meara, *The History and Topography of Ireland* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1982; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983).

31 For considerations of Gerald's ethnographic approach, see Jeffrey J. Cohen, "Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: the Bodies of Gerald of Wales," in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages,* ed. J. J. Cohen (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 85—104, and Asa Simon Mittman, "The Other Close at Hand: Gerald of Wales and the 'Marvels of the West,'" in *The Monstrous Middle Ages,* ed. B. Bildhauer and R. Mills (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 97-112. Mittman notes that in at least one manuscript of the *Topographia* (London, BL Royal MS 13.b.VIII), Book 2 shows the most signs of use, indicating that it was the subject of greatest attention.

32 Michelle Brown, "Marvels of the West: Giraldus Cambrensis and the Role of the Author in the Development of Marginal Illustration," *English Manuscript Studies,*

U00-1700 10 (London: British Library, 2002), 34-59, discusses this description of the book's production as a reflection of actual scriptorium practice and mines it for evidence of Gerald's potential activity as a pictorial designer himself, but she does not consider the supernatural aspect of the story. Gerald's role as an artist was also considered by Gransden, "Realistic Observation."

33 As noted by Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells,* 198.

34 Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 255, focuses on this same point to underscore Gerald's *reading*/memory practice, but the words speak foremost to an act of *seeing*.

35 Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells,* 196.

36 Michelle Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London and Toronto: British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2003), 111-12; Richard Gameson, "The Gospels of Margaret of Scotland and the Literacy of an Eleventh-Century Queen," in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence,* ed. L. Smith and J. Taylor (London and Toronto: British Library and University of Toronto Press, 1996), 149-71, and Rebecca Rushforth, *St. Margaret's Gospel Book: The Favourite Book of an Eleventh-Century Queen of Scots* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2007). St. Margaret's Gospels contain a vivid account of the book's loss and miraculous recovery. Although the pictures are not referred to explicitly, mention is made of a washed-away sheet of linen from the middle of the book; such linen or silk inserts were used even in the Middle Ages to separate and preserve illuminations. It can be implied, therefore, that the loss of the linen sheet underscores the miraculous survival of the painted pictures (the still-extant evangelist portraits and incipit pages). On such silks, see Christine Sciacca, "Raising the Curtain on the Use of Textiles in Manuscripts," in *Weaving, Veiling and Dressing: Textiles and Their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages,* ed. K. M. Rudy and B. Baert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 161-172, 181-190.

37 To take just a few examples, see Kathleen Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Herbert Kessler, '"Facies bibliotheca revelata': Carolingian Art as Spiritual Seeing," *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europafra tarda antichitct e alto modioevo, 3—9 aprile 1997*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 41, 2 vols. (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1998), 2:560-61; reprinted in Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing,* 149—89; Cohen, *Uta Codex*; Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

38 Joachim Prochno, *Das Schreiber—und Dedikationsbild in der Deutschen Buchmalerei bis zum Ende des tl. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929), is still a fundamental compilation of examples. Unfortunately, pictures of very different types are lumped together too often under the term "donor portrait." For a more nuanced treatment, see Lars Raymond Jones, "*Visio Divina,* Exegesis, & Beholder—Image Relationships in the Middle Ages & the Renaissance: Indications from Donor Figure Representations" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1999).

39 On the manuscript, see Herbert Schade, "Studien zu der karolingischen Bilderbibel aus St. Paul vor den Mauern zu Rom," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 21 (1959): 9-40 and 22 (1960): 13-48, and *La Bibbia di S. Paolo fuori le mura,* ed. V. Jemolo and M. Morelli (Rome: De Luca, 1981).

40 William Diebold, "The Ruler Portrait of Charles the Bald in the S. Paolo Bible," *Art Bulletin* 76 (1994): 6-18.

41 Schade, "Studien," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 22 (1960): 15-19.

42 Diebold, "Ruler Portrait."

43 On Carolingian ruler images, see most recently Marielle Hageman, "*Pictor Iconiam Litterarum:* Rituals as Visual Elements in Early Medieval Ruler Portraits in Word and Image," in *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication,* ed. M. Jageman and M. Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 239-59.

44 Robert Deshman, "*Benedictus Monarcha el Monachus:* Early Medieval Ruler Theology and the Anglo-Saxon Reform," *Fruhmittelalterliche Studien* 22 (1988): 204-240.

45 In general, see Joachim Wollasch, "Kaiser und Konige als Bruder der Monche: Zum Herrscherbild in liturgischen Handschriften des 9. bis 11. Jahrhunderts," *Deutsches Archivfur Erforschung des Mittelalters* 40 (1984): 1-20, and Hagen Keller, "Herrscherbild und Herrschaftslegitimation: zur Deutung der ottonischen Denkmaler," *Fruhmittelalterliche Studien* 19 (1985): 290-311. For the Aachen Gospels, the classic exposition is Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), 61-78; see also Johannes Fried, *Otto III. und Boleslaw Chrohry. Das Widmungsbild des Aachener Evangeliars, der Akt von Gnesen' und das friihe polnische und ungarische Konigtum. Eine Bildanalyse und ihre historischen Folgen* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1989).

46 On donor images in general, see the introduction and essays in *Fur irdischen Ruhm und himmlischen Lohn: Stifter und Auftraggeber in der mittelalterlichen Kunst,* ed. R. Meier, C. Jaggi, and P. Buttner (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1995).

47 For considerations of two-page spreads, see now Jeffrey Hamburger, "Openings," in *Imagination, Books and Community in Medieval Europe: A Conference at the State Library of Victoria (Melbourne, Australia), 29-31 May 2008,* ed. Constant Mews (Melbourne: MacMillan Art Publishers, 2009), and my own forthcoming study, *The Open Book.*

48 For a facsimile of the manuscript, see *Das Evangeliar Ottos III; CLM 4453 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek Munchen,* 2 vols., ed. F. Dressier, F. Miitherich, and H. Beumann (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1978); the commentary has also been published as a separate volume (Munich: Prestel, 2001). The image has been considered sufficiently emblematic of the Middle Ages to appear on the cover of George Holmes, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) [Otto enthroned], Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Europe: 300-1000,* 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999) [Otto], and Rosamond McKitterick, *The Early Middle Ages: Europe 400-1000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) [the provinces],

49 Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Konige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751—1190,* ed. F. Miitherich (Munich: Prestel, 1983), 77-91, 205-07.

50 The image of Otto II is on a separate leaf in Chantilly, Musee Conde, 15 654. In addition to Schramm, *Deutschen Kaiser,* 203—04, see also Carl Nordenfalk, "Archbishop Egbert's 'Registrum Gregorii,'" in *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst. Festschrift fur Florentine Miitherich zum 70. Geburtstag,* ed. K. Bierbrauer, P. Klein, and W. Sauerlander (Munich: Prestel 1985), 87-100. The identity of the ruler in a third version of the image, inserted into a Josephus manuscript in Bamberg (Misc. Class. 79), is hotly contested.

51 Cracow, Bibl. Domkapitel, MS 208. For a description and color reproduction, see *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei von fruhkarolingischer Zeit bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters,* ed. F. Miitherich and K. Dachs (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 38, and pis. 18-19.

52 The book, Paris, Bibliotheque nationale, MS Coislin 79, contains the Homilies of John Chrysostom. Iohannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 107-18, has postulated that, in fact, the images were originally meant to represent Michael VII Doukas, whom Nikephoros deposed; the pictures consequently were altered to reflect this new political reality. These pictures are situated in the broader context of Byzantine ruler images by Henry Maguire, "The Heavenly Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204,* ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997), 247-58.

53 Rome, Vatican Library, Gr. 666. Spatharakis, *Portrait,* 122-29.

54 "May you prosper because of your wise counsel,
great may your grace be from God, O wearer of the crown;
in return for having gathered our words here,
you will be gathered in there (above) saved, with your family."

"You have sown, venerable fathers,
and I have collected your labours;
however, I pray that I may receive also your light
so that I will be numbered in the heavenly realms."

Translations in Spatharakis, *Portrait,* 125—26.

55 Henry Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

56 Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, MS CXXXVI. See the facsmile, *Psalterium Egberti,* ed. Claudio Barberi (Cividale: Ministero per i beni e le attivita culturali, et al., 2000), and Franz Ronig, "Der Psalter des Trierer Erzbischofs Egbert in Cividale," in *Egbert, Erzbischof von Trier 977—993: Gedenkschrift der Diozese Trier zum WOO. Todestag, 2* vols., ed. F. Ronig (Trier: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 1993), 2:163-68. Still fundamental is Heinrich Sauerland and Arthur Haseloff, *Der Psalter Erzbischof Egberts von Trier, Codex Gertrudianus, in Cividale* (Trier: Gesellschaft fiir niitzliche Forschungen, 1901).

57 Unlike Egbert on the previous recto, Peter actually turns to the approaching donor in a more receptive fashion. I suspect that the more rigid posture of Egbert as recipient was meant to enhance his status relative to Ruodprecht, to indicate a greater closeness between Egbert and Peter than between Egbert and Ruodprecht. Or perhaps Egbert's rigidity was necessary precisely to counteract the supposition that, as a mere human, the magnificence of the archbishop might be compromised, but this is merely conjecture. The opening separating the pair of images, fols. 17v-18, were originally blank but were filled in with text in the middle of the eleventh century (under Gertrude of Poland; the manuscript is thus also known as the Gertrude Psalter).

58 For example, King Henry II presents a Lectionary to the Virgin in Bamberg, Misc. Bibl. 95 (A. II. 46); Bishop Everger gives an Epistolary to Peter and Paul (Cologne, Dom- und Diozesanmuseum, MS 143); unknown monks give a Gospels to Christ in two books (Paris, Bibliotheque nationale, MS lat. 10514 [the Poussay Gospels] and London, British Library, Harley 2821); and a pair of apparently secular donors carry another lectionary to Christ in Lille, Universite Catholique, MS 1. Most of these can be found conveniently assembled in Wolfgang Christian Schneider, *Ruhm, Heilsgeschehen, Dialektik: drei kognitive Ordnungen in Geschichtschreibung und Buchmalerei der Ottonenzeit* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1988). For the Lille manuscript, see Franz Fuchs and Ulrich Kuder,

"Das Liller Evangelistar, eine 'reichenauische' Bilderhandschrift der salischen Zeit," *Fruhmittelalterliche Studien* 32 (1998): 365-99. Non-Ottonian examples include a tetraevangelion in Venice, Mekhitarist Library of S. Lazzaro, Cod. 887/116, dated 1007, and another on Mount Athos, Iviron MS 5, of the mid-thirteenth century; for both see Spatharakis, *Portrait,* 55-57, 84-87.

59 Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. 148, fols. 7v-8. See Fabrizio Crivelli, *Le Omelie sui Vangeli di Gregorio Magno a Vercelli: le miniature del ms. CXLVI11/ 8 della Biblioteca Capitolare* (Tavarnuzze [Florence]: SISMEL edizioni del Galluzzo, 2005), esp. 65-68.

60 Although treating later medieval material, Brigitte Buettner, "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400," *Art Bulletin* 83 (2001): 598-625, provides a good introduction to the subject of manuscripts within the context of gift exchange, with a useful introduction to the most important theoretical literature on gifts. See also Erik Inglis, "A Book in the Hand: Some Late Medieval Accounts of Manuscript Presentations," *Journal of the Early Book Society* 5 (2002): 57—97, and Cecily Hilsdale "Constructing a Byzantine Augusta: a Greek Book for a French Bride," *Art Bulletin* 87 (2005): 458-83.

61 The manuscript shows two, if not three, stages of construction. The text has been localized to Reims, circa 850—875, the Franco-Saxon style illumination (canon tables and evangelist portraits) to Northern France around 900, and the added dedication miniatures to 975, although Beatrijs Brenninkmeyer-De Rooy, "The Miniatures of the Egmond Gospels," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 5 (1971): 150-17, has argued for a single illumination campaign in the third quarter of the tenth century. See also K. N. Ciggaar, "The Dedication Miniatures in the Egmond Gospels: a Byzantinizing iconography?" *Quaerendo* 16 (1986): 30-62, and *Vor demJahr 1000. Abendlandische Buchkunst zur Zeit der Kaiserin Theophanu* (Cologne: Das Museum, 1991), 165—68.

62 Hoc textum dedit almo patri Teodricus habendu[m]
Necne sibi coniuncta simul Hildgardis amore
Altberto quorum memor ut sit iure per evum

"Theodericus gave this book to the kind father Adalbert along with his wife Hildegard, joined to him in love, so that he justly remember them for all eternity."

63 Summe d[eu]s rogito miserans conserva benigne
Hos tibi quo iugiter famulari digne laborent.

64 I admit to having some concerns about the relationship of the pictures to the inscriptions, which are included in the pages in an odd fashion, but this does not change my reading of the pages. Even if they were added at a later date, the inscriptions merely make explicit what is already implicit in the pictures themselves. I hope to return to the Egmond Gospels in a future study.

65 On the Salians in general, see the exhibition catalogue and accompanying essay volumes, *Das Reich der Salier 1024-1125: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Landes Rheinland-Pfalz* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke Verlag, 1992), and *Die Salier und das Reich,* 3 vols., ed. Stefan Weinfurter (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1991). On Goslar in particular, see also the essays in *Goslar: Bergstadt, Kaiserstadt in Geschichte und Kunst. Bericht über ein wissenschaftliches Symposion in Goslar vom 5. bis 8. Oktober 1989* (Gottingen: E. Goltze, 1993).

66 On the manuscript, Uppsala, University Library, Cod. C. 93, see above all Carl Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis: An Echternach Gospelbook of*

the Eleventh Century (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1971), and *Reich der Salier,* 254.

The inscription above names Goslar: "Heinricus C[a]esar Sublimat Moenia Goslar" ("Emperor Henry raised up the walls of Goslar"). Note the pointed use of a verb related to "sublime" ("sublimo, -are"), rather than something more prosaic like "construo, -ere," "aedifico, -are," or "exstruo, -ere."

HELGAUD OF FLEURY AND THE LITURGICAL ARTS: THE MAGNIFICATION OF ROBERT THE PIOUS

Margot E. Fassler

The medieval Latin rite was often resplendent, working through the arts to magnify figures from the past, as well as the present, in an age when the contents of Scripture and the sacraments needed translation. But there is another side to the liturgy as well, one fostering humility before God, with focus upon the life of the spirit and the supplicating posture of prayer. The text that established the frame of reference for medieval Christian understanding of magnificence offers support for both understandings of liturgical action. The verb *magnifico, magnificare* opens the most famous canticle from the Christian Bible, the Magnificat, the Virgin Mary's proclamation that her soul magnifies the Lord. This text, Luke 1.46—55, was chanted at dusk every day, without fail, in Vesper services throughout the Latin world, and the variable antiphon used to frame the intoning of the canticle would set the theme for the Office on any given day. Mary magnifies the Lord, that is, she praises or worships, but she does so in her lowliness. Her lineage is, in turn, made great, and she, the praise-giver, becomes blessed. Cantors and others who designed liturgical ceremonies were sensitive to both aspects of praise and magnification in their works, and their efforts were of many kinds.

The ways that music and musicians helped to make events and persons—both living and dead—worthy of praise can be seen in a description of a liturgical ceremony offered by the cantor/chronicler Ademar of Chabannes (d. 1034). In an entry for 1016, Ademar of Chabannes recorded the celebration led by Count William V of Aquitaine for the discovery of a new relic, the head of John the Baptist, found in that year by the monks of St. John of Angely in Poitou.

> 1016. When the newly-discovered head of St. John was exhibited, all of Aquitaine and Gaul, of Italy and Spain, was drawn by the notoriety and

> hurried to come to that place. King Robert and his queen, King Sancho of Navarre, indeed all the nobility of these lands, gathered there.[1] All of them offered precious gifts of varied sorts. The king of the Franks [Robert the Pious], for example, gave a bowl weighing thirty pounds of pure gold and precious draperies made of silk and gold for the decoration of the church. He was reverently received by Duke William [the V of Aquitaine] and then returned to Francia through the Poitou. No one had ever seen such rejoicing and glory as in that concourse of monks and canons who hurried from every quarter singing psalms and bearing the relics of saints—for the memory of the saintly herald. Taking these relics, Abbot Josfred [of Saint-Martial] and Bishop Gerald [of Limoges] made their way to the church of the Holy Savior in Charroux, accompanied by numerous princes and an uncountable array of common people. The monks of Charroux together with all the inhabitants met them a mile outside the town. With pomp to honor the occasion, they all then made a procession to the altar of the Savior, singing hymns in a loud voice. While mass was being celebrated, the assembled crowd accompanied the monks in a similar fashion. When they entered the church of the herald [John the Baptist], Bishop Gerald there celebrated in front of the head of the saint the mass proper to the feast of his birth, since it was the month of October. The canons of Saint-Etienne and the monks of Saint-Martial chanted tropes and praises antiphonally in the manner of a feast day. After mass the bishop blessed the people with the head of St. John. On the fifth day before the feast of All Saints [i.e., October 27], all returned home, made most happy by the miracles which St. Martial performed along the way.[2]

Ademar was a composer, copyist, notator, and singer himself. He was capable of describing music's power to inspire praise in lavishly luxurious circumstances: the relic and the saint it represented were venerated through a massive coming together of various groups from the area in an *adventus* or greeting ceremony for its entrance. Great numbers of people who came to be part of the ceremony were united and offered praise through various modes of song. Music was heard outdoors, from "every quarter," and in the church, with monks and canons singing in alternation. A loud hymn was sung by all en route, including the people who thronged the roads along the way. Lastly, the ceremonial reception of this new relic was heralded by the greatest leaders in the land, not only by the Duke of Aquitaine, who serves as a kind of host, but also by the King of Navarre, and by the King of France, Robert II, who was said to have donated deluxe liturgical artworks, including a great golden bowl. Count William and his royal associates are magnified as well through the ceremony: music and sumptuous artistic display surely would have accompanied the relics in welcoming King Robert II. All of these made up a large-scale welcoming ceremony, the various parts of which echoed one another.[3] Miracles and music went together, too, as can be seen in the description, and in fact it was common to ring bells and sing each

time something miraculous occurred in processions and other ritual actions throughout the Middle Ages.[4] At the close of the ceremony, St. Martial was offering miracles all along the route, and bells would surely have sounded with hymns to mark these happenings, and encourage other showings of favor. Music signals the presence of the invisible Divinity.

The power of music to magnify great figures, to make the ceremonies surrounding relics of the saints richer, and to create various sonic layers within ceremonial occasions is well-known and has been much discussed in contemporary scholarship.[5] But medieval musicians were often worried about being more moved "by the song than by what is sung" (Augustine, *Confessions,* X, 33).[6] The other side of music's power to work in and through humility is most thoroughly discussed in monastic literature, with the Benedictine Rule, cap. 19, providing a key text: "Therefore let us consider how we ought to be in the presence of the Divinity and his angels, and stand to the psalmody in such a way that our mind harmonize with our voice."[7] For the monk, fear of the Lord is the beginning of efficacious praise. Psalmody in monastic practice was not only resplendent with tropes, as in the Mass liturgy described by Ademar, but also unornamented, as in the Office, the Opus Dei. Monastic psalmody was an arduous meditative practice occasioned by pauses of silence between the verses in many places.[8] Tears, music, and groaning were part of an aesthetic of musical penance.

Cantors created music and ceremony in all styles, from the most ornate displays to the everyday psalmody characteristic of the daily office. The variety of their work and attitudes toward liturgy, music, and the arts was embodied within the chronicles and histories cantors wrote for the institutions they served. Ademar, for example, was a musician who wrote history, a cantor-historian. The cantor was the figure in charge of the books, the liturgy, and the library in most monasteries and cathedrals, at least until the end of the twelfth century (and long after in some places). Cantors were often involved in architecture and the liturgical arts as well, sometimes working with sacristans in the elevation of saints' cults. Because the cantor kept the time, he also recorded the days on which deaths happened and other significant events occurred; it was only natural that the cantor would keep the chronicle, if there was one, or write the institutional history, if there was to be one.[9] Thus Ademar's narration of the event presents the kinds of details that a musician would know and care about, featuring the musical genre of tropes, one in which he excelled. Ademar also mentions St. Martial and his miraculous powers, the saint whose cult he was involved in elevating, and with single-minded intensity. The history Ademar was writing, then, reflects not only his own training as a musician, but also his own agenda as a promoter of a particular cult and the splendid pieces of music he was writing to magnify a regional saint.[1"

The passage introduces the central questions of this paper, and its primary subject: a cantor-historian and his role in the magnification of a historic

figure, in this case, Helgaud of Fleury's ways of magnifying King Robert the Pious. Helgaud is cantor-historian, like Ademar, and he adopts strategies different, yet related to those witnessed in the passage cited above. The fact that so many historians were cantors is crucial to understanding medieval historiography, and, therefore, to the ways in which major figures from the past were described and praised. How do we study history when historians, like Ademar of Chabannes, were also singers, creators of liturgical displays, and composers of texts and music for the Mass and the Office? How much of the history that survives from the Middle Ages as a result of such authorship offers detailed information concerning musical, liturgical, and even artistic understandings, especially of the saints? How were the subjects of medieval history made praiseworthy through the strategies of cantor historians? To what degree do other circumstances of cantors' lives, especially regarding cults of the saints and the liturgical arts, drive their depictions of the past?

The case of Robert the Pious, a figure first described by three probable cantor historians—Richer of Reims, Helgaud of Fleury, and Odorannus of Sens—is one of the most provocative; Richer sets the stage for the major work of Helgaud, and Odorannus adds some details later to the picture developed by Helgaud. In Helgaud's biography, Robert becomes a liturgically informed figure who cares about and is deeply engaged with music and worship; the importance of worship to the early portrait offered by Helgaud makes Robert one who eschews pomp and splendor as related to himself, and seeks humility and inner spiritual understanding instead. Yet, Robert's dislike of splendor reverses itself when it comes to the cults of the saints. Helgaud, who was himself a designer of churches and of artworks, makes sure that the humble and spiritual Robert is depicted as willing to endow churches with the kinds of projects Helgaud favored in his own work.

1. The Problem with Robert the Pious: from Richer to Helgaud

If he was indeed a cantor, as Jason Glenn has recently argued,[11] then Richer of Rheims was one of the most important of the historian/cantors' guild, with much to say about the establishment of Hugh Capet as king; he would also have been the earliest such figure to describe Robert II, Hugh's son. Whether Glenn is right or wrong about Richer the cantor, Richer writes as if this was indeed his office, or as if it had been at least at one time in his life: his attention to the details of ritual action is everywhere apparent.[12] Richer seems to possess first-hand knowledge of the king and those involved with him ca. 996-7. He was fully immersed in the early difficulties that would continue to plague Robert II for decades and make life difficult for his biographers. Richer's history ends with a list of facts about Robert's life and second marriage to Berta of Blois, notes for a section he never got to write.

When Odo I of Chartres/Blois died, Robert II befriended his wife, Berta, and married her himself within a year of her husband's death. They were

married in spite of the facts that they were related in the sixth degree (Berta and Robert had the same great-grandfather, Henry the Fowler), and that Robert had stood as a godfather to one of Berta's children. In spite of these troubles, in Berta, Robert acquired a wife who was a direct descendent of Charlemagne, and whose territories were adjacent to and larger than his own.[13] He also married a woman he seems to have loved, even long after he had been forced to leave her. The couple sought affirmation of their consanguineous marriage by appealing directly to Pope Gregory V, but in doing so, Robert broke faith with his friend and former teacher Gerbert of Aurillac, who was then embroiled in an attempt to secure his appointment as archbishop of Rheims.[14] Robert apparently pledged to support Gerbert's rival Arnulf as archbishop of Reims in hope that as recompense the pope would sanction his marriage to Berta. Gerbert was furious at Robert's deceit and left to join the court of Otto III. Robert's attempt to win the pope's acceptance of his marriage failed. A general council in Rome in January 999 declared against the marriage of Robert and Berta. The king was to leave Berta; if he did not, they were both to be anathematized, a worse punishment than excommunication, since it condemned in perpetuity. The documents were signed by Gregory V, and then by Gerbert (who had in the meantime become archbishop of Ravenna), by three Italian bishops, three Burgundian bishops, a German abbot, and eighteen suburbican bishops.[15] Then, as if the ironies were not already thick enough, Pope Gregory V died, and was replaced by Gerbert as Pope Sylvester II. The fate of Robert and Berta's marriage was sealed.

Richer of Reims could foresee the troubles this marriage would bring to Robert, but his history stopped while Robert was in the thick of the fray, and before it became clear that, indeed, the marriage would be disallowed. What must have made the situation especially trying for Robert was the fact that Berta produced no children, unless one counts the mythic stillborn with the head of a goose.[15] The Capetian lineage was newly established and fragile; clearly Hugh Capet had feared for its survival in his final years, making Robert co-king in 887, a practice that the Capetian kings followed with their heirs until Philip Augustus.[17] Robert repudiated Berta in 1001, and by 1003 had a new wife, Constance of Aries, whose mother was a sister to the Angevin count, Fulk Nerra. Allegiances might have shifted right away, predictably enough, with Robert beginning to lean toward Anjou, but the king continued to favor Berta and her son, Count Odo II of Chartres-Blois, at court. Apparently he hoped that he might eventually get Berta back as his wife, even as Queen Constance produced a string of sons. Robert's was not a harmonious household, and his court was filled with domestic intrigue. Even after Fulk Nerra (with Constance in accord, presumably) had butchered the courtly Hugh of Beauvais, promoter of Berta of Blois, Robert continued the affair with his former wife.[18]

Other writers added to the development of character: Constance's reputation as a miserable termagant grows out of contemporary sources, including a caustic letter by Fulbert of Chartres.[19] A recent attempt to redeem her reveals a powerful woman painted into a corner by the clerical culture that sought to thwart her.[20] Constance had a difficult life, but she surely brought some of her troubles upon herself, especially by her attempt to overthrow her son, King Henry II, after Robert's death. Fulbert's estimation of her character is the kind of evidence that can be trusted. Helgaud disliked her intensely, and his life of Robert the Pious contains many scenes in which the "inconstant" plays a major role. If Helgaud had described the event recorded by Ademar, Queen Constance would have brought the golden bowl, and have presented it proudly; but Robert would have noticed a poor cleric stealing it, and might have helped him escape. Robert would have been far more interested in offering prayers for the thief, but the Queen would have been in a fury over the lost object.

With a scandalous personal life as his legacy, how did Robert become "the Pious," and how was this view promoted by the cantor historian, Helgaud of Fleury? Robert's reign was crucial for the survival of the Capetian line. Although he lost the territories that became the Champagne to Odo II of Chartres/Blois, he did secure Burgundy, and his son Robert became duke there in 1032, after Robert II's death. Thomas Head and others have wondered why Robert was lionized by Helgaud and others in his wake, and especially why this lionization took the form that it did.[21] Helgaud was a monk of the Benedictine abbey of Fleury, and, more importantly, he was a cantor, a musician, a keeper of relics, a commissioner of artworks, and a builder of churches—all these factors shaped his portrait of Robert, and the history he created would protect his own efforts as musician and builder. Although Robert's love of the church must have had a basis in his actual life, the way it manifests itself in Helgaud's history rises out of Helgaud's own experience as a working musician, liturgist, and artist, one who had dreams for his own monastic and church programs in Orleans. He wrote what he knew; he advanced a discernable agenda. His work speaks directly about how the musician/cantor shaped the past to magnify character through their musical and liturgical knowledge, and through spiritual understanding that shows itself through charity and humility rather than through pomp and circumstance. Helgaud is respectful of this tradition in the character he creates, at least in regard to the display of kingly splendor. When it comes to the saints, on the other hand, no expense should be spared.

2. Helgaud's *Epitoma vitae regis rotberti pii*

Helgaud of Fleury wrote his *Epitoma vitae regis rotberti pii,* a hagiographical life of Robert II, shortly after the king's death.[22] Helgaud's assignment was twofold: first, he wished to cement the relationships between the Capetian line and Orleans, near his own abbey of Fleury, and, second, he

was commissioned to provide a hagiographical text that would be worthy of liturgical celebration of Robert, most likely for Saint-Aignon in Orleans, a church that Robert had founded. There was good reason to think that Orleans and institutions in its environs might become a royal capital, and a cult of Saint Robert would surely aid in this movement. Orleans was loved by Robert II—he had been crowned there—and its clergy, both secular and monastic, returned his affection.[23] The Abbey of Fleury claimed a tradition of history writing at this time, and Helgaud had inspired models to follow from within his own cloister, works that demonstrate the emphasis upon understanding lineage prevailing in the time.[24] Abbo of Fleury, the abbot whom Robert had sent to Rome to negotiate the sanction for his marriage to Berta in 997, wrote a history of the ninety-one popes, extending to the time of his own death in 1004. Aimoin of Fleury (d. 1010) wrote a now-lost life of the first thirty abbots of Fleury, and contributed to the great collection of the miracles of Saint Benedict that was composed over several generations at the abbey. Hugh of Fleury (d. ca. 1118), who under Philip I compiled a chronicle of the kings of France since Pharamond, was a later proponent of the Fleuriac tradition of history writing exemplified in Aimoin.[25]

En route to making Robert a noble, pious, and liturgy-loving king, Helgaud had to come to terms with Robert's years of infidelity to Queen Constance, as well as the scandalous open warfare between the Queen and her sons against Robert, and then, after his death, against Henry I, which led to Constance's disgrace in the year before her death in 1032. Robert-Henri Bautier has also suggested that political feuding between Constance and Robert and partisans of Berta of Chartres/Blois was behind the trial and burning of the so-called heretics of Orleans in 1022, an event mentioned in four sources, but detailed only in the writing of Paul of Saint-Peter of Chartres, and surely known to Helgaud.[26]

Claude Carozzi suggests in two studies that the *Epitoma* proceeds in quasi-liturgical fashion, beginning with Advent and working through to Robert's preparations for death and dying, with the hope that his life and efforts will long be remembered.[27] I have no disagreement with Carozzi's analysis, but I think that the stages of Robert's life are underscored not only by liturgical texts and seasons, but also by two kinds of events, one related to worship and the other to building programs, the former based the model of King David, and the latter on King Solomon. Helgaud uses these characters as models: David in regard to acts of forgiveness, and Solomon in acts of church building and support of the cult. In these two parts of his biography, Helgaud develops two strategies for praising Robert as well, and these relate to the models and to Robert's activities. In the first part of the treatise, Robert, like David because of his adultery, is seen rejecting external pomp and rather seeking a life of inner piety, and one that shows his knowledge of and interest in the liturgy.[28] In the second part, after Robert achieves a kind of forgiveness through his humility and charity, Solomon becomes the model, especially

as related to promoting the cults of the saints through lavish display and building projects. In both parts of the *Epitoma* Helgaud develops a king who resembles himself: Helgaud's Robert has attitudes toward music and liturgy like those of a practitioner, and is also supportive of specific building campaigns, some of which involved Helgaud. The cantor makes Robert magnificent using what he knows from his own experience in prayer, liturgy, music, and the arts.

3. A Strategy for Achieving Forgiveness

Helgaud begins his *vita* as a kind of *adventus* ceremony. The tenuous hold that the Capetians had on the throne, not only because they were a new line of kings but also because they ruled in the wake of a bitter civil war, required that Robert seem as if he were not a usurper but rather destined for his role as king of the Western Franks. Like King David, the singer of psalms, Robert was especially chosen, and the signs surrounding him (as well as manifested in him) can be read through the lens of the liturgy.[29] Robert's father Hugh Capet had been elected as king, and the theme that the line should be hereditary was crucial to Robert and his followers.[30] The passage that follows demonstrates the ways in which Helgaud makes Robert a king who is elected from within God's assembly to serve a religious as well as a secular role, but who also resembles David by having the appropriate lineage, and having been chosen by God.

> The Dignitary of the heavenly empire, whom the spirit of pride aspired to equal in power, chose princes in this age, powerful persons, to wield the scepters of this age. Just as holy Church, who is our mother, procured for herself bishops, abbots, and other ministers in holy orders to govern the people of God, so too did she choose emperors, kings, and princes in this world for the punishment of malefactors, and for restraining the audacity of the wicked, so that God might be praised world without end. And since I began my sermon with the fathers of the Monastery of Saint Aignan, it is necessary and useful that a still more outstanding father—namely, R[obert], glorious king of the Franks—be taken up before all the others, so that the entire world may possess solace from him. This is because the favor of Christ the Lord chose this good man, and the divine Majesty set him over his household.[31]

Robert's mien and his family's heritage possess the dignity appropriate for a holy and royal leader; the ideals of the age are captured at the opening of this hagiographic portrait, fitted out with details not usually supplied even for saints.[32] Like David, Robert is the king the Lord has been searching for, and he looks it—he is tall, with a large and straight nose, a full beard, and "a sweet mouth for giving the kiss of peace."[33] Robert is a Caesar, wondrous to behold on his horse. Helgaud, however, does not tell us of Robert's equestrian feats on the battlefield, but rather of deeds that take place within and

near the sanctuary. Robert has a magnificent appearance, but this is not what really matters. Right from the beginning, this Robert is chosen to be king not only because of his lineage, but also because of his humility (the greatest Benedictine virtue), and his association with the Psalter, the songbook of Benedictine monasticism:

> He applied himself to sacred eloquence so much that he did not spend a day without reading the Psalter and praying with holy David to God the All-High. He was a meek, pleasing man, with a civil and charming soul, but this was because he was benevolent, not because he was a flatterer.[34]

In the first half of his *Epitoma* Helgaud will make Robert magnificent not through the jewels, gems, and gold that often bedazzle the eyes of those who gazed on the outer display of royalty. Helgaud looks inward, finding a king who lives a life of prayer and supplication, and who would rather sell his luxurious goods to help the poor than to retain them for himself. After his *adventus (Epitoma* 1-4) comes a long middle section devoted to parables and teaching, that is, to events in Robert's life that show him to be the meek man with "a charming soul" (as Buc has it). Helgaud's strategy is to demonstrate that Robert was ever forgiving, and that this inner goodness is what created his true stature. To make this point Helgaud uses Robert's wife Constance as a foil, showing that the queen wishes both for vengeance on miscreants and for maintenance of lavish display. Robert's love for Berta of Blois was well known in the region, and the *vita* offers an apology, not by specific references to the long affair, but rather through development of a forgiving, Christ-like king, whose powerful spirituality could triumph over the blemish of external faults. Robert forgave egregious sinners, and so, as the work suggests, should not the hearer or reader of his story forgive Robert? At least the reader should be able to understand why Robert had trouble with a scolding difficult wife who was out of step with his spiritual longings.

Helgaud has constructed the stories in this part his *Epitoma* so that each shows Robert in a liturgical circumstance, and when prayer or liturgical action are disrupted (usually through thievery), Robert is inspired to forgive, demonstrating the efficacious state in which he prayed and worshipped. It is only after preparing the reader through this string of events that Helgaud finally refers, in chapter 17, to Berta and to Robert's confession and absolution. There is then one final act of "forgiveness" by Robert, in chapter 18, just after the Berta discussion. On Easter Tuesday, as he departs for church, Robert notices a couple fornicating in a corner. Instead of issuing some kind of reprimand, he throws his lavish and expensive cloak over them, and then prays mightily that they be forgiven. His action covers their shame and pleads for restitution; it offers oblique reference to his own long and public affair with Berta, bringing closure to it as well, at least as far as Helgaud is concerned. The king pleads with his servants not to reveal to Queen Constance

what happened, but rather to keep silent about it, and find him another cloak. The don't-tell-the-Queen attitude found throughout this section surely had some basis in real life.

Rather than describe each of these events in detail, I have prepared a table that shows their connections to specific feasts, and the quality of the action of each. It can be seen from the table that Robert forgives repeatedly, and oftentimes he does so in opposition to his queen. On several occasions, he protects miscreants against her rages. Twice he himself destroyed precious objects for the sake of others: In the incident involving a silver lance, he himself strips the metal, and the other time, he sacrifices his own cloak to cover the nakedness of others. The events have a rhythm that lead up to Helgaud's plea for Robert, and then to Robert's hiding fornicators. It is this final act that produces the greatest outburst from Helgaud, as he finds in the action a king who truly understands what forgiveness means in the terms of priestly action and monastic life:

> O how perfect the man who thus cloaked the sinners with his vestment! What a holy priest! What a pious abbot and religious monk! How very straight the law of virtue and perfection, which can support he who seeks the path of justice! The father and leader of monks [Benedict] orders that one should confess one's sins to that kind of a man, who knows how to cure his own wounds and those of others, but not uncloak them and publicize them. O felicitous piety and mercy, which thus blossomed in this great man through his participation in God! (*Epitoma,* 18, trans. Buc)

4. Robert as Liturgist and Builder

Helgaud's long descriptions of Robert's forgiveness of others, capped by a plea for forgiveness for the king himself, is followed by a contrasting concluding section. In these chapters, which constitute roughly half of the work, Robert is seen as an authority figure, a leader of liturgical action, and a builder of churches; he becomes a Solomon, descending from the David of the earlier chapters. In the Bible, David was not able to build the temple because of his sins; the honor fell to his son Solomon.[35] In the cantor's *Epitoma,* Robert achieves forgiveness (or such is the hope), and then leads through worship, song, and the construction of churches. A long passage from chapter 20 introduces these new themes, showing Robert as a king whose rightful rule and teaching abilities flow from his liturgical actions, which include music:

> We read in holy books that to serve God is to reign. The one who gave this advice, "Serve the Lord with fear" [Ps 2.11], was certainly aware of it. The blessed man of whom we are speaking fulfilled this with all his ability and will. And as Moses, God's servant, by his humble prayer, and with his hands uplifted, laid Amalec low [Exodus 17.10-13], so too this true friend of God, once his enemies had been overcome by power of the

Holy Spirit, had God, who is everyone's salvation, as his constant helper. The sweetness of heart by which he reconciled everyone to himself shone brightly in him. He possessed a serviceable wisdom that delighted him and his friends. Some he taught by sacred texts, some by hymns and songs of praise, constantly exhorting them for such things, all in accord with the words of the Apostle [Paul], so that he became all things to all so that he might save all [I Cor 9.19-23]. [...] He was the first to arrive at the Divine Office, and was diligent in praising God. In every place where he had to go a wagon was made ready to transport a tent for the divine service. When it was set up on the ground, the holy things were placed there, so that—in the words of the psalmist, "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof: the world and all they that dwell therein" [Ps 23.1/24.1]—he could show himself a faithful servant, rendering to God a devout song of praise wherever he might be.[36]

Table I. Tales of Generosity and Forgiveness

Chapter	*Ritual Setting*	*Action by Robert*
	Easter	Robert forgives twelve men who had conspired to kill him.
	Table and Chapel	Robert lets a man steal from him, and calms Constance's rage, then prays (Odo II of Blois, Berta's son is reported present; was Berta there too?).
	Eucharist	Robert corrects a bishop whose eucharistic piety is suspect.
	Praying at Mass	A cleric steals a chalice, who then replaces it and is forgiven.
	Prostrate in prayer	A cleric steals the fur fringes of his garment; Robert tells him to flee.
	Just after prayer	A lance decorated in silver by Constance is stripped by Robert who gives the silver to a poor man; the ruination of the object causes an argument with Constance.
10	Compline	A cleric steals a chandelier from the altar as Robert prays; Constances flies into a rage, and Robert bids the cleric to fly lest she "burn him to cinders."
11	Easter	Robert dashes water into a man's face and cures him of blindness.
14	Holy Vestments	Robert's mother reminds him not to let churches be plundered, and to stay close to Saint Benedict.
16	Pentecost/ Coronation	A cleric steals Robert's golden stag, and then is penitent; Robert forgives, and forbids that the sin be revealed.
17	Fasting, Penance	Berta was Robert's Bathsheba, and he performed long acts of penance for his relationship with her and should be forgiven by all.
18	Easter Tuesday	Robert sees a couple fornicating in a corner and covers them with his cloak.

In chapter 21, specific liturgical and musical actions are described as Robert becomes like Christ in services of his own design, providing food, clothing, and coins to the people in various ceremonies, and in at least one of them singing psalms as he acts liturgically: "On the sixth hour, he used to hand over to 100 poor clerics a supply of bread, fish, and wine, and honored each of them with 12 pennies. Throughout, he sang in his heart and aloud the Psalms of David____"[37] Helgaud's idea that Robert has a powerful inner spirituality reflected in singing and praise is seen in action in this scene.
The building projects of this new Solomon are summed up in chapter 28, which refers to churches mentioned in rituals of care described in chapter 21, and makes a unit of the chapters dedicated to churches, buildings, and reliquaries. Robert has become the royal vicar, flourishing in his dignity:

> And God never forgot Rotbert. As we said, in the very city of Orleans he built the monastery honoring saint Anianus, and furthermore, another honoring saint Mary mother of our Lord Jesus Christ and saint Hilary the great confessor, yet another for saint Mary God's mother, known as "of the craftsmen____Let each of us pray for all these works and the other innumerable good deeds he performed by God's virtue, let us all pray and say: "We pray You, O God, Who made Your servant Rotbert flourish in the royal dignity beyond the most saintly kings, grant him, by the intercession of the glorious mother of God Mary and of all the saints, that he may rejoice in Heavens in the perpetual companionship of those whose momentary vicar he was on earth____"[38]

The names of the churches built by this new Solomon, their actual locations, and the parts of them that remain have been evaluated by Jean Hubert.[39] He

Table II. Robert's Liturgical Actions and Support of Churches

Chapter	*Ritual Setting*	*Action by Robert/churches mentioned*
20	Vigils of major feasts	Prayer through the entire night; attention to liturgical details as teacher of music and liturgy.
21	Rituals of care	This feeding of the poor, clerical and lay, took place in churches favored by Robert located in Paris, Senlis, Orleans, Dijon, Auxerre, Avalon, Melun, Etampes.
22	Robert as Solomon	Building and decoration of the church of St. Anianus, Orleans (Helgaud had a hand in this work).
23	Lenten fasting	Abbey of St. Arnulf, Crepy, Soissons.
24	Reception of relics	A church dedicated to Saint Denis and built by Helgaud on land owned by Fleury.
25	Giving alms	Fleury.
26	Septuagesima	Miracle of the boat: Poissy near Paris.
27	Near Easter	Travels from Bourges to Orleans.
28	Prayer for Robert	Catalogue of churches

finds rich details in the crypt of Notre Dame d'Etampes attributed to the time of Robert the Pious, which shows the influence of Lombard workmanship in the capitals, and he mentions the vast size of some of the churches from the time, that of Saint-Mexme of Chinon, with a nave of seventy meters, and of Beaulieu-les-Loches, founded by Fulk Nerra. Hubert emphasizes the use of external programs of sculptures in bas relief on the facades of some Robertian buildings, the most detailed being at Azay-le-Rideau (near Tours).

The *Epitoma* was created for the church in Orleans dedicated to Saint Aignan, founded by King Robert.[40] Chapter 22 focuses on the church, the saint, and the dedication ceremony, and is of particular importance to the structure of the *vita* as a whole, falling early in the church building section as it does. The liturgy of the Dedication emphasized texts from the First Testament, and the work of Solomon in building the temple[41] The passage is one that Helgaud added to the *Epitoma* later, along with other corrections he made to the work, and a copy of the description in his hand survives in another source. Thomas Head says that it seems that he was an eyewitness to the dedication ceremony.[42] At the beginning of this chapter Robert speaks of his love for the saint, joking with the choirboys who learned their grammar the hard way:

> "Who is Anianus? Anianus! Anianus is certainly the true consolation of the afflicted, the fortitude of those who toil, the protection of kings, the defense of princes, the exultation of pontiffs [pontificum exultacio], the extraordinary and indescribable relief of clerics, monks, orphans, and widows [clericorum, monachorum, orphanorum et viduarum egregia et inenarrabilis sublevatio]." And joking, he turned to the boys who stood around him: "Isn't it this Anianus, about whom we are talking, who frequently and demonstrably frees you boys from being chastised with the twig?"[43]

The description of the dedication of the abbey church, with its altars for Peter, Benedict, and Anianus, concludes with Robert's prayer to this saint in which he asks that Aignan "reign over, put in order, and protect, for the fame and glory of Your name, this kingdom which You, in Your piety, mercy, and goodness gave us." A prayer for this particular church blossomed into a plea for Robert and his kingdom.

The church of Saint Aignan (Anianus in Latin) was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, but its early eleventh-century crypt survives, as do some of the original capitals.[44] The crypt is an early example for that region of an ambulatory with radiating chapels in the east end; the upper story presumably had the same shape.[45] Such architecture made room for processions and stations at altars with relics of the saints, and of course required music suitable for magnificent occasions. Ademar's description of this kind of singing features tropes sung antiphonally by alternating choirs from two different

congregations, one of monks and the other of cathedral canons. The reception of the relics of Saint Aignan in the new church featured a procession and festive music, with the king himself shouldering the reliquary and carrying it to the altar, which was located in the choir. Helgaud alludes to both Solomon and to David, connecting them to Robert and his liturgical actions:

> Thus, the renowned king, assisted by a people filled with joy and happiness, took the saint on his shoulders and transferred it with lauds to the new temple which he himself, the renowned king Robert, had constructed. They sang Lauds to the Lord and saint Anianus "with tambourine and choirs, with string instruments and organum" (Psalm 150.4) and placed him in the holy church dedicated to the honor, glory and praise of our Lord Jesus Christ and His servant Anianus, who is adorned with a special glory [speciali gloria decorati].[46]

Robert's work as a new Solomon persists throughout the second half of Helgaud's *Epitoma*, and is summed up at the end of chapter 28, where his anointing as a king with both temporal and spiritual oil is seen to bear fruit in his dedication to the cults of the saints [47] Robert's character as magnified by the cantor historian Helgaud of Fleury is a carefully crafted hagiographic creation that draws upon ideas of Robert that were already in circulation. Fulbert of Chartres' letters to Robert, witnesses to their close relationship, contain perhaps the earliest association of "piety" with Robert. In a letter of 1008 Fulbert refers to Robert as possessing *regiam pietatem* (the quality of royal mercy).[48] Rodolfus Glaber of Burgundy, writing a decade after Robert's death, says:

> Some years later King Hugh made a good end, having thus disposed of his realm in peace. Robert the king was still, as we have said, young, but he was wise and learned and distinguished by sweet eloquence and piety. It was by His Divine Providence that the Lord of all deigned to destine a man like this to rule the catholic people, especially at this time___" (*Histories,* 50-51).

The cantor historian who perhaps did the most for Robert's reputation after Helgaud himself, however, was the eleventh-century Odorannus of Sens, who terms Robert "pious," both for his dealings with people and through the manner in which he praised God.[49] Odorannus deals with Robert's scandalous life by describing a miraculous change of heart wrought within Robert and Constance by Saints Savinian and Potentian, two early apostles to the region, who appeared to Queen Constance in a dream while King Robert was in Rome trying to get his marriage to Berta reinstituted. The saints say: "Be constant, Constance!!"[50] When Robert returns from Rome, he is reconciled to Queen Constance, who, as a sign of her devotion to

the intercession of the saints, commissioned a magnificent reliquary from Odorannus himself to replace the older one made of lead.[51] The king summoned Odoranns, a monk of Sens, who seemed outstanding for the job, and with the queen agreeing, entrusted the work of great piety to his faith. Odorannus says the work contained fine silver acquired from Sens and from Paris, with Odorannus as the intermediary, and very precious gems from the same place. "It would have been a crime to pass over the subject in silence," the historian admits at the end of the passage (102-05).

Odorannus was musician, artist, and historian, and he puts his own efforts at the heart of the royal reconciliation, raising the cult of Savinian at the same time, and provoking feelings of pity for the queen.[52] His use of biographical details concerning Robert to promote the cult of local saints makes a parallel to Helgaud's association of Robert with Saint Anianus in Orleans, and demonstrates the way that cantor historians used their chronicles to raise cults of favored saints and to connect them with powerful political figures. These writers' use of the term "pious" suggests that the term refers to mercy and forgiveness rather than to success in eschewing sin. Both cantor/historians make a kind of reliquary through their writings for the deeds of Robert the Pious, allowing his actions to shine like the gold of the objects they made at his request for the cults of the saints. In historical works written by cantors who were also artists, the close interconnection between visual and sonic splendor was made directly, just as it would have been through the liturgical arts themselves.[53]

5. Conclusion: Robert the Pious, Composer of Sacred Song

The various written works describing Robert the Pious studied here, and the oral tradition that survived in concert with them, fostered a tradition of Robert as a devotee of the liturgy and liturgical music. Magnification of a particular figure by one cantor or groups of cantors can survive in the "guild," as cantors shared music and historical understandings, region to region. They were the keepers of time, and also of events and characters in time, sharing knowledge as they sometimes shared copies of musical works. Robert reappears clothed as if a musician in the writings of twelfth-century chroniclers, some of whom were cantors. Robert is mentioned in a twelfth-century fragmentary chronicle from Tours, an excerpt of which is found in Bouquet's *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (vol. 10, p. 225).[54] Robert is described not only as pious man dedicated to the giving of alms, but also as a composer of the responsory "Judea et Hierusalem," an internationally known Christmas chant, and the sequence "Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia," in actuality a work securely attributed to the famed ninth-century cantor of St. Gall, Notker Balbulus.[55] William of Malmesbury, another cantor historian, may have been the source of this legend. He describes Robert as a musician, and credits him with these

same pieces. In the course of discussing Gerbert of Aurillac, he turns to Robert:

> He [Gerbert] had pupils of notable gifts and noble birth, Robert the son of Hugh called Capet, and Otto the son of the Emperor Otto— [T]he king himself had no little knowledge of church music, and both in this and other ways did much for the Church; he composed for example a very beautiful sequence, "Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia" and a responsory "O Juda et Jerusalem," and other things of which I would gladly tell, except that others might not so gladly listen.[56]

William's training as a cantor reveals itself throughout the passage, not only by his keen interest in matters musical—as well as his realization that his readership might not share it—but also in his knowledge of Robert's accomplishments in this vein, suggesting that other bits of information survived that cantor historians were delighted to transmit from one to the other in the twelfth century. None of the sources listed as twelfth-century works in Bouquet attribute yet other chants to Robert, but by the thirteenth century, the list of his works has expanded. Helinand of Froidmont (d. 1229), the troubadour turned Cistercian, wrote his chronicle in the second decade of the thirteenth century,[57] and he claimed that Robert was not unlearned in ecclesiastical song, attributing to him the sequence "Sancti Spiritus assit," the responsory "O Juda et Jerusalem," and the Alleluia "Eripe me de inimicis meis." Helinand also tells the story that once on a journey to Rome on the Vigil of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the king placed a scroll of parchment (*schedula*) on the altar. Those who received him had expected a great gift, and they found the scroll with the responsory "Cornelius Centurio" written on it, with its verse, which the king himself had composed with its music (See PL 212, col. 920A). Another chronicle of Tours, this from the early thirteenth century lauds King Robert the *piissimus* and lists five pieces: "Rex omnipotens," for the Ascension, and "Sancti Spiritus," as well as three responsories, "Judea et Jerusalem," "O quam admirabile," for St. Martin, and "O constantia martyrum."[58] The inclusion of "O constantia martyrum" is yet another way that historians delighted in punning on the queen's name, and her highly unfavorable character, and, as will be seen below, the chant came to have a legend attached by the fourteenth century.

The *Grandes Chroniques de France* was produced in the 1270s by the monk Primat of St. Denis from earlier circulating Latin sources, including the histories mentioned here, those of Aimon of Fleury and Hugh of Fleury, as well as Sigebert of Gembloux, the Pseudo-Turpin, William of Jumieges, who continued the work of Dudo of St. Quentin, and several earlier vernacular versions.[39] Anne Hedeman reports on Primat's strategies for making the kings of France the leaders of the Christian world, but she also warns that these kings must "strive continually to merit their special

status in the eyes of God."[60] Robert the Pious is described in the *Grandes Chroniques* first and foremost as a musician and composer, and it is here that the legend surrounding Robert's composing of "Cornelius Centurion" was spun. The chant itself circulated broadly in northern French and English sources, as well as in Italy and East of the Rhine, and was sung on the Feast of St. Peter's Chains. It celebrates the vision of the centurion of Acts 10.1—8 who traveled to St. Peter in Rome as a result of a vision, and was converted by him. Although Robert's journeys to Rome had to do with requests to validate his marriage to Berta, to picture the king presenting this chant as a gift to the pope transforms the visits into something splendid; Robert charms the Papal courtiers through a new chant for which, Primat says, he composed both the text and the music. Jean Fouquet painted Robert in this scene for the fifteenth-century copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* (France, BN fr. 6465).[61] Fouquet shows the king presenting "Cornelius Centurio" at an altar from the clergy's side; he is crowned and arrayed in the traditional blue cloak with golden fleur-de-lis, looking like a kingly priest. The pope in the triple tiara stands to Robert's right, offering a gesture of blessing.[62] The idea that the chant is written on a long, thin and rolled up piece of parchment is underscored in this rendering. Rebels at the siege of Melun, led by Queen Berta's husband Odo of Chartres/Blois appear in an adjacent scene.

Johannes Iperius, Abbot of St. Bertin (1366-1383), credited with authorship of the *Chronicon Sancti Bertini,* an especially rich source for the history of medieval Flanders, shows how far the stories of Robert have developed by the mid fourteenth century.[63] According to Abbot Johannes, Robert was an excellent *musicus* who composed "Adsit nobis gratia," "Judeae et Hierusalem" "Concede nobis quaesumus," the antiphon, "Eripe," and the responsory "Cornelius Centurio" which he placed on the altar of St. Peter's in Rome. Because of his fame and skills, his wife Constance asked him to make a song for her, and thus he wrote "O constantia martyrum." This is an idea that would have delighted and amused historians who knew the story of Robert and his queen. Sung for the feasts using the Common of Martyrs, the piece was not widespread geographically, but rather it appears primarily in northern France and England.[64] The text of this responsory would have been heavily ironic if one knew the lore surrounding Constance's personality and the myth that Robert wrote the piece to placate his difficult queen. "O laudable constancy of the martyrs, O inextinguishable charity, O unconquerable patience," qualities the real Constance apparently lacked.[65]

Johannes Trithemius (1462-1516), the polymathic abbot of Sponheim, describes the event in great detail, and moving it to the church of St. Peter's in Rome (whereas Fouquet paints the event in a monastic church, with the Pope presiding).[66] In this chronicle, Robert is remembered primarily as a composer, and this particular kind of historical magnification is complete. Robert can not only compose music, but he knows how to notate it,

possessing the kind of skill that the medieval cantor had, and providing an appropriate ending to Robert's journey from king to cantor:

> Robert, king of Francia, noble, strong, just, learned, religious, rightly received a place among writers of church history, for he composed chants and responsories with sweet and regular modulation for the honor of the Catholic Church. In humane letters, especially in music, he was most learned, of very great sanctity as he sang the canonical hours in church, or outside when he would read with his own men at home. Of such piety and compassion, he dressed in rags so often did he despoil his clothes for his people, covering their nakedness with many goods. From his hands a book was never wanting, even as he sat in the tribune, with the noise of the judging and of the cases, he kept an open Psalter in his bosom, that after his death is said to have gleamed with miracles. He composed that popular sequence, which is sung on the days of Pentecost, "Veni Sancte Spiritus," the responsory for St. Peter, "Cornelius Centurio," and for Christmas, "Judaea et Hierusalem nolite," and the Alleluia, "Eripe me de inimicis." And many others that I do not know. The responsory "Cornelius Centurio" he brought to the altar in St. Peter's during the offertory, with great devotion, while the Pope was celebrating Mass. The ministers of the altar running up thought that the wealthy king would have brought gold of great weight, but seeing the scroll written and noted, they were astonished, and praised the ingenuity and devotion of the king. With the clerics requesting it, the presiding pope decreed that in memory of the king this responsory would be sung in honor of St. Peter from that time on.

Notes

1 Robert has the queen with him in an early source, and Count Odo of Chartres/Blois as well, who was the son of Berta of Blois. If both of them were in tow, the journey would not have been a pleasant one.

2 Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon* 3.56, ed. R. Landes and G. Pon, CCCM 129 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 175—76, lines 30-65: "Itaque, ut ad propositum redeamus, dum inventum ostenderetur caput sancti Johannis, omnis Aquitania et Gallia, Italia et Hispania ad famam commota, ibi occurrere certatim festinat. Rex quoque Francorum Rotbertus, rex Navarrae, Sancius, omnesque dignitates eorum confluxerunt. Ubi omnes offerebant munera preciosa diversorum generum: nam supradictus rex Francorum, oblata conca ex auro purissimo pensante libras XXX et preciosis vestibus oloscericis et auro textis ad ornatum ecclesiae, a duce Willelmo susceptus condigne, per Pictavis Franciam reversus est. Quid dicam? quia ultra omnem felicitatem et gloriam videbatur concursus psallentium cum reliquiis sanctorum ex monachis et canonicis, qui undecumque ad memonam sancti Precursoris festinabantur. (In the Landes/Pon edition there is a section here featuring St. Martial's relics). Cum eisdem equidem pigneribus abbas Josfredus atque episcopus Giraldus, cum principibus numerosis et omni innumerabili populo, diverterunt in basilicam Sancti Salvatoris Carrofi. Exieruntque eis

obviam monachi cum omni plebe foris miliario uno, et cum apparatu honorifico, diem festum agentes, antiphonas excelsa voce intonantes, deduxerunt eos usque ad altare Salvatoris. Et missa celebrata, simili modo prosecuti sunt eos. Cumque in basilicam sancti Precursoris intrassent, celebravit ante caput sancti Johannis missam episcopus Giraldus de nativitate ejusdem sancti Baptiste, cum esset mensis october. At canonici Sancti Stephani cum monachis Sancti Marcialis alternatim tropos ac laudes cecinerunt festivo more et post missam episcopus cum capite sancti Johannis benedixit populum, et sic de miraculis sancti Marcialis, quae per viam contigerant, valde laetantes, quinto die ante festivitatem Ominum Sanctorum reversi sunt." The English translation is modified from that of Thomas Head, accessed on Decemberl, 2008, and used with Professor Head's permission: http://urban.hunter.cuny.edu/~thead/ademar.htm. Head's translation is based on the edition of Jules Chavanon (Paris, 1897), 179-82, as it was made before the Landes/Pon edition was published. Richard Landes has studied the rapid shifts in point of view that Ademar underwent during this time; see his "L'accesssion des Capetians: Une reconsideration selon les sources," in *Religion et culture autour de Van mil: Royaume capetian et Lotharingie* (Paris: Picard, 1990), 151-69, and his *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989-1034* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995). On Ademar as copyist and composer, see James Grier's definitive study, *The Musical World of a Medieval Monk: Ademar de Chabannes in Eleventh-Century Aquitaine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), which depends to a degree on Landes's (1995) identification of Ademar's hand, but then extends the work into the realm of notation and composition.

3 For an overview of the magnificence of the medieval *adventus* ceremony and further bibliography, see my paper "*Adventus* at Chartres: Ritual Models for Major Processions," in *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe,* ed. Nicholas Howe (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 13—62. The idea of *adventus* is ancient and predominates in medieval ritual practices, both within the church and without, as here in Ademar's description. The bibliography on saints' lives, relics, and the visual arts is enormous. There are fine introductions in Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of the Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), and in an issue of *Gesta* (1997), with a preface by Caroline Walker Bynum. This is devoted to body-part reliquaries, each of which magnifies a saint's powers, often through an attribute related to a narrative. Ideals surrounding *adventus* and the reception of relics were united in many medieval ceremonies; Ademar's description offers a detailed example.

4 *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010) contains descriptions of the treatment of miracles and public piety, several featuring music.

5 An excellent example of music's power to magnify a king and his heritage can be seen in the use of the "Laudes Regiae" chant in a polyphonic work by Machaut for the coronation of Charles V in Reims in 1364. For discussion see Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in His Musical Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 234-56.

6 For the translation from Lucas Verheijen, CCSL 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), 181—82, and commentary, see *Source Readings in Music History,* ed. Oliver Strunk, rev. ed. Leo Treitler (New York: Norton, 1988), 133.

7 Anders Ekenberg, *Cur Cantatur? Die Funktionen des liturgischen Gesangs nach den Autoren der Karolingerzeit* (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell International, 1987) is a useful compilation of texts regarding song and motivation in the early Middle Ages.

8 For discussion of the pauses in monastic psalmody, see Emma Hornby, "Preliminary Thoughts about Silence in Early Western Chant," in *Silence, Music, Silent Music,* ed. Nicky Losseff and Jenny Doctor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 141-52.

9 See my "The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation," *Early Music History* 5 (1985), 29-51.

10 On Ademar's attempts to raise the cult of St. Martial and their success, see Grier, *The Musical World,* especially 296-326.

11 Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

12 Richer's history has appeared in several editions and translations, the most important of which are *Histoire de son temps,* ed. G.-H. Pertz, trans. J. Gaudet. 2 vols. (Paris: J. Renouard, 1845); *Histoire de France, 888-945 [Historiae lihri V],* ed. and trans. Robert Latouche, 2 vols. (Paris: H. Champion, 1930); and *Historiae,* ed. Hartmut Hoffman. *Monumenta Germanicae Historica,* Scriptores 38 (Hannover: Hahn, 2000). G. Koziol's *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992) contains study of the ways in which the liturgy served to establish the Capetian line; see especially his chapter 4, "The Rehabilitation of Royal Dignity." In *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001) Philippe Buc has warned against interpreting ritual representations in the writings of historians as examples of actual practice. Often, he argues, the liturgies depicted are examples of problematic ritual, and serve as foreshadowings of events that will also go wrong. Koziol believes that many of Richer's descriptions of ritual are fanciful.

13 Berta's grandmother, Gerberge, was the wife of King Louis IV d'Outremer.

14 For the synod Pope Gregory V called in Pavia in 997, see Philipp Jaffe, *Regesta pontificum romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum* MCXCVIII, ed. G. Wattenbach. 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig: Veit, 1885-88), I, 492. The political situation underlying this much-studied liason is summarized in Christian Pfister, *Etudes sur le regne de Robert le Pieux (996—1031),* Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des hautes etudes 64 (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1885); Ferdinand Lot, *Etudes sur le Rtgne de Hugues Capet et la Fin du Xe Siecle* (Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1903), 120—27; William Mendel Newman, *The Kings, the Court, and the Royal Power in France in the Eleventh Century* (Ph.D. diss..University of Toulouse) (Toulouse: H. Cleder, 1929); Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France,* trans. Barbara Bray (New York: Pantheon, 1983; first published in French, in 1981), at 75—85; Laurent Theis, *Robert le Pieux: le roi de Van mil* (Paris: Perrin, 1999) and Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres* (n. 4 above).

15 J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence: Expensis Antonii Zatta, 1759-1927 / Paris: H. Welter, 1901-27) 19:223. See also Michel Rouche, "Gerbert face aux marriages incestueux: le cas de Robert le Pieux," in *Gerbert: Moine, eveque et pape: D'un millenaire a Vautre* (Aurillac: Association cantalienne pour la commemoration du pape Gerbert, 2000), 153—60, and Constance B. Bouchard, "Consanguinity and Noble Marriages in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *Speculum* 56 (1981): 274 and 276 [268-87],

16 Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France,* trans. Elborg Forster (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 53 and 127, points out that the legend originated with Peter Damian; repeated in Duby, *The Knight,* 83—84. See Peter's letter to Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino in *Recueil*

des historiens des Gaules et de la France. 25 vols; nouv. ed. 19 vols. (Paris: Victor Palme, 1869-80), 10:493, and a fragmentary history of France that ends in the same volume, 211. Duby (*The Knight,* 84) suggests that the story was useful in the early twelfth century to King Louis VI who was quarrelling with his father's mistress/wife, Bertrade of Montfort. Peter Damian's letters have appeared in English translation by Owen J. Blum (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, ca. 1989), 6 vols; for the letter in question, see vol. 5, letter 102 (123-41), at 136.

17 See Andrew W. Lewis, "Anticipatory Association of the Heir in Early Capetian France," *The American Historical Review* 83 (1978): 906-27.

18 The incident is reported by Rodolfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories* 3.7, ed. and trans. John France (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). Glaber, as might be expected, puts a positive spin on it, for the king afterward "soon lived in concord again with his wife, as was only proper. He was a very wise king and always a devout worshipper of God, who loved the humble and (so far as he could) hated the proud." (108-09).

19 The letter, edited and translated by Frederick Behrends, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), no. 124, 222-23, is dated 1027, just before Prince Henry's coronation on May 14. Constance had opposed Henry, and had wished that Robert, her favorite, be crowned. Fulbert says, "I would indeed hasten to attend Prince Henry's consecration, but I am kept back by ill health. Yet I would try to go there as best I could by traveling a little at a time if I were not frightened away by the savagery of his mother, who is quite trustworthy when she promises evil, as is proved by her many memorable deeds."

20 See Penelope Ann Adair, "Constance of Aries: A Study in Duty and Frustration," in *Capetian Women,* ed. Kathleen Nolan (New York: Macmillan, 2003), 9-26.

21 See, for example, Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints: The Diocese of Orleans 800-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 71-72, 240.

22 The fundamental study of Helgaud's life of Robert the Pious is the introduction, notes, and commentary to the edition by Robert-Henri Bautier and Gillette Labory, *Epitoma vitae regis Rotberti Pii,* in *Vie de Robert le Pieux* (Paris: CNRS, 1965). Philippe Buc's translation of the *Epitoma, A Brief Life of Robert the Pious* is available on the Internet at: http://www.stanford.edu/dept/history/people/buc/HELG-W.DOC (accessed January 2009); it contains a useful introduction. I am grateful to Professor Buc for permission to quote from his translation. The *Epitoma* survives in a single copy in Rome, *Vatican, BAV Reg. lat. 566,* a collection of fragments, mostly hagiographical, gathered together in the sixteenth century. Bautier has studied the heavily revised manuscript, pointing to a major layer of additions and expansions, as well as corrections in Helgaud's hand. Odo of Cluny's *Life of Gerald of Aurillac,* often seen as an inspiration for Helgaud, has been translated into English by Gerard Sitwell, *Saint Odo of Cluny: Being the Life of St. Odo of Cluny by John of Salerno and the Life of Gerald of Aurillac by St. Odo* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958). For the correspondances, see Claude Carozzi, "La vie du roi Robert par Helgaud de Fleury: Historiographie et hagiographie," in *Vhistoriographie en Occident du Ve au XVe siecle—Annates de Bretagne et des pays de I'Ouest* 87 (1980), 219-35

23 For a discussion of the rivalry between the coronation cities of Reims and Orleans see Robert-Henri Bautier, "L'avenement d'Hughes Capet et le sacre de Robert le

Pieux," in *Le roi de France et son royaume, autour de I'an mil,* ed. Michel Parisse and Xavier Barral i Altet (Paris: Picard, 1992), 27-37; for Robert's palaces and his frequency of stay in each, see Annie Renoux, "Palais capetiens et normands a la fin du Xe siecle et au debut du XIe siecle," in *Le roi de France* (as above), 179-91. The importance of Orleans as a center and of Fleury as a leader of monastic reform in the period is sketched in Marco Mostert, "L'abbe, l'eveque et le pape: l'image de l'eveque ideal dans les oeuvres d'Abbon de Fleury," in *Religion et culture autour de I'an Mil: Royaume capetien et Lotharingie. Actes du Colloque Hugues Capet, 987—1987: La France de I'An Mil, Auxerre, 26 et 27 juin 1987/Metz, 11 et 12 septembre 1987,* ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat and Jean-Charles Picard (Paris: Picard, 1990), 39—45.

24 The studies of "historical cultures," such as Leah Shopkow's on the Norman historians (*History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1997)), connect bodies of written materials to particular regions or institutions. The term can easily be broadened to include not only the writers but also the liturgy, cult, and the arts, of a given place. On the historical school of Fleury, see especially Alexandre Vidier, *L'historiographie a Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire et les miracles de Saint Benoit,* posthumously edited and annotated by the monks of Saint-Benoit de Fleury (Paris: Picard, 1965); in this book the sense of the past within a community has been perpetuated into modern times.

25 This intense activity suggests that the monks of Fleury were hoping to establish their abbey as the inheritor of the history-writing tradition of Saint-Denis, the traditional burial place for the Carolingian kings, where royal histories had been produced for centuries. During this period a church dedicated to Saint-Denis was established in Orleans to lend it the authority of the saint. The monks of Fleury were called upon to reform St. Peter's in Chartres during the mid-tenth century in the time of Abbot Vulfad.

26 *Cartulaire de I'abbaye de Saint-Pere de Chartres,* ed. M. Guerard (Paris: Crapelet, 1840), 1.108-15; "The Synod of Orleans, 1022," in *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation,* ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 66—71. Robert-Henri Bautier has provided the authoritative discussion of this troubling event; see "L'heresie d'Orleans et le mouvement intellectuel au debut de XIe siecle: Documents et hypotheses," in *Actes du 95e Congris national des societes savantes, Reims 1970. Section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'd 1610. Enseignement et vie intellectuelle (IXe-XVIe) sikle* (Paris: Bibliotheque Nationale, 1975), 63-88.

27 Claude Carozzi, "La vie du roi Robert," and "Le roi et la liturgie chez Helgaud de Fleury," in *Hagiographie, cultures et societes, IVe-XIIe siicles,* ed. Evelyne Patlagean and Pierre Riche (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1981), 417-32.

28 Carozzi points to the lives of Gerald of Aurillac (ca. 855-909) which emphasize the importance of the inner life of faith. On the liturgical veneration of Saint Gerald see M. P. Ferreira, "Two Offices for St. Gerald: Braga and Aurillac," in *Commemoration, Ritual and Performance: Essays in Medieval and Early Modern Music,* ed. J. M. Hardie with D. Harvey (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2006), 37-52.

29 For an introduction to some chants in honor of David, and their uses in later repertories, see Ruth Steiner, "David's Lament for Saul and Jonathan" in *Commemoration, Ritual, and Performance,* ed. Hardie, et al., 5-15.

30 This argument is developed by Marc Bloch in *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France,* trans. J. E. Anderson (London: Routledge and

Kegan Paul, 1973; first published in French in 1924), 43-46. Robert the Pious was the first of the French kings to have the royal touch.

31 *Epitoma* 1, 56.

32 Robert is outstanding because of his godliness, and his lineage is great in spite of the fact that its origins are foreign and obscure; here Helgaud magnifies through humility, a common tactic in his work: "At the time when the Lord looked down on the children of men to see whether any understood or were seeking God [Ps 52:3/53:2], there was Robert, king of the Franks. He was of most noble birth; his illustrious father was Hugh [Capet], and his mother Adelaide. They are to be praised for being worthy of the privilege of having such a son. His celebrated family issued, as he himself stated in holy and humble words, from the region of Ausonia [that is, Italy]" *(Epitoma* 2), 58.

33 A stylized likeness of Robert can be found on his unusual seal, pictured in Henri Pinoteau, "Les insignes du roi vers l'an mil," in *Roi de France* (see above, n.21), 87, who notes that the oval shape is customarily used for ecclesiastics rather than secular figures.

34 *Epitome* 2, trans. Buc. ("Eloquentie tantum incumbens ut nullus laberetur ides quin legeret Psalterium et exoraret cum sancto Davide Deum altissimum. Exstitit mitis, gratus, civilis animi et lepidi, magis beneficus quam blandus.") Latin texts are from Bautier and Labory.

35 1 Para (Chron) 22:7—10: "And David said to Solomon: My son, it was my desire to have built a house to the name of the Lord my God. But the word of the Lord came to me, saying: Thou hast shed much blood, and fought many battles, so thou canst not build a house to my name, after shedding so much blood before me: The son, that shall be born to thee... He shall build a house to my name____"

36 *Epitoma* 20, 100—01, trans. Buc, with modification.

37 *Epitoma* 21.

38 *Epitoma* 28, trans. Buc.

39 J. Hubert, "L'architecture et le decor des eglises en France au temps de Robert le Pieux (996-1031)," *Cahiers archeologiques* 36 (1988), 13-40. My study of tropes and tropers prepared in churches supported by Robert and his son is forthcoming.

40 T. Head, *Hagiography* (as in n.20), is an overview with some attention to Helgaud, esp. 79-81. Head sees Helgaud's work as epitomizing the "move from observation, memory, and oral sources to written composition" (79).

41 For discussion of First Testament themes in the Liturgy of the Dedication, see my *Virgin of Chartres* (n. 4 above), chapter 8.

42 Head, *Hagiography,* 80.

43 *Epitoma* 22, trans. Buc.

44 The bibliography on the church and its crypt is extensive, and what follows is representative. Pierre Martin continues to publish reports of recent excavations. F. Lesueur, "Saint-Aignan d'Orleans, l'eglise de Robert le Pieux," *Bulletin monumental* 115 (1957), 169-206; Pierre Martin and Chantal Arnaud, "Crypte de Saint-Aignan: Le couloir sud (section orientale), Rapport d'intervention archeologique," *Bulletin du Centre d'etudes medievales d'Auxerre 1* (2003); J. Ottaway, "Collegiale Saint-Aignan," in *Lepaysage monumental de la France autour de Van mil,* ed. Xavier Barral i Altet (Paris: Picard 1987), 257—58; P. Rousseau, "La crypte de l'eglise Saint-Aignan d'Orleans," *Etudes ligeriennes d'histoire et d'archeologie medievales,* ed. R. Louis (Auxerre: Societe des fouilles archeologiques et des monuments historiques de l'Yonne, 1975), 454—73; P. Martin, *Les vestiges d'une collegiale royale du debut du Xle sikle: La crypte de Saint-Aignan d 'Orleans, Sources, etude archeologique, architecture et decor* (Poitiers: University of

Poitiers, 1998); E. Vergnolle, "Saint-Aignan d'Orleans," in *Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire et la sculpture du Xle siecle* (Paris: Picard, 1985), 141-52.

45 Pierre Martin, "Premieres experiences de chevets a deambulatoire et chapelles rayonnantes de la Loire Moyenne: etat de la question," *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 32 (2001), 181-94. The many experiments with "eastwork" architecture have a rich bibliography; in addition to Martin, for this specific region see C. M. Malone, "The Rotunda of Sancta Maria in Dijon as 'Ostwerk,'" *Speculum* 75 (2000), 285-317.

46 *Epitoma,* 22. This may be the service of Lauds, which featured the singing of Psalm 150 on Sundays.

47 *Epitoma* 22, trans. Buc.

48 *Epitoma* 21, ed. and trans. Behrends, 38. Fulbert is often out of sorts with Robert in his later letters; he complains that he misses meetings with the king because of faulty information or tardy invitations; but his loyalty is without question.

49 The Latin word, *pius/pietas,* can be translated in several ways, with qualities of mercy and goodness, dutifulness and religiosity seen as primary. To translate it as "pious" in English is acceptable, but needs qualification, especially with themes of mercy that are often missing in modern interpretations of the word. Virgil frequently called Aeneus *pius* and the word would resonate with leaders who saw themselves as descended from the Trojans, as the Capetians did.

50 Odorannus, *Chronicle* 2, in *Opera Omnia,* ed. and trans. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1972), 100—01. Historians who wrote about Constance frequently punned on her name.

51 In his edition Bautier attempts to describe what the new reliquary may have looked like, given its inscriptions. He believes that imperial art was used as a model, and that one side contained portraits of Robert and Constance in the modes of emperor and empress. See also, Koziol, *Begging Pardon* (as in n.6), 162.

52 The force of liturgical understanding on a sermon by Odorannus is discussed in my paper, "The Liturgy and the Representation of History" in *Representing History: Art, Music, History, 1000-1300,* ed. Robert Maxwell (Forthcoming from University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2010). For a monograph that centers on the topic of the liturgy and the sermon, see M. B. Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002).

53 In addition to references given above, especially to Hubert, see more generally Xavier Barral i Altet, *The Romanesque: Towns, Cathedrals and Monasteries* (Koln & New York: Taschen, 1998); B. Hanawalt and M. Kobialka, *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); J. Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, ca. 300—1200* (New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University, 2000); *The White Mantle of Churches: Architecture, Liturgy and Art around the Millennium,* N. Hiscock, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

54 This chronicle is also published as *Chronicon Turonense* in F. Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores,* 5 vols. (Paris: 1636-49), vol. 3, 357—62.

55 "Robertus vir elemosynis deditus fuit et fecit responsum Judaea et Hierusalem et sequentia Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia," *Recueil,* 10.225.

56 Translation from William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings,* ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, with R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998 and 1999), 2 vols., vol. 1, ii.168, 285. See also notes in vol. 2, 155—157. The responsory's opening words differ depending primarily upon region. It was sung beginning "O Judea" in the Winchester troper; see M. Huglo, "Remarks on the alleluia and responsory series

in the Winchester Troper, in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy,* ed. S. Rankin and D. Hiley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 47-58, at 54.

57 On Helinand, see B. M. Kienzle, "Helinand de Froidmont et la predication cistercienne dans le Midi, 1145—1229," in *La predication en Pays d'Oc (Xlle-debut XVe sikle). Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 32 (Editions Privat: Toulouse) 1997, 37-67.

58 *Recueil,* ed. Bouquet, vol. 10, 281: "Cui successit Robertus filius ejus, simplex, piissimus, benivolus, devotus, et totius religionis amator egregius, innumeris eleemosynis deditus, et litterarum scientia imbutus. Nam et composuit Rex omnipotens, Sancti Spiritus, Judea et Jerusalem; de B. Martino, O quam admirabilis. O constantia martyrum; et regnavit post mortem patris annis XXXIV."

59 On the Pseudo-Turpin and the tradition of the *Grandes Chroniques,* see Gabrielle Spiegel, "Pseudo-Turpin, the Crisis of the Aristocracy and the Beginnings of Vernacular Historiography in France, *The Journal of Medieval History* 12 (1986), 207—23. The *Grandes Chroniques,* edited by Jules Viard for the Societe de L'Histoire de France, vol. 5 (Paris: Honore Champion, 1928), contains the compilation concerning Robert the Pious, 8—36.

60 Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France (1214-1422)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 5.

61 According to Avril, Jean Fouquet's rendering of Robert the Pious in Rome shows him presenting this responsory at the altar of a monastic church: *Grandes Chroniques de France,* ca. 1455—1460, Paris, French National Library, Fr. 6465, fol. 166v. Further commentary on the miniature is found in Francois Avril, et al., *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* (Vesoul: Marcel Bon, 1987), 114. The ways in which Philippe le Bel made Hugh Capet a descendent of Charlemagne to demonstrate that the line was appropriately Carolingian is explored in detail, with an appendix containing relevant documents, in Elizabeth A. R. Brown, *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial* (Aldershot, Great Britain: Variorum; Brookfield, VT: Gower, 1991).

62 A visual history of Robert through coins, paintings, sculpture, and engravings, is found online at Corpus Latinum Stampense (http://www.corpusetampois.com/cls-11-helgaldus), "Helgaud de Fleury, Vie de Robert II le Pieux, Vers 1040 (traduction Guizot de 1824)" (accessed January 2009). This Web site includes a copy of Fouquet's painting as well as a detail of Robert from another contemporary painting.

63 For a list of sources containing this work, see the online *Repertorium Chronicarum,* accessed January 2009, at http://www.chronica.msstate.edu/chronica.

64 This rough geographical range is based on the information available in the CANTUS database. CANTUS is the catalogue of representative office manuscripts, begun by professor Ruth Steiner of Catholic University, and now maintained by the University of Western Ontario. It can be searched in a variety of ways, and accessed at http://bach.music.uwo.ca/cantus/ (January 2009). Jean-Rene Hesbert's *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* (Rome: Herder, 1963—79), 6 vols., is the catalogue of twelve office manuscripts (six secular, six monastic) that first assigned numbers to individual chants of the Office, hence the CAO number.

65 The responsory has been recorded by Anne-Marie Deschamps and the Ensemble Venance Fortunat on the album *Rituel chants sacres au temps du premiers Capetiens* (Eguilles: L'Empreinte Digitale, 1998).

66 Johannes Trithemius, *Liber de Ecclesiasticis scriptoribus* in *Opera Historica,* ed. Marquard Freher (Frankfurt, 1601; rpt. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1966) 184-400, at 260.

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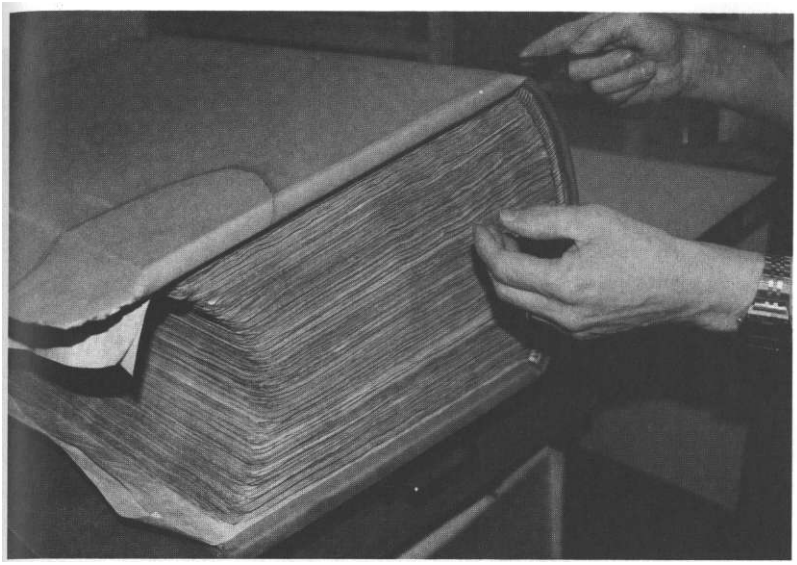

Plate 1 Codex Amiatinus. Florence (Firenze), Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1 (legatura mod. su concessione del Minsterio per I Beni e le Attivita Culturali)

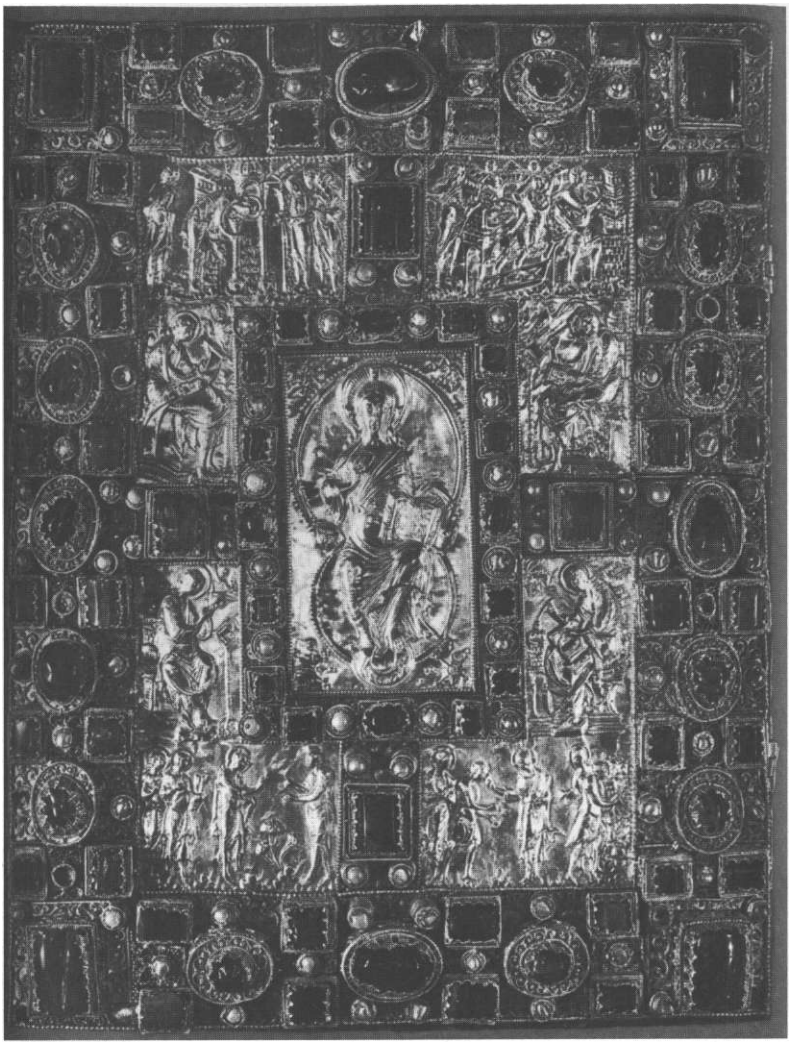

Plate 2 Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram, Cover. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munchen), Clm. 14000

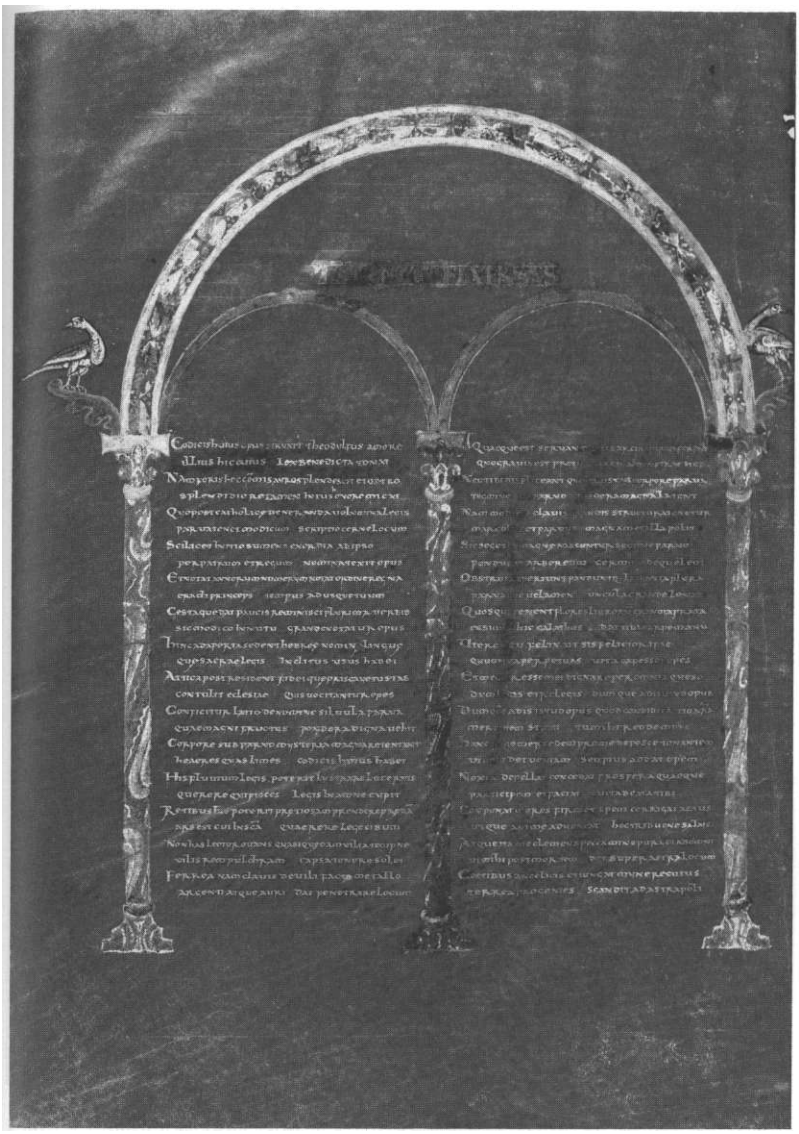

Plate 3 Theodulf Bible, Dedicatory poem. Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale de France, lat. 9380, fol. 348v

Plate 4 Book of Kells, Chi-Rho page. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS A. I. 6, fol. 34r (by permission of The Board of Trinity College Dublin)

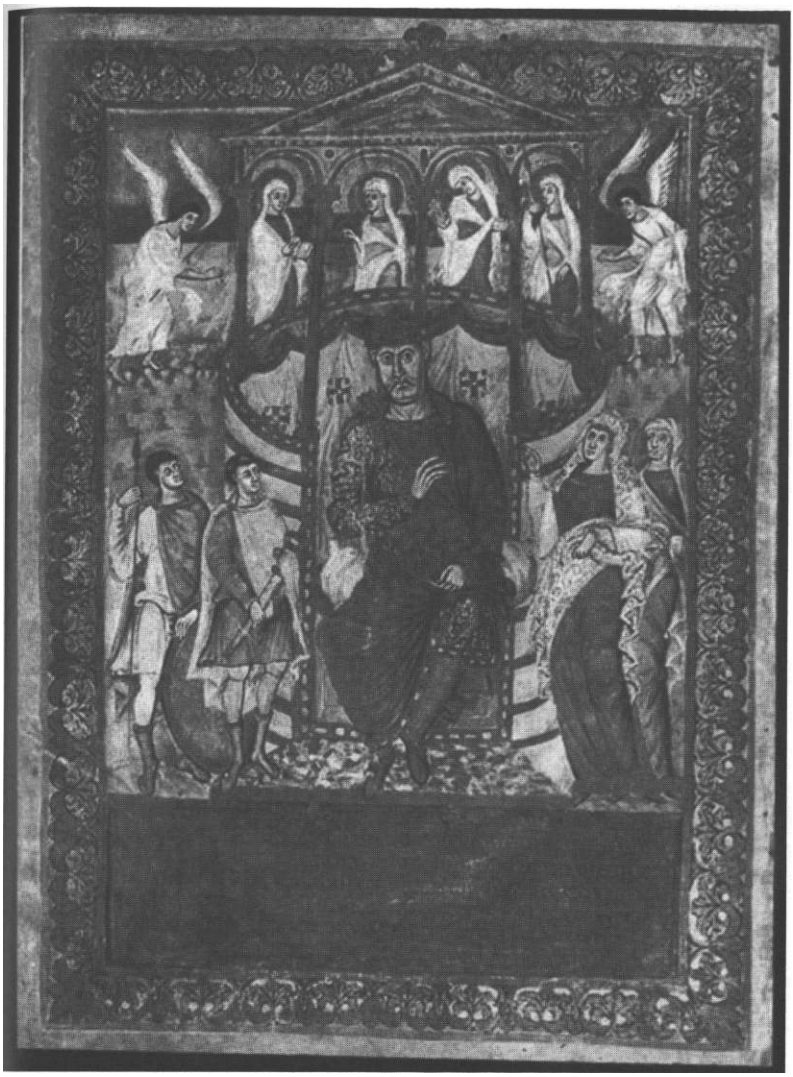

Plate 5 San Paolo Bible, Charles the Bald. Rome, San Paolo fuori le Mura, fol. 334r (photo courtesy of Herbert L. Kessler)

Plate 6 Aachen (Liuthar) Gospels, Otto in Majesty. Aachen, Domschatz, fol. 16r (copyright Domkapitel Aachen, Photos: Ann Miinchow)

Plate 7 Otto Gospels, Otto Enthroned, Approached by Personifications of the Provinces. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Miinchen), Clm. 4453, fols. 23v-24r

Plate 8 Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates and Empress Maria; Nikephoros and Courtiers. Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Coislin 79, fols. 2-2bisv

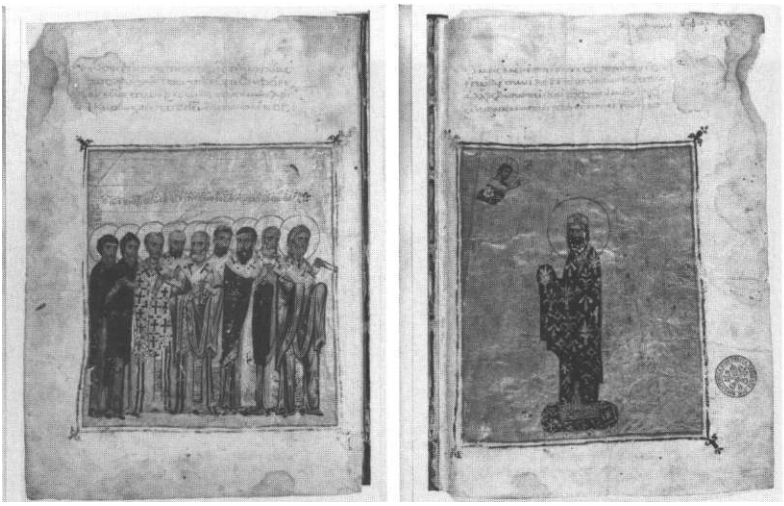

Plate 9 Church Fathers; Alexios **I.** Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Gr. 666, fols. 1v-2r (by permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, with all rights reserved)

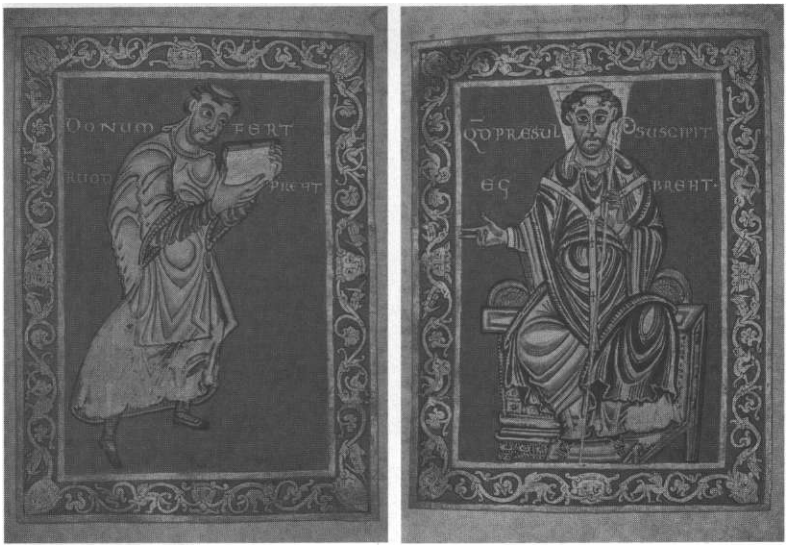

Plate 10 Egbert Psalter, Archbishop Egbert of Trier Receiving Book from Ruodprecht. Cividale, Museo archeologico nazionale di cividale del Friuli, Ms. CXXXVI, fols. 16v-17r (su concessione del Minsterio per I Beni e le Attivita Culturali, Soprintendenza per l beni storici, artistici ed etnoantropologici del Friuli Venezia Giulia)

Plate 11 Egbert Psalter, St. Peter Receiving Book from Egbert Cividale, Museo archeologico nazionale di cividale del Friuli, Ms. CXXXVI, fol. 18v-19r (su concessione del Minsterio per I Beni e le Attivita Culturali, Soprintendenza per i beni storici, artistici ed etnoantropologici del Friuli Venezia Giulia)

Plate 12 Homilies of Gregory the Great, Christ Receiving Book from Davidpertus. Vercelli, Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. 148, fols. 7v-8r (by permission Fondazione Museo del Tesoro del Duomo e Archivio Capitolare)

Plate 13 Egmond Gospels, Theoderic and Hildegard. The Hague, Royal Library, Cod. 76 F I, fols. 214v-215r

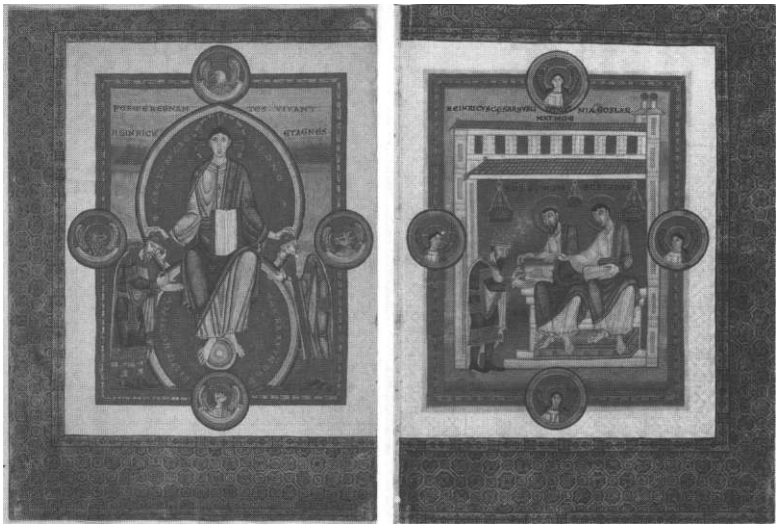

Plate 14 Henry III and Empress Agnes Crowned by Christ; Henry Donates Book. Uppsala, University Library, Ms. 7, fol. 3v-4r

Plate 15 Amiens Cathedral, general view (Conway Library, Courtauld Institute (photograph by A. F. Kersting))

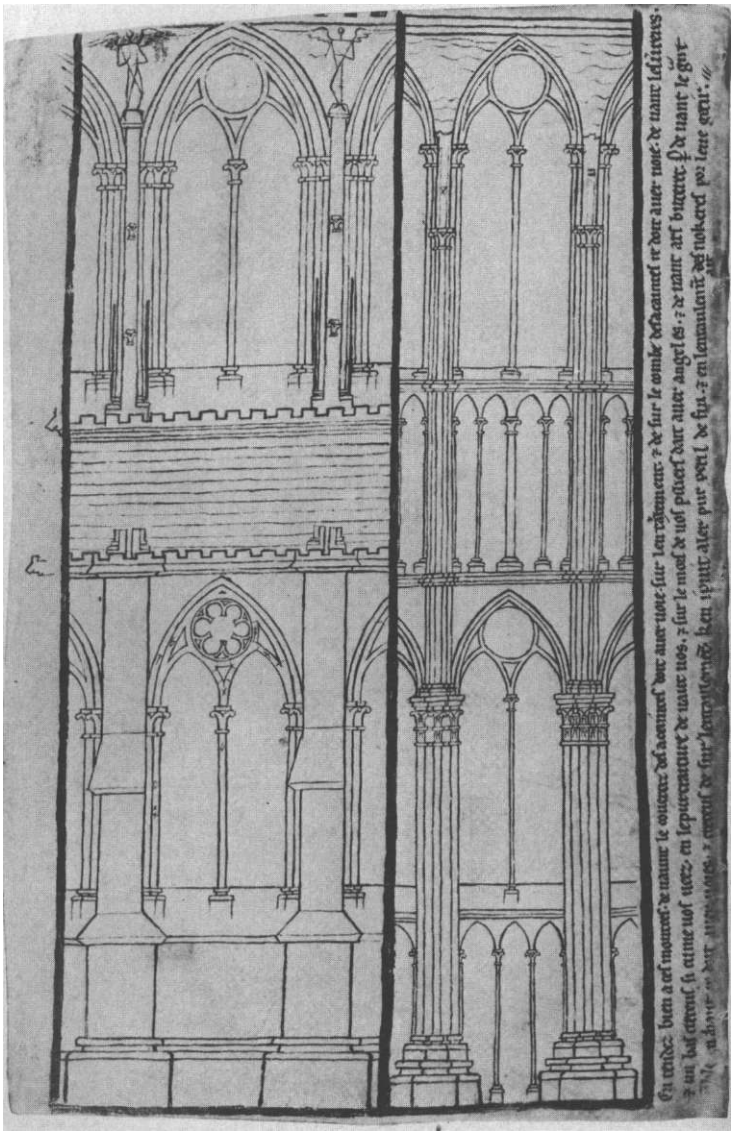

Plate 19 Villard de Honnecourt, nave elevations of Reims Cathedral (after Hahnloser 1935)

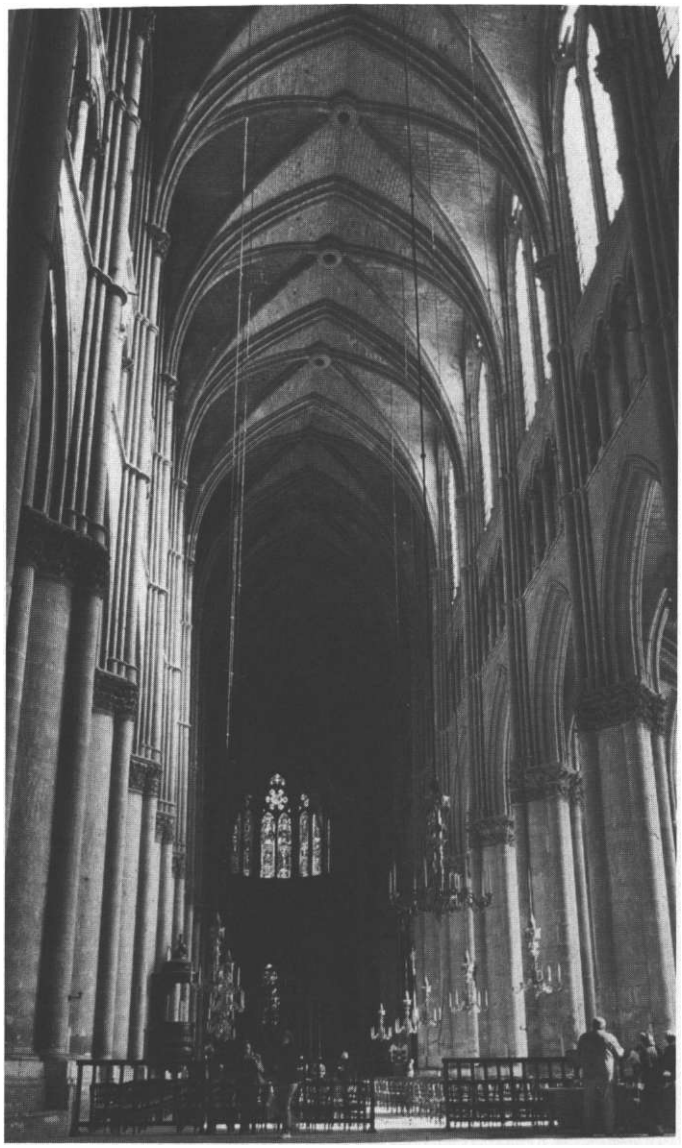

Plate 20 Reims Cathedral, nave. Photo by author

Plate 21 Seal of Barons of London, obverse, c. 1219, showing St Paul and London (Society of Antiquaries of London)

Plate 22 Hagia Sophia, dome interior. Photo by author

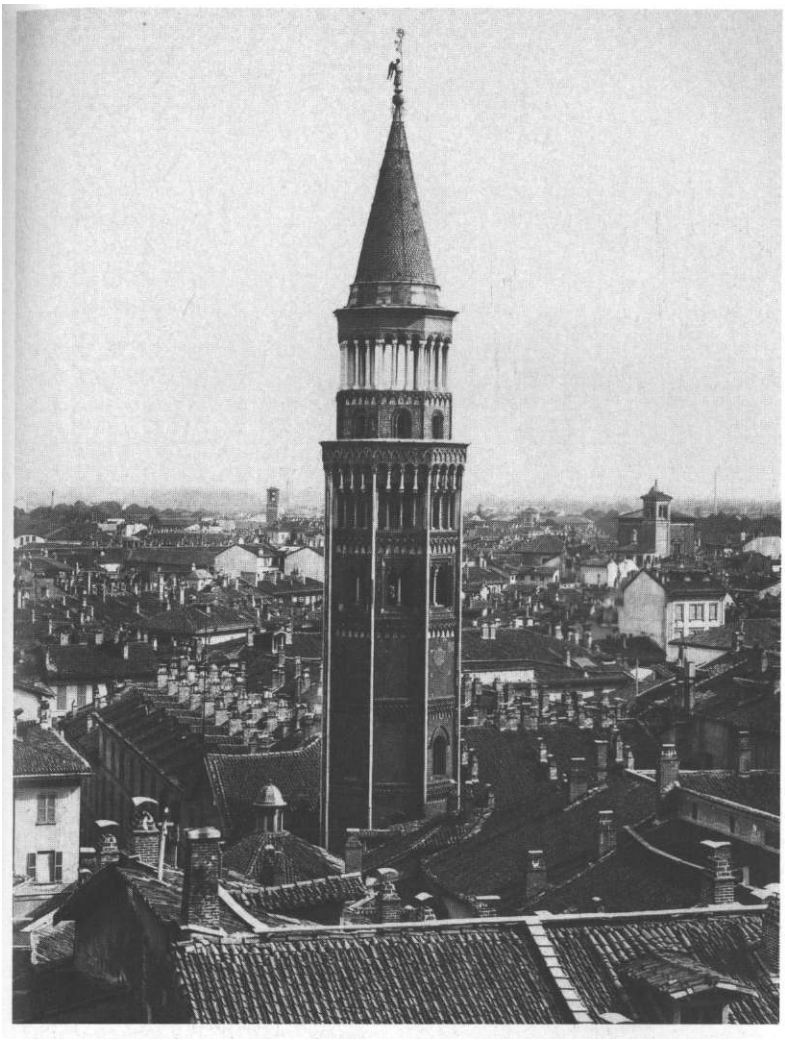

Plate 23 Milan, Tower of the Church of San Gottardo in Corte, 1330-1336. Photo by Alinari / Art Resource, NY

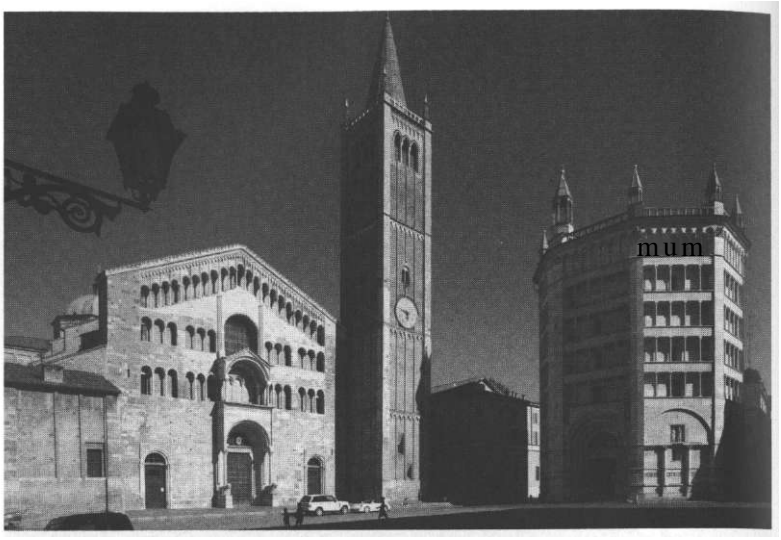

Plate 24 Parma's Piazza del Duomo, as it appears in the modern period, is the product of building campaigns of the thirteenth century. Photo by author

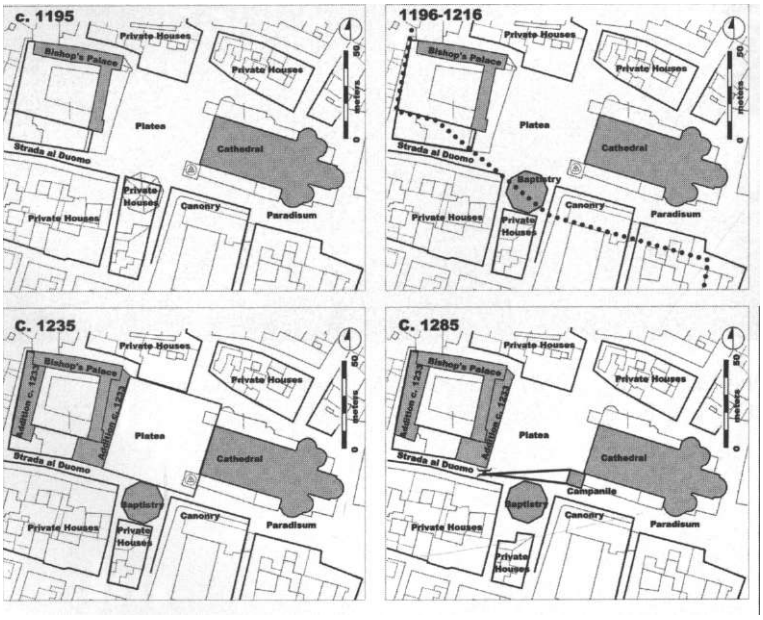

Plate 25 The development of Parma's Piazza del Duomo from 1195 to 1285

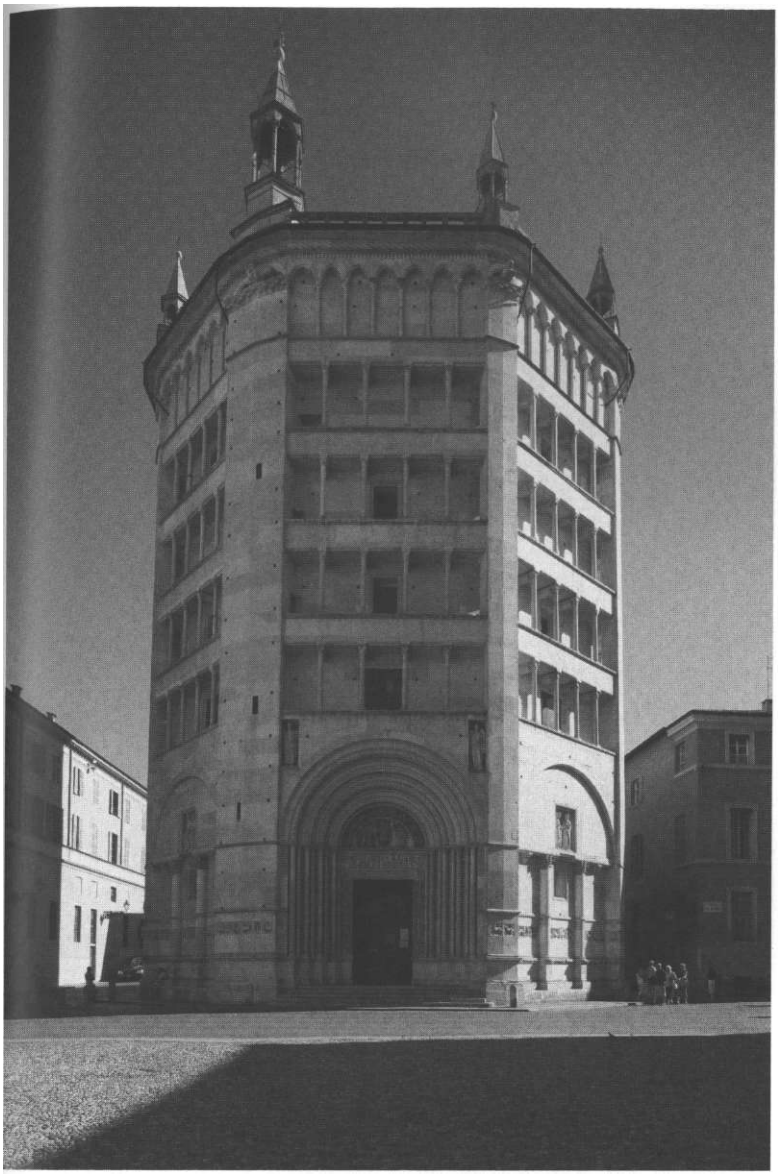

Plate 26 The octagonal building is the city's baptismal church, dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. It is faced with *rosso di Verona*; that material is also used in the cathedral and the bishop's palace. Photo by author

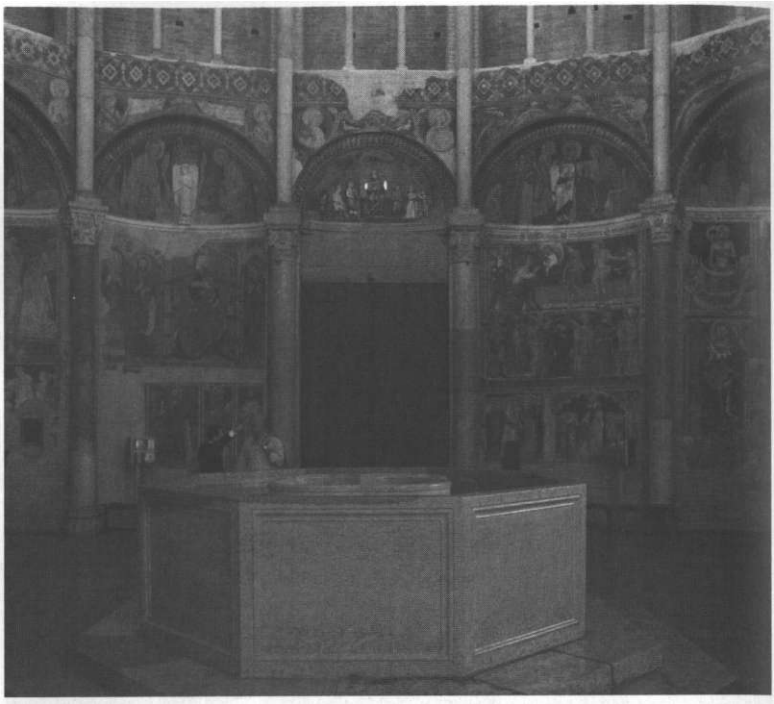

Plate 27 Spoliated Roman columns mix with medieval materials in the interior of the baptistery. Photo by author

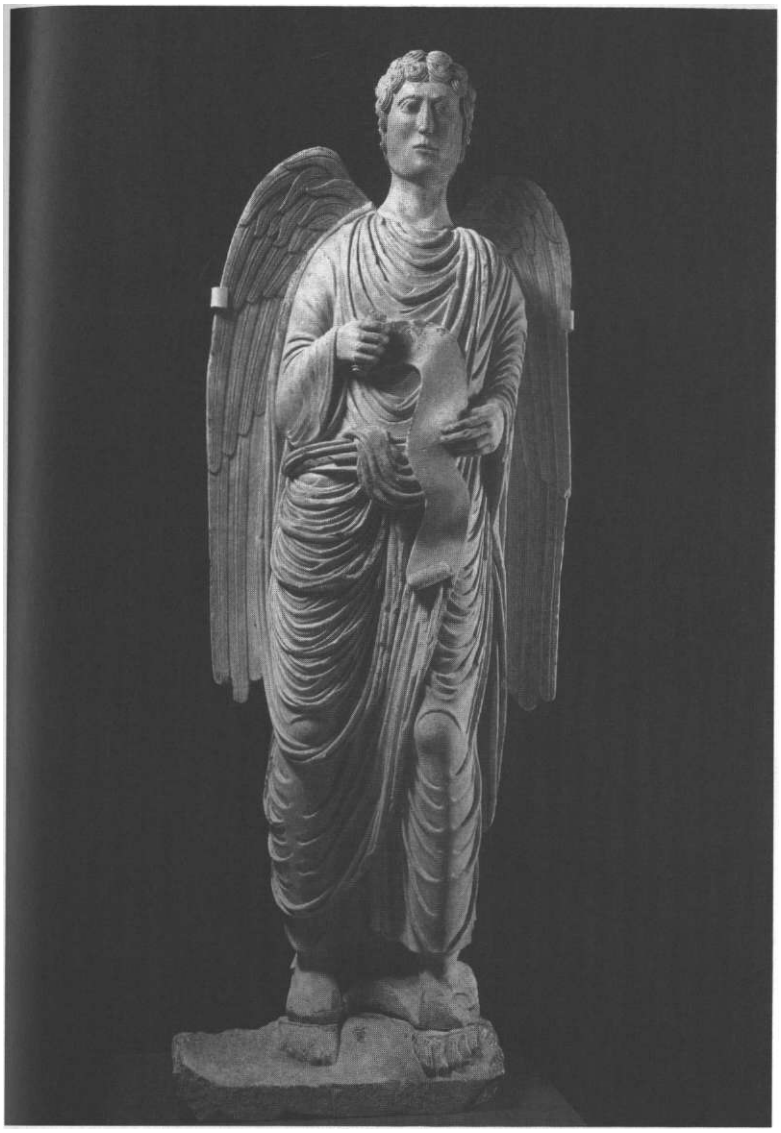

Plate 28 An ancient Roman statue of a man wearing a toga was adapted to represent the Archangel Michael. Benedetto Antelami (attr.), *Archangel Michael,* Museo Diocesano, Parma (formerly on the baptistery facade). Photo Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY

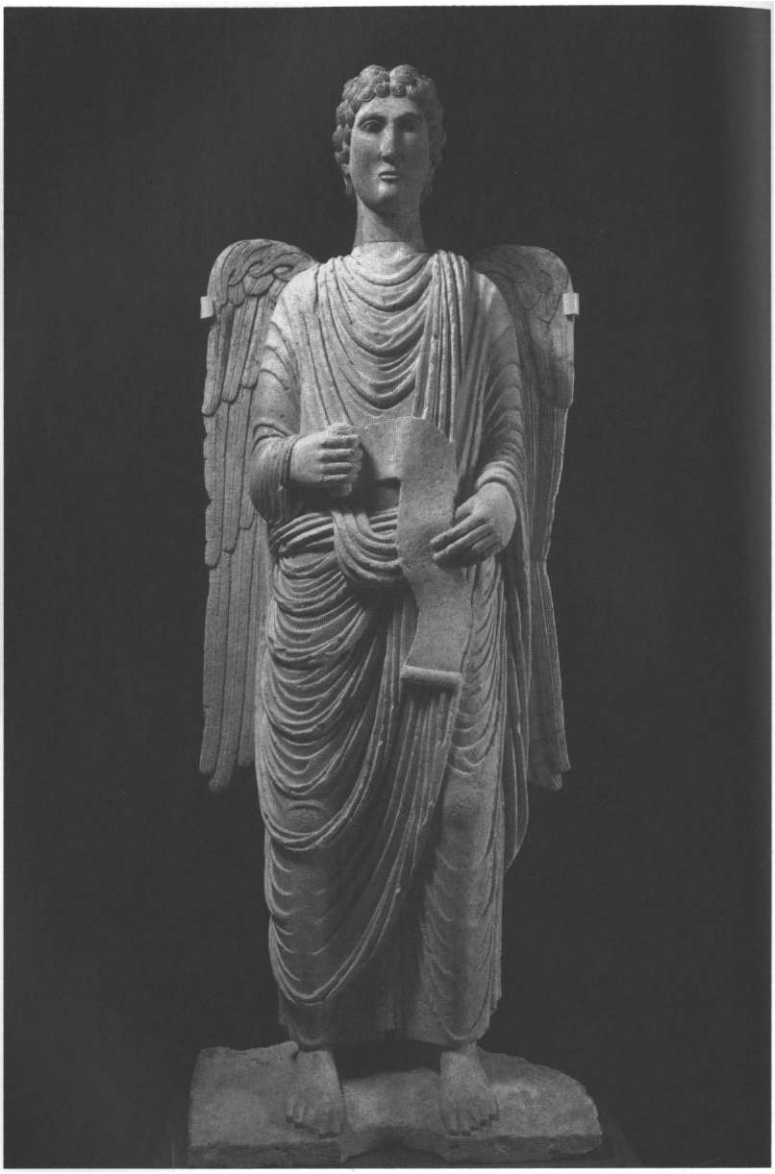

Plate 29 A figure of the Archangel Gabriel was carved *ex novo* and mounted as a pendant to the Archangel Michael statue on the baptistery's piazza facade. Benedetto Antelami (attr.), *Archangel Gabriel (or Raphael),* Museo Diocesano, Parma (formerly on the baptistery facade). Photo Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY

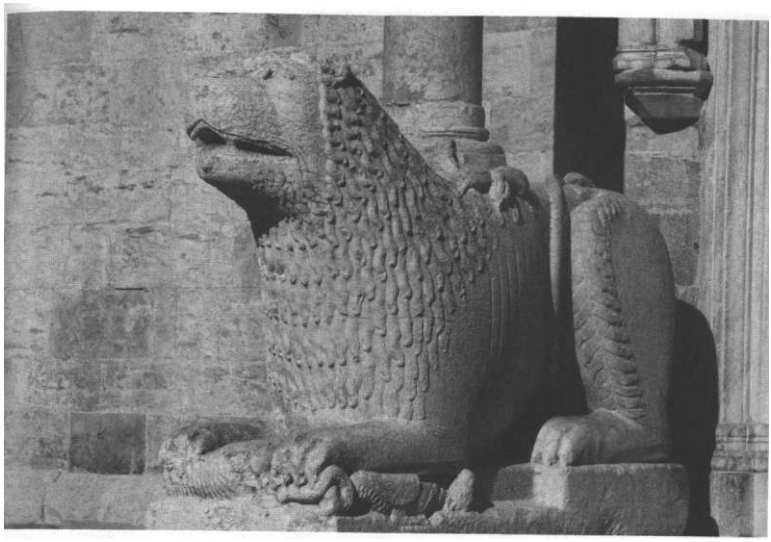

Plate 30 Detail of the column-supporting lions of the portico of the cathedral, Parma. Photo by author

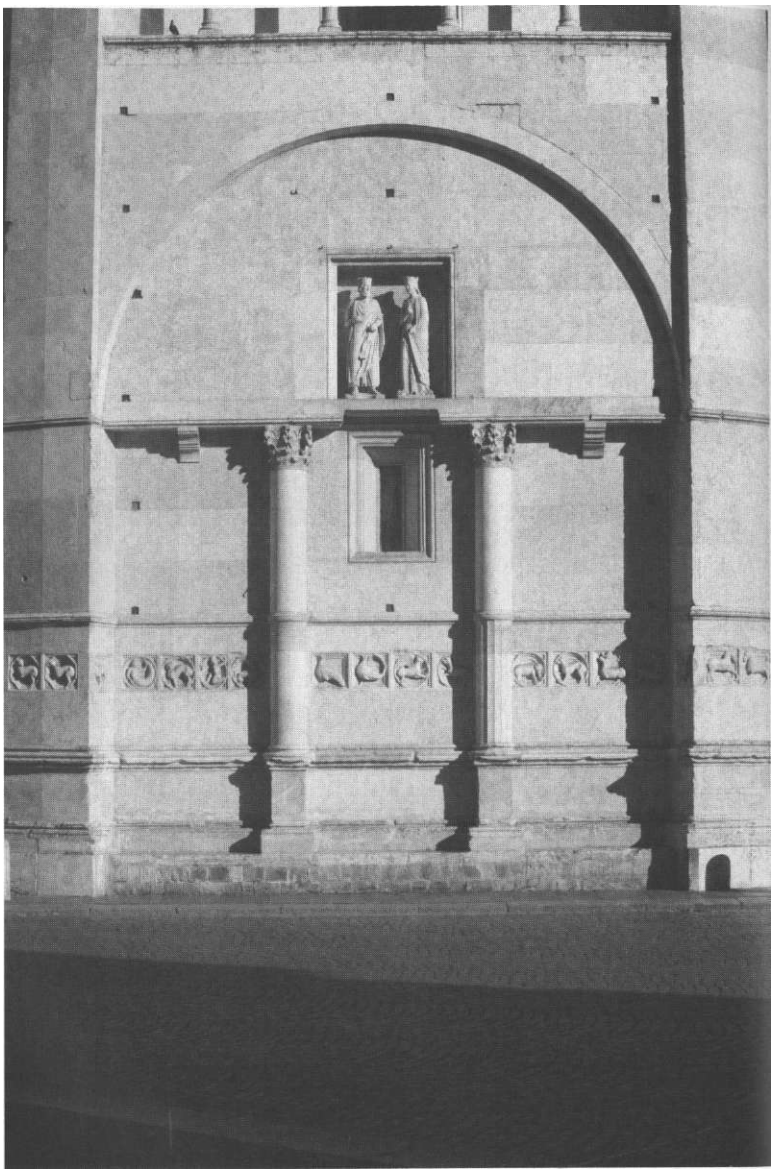

Plate 31 Detail of an engaged Doric column shaft from the baptistery's northwestern facet. Photo by author

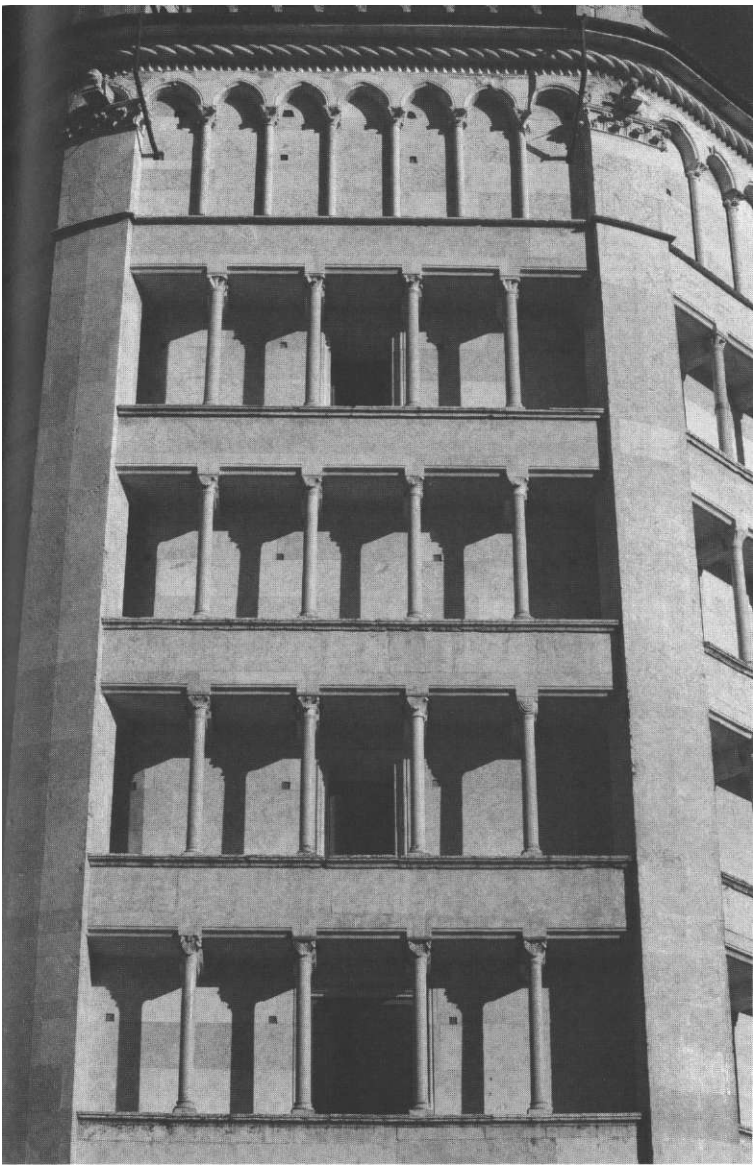

Plate 32 The baptistery's trabeated galleries recall Roman monuments such as the Septizonium in Rome. Photo by author

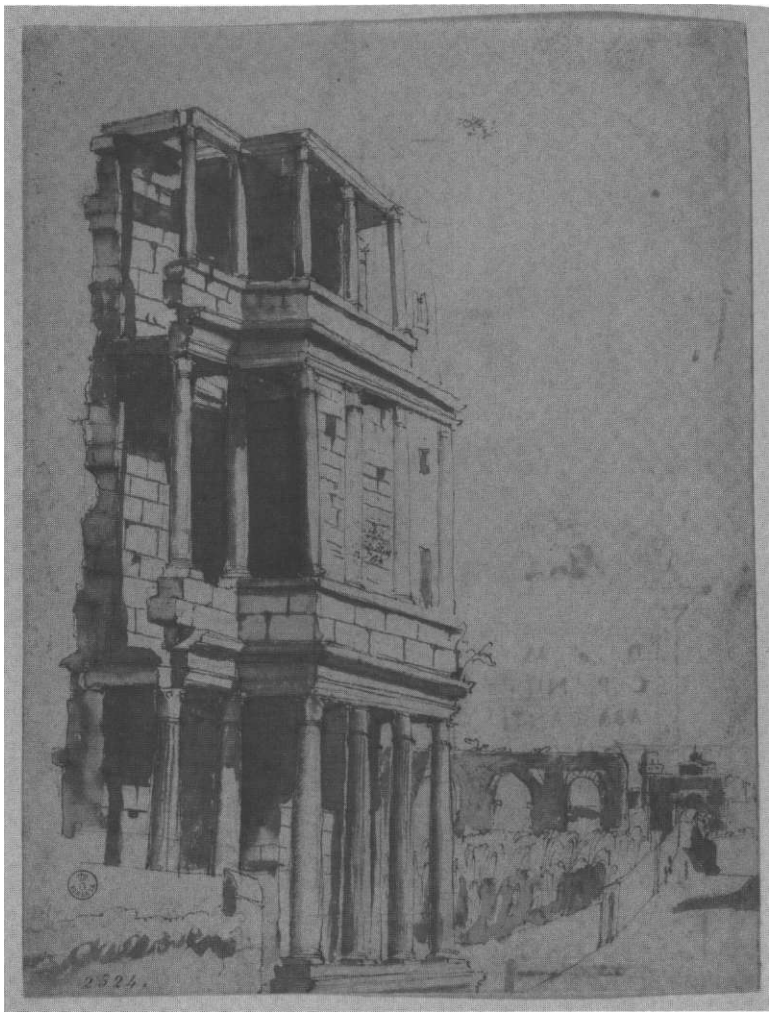

Plate 33 Trabeated galleries of the ruins of the Septizonium. Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533-1609), *View of Septizonium, Palatine Hill, Rome,* Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Uffizi, Florence, Italy, n. 2524 A. Photo credit: Scala / Ministero per i Beni e le Attivita culturali / Art Resource, NY

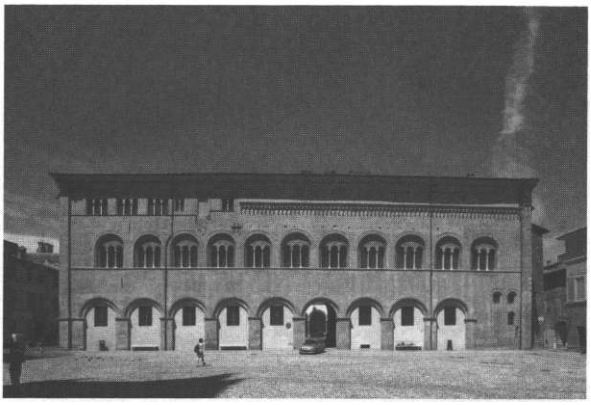

Plate 34 Bishop's palace, Parma. Photo by author

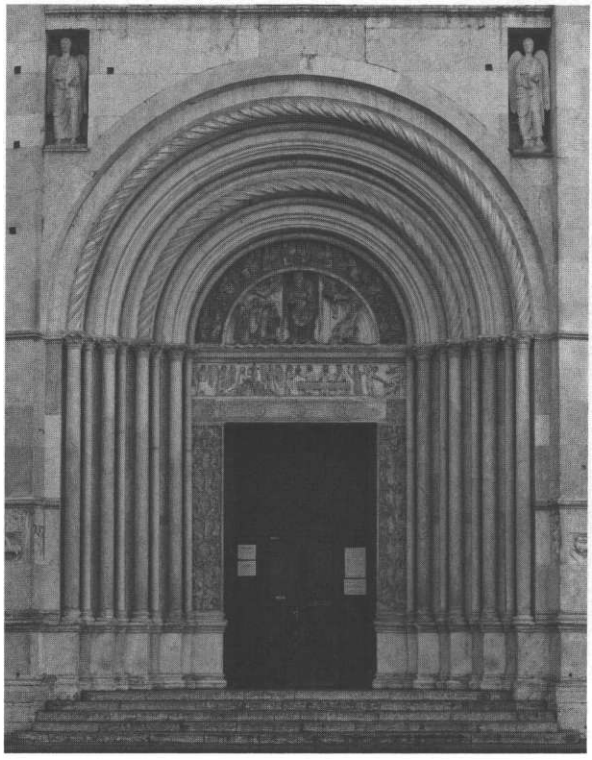

Plate 35 The splayed embrasures, attenuated colonnettes, and lavish sculptural decoration of the north portal of the baptistery recall northern European monuments in the Gothic style. Photo by author

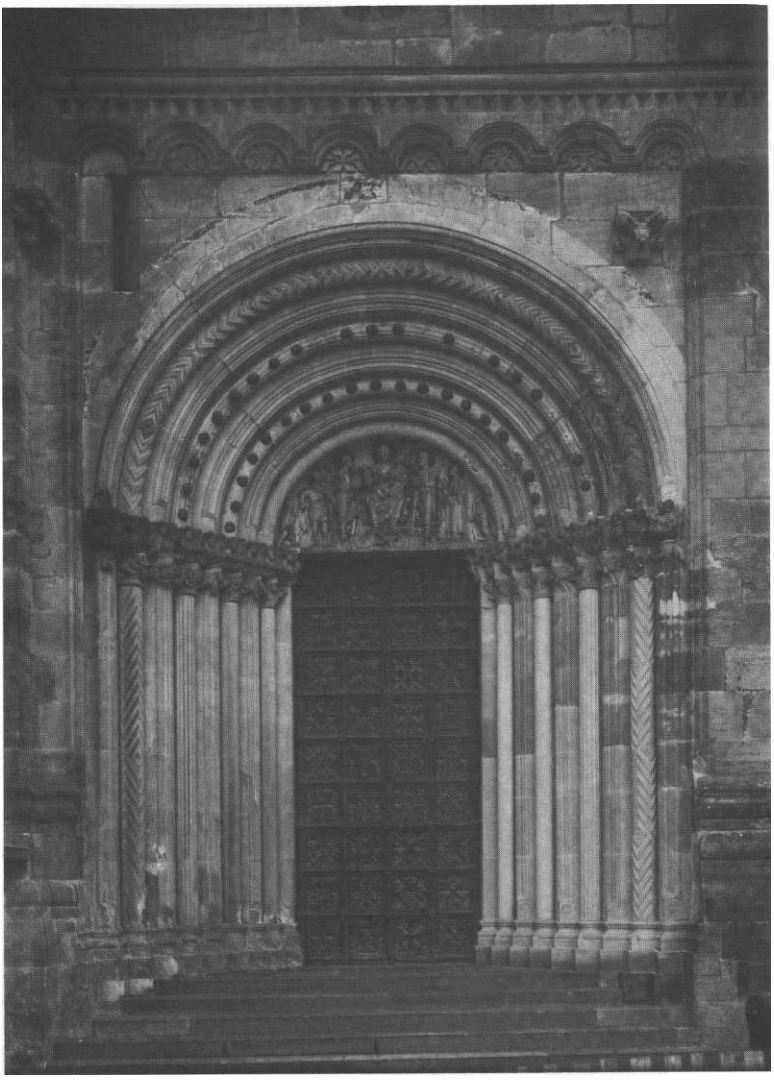

Plate 36 The east portal or Portal of Grace of the imperially-sponsored Bamberg Cathedral, Germany, shares many iconographic features with the baptistery portals. Photo by Scala / Art Resource, NY

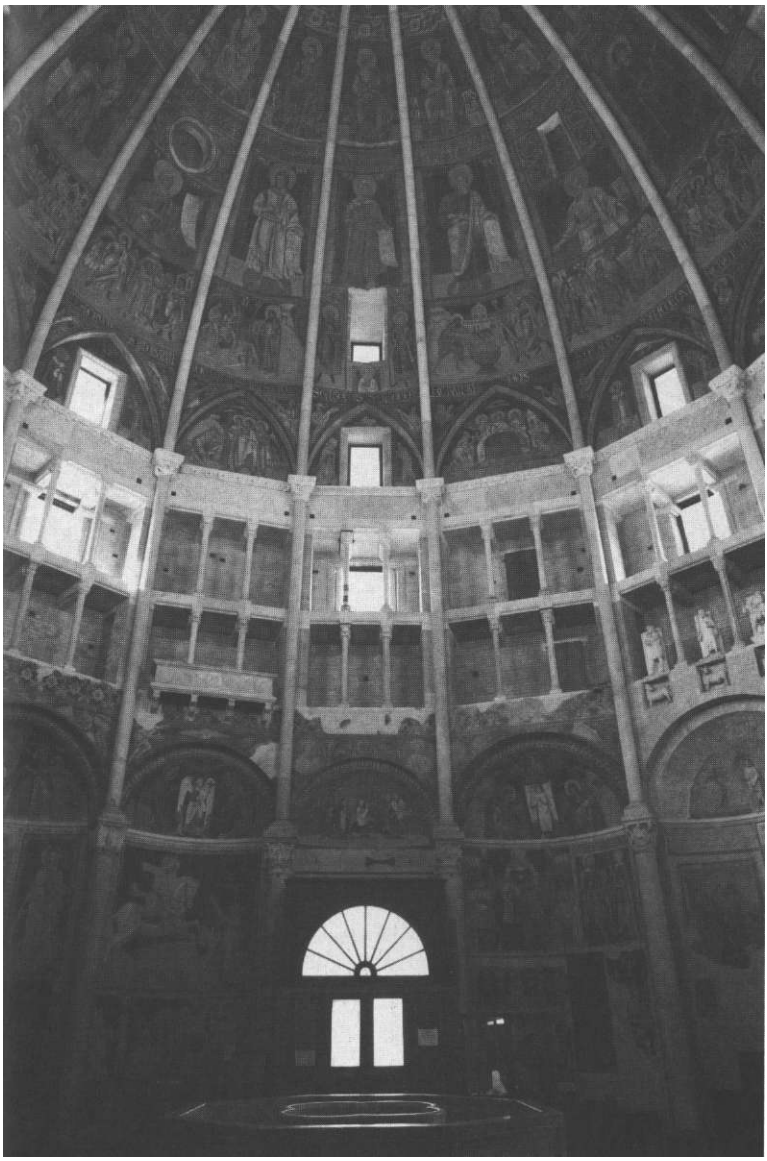

Plate 37 The interior of the baptistery demonstrates the principles of richness and variety in order to produce magnificent visual effects. In the mid-thirteenth century, a steep armature of colonnettes and ribs was superimposed onto the baptistery's pre-existing classicizing interior. Photo by author

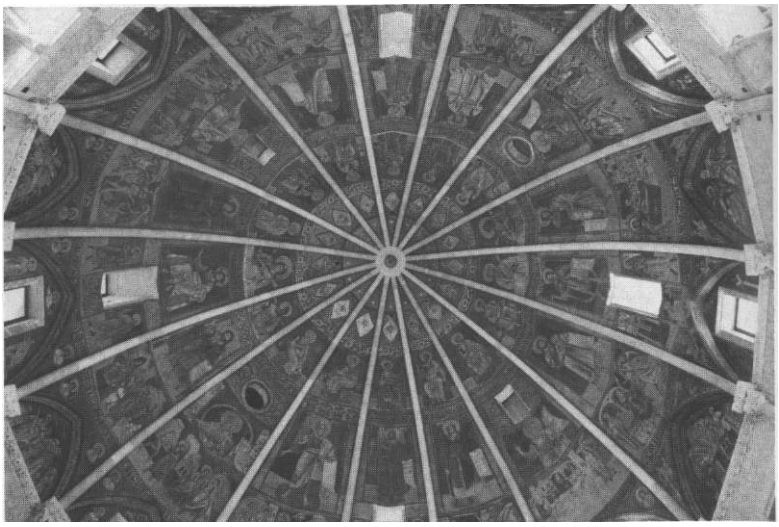

Plate 38 The ribs of the baptistery's vault have no structural function and are supported by the masonry above them. Photo by author

Plate 39 Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale de France, fonds fr. 2091, folio 125r. Photo credit: Foto Marburg / Art Resource, NY

Plate 40 Roettgen Pieta, c. 1350, Middle Rhine, Linden wood, polychromy partially restored, height (including base) 89 cm, Rheinisches Landes museum, Bonn, Inv.-Nr. 24.189. Photo: Courtesy of Landschaftsverband Rheinland/ Rheinisches LandesMuseum Bonn

REFLECTIONS ON THE "WONDERFUL HEIGHT AND SIZE" OF GOTHIC GREAT CHURCHES AND THE MEDIEVAL SUBLIME

Paul Binski

Since the aim of my paper is to consider how the Sublime registered in medieval thoughts and passions in regard to art, and especially architecture, we may as well begin with a critic of the whole notion of a medieval Sublime. Erich Auerbach has been a stimulating and influential spokesman for the low, not the high, style. In his book *Mimesis,* he stated that the account of Christ in the Gospels

> possessed little if any rhetorical culture in the antique sense... and yet it was extremely moving and much more impressive than the most sublime rhetorico-tragical literary work.

Indeed, the Gospels' rendering of the Passion

> completely destroys the aesthetics of the separation of styles; it engenders a new elevated style, which does not scorn everyday life and which is ready to absorb the sensorily realistic, *even the ugly, the undignified, the physically base* [my italics]. Or —if anyone prefers to have it the other way round—a new *sermo humilis* is born, a low style, such as would properly only be applicable to comedy, but which now... encroaches upon the deepest and the highest, the sublime and the eternal.[1]

Thus *sublimitas* and *humilitas* are combined in the Incarnation and Passion in "overwhelming measure."[2] In so characterizing Christian literary style, Auerbach emphasized his debt to the discussion of the classical hierarchy of styles, itself indebted to Cicero, in Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* Book 4. He cannot have foreseen the comparatively recent annexation of his—in its own way sublime—theme to that of the "abject," as formulated by Julia

Kristeva, and its further development in the fields of literature and art history by Hans Robert Jauss, Jeffrey Hamburger, and others.[1] To cite Jauss: "the Christian concept of *humilitas passionis* shattered the canonical, classical pairing of the good and the beautiful and of the ugly with the depths of evil."[4] No less an authority than Ernst Curtius had lent weight, in a different way, to this setting-aside of classical categories and denial of a medieval Sublime. Of the fate of the so-called Longinus's first-century AD *Peri hypsous,* Curtius remarked simply that "Longinus" stood so far above his times that "he was not read": "If the whole of late Antiquity has not a single word to say about 'Longinus,' that is one of the clearest symptoms of its debilitated intellectual energy. 'Longinus' was strangled by that unbreakable chain, the tradition of mediocrity."[5]

Powerful objections have been raised to Auerbach's emphasis on *humilitas* and his understanding of levels of style in ancient rhetoric. As Peter Dronke observed, Augustine's discussion of style in relation to function and context is itself Ciceronian, and there is no evidence that Augustine himself exalted *sermo humilis* above other styles, rather the contrary; time is spent in *De doctritia* (IV.20) showing how scriptural style may be high style when fitting.[6] Nor is it clear how happy or useful has been the annexation of this essentially literary model of representation to the history of Western art, medieval art especially. In one of the most brilliant defenses of Christian imagery, *Cur Deus Homo,* composed in the 1090s, St. Anselm expressed actual discomfort at writing about so complex, fundamental, and beautiful an issue in "an unpolished and contemptible style of writing," using the analogy of "bad painters" who depict the Lord, a man with "beauty excelling the sons of men", as being of ugly appearance.[7] Here, I will simply raise one objection to the over-promotion of *sermo humilis* in art history. Auerbach developed something not unlike Hegel's concept of ugly reality in Christian or "Romantic" art.[8] In his chapter *Adam and Eve,* Auerbach explicitly connected the rendering of "everyday contemporary life" to the sculpted art of Chartres, Reims, Paris, and Amiens.[9] Not only are the Gospel and its representations in the humble style, but "the occult and obscure elements it contains" are likewise couched not in elevated but simple words "so that anyone can ascend *quasi gradatim* from the simple to the sublime and divine."[1"] One wonders what Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, who said of one of his artworks that it was intelligible only to the literate, and which shone for them (and them alone), would have made of this assertion." Not inhibited by such historical considerations as the circumstances of the production and reception of texts, Auerbach maintained that his contrarian literary order of representation was one which "survived all through the Middle Ages," in drama and visual representation. It will not surprise those familiar with Emile Male's Catholic revival sincerity that Auerbach conscripted Male to this *longue duree* of simple sights for simple folk.[12] This

is not good history. It fails to take adequate account of naked social and intellectual elitism, of esotericism, or of the grandeur of the public liturgical language of the Church often derived directly from the Bible. Above all, it essentializes the very idea of Christian art. I am not the first to point out that Auerbach, and some of his successors, run the risk of imposing a late-medieval realist sensibility on the entire Christian tradition of representation. The Byzantinist Averil Cameron characterizes his particular realism as that of "Huizinga's late Western Middle Ages, with its earthy juxtapositions of opposites, and disregard for the unity of styles. It is not at all the same as the realism of Byzantine icons"—a realism which Cameron associates instead with a concept of authority.[13] Historians of German late-medieval art especially have maintained Auerbach's, and for that matter Curtius's, interpretation, whether they have said so or not.[14] Yet I believe that in doing so, they have led us to think that it was only with the rise of a "realistic" aesthetic especially in sculpture in the thirteenth century, that the *telos* of Christian representation was fulfilled, as in the superlative images in the choir of Naumburg Cathedral.

Could a history solely of representation account for much that is important or paradigmatic in medieval "visual culture"? Not necessarily, even given the extraordinary level of recent academic interest in what Alexander Pope, in his deliciously ambivalent skit on Longinus called /7epi ***Badovg***... *The Art of Sinking in Poetry,* called "the gentle downhill way to the *Bathos*.. .the Bottom," namely the marginal and the transgressive.[15] There is, on the contrary, new hope for the concept of a medieval Sublime, a term which I shall continue for the present to use in an informal (and in no sense historically pure) way to designate qualities in an object, or responses in a subject, of uplift and wonder.

Magnificence and Charisma

The notion of *sermo humilis* as envisaged by Auerbach is peculiar to the history of representation. We can probably agree that representation entails a matter to hand, a *res,* about which thoughts are expressed.[16] Thus, high things may be spoken of in a modest manner. However, much, and certainly the most costly, medieval aesthetic activity of the greatest importance is not representational. Architecture is rightly regarded as an abstract art possessing no *res;* but it also consists of a formal language governed by rules or customs spoken or unspoken and, more generally (and in almost all Western European traditions) by a sense of decorum. Just now I objected to the encapsulation, even entrapment, of a Christian aesthetic in representation by the idea of *sermo humilis*; the objection applies even more strongly to architecture, which, in the Middle Ages, often framed Christian acts of representation. Who can reasonably deny that huge and magnificently finished

buildings, whether palaces, castles or great cathedrals, constitute some of the era's greatest accomplishments (Plate 15)? Such great and splendid buildings evoked, and continue to evoke, those feelings often associated with the Sublime. Historically speaking, of course, it is hard to pinpoint response and patterns of intention. To seek out a medieval, as opposed to a classical or early modern Sublime, especially the Kantian Sublime, is usually to confront evidence for qualities of objects, not subjects; things not persons. Evidence for response in a modern sense is notoriously fugitive. Again, few, if any, prescriptive documents survive from the Middle Ages which state explicitly that a great cathedral actually *should* be built large and fine. And yet it is obvious from ordinary experience that, where appropriate, magnificent building was not an option, but a necessity; why this should have been so is a legitimate topic of enquiry.

Despite its reticence with regard to subjectivity, much medieval writing on the production of buildings or art is, in effect, writing about the deeds of significant persons acting as patrons, or more rarely artists. Magnificence, for instance, is a human attribute, the mark of the disposition and conduct of a great person. The enlarging mode is an *ad hominem* mode, one appropriate for *laudatio}*[1] Liberality, in the Aristotelian sense of expenditure without regard for gain—the medieval virtue of largesse—is a human virtue proper to magnanimity, greatness of thought and, above all, action.[18] Necessarily it attaches to social station. *Sublimitas* itself often occurs in Latin literature in connection with a promotion of the social or symbolic standing of a person or thing, for instance the translation and elevation of the relics of a saint. It applies to action or location, and is only secondarily, if at all, a psychological term, though its aesthetic purpose is not in doubt. The language of the Vulgate shows clear tendencies in its use of *sublimitas* and *altitudo: sublimitas* is overwhelmingly poetic, spiritual or moral, indicating height but also stature, loftiness, hauteur; *altitudo,* though occasionally used poetically, is overwhelmingly mensural, indicating ordinary scale (height, depth).

An example of a literary and artistic tradition which celebrated great artistic deeds is that which grew up especially in imperial and monastic circles in connection with the movement of huge columns or stones from Rome or Byzantium to furnish new building enterprises throughout Western Europe, providing them with a glossy integument of glamorous marble. Isidore of Seville considered fine marbles to be an aspect of a building's beauty (*venustas*).[19] Marble was a means of continuing and outdoing the past. To Justinian is attributed the (apocryphal) remark that in raising Hagia Sophia he had surpassed Solomon.[2"] Abbot Suger alluded to Hagia Sophia, the "wonderful" columns of the Baths of Diocletian and the riches of Solomon's Temple in relation to his accomplishments at Saint-Denis, a columnar church.[21] By its nature, this tradition pertained to patronage: it was a measure of what a monastic order was capable. Elsewhere, I have called it an "heroic" mode of patronage because, beauty aside, one of its

commonest themes was the overcoming of daunting physical difficulties in the discovery and haulage of mighty things.[22] This "Odyssey" of stones of tremendous scale and quality—for the stones are usually high-status marbles or porphyry—features in monastic writings from Montecassino, Pisa, Broigne, Durham, Fleury, Saint-Denis, and Westminster: it was the artistic equivalent of Hannibal's elephants. Within it were contained other possibilities: it was a means of lauding divine intervention; and it handed on to posterity in Christian form that classical trope of heroic improvement introduced by Suetonius's record that Augustus had boasted that he found Rome a city of brick, and left it clothed in marble.[23] That it was by origin imperial and military, derived from the story of conquest, cannot be doubted. It was Seneca who remarked in his *Moral Epistles* that "petty sacrilege is punished; sacrilege on a grand scale is the stuff of triumphs." The common use of marbles, sculptures, and other valuable booty dislocated and relocated in new contexts—as in much of Christian Rome between Constantine and the twelfth century—was aggressive and triumphalist, the final expression of a miraculous, salvific drama of divine destiny (the term *spolia,* suggesting the use offeree, is post-medieval).[24] Here, if anywhere, was the grand stirring manner, a winning-over of minds and, through the goading example of deeds, a spur to action. Art spoke with the same voice, not merely pleasing, but acting, outdoing and thereby conquering.

Accounts of the discovery of marbles and columns, like the compilation of great treasuries, formed but one part of much medieval writing about patronage, namely that it was intended to prove sound custody in property dealings more generally.[25] Grand effects were not a matter of the accrual of ornament—an elementary stylistic mistake. Indeed acquisition was not primarily a matter of style or design, since while God could grant design and nurture *inventio,* what mattered more was the scope, rarity and diversity of the things acquired.[26] The virtue, in part rhetorical, of *varietas* was an important corollary of magnificent patronage.[27] Art patronage exhibited *varietas* if it embraced, and preferably concerted, a remarkable range of media and materials in a show of breathtaking complexity. An artwork or building which exhibited *varietas* demonstrated the reciprocity of giving and receiving, for in order to display we must first accumulate. Heroic, magnificent expenditure was thus linked to heroic, even divinely aided acquisition, as at Saint-Denis. Such accumulation was the natural preserve of those in power, whether emperors, kings, or great churchmen. *Varietas* was thus the outcome of a politics of command, as well as of the heroic surmounting of physical or political obstacles by those with the power to do so. A thing became various if it was manifold or exotic in material and form, demonstrated the geographical reach of power, or was the product of far-flung artists summoned by the patron especially for the task—a very common figure of speech in patronage literature.[28] A common reaction was to find the final effects inexpressible or innumerable.[29]

Commanding patronage was not without charisma, authority granted by remarkable moral or spiritual gifts. The sorts of things that counted as spoils in the Middle Ages—especially if they consisted of prestige materials like porphyry, marble, or bronze—supported charismatic authority not least when they acted as talismans in rites of power (especially porphyry and other rare marbles), and were associated with heroic action (as in the "Odyssey" of stones), or were used at sites associated with astonishing events.[30] Such authority was handed down by traditional usage, and entailed a form of reminiscence; it required text. An alphabetic Latin word list of ca. 800, possibly compiled at St. Augustine's Canterbury (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 144, fol. 3) sets the word *Roma* parallel with *virtus* and *Romani* with *sublimes*. 1 have suggested elsewhere that such important churches as Saint-Denis, or Canterbury Cathedral, were formed consciously in the light of the Christian classical past in their use of columns and marble paving. Canterbury as rebuilt from 1174 (Plate 16), though "Gothic," fits comfortably into traditional notions of *romanitas* both as an apostolic church and as the *heroa* of an exceptional individual, the martyr St. Thomas.[31] That both churches commemorate, indeed elevate, martyr saints who, in the case of Thomas, were held to possess quite exceptional charismatic authority, is unlikely to be coincidental. Here *admiratio* is key: the beliefs about the actual nature of Thomas's humanity, sanctity, or the style of his death are secondary to the marking of great events, a bloody martyrdom and subsequent wonder-working on an unheard-of scale. Great patronage and *romanitas* appear even more explicitly, indeed almost as a mode of politics in themselves, in the thirteenth century at Plantagenet Westminster. Thomas Becket, though not aristocratic by origin, was construed at least by some as a magnificent man, a model of lordliness.[32] St. Edward the Confessor, the patron saint of Henry III, was actually of royal descent and the positive embodiment of the virtues of *largesse* and *debonerete (mansuetudo)* whose court, in the words of royal hagiography of the time, was the very school of manners.[33] His hagiographer Matthew Paris describes his magnificent rebuilding of Westminster Abbey as a work which rose "grand and royal," *grantz e reaus* (Matthew evidently thought of tall or multi-storied buildings as being regal).[34] Henry's patronage of Roman Cosmati mosaics for the shrine, sanctuary pavement and his own tomb at Westminster, which used porphyry and other exotic materials extensively, was a conscious act of appropriation of caesaro-papal art, demonstrating regard not only for Canterbury, which he was outdoing, but also Rome, to which he was paying compliment.[35]

All this is evidence not for the undermining of much older canons and hierarchies of style, but for their continuity, their skilled redeployment, magnification even, in the service of a seigneurial aesthetic of grandeur, one by-product of which could be sublime effect. A simple way of assessing the force of this is to examine opposition to it. The longstanding Christian moral objection to traditional high and various patronage was that it vaunted

acquisitiveness and promoted a damaging temporality of mind. The creation of beautifully marbled interiors and lofty spaces was quite as much a matter for the secular palace as the temple. *Varietas,* and the dangerous subtlety associated with it, was to be inhibited in the name of Christian humility, utility, and simplicity. So, the outspoken twelfth-century neo-Stoic detractors rechristened it *superfluitas,* and identified it as that which provoked *curiositas,* the besmirching of the eye: Cassian had called it mental fornication, an aimless wandering of the mind away from its true end.[36] For our purpose, the utilitarian counterblast is useful because it throws into relief the character of non-utilitarian high patronage—that it was either display for display's sake, frankly political in its ends, or connected unapologetically to excess and therefore to pleasure.

The attack on *superfluitas* was as sophisticated aesthetically as are all minimalist agendas. Of course, it entailed an assault on very large buildings. Height preoccupied those who occupied the moral high ground of "reformist" aesthetics. St. Bernard, writing in his mode of high rhetorical indignation, is good on scale. His *Apologia* of ca. 1125 has several passages worthy of the high style, including his attack on "Cluniac" superfluity: "we will overlook the immense heights of the places of prayer, their immoderate lengths, their superfluous widths, the costly refinements____But so be it, let these things be made for the honour of God."[37] His terms, namely *oratoriorum immensas altitudines, immoderatas longitudines, supervacuas latitudines* echo the measuring of Noah's Ark (Genesis 6.15). In other writings in the same vein, the example of the high-flown art of Dedalus came readily to mind: Dedalus provided one of the key foundation myths of fallen, human, artistic *inventio* and ingenuity. Towards the end of the twelfth century, the peppery canon of Notre-Dame, Peter the Chanter, who attacked the lofty *chevets* of the newest great churches for their excessive height, advised those engaging in building precisely not to strive to be like Dedalus.[38] Peter's language of inhibition reminds us that, within the Western European tradition at least, architecture is unusual historically in being the medium most governed by "legislative aesthetics." Such "legislation" often spoke with a negative but accomplished voice. When St. Jerome issued in a Christian critique of magnificence, he was following the language of the Roman satirists; when St. Bernard attacked prideful vanity, superfluity and curiosity in art and architecture, he employed the device of ridicule commended at the start of Horace's *Ars poetica*,[39] Verbal rhetoric was, as it were, turned against visual rhetoric. By 1100 or 1150 there was more visual rhetoric to turn against: Western Europe was experiencing a building boom not seen since the Roman Empire, led by giant castle and church construction. The Church was inevitably drawn into the politics of wealth; the abuses of money preoccupied it more than the abuses of imagery, at least before the fourteenth century.[40] Unprecedentedly big churches were raising their heads above the surrounding cities. A challenge to ancient standards of simplicity had been mounted in the name of

grandeur. As Reginald of Durham stated of Durham Cathedral around 1165, modern subtlety was now raising arches of "sublime pride."[41] He was noting a trend of his times towards the colossal.

The Colossal, the Wonderful

Ovid, pagan and Christian Rome, Byzantium, even the Seven Wonders of the World: all offered powerful models of magnificence in word and deed, and of heroic if sometimes problematical creativity. The Church Fathers could not be set aside; nor could the Bible. Ezekiel's vision, Solomon's Temple, and the Heavenly Jerusalem were models for what it meant to build divinely, to edify by means of allegory, to number parts and name materials. Such texts set in train the idea that to understand architecture is to practice a form of exegesis.[42] The Bible provided cautionary examples too: the Tower of Babel whose top scraped the sky (Genesis 11.4), noted by the detractors of height; or the Temple of the great Diana whose majesty shall begin to be destroyed (Acts 19.27).[43] Yet Ecclesiasticus (50.2) explicitly mentions the high walls of the Temple; and it would be simply unhelpful to suppose that the Books of Kings, or the Psalms, never contain lofty sentiments. Also, the public language of the liturgy of the Church was suitably elevated and dramatic, for instance the magnificent passage from Psalm 23 used in the Office "Lift up your Gates": *adtollite portas principes vestras et elevamini portae aeternales et introibit rex gloriae*. Commonplace or "low" may be the style of Gospel language, but in much of the Bible, and in the grandiose liturgical language derived from it, we find that compulsion to unified uplifting wonder which in turn united the church.

Such compulsion was not properly a reaction to architecture. There are no absolutely direct statements about responses to biblical buildings as if they were sublime things, objects open to the critical scrutiny of a thinking and feeling subject (though see Psalm 83.2-3, Psalm 98). Yet practice suggests that, whatever medieval conceptions of architecture might have been (after the event), something like a concept of the Sublime (before the event) might be imagined in order to understand what patrons and architects actually did. We must remember that much that seems to be important about the architecture of the Middle Ages did not always enter discourse as much as we might like. Great scale, actual or figurative, has long been part of the literary Sublime of the Early Modern era: Johnson, in his *Life of Milton*, stated of the poet that "his natural port is gigantic loftiness"—he alludes to Algarotti's *gigantesca sublimita Miltoniana*,[44]

The urge to build exceptionally large spaces needs no special explanation, given that such spaces were conceived in very different ways. The Pantheon in Rome (Plate 17) is a very big building: its internal height was not to be clearly surpassed until the construction of Hagia Sophia (Plate 22) in the sixth century, in the East, and of Cologne Cathedral in the mid-thirteenth century, in the West. Like Hagia Sophia, it is domed, and centrally planned.

Here the legacy of giant building, actual or mythical, in the pre-Christian world will have been critical. The Latin language of appraisal of great things, and wonders carried down into the Middle Ages a sort of natural respect for the colossal, moral objection notwithstanding. The account of the patronage of the popes in the *Liber Pontificalis,* which quite commonly links the term *miror* to *magnitudo* in its assessment of great buildings and things in them (e.g., columns), will have been especially important in actually sanctioning the idea that bishops in particular could, even should, build "big."[45] No lesson is needed here on the consequences: the vast breadth and length of the Constantinian basilicas of Rome, or the extraordinary extension of the great churches of Post-Conquest England at Winchester, Ely, Norwich and so on, which Rome had inspired. In the light of such vistas, the frequently encountered phenomenon of column-counting to the point of innumerability (Gregory of Tours, Gervase of Canterbury) makes sense as an expression of awe in the face of reiteration. In such cases, magnificence may be measured: an exceptionally long building (and the English tradition seems persistently to take account of the ancient basilican pattern of extensiveness, rejecting conclusively the French trend to loftiness) may be experienced according to number and time. But does the phenomenology of perceiving very long buildings differ from that of very tall buildings? Perhaps so: for what may be taken in by ordinary step-by-step measure in a long building may only be taken in by flight, so to speak, in a very tall building. Extraordinary height demands measure of a different type: height is, as it were, to be fathomed; and since height (or depth) implies falling or drowning, its experience is not without apprehension, even fear. So we speak of a "fear of heights." The physical fall of masons from lofty buildings as a sign of Pride, or as an occasion of the miraculous, exercised the medieval imagination.[46] Extensivity possessed a peculiar intensity.

Such thoughts introduce the final objective of the European-wide building boom which experienced a downturn from around 1250, namely the dramatic redirection of the ancient longitudinal or centrally-planned form in the conscious pursuit *oi altitude** directed much more literally to *sublimitas*. Western Europe's most spectacular medieval buildings of the Gothic age consist of spaces which not only possess amplitude, but are also very tall and narrow, and detailed in such a way as to stress vertical continuity, so accentuating their height. The height-width ratio of the nave of Amiens Cathedral (Plate 15) is about 3:1, as it is at Beauvais; Beauvais Cathedral (Plate 18) was planned with square schematism, but its soaring internal shape, rising to around 48 meters, or around 158 feet, is such as to surpass the Pantheon's internal height, ca. 44 meters, around 144 feet.[47] This tendency to stretch naves and choirs in height was encouraged by the huge technical advances in Gothic before about 1240; but it was not in itself a matter of style, since according to Bony it was an inheritance from the Romanesque period, as in the mighty church of Cluny III, designed in the 1090s, and was part

of a "much wider movement" of the period in northern France.[48] Under such circumstances, the contemporary moral polemics against height will have been especially topical. Early Gothic buildings also sought spacious breadth, as at Saint-Denis.[49] But after 1160 or so, between the erection of the choir of Notre-Dame in Paris (ca. 108 feet), and through the cathedrals of Chartres (ca. 113 feet), Reims (ca. 124 feet) (Plate 20), Metz (ca. 138 feet) Amiens (ca. 140 feet) (Plate 15), Cologne (ca. 151 feet) and Beauvais (ca. 158 feet) (Plate 18) the trend to height was inexorable. As Gombrich remarked in his essay "The Logic of Vanity Fair," "The figures strongly suggest a game of 'watch me'—each city must have known what the previous record had been."[50] Perhaps Gombrich had at the back of his mind the vertiginous race between the Chrysler Building and the Empire State Building in 1930s New York. But the emulative instinct should be taken seriously, because it may not be coincidental that both Cologne and Beauvais surpass the Pantheon in height: had Holy Church planned to outdo the ancients? Some such idea might explain why ca. 1290 the great labyrinths set down in the naves of Reims and Amiens deliberately cast their modern architects in the mould of Dedalus.[51] The myth of Dedalus, though condemned by Peter the Chanter, and though never entirely free of ambivalence in regard to the morality of human ingenuity, had been harnessed to licit ends. Was the Church also realizing its final destiny as the very image of the heavenly Jerusalem? Why else should the choir vault at Beauvais rise to 144 French royal feet to the keystones, matching for the first time the divinely sanctioned 144 cubits of the Heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. 21:17)?[52] Nor was the height race a matter for interiors only, for stupendous scale marked the vertiginous towers, and especially spires, of the sort erected (eventually) over St. Paul's in London (Fig. 7, front center), Lincoln Cathedral, Salisbury Cathedral, Ulm Cathedral and, in plan at least, Cologne.

Yet the will to build tall interiors using colossal single motifs weakened with the end of the boom in the middle of the thirteenth century: fashionable Rayonnant, as developed at Saint-Denis, replaced High Gothic greatness with refinement, and breadth.[53] People, French people at least, stopped building high in the way we seem now to have stopped going to the moon. The colossal mode was at its height around 1200 or a little later, and it had something to say about human scale: we witness it in the use of huge single motifs such as the main arcade at Bourges or the simplified grandeur of the main elevation of Chartres, both designed before 1200. The ensuing very tall interiors of the generation of ca. 1200 include one, Reims Cathedral, designed around 1211, which especially creates the subjective impression that with augmentation of height went diminution of the self. At Reims this effect is created, I think consciously, by the relatively large scale and height of the main pier bases which rise roughly to the height of an average man's chest, higher than at Chartres, Soissons or Amiens. The subliminal sense while standing in the nave is that the soaring of the vertical elements begins

at around head-height. We are humbled, almost dwarfed in stature in order that the giant frame of the building might be magnified—debasement of the self preceding uplift, as it were. Villard de Honnecourt was careful to note the unusual scale of the bases in his rendition of the interior elevation done ca. 1230 (Plate 19).[54] Such grandeur might be expected in a building which housed the French coronation order and magnified an act of state. But the notion of a superhuman physicality, answering exactly to the imaginative objective of Gothic more generally as a triumphalist style which lifts impossible weights to unimaginable, even transcendent, heights, is apparent too in the glazing of the main wall of the south transept at Chartres ca. 1230, in which the colossal images of the four major Prophets sustain those of the Evangelists riding pick-a-back on their shoulders—a conceit also attributed by John of Salisbury (*Metalogicon* 3.4.48) to Bernard of Chartres who remarked that "we are like dwarfs perched on the shoulders of giants... borne aloft and raised on their gigantic height."[53] At about the same time, ca. 1219, one of the most striking urban vistas of the period was created on the seal of the barons of London, showing a view of the towers and spires of the city overwhelmed by the colossus of St. Paul with his sword and banner, rising as it were to several hundred feet and dwarfing his own cathedral church (Plate 21).[56] It is difficult to point to actual colossi in the Middle Ages, but at least one existed in the form of the mid-fourteenth-century mosaic relief of the Virgin Mary standing 8 meters (over 26 feet) in height, on the exterior of the chapel of the high castles of the Teutonic Knights at Marienburg, facing down the hordes of Asia—until it was destroyed by the Russians in 1944.[57] The scale of this Marian counterpart to the (even larger) Bamyan Buddhas is not out of keeping with the megalomaniac temple, one mile in diameter, planned for the Virgin Mary in the section known as the *Marienlob* in the poem *fiingerer Titurel* to be discussed later.[58] I know of no more astonishing consequence of the *Magnificat* than this.[59]

We have some sources from before or around 1200 which mention height or scale in architecture, or nature. St. Bernard's assault on tall, long, and wide buildings has already been mentioned. Peter the Chanter's chapter against superfluity in buildings in his later twelfth-century *Verbum abbreviatum* proceeds from contemporary spurning of the simplicity of the ancients, via Babel, to a critique of the loftiness of churches which should, like Christ, be more humble (*humilior*) but whose heads (i.e., chevets, choirs) in fact get higher (*altiora*) daily—a swipe at Notre-Dame itself.[60] In both Bernard and Peter, *altitudo* is used in detraction where Reginald of Durham used *sublimitas*. When the critique of superfluity passed into the hands of the mendicants early in the next century, *sublimitas* was still used in regard to excess in building, as in Thomas of Ecclestone's comments on the arrival of the Franciscans in England.[61] Though Suger has little to say about the architecture of Saint-Denis, he alludes in *De consecratione* to the vaults of his church nearing their full height (*altitudo*) in the course of recording a building miracle. Yet there

is no evidence that there was a serious discourse of height at Saint-Denis in this or the next century.[62] The monk Gervase, writing towards 1200 about the east end of Canterbury Cathedral rebuilt from 1174, uses familiar figures of speech, including that of inexpressibility in the face of the new variety and subtlety of the new building, which greatly amplified its effect in comparison to the old one: the new work was thus higher (*altius*) than the old.[63] The Metrical Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln, composed for the Cathedral Chapter ca. 1220, employs a string of devices, classical by origin, in lauding the new Gothic choir begun by Hugh in the 1190s, before engaging in an exegesis of parts in the tradition of Bede and Honorius Augustodunensis.[64] Height is mentioned in relation to walls and vaults which soar upwards towards the clouds, even stars: *Evolat ad nubes paries, ad sidera tectum* (v. 861). Less conventionally, the vaults of Lincoln are actually likened gracefully to the wings of birds, and seem, like birds, to jostle the clouds (vv. 862-64) (compare Ps. 83.4). We shall have more to say about these airborne attitudes later, since they are related to self-transcendence and were selected for a reason.

Two other clerical figures of the period ca. 1200 are of interest to us, one in regard to nature, the other in regard to antiquity. The Welsh cleric Gerald of Wales was also connected to Lincoln at this time. To him we owe descriptions, dating from the 1180s, of two things that are still marvellous, Stonehenge and the mountains of Snowdonia. The former was wonderful in virtue of its collection and raising of huge stones—the heroic mode again—the latter in virtue of its "lofty" summits reaching up to the clouds.[65] The same language of touching the heavens or stars was used *a propos* of high vault systems or towers in the Metrical Life, or Alexander Nequam's *De naturis rerum* of the 1200s.[66] Gerald's account of mountains may be one of the first of its sort in later Latin letters (Alanus ab Insulis' *Anticlaudianus* of the early 1180s, however, includes a very similar sort of passage regarding both mountains and a palace); Gerald himself had written a brief, if conventional, encomium of the new Gothic parts of Lincoln Cathedral.[67] We note the crossover from culture to nature: nature was to be the main object domain for the Sublime of Shaftsbury, Dennis, and Addison; but much earlier Greek and Latin literature had already made extended play with the competition of art and nature, as in the Metrical Life itself, Procopius's sixth-century *Buildings* (which likens the mighty piers of Hagia Sophia to "sheer mountain-peaks" and its variegated marbles to meadows of flowers), or Paulus Silentarius's poem celebrating the rededication of Hagia Sophia in 562.[68] Such sentiments, and their attendant sense of elation, were common currency. In regard to antiquity, Gerald was impressed by the scale of Roman remains in England, and the *Narracio* by the so-called Master Gregorius, a clerk probably in the service of an English thirteenth-century bishop, who described exclusively the pagan remains of Rome, is especially worth mentioning. Though encyclopedic in form, it refers to the "magic power" of pagan statuary as well as the sheer scale of the columns and monuments, the Pantheon's width being

carefully paced out: again, this is the language of the *mirabilia* tradition and of the *Liber Pontificalis*.[69]

Only a very few conclusions may be drawn from such writings. The rhetorical power of disapprobation is as obvious as it is frequently commented upon. Terms such as *altitudo* and *sublimitas* are used in a range of contexts for height. As we noted earlier, what would now be thought of as psychological language of response is absent. Yet the gap between experience and discourse should not necessarily worry us. For one thing, the influential vein of criticism of excess which grew up with the trend towards colossal building may itself have served to inhibit comment on, or praise of, such things as overwhelming scale as being contrary to Christian humility. Natural things, God's work, were excepted. In understanding such texts, context may not be everything, but it is important. The ones just mentioned consist of one very high-order monastic rant (Bernard); one text in the *res gestae* tradition (Suger); one monastic defence of ancient rites (Gervase); a saint's life (St. Hugh); topographical or encyclopedic writing (Gerald); and *mirabilia* literature (Gregorius). Monks and clerks held almost a monopoly on comment. By 1220 or so, however, just as the end of the building boom was looming into sight, the literature of reaction to actual buildings shriveled. Ambitious new hagiographical writing was depressed by the gradual decline of canonization; the slow downturn of monastic historiography was on the horizon. The mendicants appropriated the language of detraction. But of these things, the end of the building boom in around the middle of the thirteenth century was the most important practically. By 1250 the secular Church had accommodated itself to, and had been colonized by, the new heavy technologies of wonder: giant bells in mighty towers, organs of stentorian power, and vast spreading resonant vaults supported by very little indeed. Such miraculous magnificence had become licit because it served the central pastoral objectives of the Church militant, namely to persuade men to follow the Good. What an opportunity would have been provided for the likes of Peter the Chanter or Alexander Nequam by the nemesis of 1284, when the buttresses of Beauvais Cathedral failed and its vaults crashed down! Yet nothing was said: all we learn is that twelve years earlier, in 1272, the canons of Beauvais had for the first time celebrated the divine offices in its newly-erected choir of "wonderful height and size" (*mirae altitudinis et amplitudinis)*.[70] In 1323, even two Irish Franciscans, no less, observed in an itinerary that there was in Amiens a cathedral of wonderful size, height and beauty *(mirae magnitudinis, altitudinis et pulcritudinis)* honoring the Virgin Mary.[71] The era of vast Gothic cathedral building was ending, just as its legitimacy was passing beyond doubt even for mendicant observers. Its vitality and presence were declining with the end of the heroic mode. Instead, those who could no longer build as before drew, or just fantasized.

The Grail Temple in Albrecht's substantial poem *Der Jiingere Titurel,* written around the time the canons of Beauvais finally sat in awe in their new

choir in the early 1270s, is a timely instance of the retreat of architectural wonder into the fantasy-realm of literary practice. Here amplification of effect is undeniable. It devotes about 110 stanzas to an extraordinary edifice raised on a plateau of onyx, circular in plan and crown-like in profile with no less than seventy-two radiating choirs, crystal windows, gold and enamel roofs, sparkling vaults and numerous automata within.[72] A veritable inventory of architectural *mirabilia,* in which such words as *wunder* or *wunnerbaer* appear frequently, the building is not usefully seen as a commentary on a particular style of architecture, though its allusion to sculptures of laughing angels would scarcely be conceivable without knowledge of Reims or Bamberg, and the circular form might be reminiscent of the Liebfrauenkirche in Trier.[73] Instead, much in the vision brings to mind the aesthetic of *kleinkunst,* goldsmith's work.[74] A comparison of just this kind was drawn in ca. 1280 by the chronicler Burchard von Hall when describing the new Gothic church built in the French manner (*opere Francigeno)* at Wimpfen im Thai, which possessed windows and columns modeled on goldsmith's work *(ad instar anaglifi),* provoking much wonder in the people.[75] In *Titurel, varietas* of the most functionally irresponsible order is not only a metaphor for poetic *inventio* but is staged in order to provoke *admiratio*, praise *(lob)* and finally astonishment.[76] The Grail Temple is intended to be boundless in its diversity, even if to the modern reader the imagined effect is oppressive. The eye of the mind is captured by onyx, sapphire, gold, crystal. But what triumphs over material is *kunst: Titurel* is an appendix to Ovid's tag *opus superabat materiam (Metamorphoses,* Bk. 2, 1. 5) reminding us that wonder may be occasioned by human skill.[77] The extraordinary automata which fill the Temple (including a sun and moon, an angel and a dove which descend at Mass, singing angels winded by bellows and an organ tree with twittering birds) are courtly, exotic motifs: thus the organ-tree might recall the throne and bird-tree organ at the Byzantine court described by Liudprand of Cremona ca. 969.[78] These devices play consciously on the boundary between the artificial and the natural, and thus with the art-nature trope. Also, as Aristotle noted in the *Metaphysics,* Book 1, automata are exactly the kind of thing that provoke wonder.[79] To be sure, much in *Der Jiingere Titurel* can be seen against the background of the earlier writings: we could compare the Cave of Lovers in Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan,* set in a remote *locus amoenus,* designed by giants, guarded by bronze doors and finely worked as a shrine of Love within, furnished with a magnificent bed of crystal on which Tristan and Isolde commit adultery with devout gusto. Description and allegory pertaining to the cult of Love are worked out in great detail.[80] Again, there is the astonishing Castle of the Grail in Wolfram's *Parzival.*[81]

The Grail Temple in Albrecht's *Titurel* seems to be another instance where astonishment is prompted above all by wonderful variety. The Temple in this work is also very big. Yet while manifestly vast almost to the point of boundlessness, its scale is not that of singular, awesome simplicity but rather

of labyrinthine complexity. Sight or spatial orientation alone cannot convey this, for its apprehension requires another sense, that of hearing: *Titurel's* remarkable reference to the cavernous acoustics of the building, in which the sounds of voices ring through the height and width of the vaulted spaces like birdsong in the springtime woods, sets in context the various sounding automata, and, more dramatically, serves to create a fuller sense of what it is like actually to experience a vast reverberant building than anything else in medieval literature.[82] The temptation to leap forward to Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk* should probably be resisted, even if *Titurel* was known in his time. Instead, let us reach back: no writer was more sensitive to sound than St. Augustine, who, in his commentary on Psalm 41, wrote so eloquently of the sweet music in the tabernacle of God which moved him to admiration and amazement: *lam enim multa admiror in tabernaculo. Ecce quanta admiror in tabemaculo!*[83] *Titurel,* though not without follies of a Godly sort, is perhaps itself a distant echo of this venerable and respectable exegetical outlook: and it serves to carry us forward to a medieval Sublime.

Passions and Transcendence

Later English writers encountered the Sublime in the vast irregularity of natural things, to which Edmund Burke added the experience of obscurity: Sublime things are more naturally poetic than visual, given their frustration of the sense of sight.[84] The apprehension of the Sublime originates in feelings of pain and fear, but we may also delight in the Sublime as a pleasure of the imagination because it invigorates and sharpens our instincts for self-preservation.[83] Addison in his *Several Parts of Italy* wrote of "an agreeable kind of horror" in response to the irregularities of the Alps.[86] It is perfectly possible to conceive of pain without the Sublime: Aristotle's *Poetics* had established that even tragedy has its own proper pleasure. But what of great effects and the human passions?

In *De* ***doctrina Christiana*** (4.20; 4.22; 4.24) Augustine writes of the grand style of rhetoric as being essentially vehement and heartfelt, pursuing not elegant but powerful subject-matter, moving to strong emotion, usable only for short periods and, when deployed proportionately, reducing people to silence, even tears. Awe and fear might be thought to be among such strong passions. Consider for example ***terror*** and ***terribilitas.*** *Terribilitas* entered the universal language of the liturgy in Boniface IV's (608—15) rite for the dedication of churches, conceived for the transformation of the Pantheon (Plate 17) into a Christian church for Mary and the Martyrs. I refer to the solemn introit antiphon drawing on the account of jacob's ladder in Genesis 28.17—22:

terribilis est locus iste:
hie domus Dei est et porta caeli
et vocabitur aula Dei

The original context of this rite, namely the transformation and conquest of a great pagan temple in the name of the Virgin Mary, reminds us of the associations noted earlier of Mary herself with gigantism.[87] In similar vein—and again connecting an enumeration of parts (columns, windows) to an appreciation of the *varietas* of marbles—we find Gregory of Tours in the sixth century lauding the church built by Namatius of Tours at Clermont-Ferrand with its seventy columns and eight doorways: in it "one is conscious of the fear of God and of a great brightness, and those at prayer are often aware of a most sweet and aromatic odour" wafted towards them: awe is not simply visual, but multi-sensory.[88] In his early fourteenth-century encomium of Paris, Jean de Jandun, a colleague of Marsilius of Padua, referred to Notre-Dame as "that most terrible church of the most glorious Virgin Mary": *ilia terribilissima gloriosissime Virginis Dei genetricis Marie ecclesia.*[m] Here *terribilitas* carries a meaning more common in later Latin letters (i.e., "demanding of reverence," "venerable," "awful"). Awe was still connected to wonderful things, even when encountered in the context of detraction. Following up the point about multi-sensory experience, we recall that the Cistercian Aelred of Rievaulx had commented ruefully on thunderstruck laypeople, gawking as if paralyzed with wonder, at the huge sound of utterly superfluous organs in churches with their terrible bellow's blast: *terribilis ilkfollium flatus.*[90] Albrecht's *Titurel* has already shown us that organs were part of the staging of wonder. Aelred's raucous *terror* is an undoing of that sweetness of music that St. Augustine, in his account of wonder in the tabernacle, wrote of in his commentary to Psalm 41: an inward secret pleasure which drew him forward to what he sought, and which reached the heart if the world's din did not get in the way.[91] Sweetness was held by some important authorities to be a mark of the middle, not the grand, style in rhetoric.[92] In medieval aesthetics, though seldom if ever in architecture, its powers of persuasion, of softening-up, were legion; for St. Bernard, the dominant spiritual sense was that of taste.[93] Thus sight, smell, hearing, and taste were implicated in an encounter with lofty things: Augustine, after all, had lent authority to the connection of self-transcendence and the five senses in his *Confessions* (10.27).[94]

We have noticed how many ideas and things circulate with the verb *miror:* vertiginous mountains, lofty buildings, boundless variety, artifice, the extraordinary, the awesome and fearsome and so on. Here too we might expect the Sublime to be found. The affective range of wonder is also wide: it might provoke laughter, or a constriction of the heart in the face of the great and unusual; in Caroline Bynum's words, it might range "from terror and disgust to solemn astonishment and playful delight."[95] In her discussion of "Wonder," Bynum points to a distinction between *admiratio,* a standing-back in the face of things majestic, extraordinary or of veiled significance, and *imitatio,* a moving-forward towards things which involves consuming, appropriating and even prying into them.[96] Hence we might wonder at things (e.g., the severest ascetic practices of the saints) that we might not wish to imitate.

Doubtless, different objects of wonder provoked standing back and moving forward: Gerald of Wales's perspective on the grandeur of Snowdonia falls into the first category, and his remarks on the staggering minuteness of the artwork in the seventh- or eighth-century Gospel Book of Kildare as if it were the artifice of angels, into the second.[97] In his account of the book's intimate immensity, Gerald deliberately contrasts casual general looking and intensive, close looking in which probing might elicit the shock of admiration: for him, wonder and the wonder-curiosity nexus are both telescopic and microscopic, as indeed are Bachelard's fathomless poetics of space.[98]

Anway, *ilfaut reculer pour mieux sauter:* standing back may be a prelude to striding forward, *admiratio* the first step to *imitatio*. Though we may wonder at, pause before, the Good at its most remarkable, we are also drawn to it. Medieval "theory" of the passions or emotions of the Stoic-Augustinian form distinguished between the powers of concupiscence and irascibility: the soul may be influenced to desire, disdain, love or fear something, and so is drawn to, or drawn away, either by passions experienced in the present, or in the future.[99] So we reach out to things which, in virtue of their goodness, elicit pleasure or desire; we recoil or actually flee from those things that are strange, disgusting or bad. Emotions, unlike moods, were deemed to have intentional objects. For this reason, although it might be possible to think of God as fearsome—terror and greatness are attributes of God in Deuteronomy 7.21 and *timor Dei* is a common enough biblical idea—flight from God (or for that matter the Virgin Mary), conceived as an intentional object, would be inconceivable. Here Aquinas helps us: in his *Summa theologiae* Thomas discusses admiration or stupefaction as forms of fear, prompted by the great or unusual, which are so only in regard to intentional objects which are bad.[100] With regard to Aristotle's *Rhetoric,* Book 1, Thomas maintains that *admiratio* is actually pleasurable, since it consists not of ignorance, but of the desire to learn more about the cause of the thing wondered at.[101] It is clear that the Thomist perspective recognized the effectiveness of "shock and awe": Thomas gives the example of the Annunciation to the Virgin as proof that *admiratio* gears up the mind to attention, a view manifestly useful to contemporary pedagogues.[102] But what also follows—and the sources tend to confirm this—is that an encounter with sublime religious architecture, as a thing of wonder serving a virtuous end, could, but did not necessarily, entail an experience of fear, or a contrarian frisson of pleasure mixed with horror. It follows that medieval *admiratio* need not always have corresponded to certain Early Modern experiences of the Sublime.

Perhaps, however, this is to make too much of discontinuity: the apprehension of the Sublime, as a pleasure of the imagination, after all involves the mind's effort to grasp something vastly larger than its natural capacity, and thereby engage in a form of self-transcendence. The Middle Ages had much to say about transcendence of self. Even "Longinus" states that the purpose of the Sublime is not to persuade, but to transport readers out of

themselves: "for the extraordinary arouses not persuasion but transport in the hearer; what inspires wonder in us is in every way superior to what is only convincing and pleasing." In effect (in Curtius's formulation) "Longinus" severed the tie between rhetoric and lofty literature.[103] Inspiration and transport, as products of the apprehension of the Sublime, ranked higher than conviction or pleasure. The medieval experience of architecture as a prelude to rapture, as a transcendent mode, owes much to this idea. In so far as generalization is possible, between the sixth and thirteenth centuries the transcendent mode followed from encounters not so much with singularly vast scale, as from boundless variety. Transcendence, at least in neoplatonic terms, sought singularity, but arose from an encounter with unutterable plurality. The Pseudo-Dionysius explains in his *Caelestis hierarchia* that we descend to the plane of distinction and multiplicity, where we find the variegated angelic figurations, before taking off from these images to rise to the simplicity of heavenly minds.[104] *Varietas* and the stimulation of all the senses were the launching pad for anagogy, just as mixture was a prerequisite for pleasure.

Three well-known sources belong broadly to this tradition. The first, Procopius's sixth-century *Buildings,* a bestowal of praise on the Emperor Justinian, takes the form of an architectural *ekphrasis* of Hagia Sophia (Fig. 8).[105] Procopius's text is manifestly one in which ekphrastic commonplaces about vastness abound: the church is overwhelming, even incredible, soaring to a height to match the sky and towering over Constantinople, its piers like sheer mountain-peaks. But within this scale lies unutterable complexity of manufacture, motifs and materials, the many-colored stones likened to a meadow in bloom, their colors glowing and flashing. From the variety of art and nature follows rapture. All this is work turned under the influence of God: and so it is that whoever enters the church finds that "his mind is lifted up toward God and exalted, feeling that He cannot be far away, but must especially love to dwell in this place which He has chosen".[106] The second text is Abbot Suger's *De administratione* of ca. 1145-8, chapter 33, in which Suger, having described the high altar frontal and its allegories, turns to a contemplation of the different ornaments in the church of Saint-Denis. His train of thought starts with the various precious stones of Ezekiel 28.13, *in deliciis paradisi Deifuisti omnis lapis pretiosus operimentum tuum,* for almost none was absent in Suger's church: thus, in taking delight in the loveliness of the many-colored gems, Suger is called away from external cares, transferring that which is material to that which is immaterial, reflecting on the diversity of the sacred virtues to the point where he sees himself dwelling in some strange region of the universe, neither in the slime of the earth nor in the purity of Heaven, and as it were able to be transported to the higher world in an anagogical manner (*anagogico more).*[107] Thus pleasure taken in various things leads to a translation of self. Suger's self-transcendence is less architectural in origin

than Procopius's, though his summary of the work on his choir refers to its variety of many arches and columns.[108]

The third text, Jean de Jandun's encomium of Paris, and especially Notre-Dame, the palace of the Cite, and the Sainte-Chapelle, written ca. 1323, is manifestly framed in terms of great buildings as showcases of variety. Notre-Dame excels for the magnificence (*magnificentia*) and perfection of its high and massive towers, clothed with a multiple variety (*multiplici varietate)* of ornaments. Within, its aisles are covered with many-membered vaults and numerous surrounding chapels; the crossing is large, and its windows, shaped like the fourth vowel, contain circlets of wonderous artifice, gleaming with precious colors and subtle depictions.[109] The Sainte-Chapelle solidly frames the most selectly-colored painting, preciously-gilded images and windows of beautiful transparency which gleam on all sides; its altar cloths and reliquaries adorned externally with dazzling gems are of such hyperbolic beauty that, entering the chapel from beneath, one understandably believes oneself as if rapt to heaven (*quasi raptus ad celum),* and to be entering one of the best chambers of Paradise. Jean's use of the device of asyndeton (absence of conjunctions) in this last passage is striking since it has the effect of speeding up a series of strong impressions in its onward, upward rush to Paradise.[110] There may be room for debate as to the extent of jean's aristotelianism as opposed to his neo-platonism; but his explicit connection of rapture, or near-rapture, to a heady, indeed headlong, experience of variety seems in keeping with Procopius and Suger.[111] Jean's debt to Aristotle helps us in so far as he picked up from the *Politics* (7.7, 1-3) the notion that the Greeks, in contrast to the northern and Asian peoples, perfectly reconciled spirit and intelligence, but adapted it by arguing that divine bounty had now granted this very same quality to the French: Greek self-confidence was at home in Paris.[112] Jandun's account of Paris's transcendent architecture is an instance of that *superbia Gallica,* that French pride—intellectual pride—much commented on around 1300. It is interesting, in virtue of Panofsky's hypothesis about scholasticism and Gothic architecture, to find that pride invested in two Gothic churches.[113]

Earlier, I noted that an important medieval tradition held that to understand architecture is to practice a form of exegesis. The three passages on rapture or near-rapture just considered are not exegetical, since they do not move from the naming of parts to allegorical understanding. They belong instead to a Judaeo-Christian tradition of architectural reverie which, among other things, could provide a consciously diverse basis for allegorical and liturgical exposition.[114] Albrecht's *Titurel,* for instance, is manifestly a reverie in its paratactic, visionary relation of space and detail. Powerful arguments could be mustered for the representation of diversity: thirteenth-century theologians, notably Alexander of Hales and St. Bonaventure, considered the variety, the multiple mode, of writing in the Bible to be necessary to the fulfilment of the ends of Scripture.[115] But diversity and reverie could come at a price. With sight, as with hearing, the world could get in the way, and the

mind's eye could be besmirched, its *aspectus* clouded above all by *curiositas,* the pointless distraction of the mind, even the emotions.[116] Just as reverie could become rapture, so too might it express disgust provoked by error, an eye wandering and lingering over seductive detail. In later medieval texts in the Bernardine tradition of critique of wealth, such as the anti-mendicant *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede* of ca. 1395, to confront the hypocritical richness and variety of ecclesiastical art is to encounter quaint, "curious" and knotted carvings "craftily entailed," upon which the eye settles only momentarily. In such "curious" work we can trace a preoccupation with elaborateness and superficial ornateness as symptoms *oivitium curiositatis* in which sensitivity to an excess of *cura,* care for worldly things, arose from a more etymologically based understanding of *curiositas.*"' This distracted, aimless scanning and prying is not part of the journey to rapture, but shows instead why it matters (in Augustinian and Cistercian terms) to "dense clene thi syght and kepe well thyn eighe": what culminated in anagogy now descends into tropology, even social satire—the earthy "realism" of the later Middle Ages.[118]

In Gabriele Paleotti's *Discorso* (1582), one of the main Counter-Reformation treatises on images, the highest level of perception of Christian art was open only to those *con occhio purgato,* with a cleansed eye, and was necessarily elitist, a matter for the educated and spiritually-minded.'" Paleotti made the connection between the ends of Christian representation and rhetoric explicit, and, though he did not make use of the classical levels of style in Cicero and Augustine, for him *magnificentia (Discorso* 2.52) was one of the highest ideals of religious art.[120] Some of the themes presented in the present paper received universalist articulation in counter-reformation theory. In regard to representation, however, the position is less clear, and Paleotti may have seen the difficulty. Not all religious experience was necessarily guided by style and resulted in persuasion, or knowledge. In much Christian thinking, that which is carnal is merely a prelude to an unfolding process *through* the sensible realm of things *towards* something higher, whether knowledge or rapture. When Eusebius said that the cathedral at Tyre was a "marvel of beauty, utterly breathtaking" especially for those with eyes only for material things, he was careful to add that "all marvels pale before the archetypes, the metaphysical prototypes and heavenly patterns of material things."[121] A central and persistent pleasure of the Christian imagination is that which lies precisely in the irresolvable paradox of the most important Christian images, whose fundamental mystery "resolution," or a modern categorical aesthetic closure ("beauty," "ugliness"), could only destroy.[122] *Pace* Auerbach, it remains to be established whether the irresolvable, contrarian or paradoxical nature of Christ on the Cross, his Passion, and the mystery of his "sweetness" were not only comprehensible in rhetorical terms (which they are), but actually reducible to them.[121] Here I have proposed, more simply, that a notion of a medieval Sublime is of potential importance for understanding non-representational arts which strove to *magnificentia, varietas* and *sublimitas,*

varietas emerging as a key quality quite as much as scale in the provocation of uplift.

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Notes

*I am grateful to Christopher Brooke, Paul Crossley, Cally Hammond, Stephen Jaeger, Alexander Marr, John Munns, and Noel Sugimura for comments on this essay as for assistance in its preparation.

1 Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature,* trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 72; see his "Sermo Humilis," *Romanische Forschungen* 64 (1952): 304-64, also in *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages,* trans. Ralph Manheim (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), 25-81.

2 Auerbach, *Mimesis,* 151.

3 Hans Robert Jauss, *Alteritat utid Modemitat der mittelalterlichen Literatur: Gesammelte Aufsdtze 1956-1976* (Munich: W. Fink, 1977), 385-410, 398-400; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, " 'To Make Women Weep': Ugly Art as 'Feminine' and the Origins of Modern Aesthetics," *Res* 31 (1997): 9-34; Sarah Lipton, "'The Sweet Lean of His Head': Writing about Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages," *Speculum* 80 (2005), 1186, n.44 [1172-1208]: "Julia Kristeva's fundamental work... cannot fail to stimulate and challenge any student of medieval devotions to the crucifix."

4 As in Hamburger, "To Make Women Weep," 19-20 and notes 44-45.

5 Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,* trans. Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Ser., vol. 36 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 399-400.

6 Peter Dronke, review of Auerbach, *Literary Language and its Public,* in *The Classical Review* new ser. 16 (1966): 362-4.

7 *Anselm of Canterbury, The Major Works,* ed. Brian Davies, Gillian R. Evans, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998),267.

8 Hamburger, "To make women weep," 22.

9 Auerbach, *Mimesis,* 156.

10 Auerbach, *Mimesis,* 155.

II *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and its Art Treasures,* ed. Erwin Panofsky, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 62-63.

12 Auerbach, *Mimesis,* 155.

13 Averil Cameron, "The Language of Images: The Rise of Icons and Christian Representation," in *The Church and the Arts,* ed. Diana Wood, *Studies in Church History,* vol. 28 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 1-42, at 33-34.

14 Auerbach, *Mimesis,* 155—56; Hamburger, "To make women weep"; Jacqueline E. Jung, "Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches," *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000): 649 [622-57]: "And so it was with choir screens: in their bulky forms and often mundane imagery, the sculptures on the screens present themselves, quietly and without pretence, as simple *sights* for simple folk."

15 For *The Art of Sinking in Poetry,* see *Selected Prose of Alexander Pope,* ed. Paul Hammond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 13-15, 170-212. I

refer to the type of study exemplified by Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992).

16 Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 29-31.

17 Ernst Gombrich, *Norm and Form. Studies in the Art of the Renaissance,* 3rd ed. (1966; London and New: Phaidon, 1978), 35-57.

18 Aristotle, *Ethics* 4.1119b22-1122b21: *The Complete Works of Aristotle,* ed. Julian Barnes, Bollingen Ser., 71.2, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 2:1767-9.

19 *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi: Etymologiarum sive Originum,* 2, ed. Wallace M. Lindsay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), Bk. 19.13.

20 Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* 7 vols. (London: Methuen, 1909-26), 4.261.

21 Panofsky, *Abbot Suger,* 65, 91.

22 Paul Binski, "The Cosmati and *romanitas* in England: An overview," in *Westminster Abbey, The Cosmati Pavements,* ed. Lindy Grant and Richard Mortimer, Courtauld research papers no. 3 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 116-34, at 119-23.

23 Lindy Grant, "'Naming of Parts: Describing Architecture in the High Middle Ages," in *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture c. 1000-C.1650,* ed. Georgia Clarke, Paul Crossley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 46-57, at 51.

24 Dale Kinney, "The Concept *ofSpolia,*" in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe,* ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 233-52.

25 Grant, "Naming of Parts," 50.

26 Mary Carruthers, "The Poet as Master Builder: Composition and Locational Memory in the Middle Ages," *New Literary History* 24 (1993): 881-95; Conrad Rudolph, "Building-Miracles as Artistic Justification in the Early and Mid-Twelfth Century," in *Radical Art History: Internationale Anthologie. Subject: O. K. Werckmeister,* ed. Wolfgang Kersten (Zurich: ZIP, 1997), 398-410.

27 For *varietas* and rhetoric, see Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition 1350—1450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971); for exemplifications of *varietas* and eclecticism in English high patronage, see Paul Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster,* Society of Antiquaries Occasional Papers, new ser. 9 (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1986), 109, and *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995); for hyperbole and variety, see also Grant, "Naming of Parts," 55, and Erik Inglis, "Gothic Architecture and a Scholastic: Jean de Jandun's *Tractatus de laudibus Parisius* (1323)," *Gesta* 42.1 (2003): 68-9 [63-85],

28 For summoning *a remotis, de diversis partibus* etc., see Panofsky, *Abbot Suger,* 43, 47; *Matthew Paris, Chronica majora,* ed. Henry R. Luard, Rolls Ser. 57, 7 vols. (London: Longman, 1872-83), 3:391 (Salisbury); Grant, "Naming of Parts," 51-52.

29 E.g., Procopius, *Buildings,* trans. Henry B. Dewing, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 7 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 12-13; Gervase of Canterbury, see Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England 1170—1300* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 4; for inexpressibility topoi, see Curtius, *European Literature,* 159—63; Michael Greenhalgh, *The Survival of Roman Antiquities in the Middle Ages* (London: Duckworth, 1989), 119-22.

30 For porphyry, see Jozsef Deer, trans. G. A. Gilhoff, *The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily, Dumbarton Oaks Studies,* vol. 5 (Cambridge,

MA: Harvard University Press, 1959); Dorothy F. Glass, *Studies on Cosmatesque Pavements,* BAR International Series, vol. 82 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1980); Binski, "The Cosmati." For the concept of charisma and the heroic, see C. Stephen Jaeger, "Charismatic Body—Charismatic Text," *Exemplaria* 9.1 (1997): 117-137.

31 Binski, *Becket's Crown,* 3—27.

32 C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels. Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe 950—1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 297-310.

33 Binski, *Westminster Abbey,* 52—63; Binski, *Becket's Crown,* 139—46.

34 *Lives of Edward the Confessor,* ed. Henry R. Luard, Rolls Ser. 3 (London: Longman, 1858), 90; for height and regality, Binski, *Becket's Crown,* 50-51.

35 Binski, "The Cosmati."

36 Richard Newhauser, "The Sin of Curiosity and the Cistercians," in *Erudition at God's Service,* ed. John R. Sommerfeldt, *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History,* vol. 11 (Cistercian Studies, 98 vols.) (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1987), 71—95; Conrad Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance." Bernard of Clairvaux's* Apologia *and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); Carruthers, *Craft of Thought,* 82-91.

37 Rudolph, "*Things of Greater Importance,*" 278—79.

38 PL 205, 258: *Non assimileris arte Daedalo in aedificanda domo, non gigantibus altitudine.*

39 David S. Wiesen, *St. Jerome as a Satirist. A Study in Christian Latin Thought and Letters* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964); John Gage, "Horatian Reminiscences in Two Twelfth-Century Art Critics," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973): 359-60.

40 Jean Wirth, *L'lmage Medievale: Naissance et developpements (VIe-XVe) siecle* (Paris: Meridiens Klincksieck, 1989), 200-06.

41 Otto Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schottland vom Jahre 901 bis zum Jahre 1307* (Munich: Prestel, 1955-60), no. 5702.

42 H. de Lubac, *Exeghe medievale: les quatre sens de I'ecriture,* Pt. 2.2 (*Theologie,* 59) (Paris: Aubier, 1962), 41—60; for specialist studies see Roberta D. Cornelius, *The Figurative Castle: A Study in the Medieval Allegory of the Edifice with Especial Reference to Religious Writings* (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr, 1930); Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 122-155 and *passim-,* Barbara E. Kurtz, "The Small Castle of the Soul; Mysticism and Metaphor in the European Middle Ages," *Studia Mystica* 15 (1992): 19—39; Jill Mann, "Allegorical Buildings in Mediaeval Literature," *Medium Aevum* 63 (1994): 198-200 [191-210]; David J. Cowling, *Building the Text: Architecture as Metaphor in Late Medieval and Early Modern France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Lucy F. Sandler, "John of Metz, The Tower of Wisdom," in *The Medieval Craft of Memory, An Anthology of Texts and Pictures,* ed. Mary J. Carruthers, Jan Ziolkowski (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 215-225; Christiania Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind. A Study of Medieval Architectural Allegory* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003); Abigail Wheatley, *The Idea of the Castle in Medieval England* (York: York Medieval Press, 2004).

43 PL 205, 256, 258.

44 Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the English Poets,* 3 vols. (Dublin: Messrs. Whitestone, et al., 1779), 1:215; my thanks to Noel Sugimura for her help with this passage.

45 Many editions, see Louis Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis,* 3 vols. (Paris: E. Thorin, 1886-1957), examples in vol. 1 at 323 (no. LXXII, Honorius); 242-43, namely

Oratorium sanctae Crucis___Ubi sunt columnae mirae magnitudinis quae dicuntur ecaton-penlaicas (no. XLVIII, Hilarus); 374 (no. LXXXVI, Sergius); 499, 509, 514 (no. XCVII, Hadrian, numerous examples), etc.

46 The obvious example is the moralistic tone of the report of William of Sens's fall at Canterbury, Binski, *Becket's Crown,* 50.

47 Stephen Murray, *Beauvais Cathedral: Architecture of Transcendence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 110.

48 Jean Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 21-22.

49 Bony, *French Gothic Architecture,* 45—76.

50 Ernst Gombrich, *Ideals and Idols: Essays on Values in History and the History of Art* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1979), 64-65.

51 Penelope R. Doob, *The Idea of the Labyrinth: from Classical Antiquity through the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); Craig Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology and Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Hermann Kern, *Through the Labyrinth: Designs and Meanings over 5,000 Years* (Munich and London: Prestel, 2000). For Reims and Amiens see, *inter alia,* L. Paris, "Notice sur le dedale au Labyrinthe de l'Eglise de Reims," *Bulletin Monumental* 22 (1856): 540-51; Robert Branner, "The Labyrinth of Reims Cathedral," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 21.1 (1962): 18-25; Stephen Murray, *Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens: The Power of Change in Gothic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1996, 78-79, 85-86, 128-29 (Appendix A, no. 2), 212 n.1-2; Kern, *Through the Labyrinth,* 149-50, 160-61.

52 Murray, *Beauvais Cathedral,* 110—11.

53 Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church 1130—1530* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1990), 122: "the fact that this most prestigious church could opt out of the high building race must have contributed to the general slowing down of that form of competitiveness after the mid-13th century."

54 Hans R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt—Kritische Gesamtausgabe des Bauhuttenbuches, ms. fr 19093 der Pariser Nationalbibliothek* (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1935), 165-69, pi. 62.

55 Yves Delaporte, *Les vitraux de la cathedrale de Chartres. Histoire et description,* vol. 3 (Chartres: E. Houvet, 1926), pis CIC-CCII; John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon,* ed. J. B. Hall, *Corpus Christianorum,* vol. 98 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), 116.

56 *Age of Chivalry. Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400,* ed. Jonathan J. Alexander and Paul Binski (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1987), no. 193.

57 Bernhard Schmid, *Die Marienburg* (Wiirzburg: Holzner, 1955), 38, pis. 32-5, 70; Andrzej Grzybkowski, "Geneza Kolosa Malborskiego," *Ikonoteka. Prace Instytutu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* 6 (1993): 75—98.

58 Paul Frankl, *The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), 193; see *Albrechts von Scharfenberg Jtingerer Titurel,* ed. Werner Wolf, vol. I (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, 45) (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955), 111-17.

59 See for example Judith S. Neaman, "Magnification as Metaphor," in *England in the Thirteenth Century,* ed. W. Mark Ormrod, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 1 (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1991), 105-22.

60 PL 205, 258; see also *Alexander Neckam, De naturis rerum,* ed. Thomas Wright, Rolls Ser. 34 (London: Longman, 1863), 281—83; Binski, *Becket's Crown,* 43—46.

61 See St. Bonaventure, *Determinationes questionum circa regulamfratrum minorum,* I, qu. 6, in *Opera Omnia,* vol. 8 (Rome: Quaracchi, 1898), 341; Lehmann-Brockhaus,

Lateinische Schriftquellen, no. 3394. *Sublimitas* as a non-derogatory term is sometimes found in regard to the height of columns in English sources, however: Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen,* nos. 4476, 5003.

62 Panofsky, *Abbot Suger,* 108-09.

63 William Stubbs, ed., *Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury,* Rolls Ser. 73, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1879—80), 1.27: *Hoc tamen sciendum est quod novum opus altius est veteri_*

64 *The Metrical Life of Saint Hugh,* ed. and trans. Charles Garton (Lincoln: Honywood Press, 1986), 54-61; for the exegetical tradition see Binski, *Becket's Crown,* 55-62; Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind,* 7-27, 49-60.

65 For Stonehenge and Snowdonia, see Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibemica,* ed. John S. Brewer, James F. Dimock, George F. Warner, in *Opera Omnia,* Rolls Ser. 21, 8 vols. (London: Longman, 1867), 5.100-1; and 6.135; Antonia Gransden, "Realistic observation in twelfth-century England," *Speculum* 47 (1972): 48-51 [29-51],

66 Neckam, *De naturis rerum,* 281-83.

67 T. Alexander Heslop, "Art, Nature and St. Hugh's Choir at Lincoln," in *England and the Continent in the Middle Ages: Studies in Memory of Andrew Martindale,* ed. John Mitchell, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, vol. 8 (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), 60-74 at 65-66.

68 Procopius, *Buildings,* 19, 26—27; for related color-imagery themes, including Paulus Silentarius, Theophilus etc., see Peter Dronke, "Tradition and Innovation in Medieval Western Colour-Imagery," *Eranos-Jahrbuch,* 41 (1972): 51-106, 53-5.

69 For Gerald on Roman remains, *Itinerarium Kambriae,* 80, 55-56; for Master Gregorius, see *Master Gregorius, The Marvels of Rome,* trans. John Osborne, Mediaeval Sources in Translation, 31 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1987), 26, 29-30, no. 21.

70 Murray, Beauvais Cathedral, 161:...in choro recens extructo mirae altitudinis et amplitudinis canonici... divina officia celebrare coeperunt.

71 *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis ab Hybernia at Terram Sanctam,* ed. Mario Esposito *(Scriptores Latini Hiberniae,* IV) (Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1960), 28. This text contains several comments on buildings which link *miror* to *magnitudo, altitudo, pulcritudo, ornare, sumptuosus,* etc.

72 *Jungerer Titurel,* ed. Wolf, 83-110, stanzas 329-439; Frankl, *The Gothic,* 176-193; Achim Timmermann, "Architectural Vision in Albrecht von Scharfenberg's *Jungerer Titurel*" in Clarke and Crossley, *Architecture and Language,* 58—71.

73 *wunder/wunnerbaere,* etc. at *Jungerer Titurel,* ed. Wolf, stanzas 347, 364, 371, 384, 418, 422-3; stanza 344 for the "laughing" angels, on which theme see Binski, *Becket's Crown,* 236-59.

74 Frankl, *The Gothic,* 186-87, a discussion developed by Timmermann, "Architectural Vision," 65—70.

75 The source is mangled in Frankl, *The Gothic,* 55 n.2, which gives *anglici* for *anaglifi,* as Paul Crossley has kindly pointed out to me. See instead *Cronica ecclesiae Wimpinensis auct. Burcardo de Hallis et Dythero de Helmestat,* ed. Heinrich Boehmer, in MGH SS 30, pt. 1 (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1896), 659—77, at 666. See also Heinrich Klotz, *Der Ostbau der Stiftskirche zu Wimpfen im Tal. Zum Fruhwerk des Erwin von Steinbach* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1967).

76 On which theme see Linda B. Parshall, *The Art of Narration in Wolfram's Parzival and Albrecht's Jungerer Titurel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

77 Caroline W. Bynum, "Wonder," in *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), 37-75, at 59-62.

78 *Liudprand of Cremona: The Embassy to Constantinople and other writings,* trans. F. A. Wright, ed. John J. Norwich (London: Dent, 1993), 153; Peter Williams, *The Organ in Western Culture 750—1250* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 148 and n.29, 222.

79 *Complete Works of Aristotle,* 2:1555. See Alexander Marr, "*'Gentille curiosite':* Wonder-working and the culture of automata in the late Renaissance," in *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment,* ed. Robert J. W. Evans, Alexander Marr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 149-70.

80 *Tristan,* trans. Arthur T. Hatto (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1960), 261. Compare Lydgate's Temple of Glass (for Venus), circular in plan and as radiant as crystal: *Lydgate's Temple of Glas,* ed. J. Schick, Early English Text Society, extra ser., vol. 60 (London, 1891), 1-2.

81 Parshall, *Art of Narration,* 16-20.

82 *Jungerer Titurel,* ed. Wolf, stanza 413.

83 *Enarrationes in Psalmos,* XLI, 8-10, see Eligius Dekkers, J. Fraipont, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Enarrationes in Psalmis,* Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, vol. 38 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), 466-67.

84 W. J. Thomas Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1986), 125.

85 Paul Crowther, *The Kantian Sublime: From Morality to Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 7-8.

86 Joseph Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (London: J. and R. Tonson, 1767), 261.

87 This thought is based on a paper by Susan Rankin on the Pantheon rite to appear in a forthcoming volume on rhetoric and the non-verbal arts, ed. Mary Carruthers. For the Pantheon in the later Middle Ages, see also see Suzanne Lewis, "Parallel Tracks—Then and Now: the Cambridge Alexander Apocalypse," in *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson,* ed. Paul Binski and William Noel (Stroud: Sutton, 2001), 367-88 at 381-83 and fig. 7.

88 Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks,* trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Pengin, 1974), 130-31 (Book 2.16).

89 Inglis, "Gothic Architecture and a Scholastic," 66, 78.

90 Williams, *Organ in Western Culture,* 217.

91 *Enarrationes in Psalmis,* 467:... *ita perductus est ad domum Dei, quamdam dulcedinem sequendo, interiorem nescio quam et occultam dulcedinem sequendo, interiorem nescio quam et occultam voluptatem, tamquam de domo Dei sonaret suaviter aliquod organum.*

92 Mary Carruthers, "Sweetness," *Speculum* 81 (2006): 1008-9 [999-1013],

93 On melting, see Stephen Murray, *Cathedral of Amiens,* 122—23; for taste and affect, Simo Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2004), 198.

94 Saint Augustine, *Confessions,* trans. R. S. Pine-Coffin (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), 231-32.

95 Bynum, "Wonder," quotations at 57 and 50 for constriction of the heart; for laughter and wonder (in Avicenna), see Knuuttila, *Emotions,* 224.

96 Bynum, "Wonder," 42-43, 51-53.

97 Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica,* 123-4; for his penetrating looking, see Gage, "Horatian reminscences"; T. Alexander Heslop, "Late twelfth-century writing about art, and aesthetic relativity," in *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives. A memorial tribute to C. R. Dodwell,* ed. Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Timothy Graham (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 129—41 at 132.

98 For wonder and curiosity, see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750 (New* York: Zone Books, 1998); Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space,* trans. M. Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 169-72.

99 Knuuttila, *Emotions,* 47-71, 152-76, 195-212. See also Auerbach, *Literary Language and its Public,* 67-81.

100 *Summa Theologiae,* Part II, 1, qu. 41 art. 4: *Praeterea, timor non est nisi de malo. Sed admiratio et stupor sunt de magno et insolito, sive bono sive malo. Ergo admiratio et stupor non sunt species timoris___Ad quartum dicendum quod non quaelibet admiratio et stupor sunt species timoris, sed admiratio quae est de magno malo, et stupor qui est de malo insolito,* as in E. Alarcon, ed., *Corpus Thomisticum* (http://www.corpusthomisticum.org).

101 *Summa Theologiae,* Part II, 1, qu. 32 art. 8: *Ad primum ergo dicendum quod admiratio non est delectabilis inquantum habet ignorantiam, sed inquantum habet desiderium addiscendi causam; et inquantum admirans aliquid novum addiscit, scilicet talem esse quem non aestimabat,* as in Alarcon, *Corpus Thomisticum.*

102 *Summa Theologiae* III, qu. 30 art. 4: *Admiratio autem maxime attentionem animifacit.* Bynum, "Wonder," 50-51, also 8.

103 Curtius, *European Literature,* 398.

104 *Pseudo-Dionysius. The Complete Works,* ed. Colm Luibheid, et al. (London: SPCK, 1987), 182 (Chapter 15, at 328A).

105 Procopius, *Buildings,* 1.1, 27-66 at 12-29.

106 Procopius, *Buildings,* 1.1, 57-65, at 26-27.

107 Panofsky, *Abbot Suger,* 62-65.

108 Panofsky, *Abbot Suger,* 48—51.

109 Inglis, "Gothic Architecture and a Scholastic," 66—68, 78—79. Jean's use of the fourth vowel rather than a circle or zero to describe the rose windows of Notre-Dame (Inglis, 67, 78), is striking: the earliest source for the lost inscriptions on the Reims cathedral labyrinth (Coquault, d. 1645) states that Bernard de Soissons "fit cincq voutes et ouvra a l'O" (Branner, "Labyrinth of Reims Cathedral," 19). We contrast Villard de Honnecourt's "reonde veriere" caption to his drawing of the rose at Lausanne. Was the character O chosen as Omega-symbolism; and did this elementary designation of the shape act as an objective correlative of the efficiency and simplicity of Gothic? It appears to run against the usual assumption that the numerical arts were key to form in Gothic, the circle being 'perfect'; it also attaches the concept to speech rather than sight (contrast *oculus).* 'Nought' or 'zero' were manifestly impossible, even pejorative, see Georges Ifrah, *The Universal History of Numbers: from Prehistory to the Invention of the Computer* (London: Harvill Press, 1998), 589. Further remarks on 'rose' windows are in Robert Suckale, "Thesen zum Bedeutungswandel der gotischen Fensterrose," in *Bauwerk und Bildwerk im Hochmittelalter: anschauliche Beitrage zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte* (Giesen: Anabas, 1981), 259-94 at 264 and 286 n. 7; see also Painton Cowan, *The Rose Window: Splendour and Symbol* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2005), 19.

110 Inglis, "Gothic Architecture and a Scholastic," 68.

111 Inglis, "Gothic Architecture and a Scholastic," 72.

112 Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 251-57.

113 A point not discussed in the critique of Panofsky in Inglis, "Gothic Architecture and a Scholastic"; see my forthcoming discussion of the impact of architecture on scholasticism in a volume on rhetoric and the non-verbal arts, *Rhetoric Beyond Words,* ed. M. Carruthers.

114 Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind,* 2, 49-60.

115 Alastair J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship,* 2nd ed. (1984; Aldershot: Wildwood House, 1988, 126-27.

116 Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship,* 120-22; Carruthers, *Craft of Thought,* 82-91.

117 Richard Newhauser, "Towards a History of Human Curiosity: A Prolegomenon to its Medieval Phase," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift fiir Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 56.4 (1982), 563 [559-75],

118 *The Piers Plowman Tradition,* ed. Helen Barr (London: Dent, 1993), at 67-70, lines 144, 155-215.

119 Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno all immagini sacre e profane* (Bologna, 1582), Bk. 1, ch. 22.

120 Paleotti, *Discorso,* Bk. 1, ch. 21. See the discussion in Pamela M. Jones, "Art Theory as Ideology: Gabriele Paleotti's hierarchical notion of painting's universality and reception," in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America 1450—1650,* ed. Claire Farago (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 127-39, at 134; also Ulrich Heinen, "Zur bildrhetorischen Wirkungsasthetik im Barock. Ein systematisierungsversuch nach neurobiologischen modellen," in *Bildrhetorik,* ed. Joachim Knape, Saecula Spiritalia, vol. 45 (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 2007), 113-58.

121 *Historia Ecclesiastica* (10.4.55-6), see *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine,* trans. Geoffrey A. Williamson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), 397.

122 Consider Lipton, "Sweet Lean of His Head," 1175, in which clerical writing on the Cross sought "to *resolve* [my italics] the paradoxes inherent in the devotional object," not least the "heuristic of revulsion" (1187). Contrast Jennifer O'Reilly, "The Rough-Hewn Cross in Anglo-Saxon Art," in *Ireland and Insular Art AD 500-1200,* ed. Michael Ryan (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1987), 153-58, at 156.

123 Binski, *Becket's Crown,* 209-30; Carruthers, "Sweetness," 1003, 1006.

RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR AND THE MEDIEVAL SUBLIME

C. *Stephen Jaeger*

[1] I 'he Sublime" has formed an opposing pair with "mimesis" in the -L introduction to this volume and in various of its essays. The two terms point to bigger differences than the opposition of two literary styles. "The Sublime" evokes not just style and not just a mode of representing. Turning this particular adjective into a substantive suggests lofty realms of vision, imagination, and experience beyond the verbal. Its evocative power is evident if we try the switch from adjective to substantive with mimesis and call it instead "The Mimetic." It does not work, since its range of reference is hedged in at the level of style that is in some sense imitative. The Sublime is about more. To stress the distinction, the term is capitalized throughout in this volume. Its power to evoke is evident also in the accumulation of concepts (or at least titles) by contemporary critics and philosophers in the form, "The... Sublime,"[1] to which the present essay contributes yet one more.

My title aggravates the issue by promising "a" sublime characteristic of a historical period. In doing so it promises more than I have delivered. I have not come up with a unified conception of "the medieval sublime." What I try here is to describe a significant twelfth-century instantiation, starting with Richard of St. Victor on the psychology and aesthetics of contemplation, moving to secular works that draw on an aesthetic and psychological response clearly if not directly related.

The Sublime was at work in medieval representations and in the emotional response to them. It operated under aesthetic and psychological presuppositions in some ways like and in others unlike the glorifying and magnifying mode described by Longinus, or the magnifying and terrifying mode described by Burke, Kant, and other eighteenth-century critics and philosophers. The conceptual terms of this present essay would not, I believe, have roused strong contradiction from either my ancient or post-medieval

informants. I will try to set the medieval sublime in relationship to its ancient and modern counterparts. I will end by presenting what I take to be representative of the sublime in literature.

Presuppositions

Sublime elements occur in medieval literature, preaching, art, and architecture, to mention only a few media. To say that the sublime style or mode is somehow dominant, or to weigh it against other modes of representation, like mimesis or romance, is to misunderstand it. The Sublime results from acts of individual genius responding to a great theme or subject—as Longinus had stressed. It is not, in literature at least, a learnable mode of composing, like rhetoric or metrics. As I mentioned in the introduction, Peter Dronke named a number of works and passages that deserve analysis from this point of view, and while it is possible to infer the working of the Sublime and its effects from individual passages, theoretical reflection from the Middle Ages occurs only in the context of Christian preaching and devotional practice. (Brief references in rhetorical treatises cannot be called "reflection" on the high style.) If in this and the following sections I seem to privilege Christian spirituality, it is because that source forms the sole context of reflected commentary on the Sublime, not because the Sublime operates exclusively in reference to religious experience.

The medieval sublime is most approachable at that major access point for theory of Christian verbal representation, Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*.[2] In Book 4 the author describes the "grand" or "sublime style" *(grande dicendi genus, sublime dicendi genus, stilus grandis).* He illustrates it with a string of quotations from St. Paul's letters, decidedly not composed in *sermo humilis,* to demonstrate how wisdom joins with eloquence in Christian traditions. The words themselves are not devised by human skill, but "poured forth from the divine mind both wisely and eloquently" (4.7.21).[3] The most a human interpreter can contribute to this divine eloquence is to ignite his audience by the passion of his oral delivery ("bonum auditorem... si ardenter pronuntietur, accendit" (DC 4.7.21)). The "grand style" is marked not so much by ornaments of words and phrasing, but rather by its "force": it is "forceful with emotions of the spirit"; it is "carried along by its own impetus"; "it snatches up the beauty of eloquence by the force of the subject matter"; "is caught up by the force of the things discussed"; the choice of words is less a matter of reasoned selection than "the ardor of the heart"; "great is the subject, grand the treatment" (4.20.42). "Violentes animi affectus"; "fertur impetu suo"; "pulchritudinem eloquentiae... vi rerum rapit"; "verba congruentia... pectoris ardorem sequantur"; "magna est res, granditer agitur." Force precedes beauty. Burke would have no trouble accepting the formulation. For Augustine, the beauty of eloquence is a sleeping princess, awakened and abducted by the force ("vi... rapit") of some overwhelming "thing" *(res),*

be it an ogre or an eagle. Rhetorical ornament is a passive element of expression, ready to surrender to ravishment by some powerful subject matter and to serve it, or to remain somnolent. The subject wakens and snatches up the style that suits it: The eagle soars; the ogre lumbers. Simplicity of style, elegance, forcefulness, or blunt parataxis may serve now the one, now the other. Longinus chose as one of his examples of the sublime style lines by "that great lawgiver of the Jews" from the opening of Genesis: "God said, let there be light, and there was light."

Longinus would find much to agree with in Augustine's reading of the sublime style (and vice versa, though there is no reason to think Augustine knew the Greek tract). The sources of the Sublime for Longinus are, first, grand conceptions, then forceful and enthusiastic passions (*enthousiastikon pathos).* These two are primary, because they are the object and its effects. Matters of formulation are secondary; proper construction of figures (metaphor, etc.), nobility of language, and dignified and elevated word-arrangement, derive from art.[4] The emotions of the audience are snatched up and moved by the Sublime, the effect of which is "not to persuade the audience but rather to transport them out of themselves." In Longinus and Augustine the language of sublime effects is that of powerful emotions. The emotions expressed infect the emotions of the viewer or listener. They "snatch" and stir the feelings of the audience, like generating like. The listener's "imitation" of the subject matter is set in motion by forcefulness of speech. I will call this dynamic, "emotional symmetry": the listener or reader lives briefly in the emotional world represented, shares the emotions of its characters, who live a heroic, or supernatural, or saintly life. This assimilation of the lower to the higher level of pathos, the elevation of the reader into that higher world is fundamental to the experience of the Sublime, ancient or medieval (the modern experience is another matter).

Longinus and Augustine view the author of sublime passages with a significant difference. Longinus had tied the Sublime to a "noble mind"; but Augustine moved the agency outside of the writing subject: "There is a kind of eloquence fitting for men most worthy of the highest authority and clearly inspired by God" ("est quaedam [eloquentia], quae viros summa auctoritate dignissimos planeque divinos decet.")[5] For Augustine, loftiness (*sublimitas*) of discourse derives from its source in divinity. The element of higher inspiration is not alien to Longinus's presentation of the subject. But Christian transcendence posits an originating force more distant and more mysterious than Apollo, Dionysus, the Nine Muses or any inspiring force the ancient world imagined; in Longinian *enthusiasmos*, the *theos* seems more like a mythologized human force that a spiritual *numen.* Though gods may have been terrifying and enigmatic for Sophocles, in Longinus they are masks for human gifts. Christian transcendence remains a powerful element of the experience of the Sublime into the nineteenth century, and, at least in the Middle Ages, it never weakens to a literary topos.[6]

Richard of St. Victor, a major architect of schemes of contemplation in the twelfth century, gives us something like an anatomy of sublime experience grounded in Christian transcendence.

Richard presents the Sublime in the context of stages of contemplation in his major work on the subject, *Benjamin Major,* written around 1160. It has aesthetic aspects but its major context is an overwhelming experience of the divine, in whatever form it may present itself to the contemplative. In the passage I cite here, Richard is explaining the experience of *mentis excessus,* for which he and others also use the terms *mentis alienatio* and *extasis.* He distinguishes three "anagogic" or upward leading modes of ecstasy. Ecstasy of the mind comes from three causes: greatness of devotion, greatness of wonder, and greatness of exultation. When struck with "greatness of wonder" *(magnitude admirationis)* the mind can no longer control itself and is raised above itself:

> By greatness of wonder the human soul is led above itself when, as it is irradiated by divine light and suspended in wonder at supreme beauty, it is shaken with such overpowering awe that it is altogether driven out of its normal state. As when a bolt of lightning flashes forth, the more deeply the soul is cast down into the depths by despising itself with regard to that invisible beauty, then all the more sublimely, all the more quickly it is elevated to sublime things when it rebounds through the desire of highest things and is carried away above itself. By greatness of joy and exultation, the mind of man is alienated from itself when, after drinking of—or rather once completely intoxicated by—that abundance of inner sweetness, it forgets altogether what it is and what it has been. It is ravished into an ecstasy of alienation by its dance, and, in a state of marvelous happiness, suddenly is transformed into a kind of supermundane affection.[7]
>
> Magnitudine admirationis anima humana supra semetipsam ducitur, quando divino lumine irradiata, et in summae pulchritudinis admiratione suspensa, tam vehementi stupore concutitur, ut a suo statu funditus excutiatur, et in modum fulguris coruscantis, quanto profundius per despectum sui invisae pulchritudinis respectu, in ima dejicitur, tanto sublimius, tanto celerius per summorum desiderium reverberata, et super semetipsam rapta, in sublimia elevatur. Magnitudine jucunditatis, et exsultationis mens hominis a seipsa alienatur, quando intima ilia internae suavitatis abundantia potata, imo plene inebriata, quid sit, quid fuerit, penitus obliviscitur, et in abalienationis excessum, tripudii sui nimietate traducitur, et in supermundanum quemdam affectum, sub quodam mirae felicitatis statu raptim transformatur.

In addition to that major presupposition of the medieval sublime in Richard's understanding of it—that it is grounded in an immediate experience of an overwhelming presence of divinity—the passage quoted lays out various aspects of the medieval response to the Sublime: the medium of conveyance is

"the divine light," but the object of contemplation is characterized as "beautiful": *summa pulchritudo, invisa pulchritudo*. The emotion that overtakes the observer is "wonder" and "amazement" (*admiratio, stupor),* though the force of *stupor* suggests a stronger translation, like "struck-dumb." The immediate result is loss of self and contempt for the abandoned ego, and in the same degree as the individual is alienated from him- or herself, the desire for sublime things is heightened. As though intoxicated, the soul forgets itself, what it is, what it has been, and the loss is answered by joy, happiness, and exultation, a state Richard describes as a "dance" (*tripudium).*

We should note in passing how close the vocabulary and concepts of this passage are to Longinus: the effect of the Sublime, or of some embodiment of the divine, is to strike us with wonder and amazement and transport us outside of ourselves. Longinus and Richard of St. Victor both call on the image of the lightning bolt: "a well-timed flash of sublimity shatters everything like a bolt of lightning and reveals the full power of the speaker at a single stroke" *(On the Sublime* 1.4, 163); "[a]s when a bolt of lightning flashes forth"). Whatever the inspiring object, the effect on the mind and emotions of the viewer or reader differs little in the two experiences. In this passage and the following Richard of St. Victor uses terms and concepts and identifies emotional responses that will form part of the discourse of sublimity from Longinus into the nineteenth century. Prominent among them are greatness, magnitude, awe, wonder, amazement, ecstasy, alienation of the mind, and elevation. Growth and expansion of the mind are the result of the experience: "[mens] elevatur, elevando dilatatur, dilatando clarificatur" (178C). It is stretched out *(distenditur),* led to higher and more wonderous things *(ad altiora vel mirabiliora ducitur).* He virtually exhausts the Latin vocabulary of growth, height and amazement.

> In this kind of rising aloft *[sublevatio],* while the human mind constantly expands to higher things *[ad altiora crescit],* and while at length at some point it transcends the bounds of human capacity,... human understanding eventually must accept from the magnitude of its expansion *[ex dilatationis suae magnitudine]* that it is no longer human since now it is made more than human in a marvelous manner and an incomprehensible mutation, "seeing the glory of the lord it is transformed into that image from glory to glory [2 Cor. 3.18]".
>
> in ejusmodi sublevatione, dum mens humana semper ad altiora crescit, dum diu crescendo tandem aliquando humanae capacitatis metas transcendit... ita humana intelligentia ex dilatationis suae magnitudine quandoque accipit, ut ipsa jam non sit ipsa, non quidem ut non sit intelligentia, sed ut jam non sit humana, dum modo mirabili mutationeque incomprehensibili efficitur plus quam humana, dum gloriam Domini speculando, in eamdem imaginem transformatur a claritate in claritatem, tanquam a Domini Spiritu. (178Cff.)

Ultimately the mind "transhumanizes" (*efficitur plus quam humana),* if I may borrow that term from Dante, and its relevance is another point of contact with that poet, who placed Richard of St. Victor in Paradise (10.131ff.). Dante most likely had the passage just quoted in mind when he said that Richard's contemplations had made him "more than human."

This process is intellectual, psychological, not yet unmediated mystical experience, at least at the stage that the preceding quotations represent. He is describing an "anagogic" mode of contemplation, moving from visible to invisible things. He situates the basic experience of the Sublime at the moment of vision, when a thought or representation or material object seems to assert powerfully a living divinity behind it, a moment of theophany or epiphany: the divine shrouds itself in a perceptible form. Suger of St. Denis has given equally penetrating reflections on the contemplation of church decorations, where comparable effects accrue from meditation on jeweled crosses and brilliant bronze doors, passages quoted by Paul Binski, Emma Dillon, and Beth Williamson in their contributions to this volume, and I will mention them below.

Anagogic imagery presupposes an object of contemplation from created nature; by definition, anagogy is a mediating mode, and things as varied as artworks, relics, jewels, and narratives can serve as mediators. The catalyzing experience and the mental and emotional reaction to it is what the passage from *Benjamin Major* notes, not the voyage itself and not its goal—hence amazement and wonder, growth of the mind, transformation, the sense of transgression, passing boundaries fixed and unpassable for most humans.

True, the ultimate end of contemplation is the vision of God, but Richard of St. Victor appeals to that experience in explaining ecstasy of the mind only at the highest level of contemplation. Generally it is things created and experiences imagined that mediate rise, expansion, elevation of the mind, and ecstasy and that offer him language to explain the experience:

> Who does not know that wonder takes its beginning when we discern something beyond hope and above expectation. And so when something beyond what is believable manifests itself, the novelty of the vision and of a thing that is scarcely believable tends to produce wonder of mind
>
> Whence comes wonder except from an unexpected and incredible manifestation? ... The more greatly we marvel at the novelty of a thing, the more carefully we pay attention to it. The more attentively we look, the more fully we come to know. The mind rises up like the dawn____As it is raised, it is enlarged, and being enlarged, it is illumined. The more it is led to higher and more marvelous things, the more it expands, and as it gains distance from lower things, the more it is found pure in itself and more sublime for sublime things. (5.9, trans. Zinn, 322—23)
>
> Quis autem nesciat inde fieri admirationem, cum aliquid cernimus praeter spem, et supra aestimationem? Novitas itaque visionis et rei vix

> credibilis adducere solet admirationem mentis, quando aliquid incipit videri quod vix possit credi____Et unde, quaeso, admiratio nisi ex inopinato incredibilique spectaculo? ... Sed rei novitatem quanto magis miramur, tanto diligentius attendimus; et quanto attentius perspicimus, tanto plenius cognoscimus. Crescit itaque ex admiratione attentio, et ex attentione cognitio. Mens itaque velut aurora consurgit... Aurora siquidem paulatim elevatur, elevando dilatatur, dilatando clarificatur... quanto semper ad altiora vel mirabiliora ducitur, tanto amplius, tanto copiosius dilatatur, et unde ab infimis remotior, inde in semetipsa purior et ad sublimia sublimior invenitur. (PL 196, 178Aff.)

This passage defines ecstatic vision by analogy to amazement and wonder roused not by any supernatural person or event, but by some "novelty" beyond human experience. Richard of St. Victor is appealing to a sensibility that is present throughout the Middle Ages, but that gains a special profile in the period when he wrote.[8] Magic, the marvelous, and the natural, as opposed to the supernatural miraculous, while the taste for these phenomena certainly was present in the earlier Middle Ages, from the twelfth century on various strands of vernacular and Latin literature which feature them prominently, proliferate.[9] For instance, a new narrative form fashioned in France and England lives in great part from the fantastic, from a knight's experience of marvels yet unheard and unseen. In many aspects of chivalric romance, we see the author striving for effects that may well fit that description of Richard of St. Victor. The phenomenon of adventure and its realm, wizzards and enchantments, strange and marvelous events, and a nature that designs and orchestrates magical tests for a questing knight with or without human agents (sword in the stone).[10] The works of art and the performances in Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan* (ca. 1210) and the astonishment they release lend themselves well to analysis in terms set forth by Richard of St. Victor (indeed in one striking case may have been inspired by Richard).

Psychology of the Sublime: The Self-transcending Subject

Admitting the ecstatic contemplative experience defined by Richard of St. Victor as a factor in the medieval sublime is important because it gives us a strong perspective to discuss the medieval sublime viewed through the response of an observer. It allows us to insist on a distinction between sublimity as style and sublimity as experience, sublimity from language, poetic formulations and imagery—the topic of Auerbach's "Camilla, or, The Rebirth of the Sublime"—and sublimity as a quality of things, persons and events. Neither Longinus, nor any theorist of the Sublime in the eighteenth century would object to that distinction. Augustine had represented style, diction, word order, as a personified observer of the Sublime, which is drawn into rapture, and in an ecstatic state joins itself to the sublime object. That is, language

and style are not constituents but products of the Sublime. The psychology of the Sublime becomes a problem in its philosophical formulation when Kant unhooks it altogether from the beautiful, from art, poetry, and aesthetics, and treats it exclusively as a response to nature. By the early twentieth century Benedetto Croce was so tired of the parsing of the Sublime in aesthetics that he denied its relevance to aesthetics at all and consigned it to psychology."

One other gain from that distinction (psychology of experience vs. aesthetic quality) for understanding the medieval sublime: Dante is not just the poet of the Sublime in the arrival of the heavenly emissary in canto IX of the *Inferno* (Auerbach's point of comparison with Virgil's Camilla), or in his imagery of the ocean and the abyss, or in any specific passage where his language and vision rise to the grand style, but rather the whole of the *Divine Comedy* operates in the sublime mode: every encounter, terrifying or inspiring, happens in a mode of experience raised far above common humanity. The overall idea of a pilgrimage from hell through purgatory to heaven, is from the outset what Longinus would have called a "grand conception," to compare with other modern works that have been the measure of the Sublime: Milton's *Paradise Lost,* Goethe's *Faust,* Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey*. The progress of Dante's pilgrim to the final vision of the Trinity is a sustained *sublevatio mentis,* for the pilgrim as for the reader, the latter being drawn by emotional symmetry into the pilgrim's experience of rise and purification. Dante's language is a huge aid to awe and exultation, but the conception of the experience is at least as important and in respect to sublimity not dependent on it. Recall that Longinus gave priority to the conception and the emotional quality (passion or pathos), and set language and style in a secondary position.

If that is plausible, then the sublime mode is present in Dante, not only because it is Virgilian sublimity reborn, but because traditions of self-transcendence preformed in early Christianity and formulated since at least the twelfth century flow into Dante's work—that is, traditions spread far and wide in medieval Christianity, in art and literature.

The Magnificent and the Sublime cannot be defined exclusively by qualities detectable in works of art. That insight is the watershed in conceiving the Sublime set by Immanuel Kant in the *Critique of Judgement*. The sublime object must be judged by its effects on an observing subject. With Kant the study of the Sublime moves towards a study of the human perception of the Sublime, that is, becomes more a problem of psychology and less of aesthetics.

That eighteenth-century shift in the understanding of the Sublime fits the topic of the conference series on "the effects of the arts" in which this volume originated. The "effect" of the Sublime, however, was its defining factor long before Kant ruled out inherent qualities in the sublime object and so gave the sole privilege to sublime effects; it was a constant point of definition and articulation for Longinus, partly at least because one of his main areas of reference is oratory. An oration always presupposes an audience

and measures its success by its impact on the listener, set forth in the passage cited above ("The effect of genius").

The psychology of the Sublime directs the focus to terms that Richard of St. Victor supplies: *admiratio, vehemens stupor, jucunditas, exsultatio, elevatio, sublevatio, excessus mentis, extasis*.

The element of amazement and awe puts us on ground already broken by numerous studies of wonder, wonders, the fantastic, and the marvelous[12] (though none known to me in the context of the Sublime). It is worthwhile setting the subject of the Sublime in relation to that topic. The essay on "Wonder" by Caroline Bynum is a good focal point (n. 8 above) by way of contrasting history to aesthetics as an approach to the subject. Bynum grounds her thesis firmly in Richard of Saint Victor: "amazement... had a strong cognitive component; you could wonder only where you knew that you failed to understand... [wonder] was a stimulus and incentive to investigation"; "wonder... a first step toward knowledge" (72, 74). Richard of St. Victor: "The more greatly we marvel at the novelty of a thing, the more carefully we pay attention to it. The more attentively we look, the more fully we come to know. And so from wonder our attention grows, and from attention, insight." But the passage in the *Benjamin Major* continues and develops in a direction quite other than insight. The route from amazement to cognition is the first step on this path. Bynum's focus on cognition as the endpoint of wonder takes us decidedly into the DMA and its medieval curiosity cabinets. Curiosities, intricate and ingenious artifacts, are marvelous but not sublime. The Sublime and the merely marvelous are both outside human limits, but the Sublime marks out a space into which the human mind rises by envy and desire, the observer's desire to live in the vision s/he experiences. The rise entails expansion and transformation into some higher form. The amazement of novelty and the amazement of the Sublime are similar reactions to very different phenomena. The former illumines the mind; the latter transforms. The former ends in sober insight; the latter in expansion of the mind. Wonder shrinks in the hands of intellectuals, who penetrate its secrets and make knowledge into a triumph over the irrational; it grows great in the hands of artists and mystics. It is one kind of reaction when wonder leads the observer to investigate the cause of a marvel only to find a natural cause. It is very different from awe and terror inspired by, say, the height of a great cathedral whose vast stone ceiling seems incomprehensibly held in place by slim, fluty pillars.[13] The grandeur and immensity of the object remains—the sense of a structure beyond human capacities to create, the illusion of the suspension of the laws of gravity and of the functioning of laws higher than those of nature, and the terror at the thought that the laws of gravity might kick in again at any moment—these impressions remain even after the working of flying buttresses is explained to the beholder. The distance between heaven and its replica is lessened by the aesthetics of the cathedral, and so the visitor's sense of being contained in a heavenlike space and of emotional symmetry with the divine, heightened.

What follows insight in Richard of St. Victor's scheme is growth. The mind expands; it accommodates things beyond the human sphere; it becomes sublime through the perception of sublime things ("ad sublimia sublimior invenitur"). Emotional symmetry, where the feelings are drawn up to the level of the object that inspires them, is a step on the way to entering into the world which has left the reader or viewer awestruck, crossing over (transcending, transgressing). The human capacity for emotional symmetry is the psychic engineering that allows the ordinary consumer to inhabit briefly a higher world. This transforming process goes well beyond knowledge and understanding. It is exemplified by the much-quoted passage from Paul (2 Cor. 3.18): "All of us, with unveiled faces, seeing the glory of the Lord as though reflected in a mirror, are transformed into the same image from one degree of glory to another." Inseparably attached to Christianity, the experience is encapsulated more generally in the phrase, "experience sublime things, and you become like them." Richard of St. Victor formulated a sentiment that recurs from Longinus to the nineteenth century in the phrase, "ad sublimia sublimior invenitur." The human mind, lifted by sublime things above the material, itself is rendered sublime.

Growth, elevation, assimilation to the Sublime, is a big topic in the psychology of sublime experience. The ability of the psyche to expand in the face of things it recognizes as greater, to grow to the size of that great thing it contemplates, especially if it is immeasurably greater than itself, is a widely shared idea. Longinus defines elevation as one effect of the Sublime[14] and criticizes an earlier writer who had failed to recognize how through the Sublime "we may be enabled to develop our natures to some degree of grandeur" (1.1, 161). This psychology of the self-transcending subject recurs in both mystical and aesthetic experience, clearly a shared element. Self-transcendence was pre-scripted by Paul in the passage from 2 Corinthians quoted above. Bernard of Clairvaux restates the thought in comments on the antiphon for 1 November, which combines Isaiah 6.1 with Psalm 71.19: "See the lord seated above the throne, exalted and raised on high, and all the land was filled with his majesty." Majesty filtering from on high into all the land translates, for Bernard, into majesty filtering through the observer, who becomes like God: "You will be like Him, when you see Him as He is: be like Him now also... For if you do not deny that similitude even in a state of humility, certainly similarity will be owed to you in a state of sublimity."[15]

The thought of becoming like majesty upon seeing it, remains strong in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where experience of the Sublime tended to assimilate to religious experience or was taken to confirm the existence of God.[16] Edward Young put it tersely in his long poem "Night Thoughts," which became a defining opus of eighteenth-century sentimentality and the Sublime: "Divine contemplate and become divine."[17] Emerson claims that the Sublime removes the barrier between man and God, "The act of seeing and the thing seen, the seer and the spectacle... are one_____There

is no bar or wall in the soul where man the effect ceases and God the cause begins... [time and space are abolished and] "we lie open on one side to the deeps of spiritual nature, to the attributes of God."[18]

The experience of growth and expansion, whether from religion, from nature or from art, remains more or less consistent in the psychology of its subject. Bernard of Clairvaux meditates on a vision in which the prophet Elisha wakens him from spiritual torpor by a laying-on of the body, and he feels himself grow inwardly: "Sweet is the contemplation of those things: My heart is enlarged, my whole inward being is enriched, my very bones vibrate with praise."[19] Gottfried von Strassburg's meditation on the the hero and heroine of his romance, Tristan and Isolde, produces a like effect: "I have thought much about the pair of them... When I spread Longing and Affection as a scroll before my inward eye and inquire into their natures, my yearning grows, and my comrade, Desire, grows too, as if he would mount to the clouds! When I consider the unending marvels that a man would find in love... then, all at once, my heart grows larger than Setmunt."[20] The dynamics of the response, be it to Elisha or to Tristan and Isolde, is identical, however different the object.

Longinus gives several indications that his entire treatise is a kind of educational tract on the disciplining of the mind to greatness.[21] The Sublime educates the mind to sublimity and nobility of thought by the enthusiasm and inspiration it generates.

Self-transcendence through the Sublime is all over the place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Coleridge's take on the Gothic cathedral, quoted in the Introduction to this volume, is worth repeating here: "On entering a cathedral, I am filled with devotion and with awe; I am lost to the actualities that surround me, and my whole being expands into the infinite; earth and air, nature and art, all swell up into eternity, and the only sensible expression left is, 'that I am nothing.'" Byron's Childe Harolde outbids him, rhapsodizing on St. Peters in Rome:

> [This] Outshining and o'erwhelming edifice
> Fools our fond gaze, and greatest of the great
> Defies at first our nature's littleness,
> Till, growing with its growth, we thus dilate
> Our spirits to the size of that they contemplate.

The sight of the "vast and wondrous dome" causes the mind to "grow colossal."[22]

A response that I will call "ordered disorientation" is a prelude to exaltation and self-transcendence. The experience first diminishes, then elevates the contemplator. Reasoned thought and quotidian consciousness are shattered, to be restored at a higher level. The effect is present in Longinus's observation that the well-timed flash of sublimity "shatters everything,"

by which he means, the rational awareness of the listener (1.4, 162).[23] In the *Benjamin Major* ordered disorientation is scripted as a response to "great wonder." First comes the loss of self; the contemplator is "shaken," "overpowered," lightning-struck, and "cast down into the depths." The rise to the heights is in direct proportion to the depth of the initial fall: "quanto profundius... in ima dejicitur, tanto sublimius, tanto celerius... in sublimia elevatur." The lower he sinks in his initial stupor, the greater his mind is stretched and expanded ultimately—very similar to Coleridge's sense that he is nothing while at the same moment his mind expands into the infinite. Self and ego are shed in sublime experience. The consciousness of the subject is shaken and absorbed into a higher consciousness; hence the double reaction, expressed with pith in Young's "Night Thoughts": "My heart at once it humbles and exalts" (Night 9, line 755).[24] The self-affirmation that by itself can maintain ego cannot sustain itself in the face of a presence, divine or created, overwhelmingly superior. Its best option is surrender followed by the benefits of complete absorption into the conquering experience.

The Sublime has in this regard effects close to what Nietzsche would call the Dionysian. It overrides individuality and levels individual convictions and sentiments, creating a harmonious group out of a diverse collection of individuals.[25] The eighteenth-century theory will see the imagination as the faculty peculiarly susceptible to expansion by the Sublime. The capacity to conceive is enlarged by the vision and seemingly actual experience of things earlier inconceivable, which had no place in the mental potentials. The same happens to the capacity to act: the vision of an act of sublime heroism, real or fictional, creates the desire to imitate it; sublime self-denial (St. Francis, Gandhi, Mother Theresa) generates the capacity for self-denial and service of others in (at least some of) those who witness it. The double sense *of admiratio* is at work: Wonder leads to admiration, and from there to imitation. But the desire to imitate is roused by persons, artifacts and events beyond and above ordinary human capacities, hence "lofty," and "sublime." Here the experience of the Sublime parts company with the wonder at werewolves, vampires, monsters, funhouses, puppet shows in pastry, automata, and green earth-born children, to cite a few of the *mirabilia* that feature in Bynum's essay on wonder. If the object, person, act or experience represented is not greater, grander, more admirable than anything hitherto experienced by the viewer, then expansion of the mind and will to grandeur cannot happen. For the marvelous it is enough if wonder leads to knowledge; for the Sublime it must lead to admiration and from admiration to transformation.

Anthropology

The response to the Sublime, fervently attested by poets and mystics, may be seen as little more than an ephemeral enthusiasm, like the buzz after a good movie or the resonance in mind and body after a great concert—something

very far from a realignment of the psyche. For antiquity, Christianity, the Middle Ages, and the eighteenth century, what enables, if not an ontological grounding, at least a substantial conviction of the transformability of the individual in the spell of the Sublime, is its accompanying anthropology.

Self-transcendence through the Sublime presupposes sublime qualities given by nature present in the subject, latent, waiting to be awakened. What Longinus calls "The echo of a great mind" comes from the creator of sublime things, echoes in the things, and echoes again in the one who perceives this quality in the things. You have to be godlike to perceive divinity.

It is the logic of Goethe's epigram,

> If the eye weren't sun-like,
> How could we see light?
> If no divine power were in us,
> How could divinity delight us?
>
> War' nicht das Auge sonnenhaft,
> wie konnten wir das Licht erblicken?
> Lag' nicht in uns des Gottes eigne Kraft,
> wie konnt' uns Gottliches entziicken?

Longinus asks what vision could have guided poets and orators (he calls them demigods) who rise to the heights of the grand style, and he answers rhapsodically: They understood nature's design in creating human life:

> Nature has judged man a creature of no mean or ignoble quality, but, as if she were inviting us to some great gathering, she has called us into life, into the whole universe, there to be spectators of her games and eager competitors; and she therefore from the first breathed into our hearts an unconquerable passion for whatever is great and more divine than ourselves. Thus the whole universe is not enough to satisfy the speculative intelligence of human thought; our ideas often pass beyond the limits that confine us. Look at life from all sides and see how in all things the extraordinary, the great, the beautiful stand supreme, and you will soon realize what we were born for. So it is by some natural instinct that we admire, not the small streams... but the Nile, the Danube, the Rhine and above all the Ocean." (chap. 35)

That is, humans perceive the Sublime because their inborn sublimity equips them with an instinctual capacity to do so. It is a way open to restore their quasi-divinity, dumbed-down to its quotidian state by habit and the ordinariness of life. The "Glaucan condition of man," to use a phrase of Martino Rossi Monti, puts humans in a condition of confinement waiting for an available redemption. Divinity is in us, we have only to escape entrapment in the material to regain it.

Bernard of Clairvaux expresses a view of humankind close to this hymn of Longinus. In a sermon on the Ascension of Christ, he explains that Christ's mission in descending to earth was to awaken humans to their natural sympathy with the experience of ascent, to teach them to rise to heights. That natural sympathy is rooted in human nature: "We desire ascent; we all are eager for exaltation, for we are noble creatures, great of soul, and so we seek height/high-ness/the Sublime (*altitudinem*) with a desire implanted by nature,"[26] a remarkable claim from a spokesman of ascetic monasticism whose various tracts and sermons take the baseness of the human condition as a given.[27] That this belief in the quasi-divinity of man is not an isolated bit of atavistic humanism is clear from Martino Rossi Monti's essay tracing the idea of the human creature as a "magnificent work of art" (*opus magnificum)* from antiquity to the Middle Ages and beyond.

It would be a misreading to say that Bernard is addressing one side of the double nature of man. The "Glaucan" image posits a human condition in which nobility, greatness of soul, and striving for the Sublime are the **native** condition of humans; the base, sinful side is suppuration and scabbing, a crust formed over the native state. Humans are glorious by the image of God within; they are base through original sin and its working in quotidian sinfulness. The "misery of the human condition" is divinity obscured; ascent is divinity restored. The Glaucan condition of man means that redemption is always available, however heavily encrusted the divinity within. The Sublime is height *(to hypson, altitudo)* and heights are what we naturally strive for. It follows that the Sublime is one means of awakening and strengthening the image of God within.

While the idea of the double condition of humankind and its redeemability was part of Christian belief in the Middle Ages, it is not that common to infer the nature of the race from its response to sublime things. Aelred of Rievaulx comes close in a passage from his book on spiritual friendship. One of the speakers in the dialogue which constitutes the book shrinks from aspiring to true friendship: "I've struggled to acquire true friendship, but, terrified by its marvelous sublimity, I now nearly despair of attaining it." To which Aelred himself responds: "It is in the nature of a virtuous mind to reflect continually on sublime and noble thoughts."[28]

The inference of divinity from things sublime and noble became fairly common in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[29] Wordsworth wrote some remarkable lines on the topic at the end of *The Prelude* which can serve for many other instances. They respond to his ascent of Mt. Snowden at night. The panoply of sublime effects from nature is laid out before him—bright moon, wild mountains, terrifying waterfalls, "circumstances awful and sublime," and he sees in this setting "the type"

Of a majestic intellect...
There I beheld the emblem of a mind
That feeds upon infinity,...

a mind sustained
By recognitions of transcendent power,...
In soul of more than mortal privilege.

Such minds are truly from the Deity,

They possess the "highest consciousness," the knowledge of their divine origin. Every thought, every image and all affections are "by communion raised from earth to heaven, from human to divine."[30]

The Sublime in Art

Well into this paper in a volume on the Sublime in medieval arts, I have barely mentioned medieval literature and the other forms of art. But the passages quoted earlier from Richard of St. Victor have a close connection to representation. They refer to the mode of contemplation in which created things stimulate the desire to rise from the visible to an understanding of the invisible. Richard calls it an "anagogic" mode, as I mentioned earlier. The enabling scriptural passage is Paul's letter to the Romans (1.20), of interest to art historians (Jeffrey Hamburger is at work on a study of its history and influence on art from early Christianity to the Reformation): "The invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made." I have argued, following Winthrop Wetherbee, that the idea is central to the worldly spirituality of medieval Platonism: *per visibilia ad invisibilia*.[31] Three levels of things belong in the category of the "visible things of God," says Richard of St. Victor: Matter, form, and nature. Matter and form are perceived by the outer senses; nature (i.e., the natures of things), by the inner senses. While this leaves room for works of art inspiring the rise to the invisible, Richard does not specifically refer to statues, church ornaments, etc. (only once—to a picture of a lion implanting the idea of the lion: "Image of a lion, portrayed suitably in some picture" (2.18)). In fact the only work of art he refers to as a work of art is a human being well instructed in the discipline of manners: In such a person the "supreme Artisan," God, fashions in the elect a "marvelous work of art" *(mirandum artificium)* and in that work shows forth his skill (2.24). Richard takes as a symbol of this level of contemplation the gold crown set at the top of the mystical ark. The crown stands for the rise from the visible to the invisible. He is very close to an aesthetic response that in his contemporaries shows architectural ornament stimulating the rise to the invisible. Suger for instance, famously in the verses he composed and had carved onto the bronze doors of the new abbey of St. Denis:

Bright is the noble work; but, being nobly bright, the work
Should brighten minds, so that they may travel through the true lights,

> To the true light where Christ is the true door.
> In what manner it is inherent in this world the golden door defines:
> The dull mind rises to truth through that which is material
> And in seeing this light, is resurrected from its former submersion.

And more distinctly in his meditation on the Cross of St. Eloy:

> Thus, when—out of my delight in the beauty of the house of God—the loveliness of the many-colored gems has called me away from external cares, and worthy meditation has induced me to reflect, transferring that which is material to that which is immaterial, on the diversity of the sacred virtues, then it seems to me... that by the grace of God I can be transported from this inferior to that higher world in an anagogic manner.[32]

The twelfth century developed a form of secular spirituality that sought energetically the work of art that could raise the observer from the material to the immaterial and convey the marks of the Creator in his creation, and of the artist in his artwork.

This impulse was not restricted to the religious realm. Gottfried von Strassburg builds the dynamics of spiritual ascent into the allegory of the cave of lovers in *Tristan*. Its architecture has a spiritual meaning: the roundness of the wall means love's simplicity; width, love's power; height aspiration, "which mounts aloft to the clouds." At the top of the cave, the walls are gathered together in a keystone, and the keystone is decorated with a golden crown studded with jewels. The crown is the mediator to the heights for those whose spirits are not strong enough for unmediated ascent (a class in which Gottfried includes himself):

> we who are of lower aspiration, whose spirits flag and flutter over the pavement and neither settle nor fly—we gaze up intently at the masterpiece above us, which derives from the Virtues and descends to us from the glory of those who float in the clouds above us and send their refulgence down to us! We gaze at them and marvel! From this grow the feathers by which our spirit takes wing, and, flying, brings forth praise and soars in pursuit of those Virtues.[33]

It is a splendid example of the light metaphysics of the Pseudo-Dionysus making common cause with ideas of mystical contemplation. The light that streams down into the cave through the golden crown rouses the ecstatic flight of the weaker souls (cf. Suger's "dull mind," *mens hebes).* Bathed in that mediated light (the unmediated is still too powerful for the unpracticed gazer), the wings of the soul are strengthened for flight. Remarkable is that this dynamic of contemplation is built into a courtly romance celebrating—without the cautious transgressor's safety net, irony—a form of love with a shaky claim to religious correctness, or none at all.

The aesthetics of this secular spirituality rested on the analogy of God as artisan to the earthly artist: As God shows his skill in writing the book of created nature, so the earthly craftsman in creating beautiful works of art. Richard of St. Victor took the well-disciplined human as the paradigm of God's artistry. So does Gottfried von Strassburg. The arming ceremony preceding Tristan's battle with the Irish champion Morold is a spectacular display of the aesthetics of harmony, light, and proportion observed by Edgar de Bruyne and applied to the Gothic cathedral by Otto von Simson and Irwin Panofsky. Gottfried summarizes the stunning effect of the armor: "[each of the four parts of the armor] illumined each other so beautifully that if the armourer had designed all four to enhance each other with their beauty and be beautified in return, their splendour could never have been matched more evenly." Then he compares the material work of art with the man wearing it: "But what of the new wonder hidden within the armor: Was that of no account beside the rare masterpiece fashioned on the surface? I know it as true as daylight that however it was with the exterior, the subject within was designed and executed with greater artistry_____The work of art inside was most excellently contrived in form and conception. How the craftsman's art appeared in it!"[34]

The arming scene suggests that for Gottfried as for Richard of St. Victor the human presence could count as a work of art. Gottfried's depiction of Isolde's musical performance before the assembled Irish court is a yet more striking representation of the human presence as a sublime work of art. The performer sings a double song, one audible, the other visible; one public, the other secret. The audible song is her performed music; the visible, her ravishing beauty. She not only performs, but is herself a work of music, heard and seen at the same time, enrapturing ears and eyes. The beauty of the two songs together dazzles the listeners, strikes them with such astonishment that they lose their reason, their thoughts start up disordered like a flock of birds scared, and their hearts are filled with love. The poetry of the passage reflects a sensitivity to human beauty and an admiration of human talents both in an abstracted aesthetic admiration, in its spiritual sense of a manifestation of discipline and virtue, and as a social, even a political excellence.[35]

A scheme of contemplation much indebted to neo-Platonism and the Pseudo-Dionysus found abundant expression in the twelfth century. Gottfried von Strassburg's appropriation of it in order to sanctify a chapel-like palace/cave dedicated to the Goddess of Love and sheltering a pair of runaway high-society adulterers roused no objections of impropriety among his contemporaries. Its admiring acceptance is a good example of the ability of the Sublime to operate on both sides of conventional good and evil. The cave of lovers episode and the Tristan romance as a whole exemplify the Sublime as transgression, a connection much more in evidence in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries than in the twelfth and thirteenth. The Sublime as transgression and as transcendence have in common the passing

beyond and rising above the human sphere. To commit adultery is banal and unethical, but done out of a sense of special election of lovers who willingly suffer the disadvantages of violating the social order, sacrificing stature and life for the beloved, it turns sublime. Even grisly and horrible transgressions turn sublime (without turning moral) when their horrendous character is so far beyond the imagination of the ordinary mortal as to shock and amaze. Killing another person is murder; but massacring 'another's family and all their vassals and armies to revenge the murder of a beloved husband (Kriemhild in *Nibelungenlied*), or sending twenty-thousand men to their deaths to grab a piece of land "which is not tomb enough and continent to hide the slain" (Fortinbras in *Hamlet)* is sublime.

• * •

I hope that this essay has opened to view a certain range of experience as sublime: the experience of epiphany, theophany, and miracle, the sense that the supernatural reveals itself now in itself, now in a variety of sublime objects, even occasionally in the mask of the commonplace. The transforming effects of such apparitions on the viewer, the upward-leading magnetism which they radiate, constitute the working of the medieval sublime in one of its aspects.

The focus on Richard of St. Victor opens this aspect to view and suggests its vitality and persistence. I feel keenly how much is omitted in privileging this metaphysical aesthetics. Heroic epic for instance. To Peter Dronke's suggestions of scenes or works that lend themselves to an analytic of the Sublime (see above, pp. 10—11), I would add the death of the warrior martyrs in Sigebert of Gembloux's *Passion of the Theban Legion*[36] and the scene of Riidiger's sublime act of courtesy in handing his shield to Hagen in *Nibelungenlied*. I would like to have analyzed in some detail Adam of Bremen's description of Bishop Adalbert's artistic motives in building the cathedral of Bremen, staging an exotic form of the liturgy, and favoring men with booming voices to evoke, amid incense and dramatic lighting effects, an Old Testament God coming in smoke, lightning, and thunder—an instance where sublime effects coincide with a "magnificent" personality of vaulting ambitions, worldly and spiritual, lavish and prodigal patronage of church- and city-building.[37] Baudri of Bourgueil's lengthy panegyric on Adela of Blois likewise contains elements that lend themselves to analysis from this perspective.[38] It illustrates well the magnifying intention of panegyric and the effects which achieve it. The extravagant forms of courtly love in romance and lyric belong in this category, as Erich Auerbach rightly suggested. The Holy Grail is what Longinus would call a "grand conception" and what Richard of St. Victor would call "an incredible manifestation," possessing "the novelty of a thing scarcely believable." The excellences of Christ and the saints are expressed in the language of the Sublime,[39] as are those of remarkable individuals,

portraits in poetry or prose.[40] The central image of Hildebert's poem "Par tibi Roma nihil" seems to me remarkable for its "upward lifting" magnetism: the statues of the Roman gods, broken though they are, are so perfect that the gods themselves are astonished at their portraits and stare at them in envying admiration.[41] The medieval sublime, finally, distinguishes itself from virtually any other form known to me in the West by its expression in sublime acts of renunciation and self-denial [42] I could do little more than call attention to one significant line of thought and expression in this essay and gesture towards others. But enough said: the subject is big and neglected.

Notes

1 See the observations of Kenneth Holmqvist and Jaroslaw Pluciennik, "A Short Guide to the Theory of the Sublime," *Style* 36 (2002), 721. They cite a welter of such terms including "the Calvinist sublime," "the Marxist," "moral," gothic," "apocalyptic," "postmodern," and "avant-garde" sublimes.

2 See Danuta Shanzer's essay in this volume, " 'Incessu humilem, successu excelsam': Augustine, *Sermo humilis,* and Scriptural 6llJog."

3 *De doctrina Christiana (DC)* 4.6.9, PL 34, 93. English: Saint Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine,* trans. D. W. Robertson, Jr., The Library of Liberal Arts (Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958).

4 Longinus, *On the Sublime,* trans. W. H. Fyfe, rev. D. A. Russell, *Loeb Classical Library* 199 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 180-181 (chap. 8).

5 DC 4.6.9, PL 34, 93; trans. Robertson, 123.

6 See John Milbank, "Sublimity: The Modern Transcendent," in *Transcendence: Philosophy, Literature, and Theology Approach the Beyond,* ed. Regina Schwartz (New York & London: Routledge, 2004), 211-234. I stress that I'm not referring to the topos of the inspiring force, invocation of the muses or the Holy Spirit, but rather to the sense of Christian writers, some at least, convinced that they channel divinely inspired words.

7 *De gratia contemplationis libri quinque occasione accepta ah area Moysis et ob earn rem hactenus dictum Benjamin Major* 5.5, PL 196, 174Bff. English translation (with minor liberties taken) from Richard of St. Victor, *The Twelve Patriarchs, The Mystical Ark, Book Three of the Trinity,* trans, and intro. Grover A. Zinn, *The Classics of Western Spirituality* (New York: The Paulist Press, 1979), 316. Piero Boitani cites the passage that follows as a possible source, alongside Aristotle and Bonaventure, for Dante's description of awe at "great and wonderful things" in the *Convivio: The Tragic and the Sublime in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 253. Also of interest is a passage he cites from Bonaventure: "There is in God a terrible sublimity, a marvelous beauty, a desirable sweetness" (*terribilis altitudo, pulcritudo mirabilis, dulcedo desiderabilis).*

8 Caroline Walker Bynum, "Wonder," in her *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York: Zone, 2001), 37-75, and John Onians, " 'I Wonder': A Short History of Amazement," in *Sight and Insight: Essays on Art and Culture in Honour of Ernst H. Gombrich at 85,* ed. John Onians, et al., (London: Phaidon, 1994), 11-34.

9 See Jacques Le Goff, "The Marvelous in the Medieval West," in his *The Medieval Imagination,* trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 27-46; Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Bynum, "Wonder" (n. 8 above);

C. Stephen Jaeger, "Wunder und Staunen bei Wolfram und Gottfried," in *Inszenierungen von Subjektivitdt in der Literatur des Mittelalters,* ed. Martin Baisch, et al„ (Konigstein: Helmer, 2005), 122-139.

10 The emergence of Chretien de Troyes as the originator of a narrative of fantasy and enchantment is a mixed blessing for the study of the Sublime. On the one hand, his style tends to charm, wit, and irony, seldom to the high seriousness of the Sublime. One hardly knows when to take him seriously, whether his fictional enchantments are not perhaps a parody of a mindset that might take such things seriously.

11 See James Kirwan, *Sublimity: The Non-Rational and the Irrational in the History of Aesthetics* (New York & London: Routledge, 2005), 119; and Philip Shaw, *The Sublime* (New York &: LondonRoutledge, 2006).

12 See the rich bibliography in Bynum, "Wonder."

13 I take this example from a lecture by Michael T. Davis on the church of Saint-Urbain, Troyes.

14 "The truly sublime naturally elevates us; uplifted with a sense of proud exaltation, we are filled with joy and pride" (7.2, 179).

15 Pro Dominica 1, Sermo 1, 1 November, *Sancti Bernardi Opera,* 5, ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, H. M. Rochais (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1968), 305: "Similis eris illi, cum videris eum sicuti est: esto et nunc similis ei____Si enim ne in humilitate quidem similitudinem ejus abnuis, certa tibi sublimitatis quoque similitudo debetur."

16 Kirwan, *Sublimity,* 26ff.

17 Cited in Kirwan, 9.

18 Cited in Kirwan, 130.

19 Sermo in Canto 16.2, *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 1, 90: "Suaviter rumino ista: et replentur viscera mea, et interiora mea saginantur, et omnia ossa mea germinant laudem." I've adapted the translation of Kilian Walsh, *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux, Volume Two: On the Song of Songs I, Cistercian Fathers Series* 4 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1976), 115. Kilian's "my very bones vibrate with praise" is charming. I've rendered "germinant laudem" more prosaically with "bring forth praise."

20 Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan,* ed. F. Ranke, trans. Riidiger Krohn (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2001), lines 12200-12216. Quoted from *Tristan Translated Entire for the First Time with the Surviving Fragments of the Tristran of Thomas,* trans. A. T. Hatto (London: Penguin, 1967), 202. *Setmunt,* Seven-mountain? Rome? The word, *hapax leg.,* is unexplained. Clearly we are to imagine *setmunt* as very big.

21 Even though the Sublime is a gift, not an acquired quality, he writes, we must do our utmost "to train our minds into sympathy with all that is noble and, as it were, impregnate them again and again with lofty thoughts" (9.2, 185). Imitation of great poets of the past "leads to sublimity"; inspired by natural genius, we experience "the enthusiasm of these others' grandeur"; "Emulation will bring those great characters before our eyes, and their shining presence will lead our thoughts to the ideal standards of perfection." (13.2-14.1, 211-215).

22 Lord Byron, *The Complete Poetical Works,* ed. Jerome J. McGann, vol. 2: *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), 177, canto 4, stanza 158.

23 Longinus promised a section, or a separate work, on the subject of emotion (3.5, 170-171). Either it did not get written or it is part of the treatise that is lost.

24 Edward Young, *Night Thoughts,* ed. Stephen Cornford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 276 (Night IX, line 755). The dynamics of this long

(and final) passage are relevant to our topic. The subject is the grandeur of the night sky. The "joy" of the vision is greater than its "profit," so long as "admiration" inspires "delight" at the vision of "glorious objects." The first reaction is to abandon speech and leave all to feeling. "With pleasing stupor first the mind is struck / (Stupor ordained to make her wise!)"; "Then into Transport starting from her [i.e., the soul's] Trance, With Love and Admiration, how she glows!" The temple of the Divinity makes the "touch'd Spectator wish to be Wise" (935); "[the moon and the stars] were made to fashion the Sublime / Of human Hearts, and *wiser* make the *Wise*." (966—7). Clearly there is grist for Caroline Bynum's mill here, though wisdom is a step on the way to virtue, faith, love. The element of emotional symmetry is present, and the expansion of the soul is stressed: the boundlessness of nature and "the Sublime of Things, / The Soul assimilate, and make her Great" (1012—13). The soul of man is made to "walk the skies": "Nor, as a Stranger, does she wander There; / But, wonderful Herself, thro' Wonder strays; / Contemplating *their* Grandeur, finds *her own*" (1018—27).

25 Cf. Longinus 7.4, 181.

26 *In Ascensione Domini, Sermo* , "De diversis ascensionibus," *Sancti Bernardi Opera,* ed. Leclercq, et al., vol. 5, 139—40: "Sic enim oportebat Christum descendere, ut nos ascendere doceremur. Cupidi siquidem sumus ascensionis: exaltationem concupiscimus omnes. Nobiles enim creaturae sumus, et magni cuiusdam animi, ideoque altitudinem naturali appetimus desiderio."

27 See his sermon 5, *On the Dedication of the Church* in *De gemina consideratione sui, Opera,* vol. 5, 388—396, concerning the double nature of man.

28 Aelred of Rievaulx, *Spiritual Friendship,* 1.25-26, trans. Mary Eugenia Laker, *Cistercian Fathers Series* 5 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1977), 56. "IVO:... frustra, ut mihi videtur, in huius virtutis acquisitione desudo, quam me adepturum, eius mirabili sublimitate territus, iam pene despero. AELREDUS:... virtuosae mentis est sublimia semper et ardua meditari". *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia,* ed. A. Hoste and C. H. Talbot, CCCM 1.1 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1971), 293.

29 Young, *Night Thoughts* IX; The soul of man is created to "walk the skies": "Nor, as a Stranger, does she wander There; / But, wonderful Herself, thro' Wonder strays; / Contemplating *their* Grandeur, finds *her own*" (1018—27).

30 William Wordsworth, *The Prelude 1850* (Oxford & New York: Woodstock, 1993), 356, bk. 14, lines 70-75.

31 Winthrop Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 90; C. Stephen Jaeger, *Medieval Humanism in Gottfried von Strassburg's* Tristan und Isolde (Heidelberg: Winter, 1977), 7.

32 Suger of St.-Denis, *De rebus in administratione sua gestis,* chaps. 27 and 33, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures,* ed. and trans. Erwin Panofsky, 2nd ed. by Gerda Panofsky-Soergel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 46-49, 62-65. Latin cited in Williamson, "How Magnificent was Medieval Art?" (p. 252 below).

33 *Tristan,* trans. Hatto, 264; ed. Friedrich Ranke, 11th ed. (Dublin and Zurich: Weidmann, 1967, lines 16949-16962. For commentary (and further ties to Richard of St. Victor) see C. Stephen Jaeger, *Medieval Humanism,* 126—138.

34 *Tristan,* trans. Hatto, 130, ed. Ranke, lines 6625-6653.

35 Ibid., 148, lines 8036—8131. Commentary, see C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 170—171.

36 *Sigeberts von Gembloux Passio Sanctae Luciae und Passio Sanctorum Thebeorum,* ed. Ernst Diimmler, Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Abhandlung 1 (Berlin, 1893). See the commentary in *Envy of Angels,* 181—190.

37 Adam of Bremen, *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte,* MGH SS Rer. Germ. 3rd in us. schol., ed. Bernhard Schmeidler (Hannover & Leipzig: Hahn, 1917), bk. 3, chap. 9, 150; cited here with minor changes from Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen,* trans. Francis J. Tschan, in *Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies* 53 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 121; bk. 3, chap. 24, 167, trans. Tschan, 134; bk. 3, chap. 37, p.180, trans. Tschan, 144—145. The work was written ca. 1075/76. See the commentary in Jaeger *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formatin of Courtly Ideals, 939-1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 67—81.

38 *Baldricus Burgulianus: Baudri de Bourguel, Carmina,* ed. & trans. Jean-Yves Tilliette (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2002), vol. 2, 1-43 (Carmen, 134).

39 A striking example: Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium,* PL 172, 1169D.

40 Peter of Blois described a highly gifted young man, nephew of the duke of Burgundy: "There can be no doubt that that young man outstripped all the magnates of the province (Burgundy). By his prowess in arms and the elegance of his figure, he roused amazement and a sense of the miraculous *(stuporem et miraculum)* in the eyes of men. And in the qualities quickest to fascinate the mind of a virgin, he had no equal: more urbane in speech, more lavish in gift-giving, more overflowing in all the things that constitute a nobleman." This in a letter to a nun named Anselma, who renounced marriage with this paragon in favor of the cloistered life. An act of sublime renunciation heightened by the sublimity of the person renounced (PL 207, 113Dff.). Some other portraits cited in my study *The Envy of Angels,* 76—116.

41 Hildebert, *Carmina minora,* ed. A. Brian Scott (Leipzig: Teubner, 1969) (Carmen, 36).

42 The monastic life offers many examples: St. Francis, acts of spiritual love and friendship, acts of extreme piety, abounding in the writings of Christina of Markyate, Henry Suso and other mystics. Renunciation of things valued most by worldly people; mastery of self, renunciation of sex.

"ERROR LEFT ME AND FEAR CAME IN ITS PLACE": THE ARRESTED SUBLIME OF THE GIANTS IN *DIVINE COMEDY,* CANTO XXXI

Eleonora Stoppino

In the beginning of the "Dialogue Between Nature and an Icelander," by the nineteenth-century Italian poet Giacomo Leopardi, we read a perfect example of the modern Sublime. The Icelander, who has traveled to African lands never before seen by humans, is confronted with the incarnation of the Sublime:

> The Icelander saw an enormous bust far away in the distance. At first he imagined it to be made of stone, like those colossal figures he had seen on Easter Island many years before. But as he drew nearer, he discovered that it was the huge body of a woman, seated on the ground, her bust erect and her elbow resting against a mountain. And she was not a statue, but alive—her face at once beautiful and awesome, her eyes and her hair raven black.[1]

The Sublime is here represented with all the traits it acquired in its modern incarnation, as theorized by Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant. It is embodied by an awe-inspiring figure that generates a feeling at the boundary between admiration and terror.[2] This figure, as is immediately clear, is a giant.

Various contributors to this volume observe that the Sublime has been denied to the Middle Ages by figures of the stature of Ernst Robert Curtius and Erich Auerbach.[3] Both scholars take as their point of departure the stylistic definition of the Sublime given in the Hellenistic treatise *On the Sublime,* attributed to Longinus.[4] The present exploration of the medieval Sublime, which moves towards the eighteenth-century definition of this concept, has a starting point that might seem as unlikely as it is predictable: the giant. However, since modern representations of the gigantic prove to be more

than compatible with the concept of the Sublime, the relevance of the image of the giant in certain medieval texts triggers a series of questions. If there is a medieval Sublime in literature, how can we conceptualize it? Can the gigantic be a component of the hypothetical medieval Sublime?

Such an inquiry can be conducted only if we explore the connection between the finite subject and the infinite object of perception, as well as the link between perception and representation. These connections establish a logical bridge between the classical and more rhetorical Sublime of the Pseudo-Longinian treatise, and the modern Sublime of Burke and Kant. The modern Sublime is more focused on the subject rather than on the object. For Kant, for instance, the Sublime shifts inside perception; it becomes the perception of something infinite and it extends to its effects. The nature of the modern Sublime, at the boundary between perception, emotion, and representation, directs the analysis toward Dante Alighieri, the author whose masterpiece seems to constantly blur these boundaries.[5]

Erich Auerbach looked for the Sublime in the *Comedy*, and he found it in the episode of the divine messenger's arrival in canto IX of the *Inferno*.[6] The form of Sublime he considered, however, is a return of the classical, Longinian concept of style.[7] The only author who has extensively studied the Sublime in the *Divine Comedy* after Auerbach is Piero Boitani, whose inquiry concentrates on *Paradise,* the region of the otherworld where Dante's pilgrim is confronted with eternity in all its stupefying magnificence.[8] Boitani critiques C. S. Lewis's denial of the Sublime to the Middle Ages and to Dante, and identifies two elements of potential occurrence of the Sublime, connected to the stupefied shock of the perceiver and to the pseudo-romantic experience of divine eternity.[9] Boitani sees the modern distinction between experience and discourse as particularly relevant to the concept of the Sublime. He therefore proposes a definition of Sublime in Dante "suspended" between Longinus and Burke, "intending] to ignore the dimensions of style and genre within which the Middle Ages usually consider the problem of the Sublime_____"[10] His focus on *Paradise,* however, limits the discourse to a form of Sublime that excludes horror and focuses on representation, rather than on perception. My intent is to present a different aspect of the missing medieval Sublime, more focused on perception and experience. Dante's infernal giants provide an interesting example for this exploration.

As described by Dante in *Inferno* XXXI, giants are liminal figures, at the edge between nature and humanity, and they inspire a sense of horror and awe. Susan Stewart, in her book *On Longing,* has analyzed the gigantic as a figure of the landscape and as a form of the Sublime, tamed with the ascent of the bourgeoisie.[11] Walter Stephens has followed Stewart's trajectory in studying Rabelais's giants, albeit criticizing her approach on the late Middle Ages for its excessive reliance on the interpretation of Mikhail Bakhtin.[12] The debate on giants, however, has not addressed the question of the medieval

Sublime, of whether they could provide us with images related to the representation of the Sublime in the Middle Ages.[13] Using as a starting point Dante's depiction of the giants in *Inferno* XXXI, I plan to discuss the notion of the medieval Sublime and to suggest a reassessment of its potential nature: in particular, I will explore the Sublime in Dante as concurrent with the moment of breaking down of the perceptive faculties that the gigantic bodies cause.

At the beginning of canto XXXI of the *Divine Comedy,* Dante and Virgil find themselves in the tenth *bolgia,* where they have observed the impersonators, counterfeiters, and false witnesses; in particular, canto XXX ended with Virgil's rebuke of the pilgrim Dante, guilty of having listened too intently ("del tutto fisso," XXX.130) to the bitter quarreling of Mastro Adamo and the Trojan Sinone.[14] The last lines of the canto focus the reader's attention on the intensity of Dante's emotions after Virgil's harsh words. The memory of shame still resonates as a live feeling in Dante's memory: "tal vergogna / ch'ancor per la memoria mi si gira," which literally means that the shame still circles around in his memory.[15] The dreamlike state of the simile ("As a man who dreams that he is being harmed / and, even as he dreams, hopes he is dreaming, / longing for what is, as though it weren't")[16] is enhanced by references to the senses: Dante cannot speak. Virgil consoles Dante and promises to be on his side, but still reminds him that his curiosity about the bitter quarrel was "bassa voglia," a base desire.[17]

The focus on the pilgrim's emotional state is maintained at the beginning of canto XXXI, where Dante describes the immediate relief that follows the shame, thanks to Virgil's healing words:

Una medesma lingua pria mi morse,	1	The same tongue that had stung me
si che mi tinse l'una e l'altra guancia,	2	so that both my cheeks turned red,
e poi la medicina mi riporse;	3	had also brought my cure,
cosi od' io che solea far la lancia	4	just as the spear of Achilles and his father—
d'Achille e del suo padre esser cagione	5	so I have heard it told—would be the cause
prima di trista e poi di buona mancia.	6	first of a painful, then a welcome, gift.

These lines create a state of disorientation, which is due to the mixing of perceptive spheres and the sensations that ensue from them. There are links between semantic fields and words, but these connections are used against their meaning: it is the tongue that "stings" and "colors" ("mi tinse") the cheeks. Tongue, stinging, and cheeks are all correlated words, but they are used together in an unexpected way, creating a state that I am going to call "disoriented perception," which will be a key element for the analysis of the gigantic Sublime.

The canto, then, begins with a pang of pain that turns into a gift—or rather, the canto begins exactly at the turning point between these two connected feelings, almost in a state of metamorphosis between the two (at the point in which one is morphing into the other, like the thieves of cantos XXIV and XXV). Virgil and Dante walk silently, crossing the bank that girds the *bolgia*. The light too is described as liminal, as a twilight zone between night and day, both unfulfilled: "it was less than night and less than day."[18] A sound interrupts this dreamlike movement, a thunderous noise that reminds the author of a very literary sound, none other than Roland's horn in the fatal battle of Rencesvals. There is insistence on the fact that Dante's eyes are moved by the sound: the abundance of synesthetic elements is a specific feature of this canto. This connection between aural and visual movements is the prelude to the sequence that follows, in which another sudden change in Dante's perception takes place and is simultaneously described:

Poco portai in la volta la testa,	19	I had not looked that way for long
che me parve veder molte alte torri;	20	when I saw what seemed a range of lofty towers,
ond' io: "Maestro, di, che terra e questa?"	21	and I said: "Master, tell me, what city is this?"
Ed elli a me: "Pero che tu trascorri	22	And he to me: "Because you try to pierce
per le tenebre troppo da la lungi,	23	the darkness from too far away,
avvien che poi nel maginare abborri.	24	it follows that you err in your perception.
Tu vedrai ben, se tu la ti congiungi,	25	When you are nearer, you will understand
quanto '1 senso s'inganna di lontano;	26	how much your eyesight is deceived by distance.
pero alquanto piu te stesso pungi."	27	Therefore, push yourself a little harder."
Poi caramente mi prese per mano	28	Then with affection he took me by the hand
e disse: "Pria che noi siam piu avanti, ,	29	and said: "Before we travel farther,
accio che '1 fatto men ti paia strano,	30	and so the fact may seem to you less strange,
sappi che non son torri, ma giganti,	31	you should be told: these are not towers,
e son nel pozzo intorno da la ripa	32	but giants and, from the navel down,
da l'umbilico in giuso tutti quanti."	33	each stands behind the bank that rings the pit."

There is an insistence on body parts in this passage, both on the side of the observer (Dante's head, line 19) and of the object of observation ("from the

navel down," line 33). The central element of these tercets is the confused perception of the pilgrim, whose senses are tricked. As Virgil says, "it follows that you err in your perception"; "how much your eyesight—your sense, literally—is deceived by distance." The semantic field we encountered in the beginning of the canto (the piercing) is still active here (line 27), and it functions as a lead for the subsequent passage, in which the confusion will be canceled by the piercing powers of sight (line 36). Dante's guide moves from a reproach to an affectionate indication of reality. The perceptive uncertainty causes a mistake that is not neutral: Dante mistakes the giants for buildings, for towers ("torri"). The deformation of the damned in hell is often a catalyst of such confusion, and often Dante's sight has to adapt to the horrible, transformed landscapes made up by the suffering souls.[19] But in this case, it is not the punishment that deforms the objects of Dante's gaze. What this passage reinforces is the very nature of the giants, their twilight existence at the boundary between landscape and human figures.[20]

Even though the perceivable images of the spirits in hell are often constitutive of the landscape, the only other instance in which damned souls are mistaken for buildings in the *Comedy* is the image of another giant—Satan, the archetypal giant of hell:

Come quando una grossa nebbia spira,	4	As when a thick mist rises, or when our hemisphere
o quando l'emisperio nostro annotta,	5	darkens to night, one may discern
par di lungi un molin che '1 vento gi™,	6	a distant windmill by its turning sails,
veder mi parve un tal dificio allotta;	7	it seemed to me I saw such a contrivance.[21]

As in the case of the giants of canto XXXI, the pilgrim mistakes the distant outline of Satan for a human construction, and only afterwards realizes that it is the gigantic shape of an almost-human figure. In canto XXXI the perceptive uncertainty is marked, as in the case of Satan, by the presence of a fog (almost a code word for these gigantic images that defy the sense of sight):

Come quando la nebbia si dissipa,	34	As, when the mist is lifting,
lo sguardo a poco a poco raffigura	35	little by little we discern things
cio che cela '1 vapor che l'aere stipa,	36	hidden in the air made thick by fog,
cosi forando l'aura grossa e scura,	37	so, when my eyes saw through the heavy dark
piu e piu appressando ver' la sponda,	38	and I got nearer to the brink,
fuggiemi errore e crescemi paura;	39	error left me and fear came in its place.

The perception grows clearer with the movement, but it is also accompanied by increased fear. The gerunds insist on the continued movement, while the icastic line that provided the title for my essay ("error left me and fear came in its place") seems to summarize the sublime moment of perception. As perception becomes clearer, there is a shift in the emotion of the narrator, as if the perception itself could turn into fear. It is this metamorphosis of the perception into an emotion that marks the modern Sublime for Burke and Kant. In both cases, however, the emotion that ensues is one of pleasure and esthetic contemplation, rather than the fear of Dante's character. Only further analysis of the latter and its poetic rendering can shed light on the quality of the hypothetical gigantic Sublime.

In the verses that follow, the style and the experience itself are shifted on a different level. The same object that was mistakenly used to "read" the giants (i.e., the tower), now becomes the meter of comparison and measurement:

pero che, come su la cerchia tonda	40	For, as all around her ring of walls
Montereggion di torri si corona,	41	Monteriggioni is crowned with towers,
cosi la proda che '1 pozzo circonda	42	so at the cliff-edge that surrounds the pit
torreggiavan di mezza la persona	43	loomed up like towers half the body bulk
li orribili giganti, cui minaccia	44	of horrifying giants, those whom Jove
Giove del cielo ancora quando tuona.	45	still threatens from the heavens when he thunders.
E io scorgeva gia d'alcun la faccia,	46	Now I could discern the face of one,
le spalle e '1 petto e del ventre gran parte,	47	his chest and shoulders, a portion of his paunch,
e per le coste giu ambo le braccia.	48	and, hanging at his sides, his arms.

The simile projects the town of Monteriggioni onto the hellish landscape formed by the giants' half visible bodies and it refers back to manageable dimensions and spaces, such as the body in half (line 43), the cliff-edge, and the pit (line 42).[22] This domestication of the shapes prepares the further conceptualization of the next sequence, which turns the disorientation into definition, even into mathematical measurement:

La faccia sua mi parea lunga e grossa	58	His face appeared to me as long and broad
come la pina di San Pietro a Roma,	59	as is, in Rome, the pine cone at St. Peter's,

e a sua proporzione eran l'altre ossa;	60	his other parts as large in like degree,
si che la ripa, ch'era perizoma	61	so that the bank, which hid him like an apron
dal mezzo in giu, ne mostrava ben tanto	62	from his middle downwards, still showed
di sovra, che di giugnere a la chioma	63	so much of him above that quite in vain
tre Frison s'averien dato mal vanto;	64	three Frieslanders might boast of having reached
pero ch'i' ne vedea trenta gran palmi	65	his hair. For I saw thirty spans of him
dal loco in giu dov' omo affibbia 'l manto.	66	beneath the place where men make fast their cloaks.

Not only the body of the giant is measured against other big bodies, those of the Frieslanders, but its dimensions are literally calculated by the narrator. The face of the giant is compared for size to an architectonical element of the Cathedral of Saint Peter in Rome, and the other limbs are proportional to it. Finally, in lines 65 and 66, the portion of the giant that is visible to the pilgrim is assessed as measuring thirty palms. Because of the abundance of such measurements, this canto became very early on a landmark of the *Comedy* for the commentators' use and abuse of realist analysis of the dimensions of Hell. Among the many professional scientists and the dilettantes who tried their minds at this game, Galileo Galilei himself measured the depth of hell and of its parts according to the coordinates given by Dante.[23]

If, on one hand, the experience of this pseudo-Sublime is turned into measurement, on the other it is arrested by fragmentation. The descriptions of the giants Dante sees in this canto are all fragmented and divided. Nimrod's body, whose size we just considered, comes to the forefront through his mouth, which utters the meaningless words of the Babelic language. The fragmentation of his features continues in Virgil's harsh words to the giant:

"Cercati al collo, e troverai la soga	73	"Search at your neck, you creature of confusion,
che 'l tien legato, o anima confusa,	74	and you will find the rope that holds the horn
e vedi lui che i gran petto ti doga."	75	aslant your mammoth chest."

As it happened in the first part of the canto with the mysterious landscape, the divided body of the giant is the site of a failure of perception. Virgil invites the "confused soul" (line 74) to look for his horn by searching his neck and finally looking at his own chest. The self-investigation suggested by

Virgil conjures the movement of hands and eyes from neck to chest, further divided in two by the line traced by the rope.

The insistence on necks, chests, arms, and navels seems to serve the purpose of limiting and containing these boundless bodies that have overcome the human capacity of perception. The description of the second giant, Ephialtes, focuses on his bound limbs:

A cigner lui qual che fosse '1 maestro,	85	Now who had plied his craft to bind him so
non so io dir, ma el tenea soccinto	86	I cannot say, but his right arm
dinanzi l'altro e dietro il braccio destro	87	was bound behind him, the other one in front,
d'una catena che '1 tenea avvinto	88	by chains that from the neck down held him fixed.
dal collo in giu, si che 'n su lo scoperto	89	They wound five times around his bulk
si ravvolgea infino al giro quinto.	90	on the part of him that we could see.

The arms, encircling the body of the giant, enclose and limit it. The same purpose is served by the excess of chains, which figuratively act as wish-fulfillments, further connecting the limbs to the neck. The scattered body parts have to be reconstructed, at least verbally, to reconstitute a body. In *Inferno* the containment of the gigantic body can only be realized through measurement or forced connections between disembodied parts.[24] In this instance, the giant needs to be represented as dismembered in response to the disorientation as well as to the need to overcome it.[25] Another example of this necessary dismemberment is in *Purgatorio,* in the ekphrastic description of a bas-relief portraying, once again, giants. The pilgrim and his guide are on the terrace of Pride, where one of the instruments for the purging of the vice is a series of artistic images. In this case, the image conjured before the pilgrim's eyes is that of pride punished. Among the various examples, Dante sees the same giants encountered in hell, like Lucifer and Nimrod, but also the collective defeat of the giants by the gods:

Vedea Timbreo, vedea Pallade e Marte,	31	My eyes beheld Thymbraeus, Pallas, and Mars,
armati ancora, intorno al padre loro,	32	still armed, together with their father,
mirar le membra d'i Giganti sparte.	33	astounded by the giants' scattered limbs.

The scattered limbs of the giants are the only way, together with the measurements, to manage and process the potential infinity of these immense

bodies. The measurements continue throughout canto XXXI, both connected with the gigantic bodies and with the space the pilgrim and his guide traverse:

Facemmo adunque piu lungo vi'aggio,	82	Then, turning to our left, we continued
volti a sinistra; e al trar d'un balestro	83	with our journey. A bowshot farther on
trovammo l'altro assai piu fero e maggio.	84	we found the next one, bigger and more savage.

Even though the precise determinations of pace and space are a constant trait of the *Comedy,* and not only of this canto, it is significant that this canto shows an exponential increase in precise references to space only after the recognition of what the giants are; measures and spatialization appear after perception turns into fear.

The interest over this canto in the context of infernal cartography is a symptom of the sense of relief scholars feel and convey in moving from the "error" of the first part to the "fear" of the second part. The focus on measurements temporarily relieves the discomfort of the disorientation of the text itself, but at the same time it obscures the meaning of the momentous shift from perception to measurement.[26] Canto XXXI seems an unlikely site for the analysis of the Sublime, since the four giants of Hell—Nimrod, Antaeus, Ephialtes, and Satan—have consistently generated references to the grotesque in the eyes of the critics. A close analysis of the canto, however, does not seem to justify such a clear-cut position.[27] The turning point between error and terror is not only the focal moment of the canto; in addition, the moment is painstakingly prepared through the representation of perceptive uncertainty, which builds sustained tension. The subsequent moment of rationalization and measurement functions as a containment strategy for the uncontrolled perceptions to which the gigantic has given way.

Kant's Sublime provides a particularly apt model to analyze the gigantic pseudo-Sublime in *Inferno*. In the *Critique of Judgement,* Kant defines the "mathematical Sublime" as located in the failure of the imagination to comprehend natural objects that either appear without form or boundary or are "absolutely great."[28] This failure of the imagination is then compensated by the pleasure deriving from reason's assertion of the concept of infinity.[29] The dynamical Sublime, on the other hand, provokes a sense of annihilation of the sensible self as the imagination tries to comprehend a vast might. This power of nature is threatening, but pleasure derives from the resistance of reason to such annihilation.

The form of Sublime that arises from the gigantic in canto XXXI of the *Divine Comedy* is an interrupted Sublime *a la* Kant, one that does not end either in the realization of infinity or in the annihilation of the self within it.

In this episode there is indeed a representative failure of the imagination to comprehend the gigantic. What ensues and interrupts the movement toward the Sublime is the management of the gigantic through either mathematical measurement or dismemberment.

The idea that a new form of sublime, not necessarily connected to stylistical features, is in the making in this episode returns at the end of the canto, when Dante's similes present us with yet another instance of containment. To transfer to the lowest level of Hell, Cocytus, Dante, and Virgil need a peculiar form of transportation: it is a giant, Antaeus, who will lower them down to their destination. To describe this action Dante focuses on the two successive moments of the lowering and rising back of the giant:

Cosi disse '1 maestro; e quelli in fretta	130	Thus spoke the master. The other was quick
le man distese, e prese '1 duca mio,	131	to reach out with his hands—the mighty grip
ond' Ercule senti gia grande stretta.	132	once felt by Hercules—and seized my guide.
Virgilio, quando prender si sentio,	133	Virgil, when he felt himself secured, said:
disse a me: "Fatti qua, si ch'io ti prenda";	134	"Here, let me take hold of you!"
poi fece si ch'un fascio era elli e io.	135	Then he made a single bundle of himself and me.
Qual pare a riguardar la Carisenda	136	As when one sees the tower called Garisenda
sotto '1 chinato, quando un nuvol vada	137	from underneath its leaning side, and then a cloud
sovr' essa si, ched ella incontro penda:	138	passes over and it seems to lean the more,
tal parve Anteo a me che stava a bada	139	thus did Antaeus seem to my fixed gaze
di vederlo chinare, e fu tal ora	140	as I watched him bend—that was indeed a time
ch'i' avrei voluto ir per altra strada.	141	I wished that I had gone another road.
Ma lievemente al fondo che divora	142	Even so, he set us gently on the bottom
Lucifero con Giuda, ci sposo;	143	that swallows Lucifer with Judas.
ne, si chinato, li fece dimora,	144	Nor in stooping did he linger
e come albero in nave si levo.	145	but, like a ship's mast rising, so he rose.

Not only the movement is divided in order to make it visible, but the visibility is associated with sudden movements that, at least in the first case,

defy perception. The quick movement of the giant is compared to the false sense of falling that a tower in Bologna produces when people look at it from below and a cloud passes behind it: the infinitely precise (a specific moment in a specific town) and the confusion of the senses are mixed in the supreme pleasure of image creation.[30]

One question that remains open is whether this containment of the Sublime participates in the Sublime itself. The element of terror is certainly present in the confrontation with the gigantic, as we see at various stages in this canto. For instance, as Dante and Virgil are observing Ephialtes bound in chains, a sudden movement of the giant startles the pilgrim, who is plunged in terror:

Non fu tremoto gia tanto rubesto,	106	Never did mighty earthquake shake a tower
che scotesse una torre cosi forte,	107	with such great speed and force
come Fialte a scuotersi fu presto.	108	as Ephialtes shook himself at that.
Allor temett' io piu che mai la morte,	109	Then more than ever I was afraid of dying:
e non v'era mestier piu che la dotta,	110	my fear alone would have sufficed to bring it on,
s'io non avessi viste le ritorte.	111	had I not noted how tightly he was bound.

The fear, once again, is put in check by the image of the ropes. Naturally, the giant will not harm Dante because he is bound. However, the ropes provide a leitmotif for the canto that goes beyond the physical fear of harm and extends to the control of the potentially infinite.

This dichotomy of error and fear is the spectrum from which this form of experience and representation of the gigantic derives. Is this a form of the modern Sublime? The answer depends on the moment in which we situate the Sublime, and this choice is connected to the distinction between experience and representation. If we locate the Sublime in the moment in which perception breaks down, and fear and terror are experienced, then the encounter with the gigantic in the late medieval period presents us with evidence of the Sublime. In the case of *Inferno,* however, esthetic enjoyment seems to arise not in conjunction with the horror itself, but rather from the management of the Sublime. The grandiose moment is bridled and restrained, the potentially infinite is broken down, fragmented, dismembered.

It would be anachronistic to argue that this episode shows more than an interrupted Sublime, but it does provide evidence of an important phenomenon. The giants of canto XXXI open a space for a different form of Sublime, different from the classical, Pseudo-Longinian definition. According to Auerbach, "Dante revived the ancient conception of the sublime in a European vernacular language,"[31] and for Boitani the Dantesque Sublime is

in the grandiose visions of *Paradise*. This episode, however, suggests that the *Comedy* participates also in a different kind of Sublime (that I also called the containment of the Sublime), which is triggered by the gigantic and is composed by a series of moments, including failure of perception, terror, and the pleasure of measurement or of fragmentation.

The representation of the gigantic in *Inferno* is a prelude of the modern Sublime. The experience of the boundless is portrayed through a loss of focused perception, followed by an attempt to control the experience and its representation. This rhetorical process is composed of two successive moments, which Dante emblematically represents joined in the same line: "Error left me, and fear came in its place." It is the connection of perception and representation that makes this episode akin to the descriptions of the Sublime by Kant. The element that is missing, however, is an important one: the explicit element of pleasure, which can only be read as pleasure of containment in Dante. One could modify ever so slightly the quotation from Dante to mark this significant shift in the definition of what we call the Sublime: *terror* left me and *pleasure* came in its place. Only with this shift the modern Sublime is born.

Notes

1 Giacomo Leopardi, *Operette morali: Essays and Dialogues,* trans. Giovanni Cecchetti (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 185. Leopardi's reflections on the Sublime, which go beyond the scope of this chapter, are present both in his literary works (such as the *Operette morali* and *Canti)* and in his philosophical works, like the *Zibaldone di pensieri*.

2 Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1757); Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft* [Critique of judgement], ed. H. F. Klemme, intr. P. Giordanetti (Hamburg: Meiner, 2001).

3 Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,* trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 397-401. For Auerbach's position on the medieval Sublime, see below. Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages,* trans. Ralph Manheim (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965).

4 *On the Sublime [Peri hypsous],* ed. and trans. W. Rhys Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899).

5 On this idea, connected to the multifarious nature of Dante, author/character/narrator, see above all Gianfranco Contini, "Dante come personaggio-poeta della *Commedia,*" in *L'Approdo Letterario* 4 (1958): 19-46, reprinted in *Un'idea di Dante: Saggi danteschi* (Turin: Einaudi, 1976).

6 Auerbach, *Literary Language,* 228-33.

7 For a critique of Auerbach's limited concept of the Sublime, see the review by Peter Dronke, "Style in Late Classical and Medieval Latin," *The Classical Review,* n.s., 16.3 (1966), 362—64. Robert Doran sees the Sublime as a crucial component of Auerbach's realism in "Literary History and the Sublime in Erich Auerbach's *Mimesis,*" *New Literary History* 38.2 (2007), 353-69.

8 Piero Boitani, *The Tragic and the Sublime in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

9 Ibid., 252-53.

10 Ibid., 250.

11 Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 70-103.

12 Walter Stephens, *Giants in Those Days: Folklore, Ancient History, and Nationalism* (Lincoln and London: Nebraska University Press, 1987), 33-39.

13 Hints of a connection between the medieval giants and the Sublime are present in Jeffrey Cohen's engaging study *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999). Cohen, however, situates the representation of the giant in "the aftermath of the sublime" (11), at the moment in which the observer has regained the capability to comprehend and describe.

14 Quotations of the *Divine Comedy* are from the text (established by Giorgio Petrocchi) and the translation of Charles S. Singleton (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970-75).

15 *Divine Comedy, Inferno* XXX. 134-35.

16 "Qual e colui che suo dannaggio sogna, / che sognando desidera sognare, / si che quel ch'e, come non fosse, agogna" (*Divine Comedy, Inferno* XXX.136—38).

17 *Divine Comedy, Inferno* XXX.148.

18 *Divine Comedy, Inferno* XXXI.10.

19 This is the case, for instance, with the wood of the suicides, turned into trees in canto XIII, or with the *bolgia* of the fraudulent counselors, which appears to the pilgrim as a valley filled with the trembling lights of the fireflies, since all the damned are enclosed in flames (cantos XXVI and XXVII).

20 Jeffrey Cohen in particular has studied the aspect of the medieval giant as a familiar foreigner or "intimate stranger." *(Of Giants,* xi-xx).

21 *Divine Comedy, Inferno* XXXIV.4-7.

22 On the town of Monteriggioni and its use as a simile, see Giovanni Cecchetti, "Dante's Giant-Towers and Tower-Giants," *Forum Italicum* 8 (1974), 200—22.

23 The application of mathematical measurements to the structure of hell has been studied by John Kleiner in his *Mismapping the Underworld: Daring and Error in Dante's* Comedy (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994). For this particular episode, see 45—47. Galileo Galilei's mathematical reconstruction of the *Inferno* is recorded in his *Scritti letterari,* Alberto Chiari, ed. (Florence: Le Monnier, 1943), 47-80. For a more recent attempt at contextualizing the measurements of the giants within a Vitruvian perspective, see Richard Kay, "Vitruvius and Dante's Giants," *Dante Studies* 120 (2002), 17-34.

24 Jeffrey Cohen opposes the fragmentation typical of medieval giants to the Lacanian concept of "corps morcele" *(Of Giants,* 11). It would be worth pursuing how the dismembered medieval giant could be a reincarnation of the fragmentation Caroline Bynum has studied in medieval religiosity *(Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991)).

25 For new evidence of Dante's use of Claudianus in his construction of the giants, see George F. Butler, "Claudian's *de raptu Proserpinae* and Dante's Vanquished Giants," *Italica* 84.4 (2007), 661-77.

26 Another fulcrum of analysis for this canto has been the theme of language, since the gigantic body just described belongs to none other than Nimrod, who will address the visitors with the incomprehensible gibberish of Babel only a few lines

below in the canto. Among the many scholars who have focused on language, Christopher Kleinhenz in particular has connected the linguistic problem (the failure of communication in a post-Babel world) with the disorientation that is palpable in this canto. See Christopher Kleinhenz, "Dante's Towering Giants: *Inferno* XXXI," *Romance Philology* 27.3 (1974), 269-85. On this canto's "retelling of Babel" in connection with the *De Vulgari Eloquentia,* see A. R. Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of the Modern Author* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 172-73.

27 See Giorgio Barberi Squarotti, "Parodia e dismisura: Minosse e i giganti," *Letture Classensi* 9-10 (1982), 279-300, esp. 300, and E. F. Jacob, "The Giants (*Inferno,* XXXI)," in *Medieval Miscellany Presented to Eugene Vinaver by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends,* ed. F. Whitehead, A. H. Diverres, and F. E. Sutcliffe (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962), 167-185 at 183. Both authors seem to assume that anything gigantic or of abnormal size is necessarily grotesque in the *Inferno*. Alberto Chiari, however, had defended the canto from being considered comic. See A. Chiari, *Letture Dantesche* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1939).

28 Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft* [Critique of Judgement], §§ 23—25.

29 Ibid., §§ 25-26.

30 Another example of the attempt to represent a movement of the gigantic can be found in canto XVII of the *Inferno,* when Geryon, the "filthy image of fraud," transports Dante and Virgil into the portion of hell where the fraudulent sinners are punished (*Divine Comedy, Inferno* XVII, 100-136).

31 Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language,* 232.

MAGNIFICENT ARCHITECTURE IN LATE MEDIEVAL ITALY

Areli Marina

On the Italian peninsula, the notable architectural and urbanistic blossoming of the later Middle Ages did not occasion a corresponding surge in written architectural discourse. One of the well-recognized challenges of studying the period is the paucity of verbal documentation of the intentions of patrons and builders. Consequently, in the generation since Louis Green proposed that Galvano Fiamma's ca. 1345 *Opusculum de rebus gestis ab Azone, Luchino et Johanne Vicecomitibus* provided special insights into the question, both Fiamma's text and Green's interpretation have exercised an irresistible attraction for scholars.[1] In the *Opusculum,* Fiamma catalogued the principal artistic commissions of Milanese lords Azzo, Luchino, and Giovanni Visconti and justified them by recourse to Aristotelian ideas about the virtue of magnificence. Green explored the political implications of the Visconti policy of architectural display, located its source in the Tuscan court of Castruccio Castracani in the 1320s, and concluded that the splendor of the Visconti architectural program and its validation by reference to ancient authority establish an ambitious new standard in the "exploitation of art for political ends."[2] Green's seductive argument has become a touchstone for subsequent discussions of grand architectural patronage both in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.[3] However, a central flaw underlies his interpretation. The Milanese *signori's* architectural strategy was not an imported novelty, but rather continued a long-standing regional practice. Indeed, it succeeded precisely because it participated in a preexisting architectural-political discourse that relied on a well-understood visual language of power, one that encompassed geometrically-idealizing urban design and Romanizing and Gothicizing architectural forms and materials. A century before the Visconti became lords of Milan, oligarchs throughout north Italy's independent city states had already deployed this particular, magnificent architectural vocabulary to legitimate their claims to rule in unstable political

circumstances. In this essay, I will briefly review Green's analysis of the *Opusculum,* outline the cultural context of architectural patronage in late medieval Lombardy, and present a case study that elucidates the principal features of magnificent architecture. I will demonstrate that, despite its absence from the textual record, the sophisticated visual architectural language of magnificence was well-defined and clearly understood before Fiamma documented its appropriation by the Visconti in the *Opusculum* and, certainly, well before the Renaissance.[4]

Green, Fiamma, and the Visconti

In the fourteenth century, Milan was the largest and most powerful city in Lombardy. Since 1277, it had been ruled by members of the Visconti family, who expanded Milanese territorial boundaries to encompass the city-states of Alessandria, Asti, Bergamo, Brescia, Como, Cremona, Lodi, Novara, Pavia, Piacenza, and Tortona. Azzo Visconti, imperial vicar and *signore* of Milan, and his uncles and successors Luchino and Giovanni worked vigorously to consolidate these acquisitions and further enlarge the Visconti state.[5]

Galvano Fiamma, a Dominican friar, wrote the *Opusculum* as part of a longer history of Milan while in Giovanni's service; Giovanni added the office of archbishop of the city to his secular lordship in 1342.[6] In Fiamma's account, the Visconti family's noteworthy deeds are not limited to military or political exploits, but encompass a substantial number of artistic, architectural, and urbanistic undertakings.

Green argued that the justification of architectural patronage by recourse to a theory of magnificence based on Aristotelian ideas did not emerge in the Renaissance court of the Florentine magnate Cosimo de' Medici, as A. D. Fraser Jenkins and Richard Goldthwaite had suggested, but was already manifest in the *Opusculum* a century earlier.[7] Two things caught Green's attention: first, Fiamma's explicit references to Aristotelian thought; second, the unusual length at which the *Opusculum* describes the Visconti's architectural and urban projects, especially Azzo's undertakings. Fiamma opens chapter 15 of the *Opusculum,* entitled "On the magnificence of buildings," with these remarkable words:

> When Azzo Visconti considered himself at peace with the church and free from all his enemies, he conceived the intention of making a glorious house for himself, for the Philosopher says in the Fourth Book of Ethics that it is the duty of a magnificent man to make ready a decorous house. For when the people see marvelous dwelling places, they stand astonished on account of their great wonderment, as is expressed in the Sixth Book of the Politics. As a result they conclude that the prince is a man of such great power that it is impossible to assail him. A dwelling place is indeed magnificent when it is a fit habitation for a large number of officials.

> In addition it is required of a magnificent prince that he build magnificent and honorable churches, which is why the Philosopher says in the Fourth Book of Ethics that honorable outlays of money, such as a magnificent prince ought to make, are concerned with God. As a result the aforesaid Azzo Visconti began to build two magnificent works; the first for the worship of God, that is, a wondrous chapel in honor of the blessed Virgin, and then magnificent palaces fit for his occupation. First I must speak of the chapel, and then of the others.[8]

The chronicler referred to the authority of Aristotle ("the Philosopher"), not once, but three times in this short passage. It is not surprising that Fiamma was familiar with Aristotle. The friar had taught the subject at Pavia and some of Aristotle's most notable thirteenth-century commentators and translators, William of Moerbeke, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas, were Dominicans like himself. (Although Aristotelian thought had been overshadowed by the Platonism of Augustine of Hippo in medieval Western Europe, it had undergone a revival by the twelfth century. The *Ethics* and the *Politics* were translated into Latin in the mid-thirteenth century, by Robert Grosseteste and William of Moerbeke respectively.)[9] As Green, Paula Spilner, and others have noted, the Visconti historian's first reference to Aristotle recalls the section in the *Ethics* in which he states that magnificence (*megaloprepeia* to Aristotle, translated as *magnificentia* by Grosseteste) "consists in suitable expenditure on a grand scale" including works of art and architectural commissions, especially when for the public good.[1]" The philosopher goes further in the *Politics* (bk. 6, chap. 7), Fiamma's second reference, where he remarks on the political expediency of this type of patronage.

> It is fitting also that the magistrates on entering office should offer magnificent sacrifices or erect some public edifice, and then the people who participate in the entertainments, and see the city decorated with votive offerings and buildings, will not desire an alteration in the government, and the notables will have memorials of their munificence.[11]

Fiamma's distinctive innovation, Green noted, is his elaboration of these Aristotelian ideas, specifically, the characterization of magnificent architectural patronage as political boon.[12] Of course, princes have always recognized building's important political function. An ambitious ruler's first significant architectural venture (Azzo Visconti included) was usually the construction or restoration of fortifications; they were essential to military—and therefore, political—survival.[13] However, the Visconti architectural project, and Fiamma's justification of it, was not limited to this sort of instrumental commission or to the complacent audience response Aristotle invokes in *Politics* 6.7. In the *Opusculum,* the chronicler transformed Aristotle's mollified citizens into the Visconti's astonished and intimidated subjects. Fiamma

picked up his phrasing from a pun by Albertus Magnus, who metamorphosed Moerbeke's Latin rendition of Aristotle's suspended votive offerings into persons suspended in admiration, "standing astonished on account of great wonderment."[14]

According to Fiamma, the right kind of architecture can protect a ruler from attack. Spectators who are overwhelmed by admiration of magnificent building projects will conclude that their patron is too powerful to be overcome. It is not absurd to assume such a dramatic initial reaction to imposing architecture, even for those viewers who promptly regained the capacity to reason after the initial shock. The social, economic, and political means required to erect monumental architecture and ornament it suitably were beyond the reach of all but few in the fourteenth century. Like military conquest and diplomatic negotiations, architectural patronage required a clear vision of the goal and the ability to mobilize people and money to achieve it.[15] Despite architecture's proven efficacy as a political tool, there was a long-standing Christian tradition of regarding elaborate buildings as wasteful or hubristic.[16] Fiamma's words are simultaneously an apologia for the Visconti architectural program and a portable representation of it capable of extending their authority beyond the physical boundaries of the Milanese territory.

What did the Visconti build to advance their goal of uncontested authority over the Lombard plain? Fiamma began by describing Azzo's palatine chapel.

> The chapel of the Blessed Virgin lies within high walls, and has a ceiling with three vaults. There are wondrous pictures of gold and azure, of amazing workmanship. In the principal chapel, where the high altar is situated, there are hangings inlaid with metals and gems, stories of the blessed Virgin and marvelous windows; there is no other such amazing workmanship in any other realm. The choir is covered with ivory of astonishing workmanship. There are two ivory pulpits in the middle of the choir which are of great size and height, the sight of which is astonishing. There are many altars with adornments of golden silk, and other such things, which cannot be adequately described in writing or told of by the tongue. There are chalices of great weight and receptacles for bringing holy water made of porphyry with adornments of silver. There are the relics of many saints. Among other things there is a small cross decorated with precious pearls, on which there is a depiction of the Holy Cross, which leapt unscathed from a fire into which it had been cast, and which puts to flight all harmful things when displayed during rains and storms. What else? It is said that those decorations which are in the sacristy are worth more than 20,000 florins, not including the buildings themselves. On one side of the chapel a round bell-tower has been built of baked bricks, which is decorated from the top down with marble columns, the sight of which is a great delight. At its summit there stands a metal angel

> holding in his hand a standard with the viper. In addition to the many bells, at the top of the bell-tower there is also an amazing clock; it contains one exceedingly heavy bell, which strikes one peal twenty four times, in accordance with the number of the 24 hours of the day or night, so that at the first hour it rings once, at the second hour two rings, at the third three and at the fourth four, and so it distinguishes the hours from each other, which is vital for men of every station in life.[17]

Azzo's supposed 20,000-florin outlay to furnish and decorate the chapel is in keeping with Aristotle's "requirements" of a magnificent man as Fiamma interpreted them in Chapter 15's third reference to the philosopher. Although the Dominican paid lip service to the public good—the thaumaturgical cross and the clock benefit the populace—he emphasized richness, variety, and technical achievement. He went on to describe Azzo's palace in similarly elaborate terms:

> Nobody can adequately describe his buildings or palaces. Among other things there is a great tower which has distinct stories with rooms, halls, galleried walkways, lavatories, gardens, and many other places decorated with various pictures. At the foot of the tower and all around are many decorated rooms with such wondrously beautiful paintings that there are scarcely buildings of such beauty in all the rest of the world; there are nobly-ornamented bedrooms with decorations, and doors with trained doormen, to prevent any easy access without special permission. In front of the door of one room is a huge enclosure for animals which resembles a palace, closed off in all directions with bronze netting. There are all kinds of birds making melodious songs, which presents a sight that is not only beautiful but also astonishing. It also contains different types of animals in various cages, including a lion, bears, apes, baboons, and many others. Among the birds there is an ostrich in whose stomach more than two hundred eggs were found. On one side of this great enclosure, directly opposite the birds, there is a large and most glorious hall, where Vainglory... is depicted. Here are depicted the illustrious princes of the pagan world, such as Aeneas, Attila, Hector, Hercules, and many others. Among these there is just one Christian, namely Charlemagne, and [also] Azzo Visconti. These figures made of gold, azure, and enamels are so distinguished in their beauty and exceedingly detailed workmanship that in the whole world none could be found to match them.[18]

Clearly, one purpose of these breathless ekphrastic accounts was to awe the reader, to provide via language the experience of standing "astonished on account of their great wonderment." In the first passage, the magnificence invoked by Fiamma was the result of "amazing workmanship," great scale, costly and rare materials such as ivory, porphyry, and bronze, immeasurable abundance, miraculous qualities, and sophisticated technology. Although his

portrayal seems vividly striking to modern eyes, this type of rich description was in fact part of an existing literary tradition and can be found in medieval panegyrics and courtly literature as well. But in addition to the exotic animals, lavish paintings, and costly materials that abound in the palace and chapel, Fiamma also used similar language to praise many other works that seem less marvelous to the modern reader. In addition to the aforementioned projects, Azzo repaired the city walls, widened and paved streets, and erected two bell towers, a square cloister, an underground sewage system, and a piazza in the center of Milan. These, too, are characterized as magnificent, great, ornamented, a pleasure to behold, admirable, and splendid—in sum no less wonderful than the ivory choir of the chapel or the golden angel surmounting the palatine chapel's belltower.[19]

Curiously, although Green remarked upon these elaborate descriptions and went on to assert that Azzo's architectural commissions were "physical embodiments" of Azzo's authority, he—unlike Fiamma—seems to have had very little interest in exploring how this authority was expressed by *architectural* means. What features made the palace magnificent, the chapel admirable, the piazza splendid? Green may have been distracted from this question by the paucity of visible proof. The physical evidence of Azzo's Milan is largely gone, his tomb dismantled, and his reputation as artistic patron overshadowed by that of his successors Bernabo and Galeazzo. Only the tower of the palatine chapel survives (Plate 23).[20]

When Green sought the sources of the Milanese architectural and artistic programs, he looked, not to the distinctive cultural traditions of their immediate environment, the Lombard plain, but rather to a milieu more familiar to him, the Tuscany of Lucchese *signore* Castruccio Castracane. As a result, he missed the true character of the Visconti projects. While Castruccio's early fourteenth-century court, as well as the English and French aulic spheres proposed in passing by Green, certainly contributed to Azzo's understanding of the material culture of magnificence, the Visconti had models much closer to hand.[21] Lombard Italy had a pre-existing, sophisticated architectural and spatial language expressly designed to communicate its governments' authority, legitimacy, and political ideology. Every one of the building types listed by the Dominican historian, and in particular their erection as coordinated ensembles in the heart of the city, had its precedent in the urbanistic revolutions undertaken by the communal governments of the Lombard plain, including Milan. Importantly, the individual architectural features Fiamma emphasizes—towers, galleried walkways, the use of vaulting, high walls, marble columns and colonnettes, classicizing ornament, arcaded porticos, the use of polished stone, and extensive mural painting—the very features which render the Visconti buildings amazing—were already a prominent part of the material culture of Italy's thirteenth-century city-states.[22]

As Fiamma's text indicates, magnificence in late medieval Italian architecture was expressed in three ways. One was the use of lavish materials,

particularly colorful or light-reflective ones, such as polished marble or limestone. The second was the use of forms with specific Roman and royal cultural associations that resonated in the minds of their intended audiences. The last was the display of technical virtuosity, by means of unusual scale, novelty, or geometric or tectonic complexity. The Visconti could find examples of all three strategies in the architectural and spatial practices of the north Italian republics. Those cities' corporate patrons had legitimated their rule by deliberately recalling ancient and contemporary authority, modeling their urban centers and representative structures on the peninsula's remains of imperial Roman architecture, embellished with the latest Northern European aulic flourishes. By the time Azzo and Giovanni Visconti sought to harness the power of architecture to consolidate their authority, a clearly-defined, well-understood formal language already existed. The Visconti are not the first, or even unique, in deploying "grandeur justified as magnificence in the service of the public good" to give their political agenda "visual expression," as Green incorrectly concludes.[23] Their expression succeeds precisely because it is traditional in mode—the Visconti were remaking Milan's urban center in exactly the same way as the "republican" oligarchies remade city centers throughout the plain in prior generations. Simply put, Milanese citizens and visitors to the city would understand the import of the new *signori's* architectural message because they had seen it something much like it before. The Viscontean architectural language was intelligible and effective because lords, their subjects, and their rivals shared a common artistic culture and political ideology. The novelty of the Milanese case is in the survival of Fiamma's textual exposition, its explicit references to ancient authority, and its degree of illuminating detail.

If Green did not recognize the sources and intended reverberations of the Visconti architectural program, it was not his fault. His myopia stemmed, first of all, from a disciplinary bias that privileges verbal over visual evidence. More significantly, however, at the time of his writing, little published scholarship analyzed the architectural production of the North Italian communes as a systematic visual and ideological program. Recent research enables us to understand the architectural culture from which the Visconti emerged and to more fully apprehend their ambitious architectural and political project.[24]

The Culture of the Lombard Plain

The Lombard plain in the high Middle Ages was a markedly different world from the late-medieval, Tuscan environment more familiar to Anglophone art historians. Since Jones's trenchant 1978 article on the "legend of the bourgeoisie," a preponderance of historians have accepted that the engine driving political and economic change in twelfth- and thirteenth-century northern Italy was not some imaginary burgeoning merchant class, but rather the increasingly independent and affluent landed nobility. However, the elegant

model proposed by Henri Pirenne, in which political and social privilege are acquired by international merchants who then transform the cities, continues to haunt the art-historical literature on Italian architecture. While this model is valid for some northern European towns and perhaps even a few of the Tuscan and maritime cities of Italy, it does not fit the dense urban network of the Lombard plain. Unlike their Tuscan counterparts, most Lombard cities were never mercantile republics; power was held closely by a small band of aristocrats whose authority derived from military might and whose revenues originated in the region's abundant agricultural resources.[25] As the city-states of northern Italy gained their independence from the Holy Roman emperor, and the temporal claims of the papacy weakened in the face of the empire's challenges, local elites competed for primacy via the institutions of the church and the newer, republican communal governments (Marina, "Order," 520-22).

But what was the nature of these elites? The prosopographical investigations undertaken by political historians and antiquarians of the Lombard city-states reveal that the urban elite that continually fractured into new political alliances throughout the twelfth, thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was nonetheless ideologically and socially homogeneous. It had its origins in the region's imperial and clerical aristocracy. More like their ancient Roman ancestors than like the Tuscan merchant-princes and burghers to whom they are often compared, North Italy's oligarchs were urban dwellers whose economic power originated in the revenues of their lands in the countryside. Their political power emanated from the traditional jurisdictions accompanying those lands, the administrative, diplomatic, and juridical skills associated with their fruitful management, and their individual and collective military might. These lords, whether secular or ecclesiastical, resided in the city, although they had jurisdiction over lands of diverse origins—received in association with a particular office, granted to them in exchange for services, inherited from their ancestors, or seized by military conquest.[26]

The men who made up Lombardy's ruling class—whether in lay or religious office—had a common heritage, education, and cultural outlook. The noble, the notarial, and the clerical commingled in a single administrative class. As has been demonstrated by Black, Wieruszowski, Paetow, Curtius, Reynolds, and others, the administrative class's formal education, whether acquired at a university such as that of Bologna or Padua, or locally at the cathedral school, encompassed a legal and literary tradition profoundly aware of ancient Roman precedents. Whether they studied "the poets" (including Virgil, Ovid, and Horace), prose authors such as Cicero and Sallust, the Justinianic code and its commentaries, or, more commonly, the *ars dictaminis* and *ars concionandi* by means of compendia and florilegia assembled for the purpose, the Lombard oligarchs would have been exposed to the Latin authors—and their Roman ideas-—from "their grammar school days."[27]

Rhetoric was at the center of practical education. Above all things, a good administrator had to be able to speak and write effectively. As Lauro Martines has noted, Brunetto Latini (ca. 1210-1294) went so far as to assert that "The supreme science of governing a city is rhetoric: that is to say, the science of speaking, for without effective speech the city would not exist and there would be neither justice nor human company." An individual's personal authority and political effectiveness depended not only on his military and administrative skills, but upon his eloquence. Leaders must be distinguished by "sapientia, nobilitate, moribus et eloquentia."[28]

Students learned rhetoric from Latin and vernacular texts that included Cicero's treatises, their glosses by medieval authors, and textbooks which incorporated theory with examples of prose taken from ancient Roman history. School exercises even included writing in the voices of particular ancient figures, such as Cicero and Catiline. "How to" books helped aspiring administrators to master the art of official communication. Manuals for *podesta* (the executive officers of a city government) typically compile model speeches and letters for various situations, such as taking office or greeting an ambassador.[29] And this grounding in Roman subjects was by no means limited to lay education, as surviving clerical glosses in a twelfth-century copy of Sallust's *Bellum Jugurthium* mentioned by Black indicate.[30]

However, as Virginia Cox and Stephen Milner have shown, in thirteenth-century Italy abstract knowledge of ancient rhetoric and literature—the Ciceronianism of the classroom—was accompanied by another brand of Ciceronianism, one which was deployed in the piazzas, law courts, and council chambers by speakers who shared his "ideology of republicanism." Medieval political theory and philosophy had, in the pre-communal age, sought to exalt the authority of the king, emperor, or pope. Communal governments and their rivals had to come up with alternate ways to justify their jurisdiction. In their drive to legitimate their form of government, Italy's elites repeatedly identified the medieval commune with the Roman state and its councils with the Senate. In the adversarial political and religious environment of the communes in the age of faction, leaders found the persuasive political and juridical speech outlined by Cicero, his treatment of magnificence as a civic virtue alongside fortitude and patience, and the republican ideology of Sallust particularly well suited to their need to harness conflict for the public good. These ideas are enthusiastically taken up in the late twelfth and thirteenth century by authors concerned with the art of speaking and ruling well, as Quentin Skinner has demonstrated.[31]

In addition to being expressed verbally, this urban, Romanizing orientation was also given physical form. Like the Visconti a century later, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II endeavored to cement his claim to the Italian peninsula by asserting his authority on the Lombard plain. In 1247, when Frederick II established the new city of Victoria not far from the walls of Parma, he used the ancient foundation ritual of the Romans, marking the

eventual path of the walls with a plow.[32] As this example shows, certain Roman architectural traditions were known in late medieval Europe. Lengthy passages from ancient writers such as Vitruvius, Pliny, and Solinus on the subject of building were subsumed in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies,* an encyclopedic compilation known in innumerable copies throughout Europe during the entire Middle Ages. Isidore reports Vitruvius's classification of the architectural orders, the construction methods used by the Romans, the ingredients used in the manufacture of concrete, and even the Roman practice of using colored marble revetments to face buildings.[33] The surviving textual record and the Italian peninsula's profuse ancient architectural remains provided plentiful models to persons seeking to cloak themselves in Roman authority. As recent scholarship is beginning to demonstrate, the Lombard oligarchs of the thirteenth century were no less precocious than Frederick II in exploiting these sources. In my view, Fiamma's account of how and why certain members of the Lombard elite—the Visconti—used architecture and urbanism to fashion themselves as magnificent and, therefore, legitimate rulers during the 1330s and 1340s documents a well-understood, long-established cultural practice; it does not proclaim an innovation. Let us turn to a less well-documented case to demonstrate the prevalence of these practices on the Lombard plain during the preceding century.

The Architecture of Authority in the Communal Age: the Case of Parma

In 1347, the Visconti bought the mid-sized city-state of Parma from Obizzo d'Este, who had acquired it in 1344. Though Parma was not particularly wealthy, it was strategically important. Its territory encompassed the Cisa pass, the easiest path across the Apennine mountain range that split Italy in two; this road furnished an essential advantage to anyone seeking to transport goods or troops southeast to Rome or northwest to France and Germany. Analysis of how one political faction within Parma transformed the neighborhood around the cathedral a century before the Visconti attempted the same feat in their own capital illuminates the visual and political discourse in which the Milanese lords participated.[34]

Although the city-state of Parma was much smaller than regional superpower Milan, members of Parma's elite circulated among the most influential spheres of international European society. During the thirteenth century, Parma's urban elite comprised members of about twenty families, of which three—the Rossi, the Correggio, and the Sanvitale—towered over the rest in prestige and influence.[35] For many years, Bernardo di Rolando Rossi was an intimate of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II. The Sanvitale and, to a lesser extent, the Rossi clans, were related by kinship ties to Pope Innocent IV (Sinibaldo Fieschi), who had served as canon of Parma's cathedral. Innocent IV's nephew Ottobono Fieschi, also a canon of Parma, was

elected Pope Adrian V in 1276, although he died shortly after taking office. Their kin held prebends and bishoprics as far away as Lincoln and Lyon.[36] Thus, Parma's elites belonged to a broad European milieu that exercised its talents and privileges well beyond the boundaries of the Parmesan territory. It shared the political and social experience of a wider network of individuals who administered the papacy and the church, the Holy Roman Empire, and the city-states of north Italy. While no surviving medieval texts specifically link Parma's architectural and urbanistic practice to ancient precedents, a preponderance of physical and circumstantial evidence demonstrates that local artists and patrons were familiar with, reused, and reinterpreted classical and contemporary forms and materials in multiple and sophisticated ways to justify their builders' claims to authority.[37]

As had been the case in Milan, the bishop of Parma held the title of count from the emperor; he was not only the de facto ruler of the Parmesan territory, but its *de jure* ruler as well. However, the privileges granted the communal associations of nobles by Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa at the Peace of Constance in 1183 called into question the temporal jurisdiction granted the bishop by prior emperors, and this resulted in an extended period of jockeying for power between several Parmesan clans.[3"] In the thirteenth century, Parma's urban elites attempted to bring the situation under control. The faction which controlled the bishopric and cathedral chapter (usually led by members of the Sanvitale lineage) tried its best to retain the power that remained in its hands. The communal association led by another elite faction gradually arrogated many of the duties and privileges of the bishop. It could only keep these privileges and powers over a restless and suspicious population, however, if it could prove that its mode of governance was capable of imposing order on the tumult and maintaining the standards that made civil—and therefore, civic—life possible.[39]

One way in which the church faction competed against the communal government was by imposing a coherent architectural and urbanistic program on the site of the episcopal precinct (Plate 24).[40] This newly-orderly, grand piazza could be understood as a metaphor for the well-ordered society sought by the bishop and his allies. Beginning in 1196, the bishop and chapter launched a series of architectural projects that brought geometric regularity to the inchoate episcopal compound just north of the city's Roman walls (Plate 25). The erection of a baptistery to the cathedral's southwest "centered" the basilica along the east side of its *sagrato* [churchyard]. In 1233, the bishop's palace was extended to align its central axis with that of the cathedral and refashion the piazza as a perfectly regular square. A tower that dominated the skyline was a final flourish added at the end of the thirteenth century.[41] When Azzo Visconti installed his palace, chapel, and tower as a coordinated ensemble in the environs of Milan's episcopal precinct, he may have acted more quickly than his Parmesan predecessors, but his interventions followed regional custom.

Invoking Roman Magnificence: Materials, Forms, Monumentality

In the *Opusculum,* Fiamma repeatedly mentions lavish materials and Roman architectural forms. Like the artists and architects working in Viscontean Milan, Parma's builders also deployed rare and lustrous materials whenever possible. In particular, they used a building material directly connected to Parma's Roman past, a hard limestone now called *rosso di Verona,* which was considered a type of marble in the Middle Ages. Its name means "red from Verona" although it ranges in color from a delicate, blushing white to the vivid pink of the best prosciutto, resembling the prized *rosso antico* marble from Cape Matapan in Greece. In antiquity, as in the Middle Ages, the Veronese stone originated at a single location—the quarries north of Verona now called the Cave di Sant'Ambrogio. The ancient Romans only used this material in a few places, among them the colonies of Verona and Parma, where Roman *rosso di Verona* remains survived into the Middle Ages and beyond.[42] By applying *rosso di Verona* revetment to the baptistery and cathedral and by using it to make polished architectural details, such as colonnettes for the windows of the bishop's palace and the *rinceaux*-decorated tympanum of the baptistery, Parma's builders imitated the colorism and high degree of finish of ancient Roman architecture and unambiguously connected their new buildings to Roman antiquity (Plate 26). The use of colored "marble"—a material characterized as "magnificent" by Pliny—designated the patrons as the heirs of Roman practices and Roman authority.[43]

We have evidence that Parma's builders also used actual Roman materials. The imperial palace built into the remains of the Roman arena joined spoliated column shafts with newly carved capitals. Premodern views of the cathedral reveal sculpted and inscribed Roman tablets of varying sizes inset into its facade. Spoliated columns and capitals support the vaults of the cathedral's crypt. The Parmesans lined the inside of the baptistery with as many multicolored, Roman monolithic columns as they could find (Plate 27).[44]

The builders also adapted spoils to new iconographic needs. In one instance, the baptistery workshop re-used the body of an ancient Roman statue of a togaed male. The sculptors gave it a new head and feet, added wings, recarved parts of its torso and installed it proudly in a niche on the baptistery's piazza facade as the archangel Michael (Plate 28). This was not the final exploitation of the ancient statute by the baptistery workshop. The workshop also made a companion piece from scratch, carefully imitating the Roman drapery folds they had so admired in the original. The new archangel Gabriel was installed on the baptistery fafade, in the corresponding niche (Plate 29).[45]

Beyond the general, pan-European "Romanesque" revival of architectural sculpture in general, Parma's builders repeatedly used Roman ornamental motifs. Romanizing *rinceau* reliefs and cable moldings survive on the

baptistery's exterior. Corinthian and schematic Corinthian capitals remain in place on the facades of the cathedral, bishop's palace, and baptistery. The central portal of the cathedral features a portico whose roof is raised on columns supported by classicizing *rosso di Verona* lions (Plate 30).[46] Segments of Doric column shafts articulate some of the baptistery's blind facades (Plate 31). But, most of all, the fundamental antique architectural morphology of arcade and colonnade are repeatedly employed by Parma's builders (Plate 32).The stone-revetted, trabeated galleries that top the central stories of the baptistery's exterior elevation seem to recall such Roman monuments as the Septizonium in Rome (Plate 33).[47] They depart from the more common arcaded motifs used in Romanesque architecture elsewhere in Italy in this period and indicate an intention beyond generic evocation of Rome by the use of "Roman-esque" forms, into self-conscious revival (Marina, "Urbanistic Transformation," 151—56).

The *romanitas* of Parma's episcopal complex is not confined to the use of particular forms or materials. Its monumentality and orthogonality are no less Roman in inspiration. The monumental arcades and vaults of the bishop's palace recall the massive remains of ancient public buildings dotting the Italian peninsula.[48] Their verticality and spaciousness contrasted markedly with the low-slung, densely-packed, wood and brick fabric of the rest of the city. The attention to orthogonality and geometric precision used by the planners of the Piazza del Duomo could also have been inspired by the Roman orthogonal street grid which underlay not only Parma's city center, but that of many cities of Roman foundation throughout the Lombard plain (Marina, "Urbanistic Transformation," 151-56).

The overall effect produced by buildings of monumental scale, profligate use of "empty" space to frame them, the prevalence of the ancient Roman vocabulary of arch and colonnade, and expensive stone revetments and architectural ornament is magnificent today, and would have seemed even more so in the thirteenth century. Although investment of "public" funds on these major projects may not yet have been explicitly justified by written reference to Aristotelian notions of magnificence at the beginning of the thirteenth century, other sources already emphasized the connection between architectural patronage and political advantage, starting with Suetonius's *Lives of the Caesars*. His famous remark about the emperor Augustus, who "could boast that he had found Rome made of brick and left it in marble," was preceded by a statement of Augustus's justification for his architectural works: "since the city was not adorned as the dignity of the empire demanded" (Suetonius, *Augustus* 29).

Even though no explicit theoretical defense survives, the thirteenth-century textual record is full of praise for architectural patronage. The notion that men could perform a virtuous public service by building is implicit in the chronicle by Franciscan friar Salimbene de Adam, a citizen of Parma. Salimbene writes approvingly of episcopal builders. Of Bishop Nicholas of

Reggio, Salimbene remarks: "He was a Paduan, born of the noble Maltraversa family, a handsome man, generous, courtly, and liberal. He had a great episcopal palace built at Reggio" (Salimbene, *Cronica,* 38.16—21).

In Parma, Salimbene makes much of Bishop Grazie's building projects:

> In 1233, the episcopal palace of Parma, which faces the cathedral facade, was being built [Plate 34]. At that time bishop Grazie of Florence led the Parmesan church, and he had several palaces built in several places in the diocese. And therefore, he was considered a good bishop by the Parmesans, because, far from dissipating the bishopric's property, he conserved and indeed increased it (Salimbene, *Cronica,* 97.15-22).

Salimbene clearly links architectural patronage with courtliness, liberality, and virtue. Indeed, the Italian elite's increasing patronage of secular building projects—neither Grazie nor Nicholas of Reggio are praised for building churches—manifests their increasing interest in monumentality as an expression not only of *romanitas,* but of courtliness and, ultimately, authority as well. Even before Aristotle's *Ethics* entered the curriculum, magnificence and liberal displays of wealth found their thirteenth-century proponents in encyclopedias and guides for rulers, such as Orfino da Lodi's *De regimine et sapientia potestatis*. The communal statutes repeatedly refer to projects undertaken for the honor of the city, and legislate protection of its most significant buildings and their decoration. Fiamma's justification echoes these ideas; his explicit references to Aristotle and his commentators warrant their validity.[49]

A Magnificent, Courtly Style

If Italy's urban elites were steeped in the remains of ancient Roman culture, they were simultaneously fascinated by the courtly values of their neighbors across the Alps. Chivalric culture, with its exaltation of military prowess, emphasis on virtue, and high regard for honor and status, had been imported to Italy along with French chivalric romances in the twelfth century.[50] Rolando Rossi, Oliviero de Adam, Percivallo Fieschi—the very names of some of Parma's top citizens—attest to local familiarity with, and the prestige of, chivalric culture.[51] The medieval neologism *curialitas* encompassed the concepts of courtesy and courtliness appropriate to courtly culture, while preserving its associations with rule, and with the *curia* or court. It promptly became a useful model of behavior for Italian elites in these unstable times; courtliness in a man was repeatedly noted as worthy of praise through the thirteenth century. Existing noble families used it as a tool to emphasize their long-standing prestige, while new men could use it to legitimate their new social standing.[52]

The Piazza del Duomo's close association with courtliness is confirmed by Salimbene. When the Parmesan Jacopo da Enzola needed to be elevated

to knightly status in order to take office as podesta of Modena in 1285, his dubbing took place, not in any of the communal palaces or chapels, but rather in the piazza portal of the baptistery of Parma (Plate 35).[53] With its monumental sculpted tympanum and splayed portal embrasures, the doorway of the baptistery was the most architecturally impressive in the city of Parma. It was also the most evocative of a prestigious architectural style which, like the chivalric romances, originated in France. Because of their sculpted "Romanesque" tympana, layered "Gothic" archivolts and splayed embrasures, the Parma portals have been compared to several different French examples of both period styles, from Saint-Gilles-du-Gard to Chartres. The baptistery of Parma was among the first buildings in Italy to use the new, splayed French portal style. Its portals are also related to architecture closely associated with another bastion of high courtly culture, the Holy Roman Empire—note the marked similarities between the Parmesan doorways and the eastern portal of the Hohenstaufen-sponsored cathedral of Bamberg, begun in 1211 (Plate 36).[54]

However, it is the interior of the baptistery, Parma's best preserved thirteenth-century space, that most evidently expresses the pleasure in richness, variety, complexity, and novelty that characterized magnificent architecture according to Fiamma (Plate 37). Here we already see the many little columns, the galleries, the painted decoration, the vaults, the profusion of marble, and the Roman references cited by Fiamma in Azzo's architectural projects. They are complemented by an up-to-date technical display that may have seemed as "marvelous" to its audience as the stained-glass windows of that *signore's* palace seemed to his court historian.[55]

In the second half of the thirteenth century, the baptistery workshop superimposed a dramatic, rigorously vertical armature of responds and rib-vaults onto the building's pre-existing classicizing interior. What formal elements created this vertiginous visual effect? Attenuated colonnettes springing from above the capitals of the ground story columns are superimposed onto the sixteen interior angles of the baptistery. The colonnettes rise more than eight meters without interruption or articulation up to the cornice from which the steep sixteen-part vault springs, much like the responds of a French Gothic cathedral's elevation. (Consider, for example, the south transept of Soissons Cathedral, finished by 1185. Its responds are not articulated between the arcade level and the springing of the ribs, either.)

Parma's rib vault—itself over fourteen meters high from springing to summit and richly painted *a secco* with scenes from the Lives of Abraham and John the Baptist, the Apostles and the Prophets—appears even lighter and more buoyant because of the illusion created by the sixteen pointed arches at its foot (Plate 38). It seems to be a gigantic embroidered tent, floating twenty-eight meters off the ground, extended over the armature of the ribs, and pinned to the baptistery walls below only by the tips of its webbing, which rest upon the cornice supported by the colonnettes. But this structural

construct is merely an illusion. What appears to be a rib vault is nothing more than a cloister vault. Its sixteen folds are camouflaged by the pictorial program in the fields between the ribs; they are discernible upon careful examination of the fabric. The ribs, rather than provide structural support for the vault, are supported by it. Instead of forming an armature for the vault which is then filled in with webbing, they are attached to the vault's fabric by means of stone dovetails. So as we can see, from a structural standpoint, the vertiginous "Gothicism" of the baptistery of Parma is just as much an illusion as the faux Roman spoils displayed in its interior. Both are deployed in tandem to elicit the admiration of the viewer—admiration that is intended to increase his regard for the patron and his political program.

The Heritage of Magnificence

I separate the closely intertwined strands of *romanitas* and *curialitas,* spiritual and secular goals, to clarify my argument, but not without emphasizing that these are distinctions made in hindsight. Regardless of how incompatible these may seem to modern eyes, in the culture of the north Italian plain their coexistence was desirable and valued. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, their material expression constituted the magnificent architecture of the Lombard cities. By repeated and simultaneous use of forms and materials associated with Christian, ancient Roman, contemporary imperial, and courtly values, Parma's episcopal architecture reassured the oligarchs of their own ideology and continually broadcast it to the remainder of the population. By their concerted establishment of geometric order and openness, the builders implied the authorities' probity and capacity to quell disorder. By embodying the political and social virtues of *romanitas* and *curialitas,* Parma's cathedral square continually broadcast the ideology of its patrons, even when momentarily empty of ritual activity. Indeed, the piazza and its buildings functioned as a sort of monumental portrait of the city's ruling citizens, and the site's ability to express their political agenda was a mirror of its patrons' eloquence.[56]

The Visconti were unquestionably aware of the expressive potential of the architectural and urbanistic language of the Lombard communes. Near Milan's double cathedrals of Santa Tecla and Santa Maria Maggiore, Azzo Visconti assembled an architectural ensemble composed of palace, palatine chapel, tower, and piazza that mirrored the emblematic political and religious centers of the vanquished cities. The Visconti lords faced not only continual military and political challenges to their rule, but also a powerful intellectual tradition suspicious of tyrants. Azzo's building projects—like those of the communes—resulted from the need to legitimize uncertain claims to political authority. These claims were incarnated in a specific architectural vocabulary. Communal governments and clerical patrons justified the vast scale and opulence of their buildings on the grounds that their grandeur

would enhance the honor and greatness of the city, and of God, while craftily deploying them to maximize their own authority.[57] In appropriating the magnificent architectural repertory of the north Italian city-states, Azzo communicated his domination in unmistakable terms. By cloaking the despot's ambitious agenda in the language of ancient virtue, Fiamma magnified, not the honor of the city, but the personal prestige of the ruler.

Notes

1 Louis Green, "Galvano Fiamma, Azzone Visconti and the Revival of the Classical Theory of Magnificence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53 (1990): 98—113; Gualvanei de la Fiamma, *Opusculum de rebus gestis ab Azone, Luchino et Johanne Vicecomitibus ab anno MCCCXVIIII usque ad annum MCCCXLII,* ed. Carlo Castiglioni, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores n.s. 12.4, (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1938), hereafter cited as "Fiamma."

2 Green, "Galvano Fiamma," 113.

3 E.g., Paula Spilner, "Giovanni di Lapo Ghini and a Magnificent New Addition to the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 52, no. 4 (1993): 453-65; Trevor Dean, *The Towns of Italy in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 235-36; John T. Paoletti and Gary M. Radke, ^4rf *in Renaissance Italy* (London: Laurence King, 2005), 176—80; and F. W. Kent, *Lorenzo de' Medici and the Art of Magnificence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 46 and 176 n.9.

4 I will refer to the Italian plain that extends between the Apennines and the Alps, flanking the Po River, as the Lombard plain and to the overall region as Lombardy, in keeping with common pre-modern usage. This territory encompasses the modern political regions of Lombardy and Emilia-Romagna, as well as parts of Piemonte and the Veneto.

5 The Visconti lost power in 1302, but regained it in 1311. Azzo (1302-1339) died without sons; Luchino (1292-1349) was succeeded by Giovanni (1290—1354). For the Visconti, see Francesco Cognasso, *I Visconti* (Milan: Dall'Oglio, 1966).

6 *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 47 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1997), s.v. "Fiamma, Galvano."

7 A. D. Fraser Jenkins, "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence,"*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1971): 162—70; Richard Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 85-90 and *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 208, 220-21, 248-49.

8 Fiamma, chap. 15, 15—16. The English translations of Fiamma are mine, with thanks to J. Holmes for his help.

9 For the medieval reception of Aristotle's ideas on magnificence, see Spilner, "Giovanni di Lapo Ghini," 458, n.21—23.

10 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 4.2, ed. and trans. W. D. Ross (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908); Green, "Galvano Fiamma," 98 and 101; Spilner, "Giovanni di Lapo Ghini," 457-61; and John Lamer, *Culture and Society in Italy, 1290-1420* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 101. For magnificence as a virtue and the relationship between the visual arts and rhetorical theory, see C. Stephen Jaeger and Paul Binski's essays in this volume.

11 Aristotle, *Politics,* 6.7, trans. Benjamin Jowett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), as noted by Spilner, "Giovanni di Lapo Ghini," 458.

12 Green, "Galvano Fiamma," 101-03.

13 Fiamma, chap. 24, 20.

14 Spilner, "Giovanni di Lapo Ghini," 458; she identifies the source for Fiamma's striking reference to the *Politics* as not ultimately Aristotle himself (or more precisely, not Dominican friar William of Moerbeke's mid-thirteenth-century translation of Aristotle), but rather Albertus Magnus's commentary on the *Politics (Politicorum libri VIII, Opera Omnia* 8, ed. Auguste Borgnet (Paris: Louis Vives, 1891), 599).

15 Bruce G. Trigger, "Monumental Architecture: A Thermodynamic Explanation of Symbolic Behavior," *World Archaeology* 22.2 (1990): 119-32.

16 John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 112-14 and 123-25.

17 Fiamma, chap. 16, 16

18 Ibid., chap. 17, 16-17.

19 E.g., Ibid., chaps. 16, 17, 24, and 25, 16-17 and 20-21.

20 Galeazzo destroyed most of the family palaces in 1354, though he spared Azzo's chapel and tower. Pietro Azario, *Liber gestorum in Lombardia,* ed. Francesco Cognasso, Rerum italicarum scriptores n.s. 16.4 (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1938), 31—36. The tower still stands, but the chapel, renamed San Gottardo in Corte, was largely rebuilt in the neoclassical style in the eighteenth century. The remains of Azzo's tomb have been reassembled there.

21 Green, "Galvano Fiamma," 107-13; also, Louis Green, *Castruccio Castracani: A Study on the Origins and Character of a Fourteenth-Century Italian Despotism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); *Chronicle into History: an Essay on the Interpretation of History in Florentine Fourteenth-Century Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); and *Lucca Under Many Masters: A Fourteenth-Century Italian Commune in Crisis (1328-1342),* Quaderni di Rinascimento 30 (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1995). For other approaches to inscribing magnificence in visual culture in the Middle Ages, see Beth Williamson's essay in this volume.

22 Cf. Patrick Boucheron, *Le pouvoir de batir: urbanisme et politique edilitaire a Milan (XIV-XVe sikles)* (Rome: Ecole Franfaise de Rome, 1998), 114.

23 Green, "Galvano Fiamma," 112.

24 On "disciplinary myopia" see S. Rees Jones, "Review of *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe,*" ed. by Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson, *Medium Aevum* 66.2 (Fall 1997): 361; and Diane Favro, "Meaning and Experience: Urban History from Antiquity to the Early Modern Period," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58.3 (Sept. 1999): 367-68. Boucheron provides an overview of communal Milan, *Pouvoir,* 95-107. For examples of new research, with further bibliography, see Areli Marina, "Order and Ideal Geometry in Parma's Piazza del Duomo," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 65.4 (December 2006): 520-49; Areli Marina, "The Urbanistic Transformation of Parma in the Age of the Commune, 1196-1347" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2004); and *L'urbanistica di Modena medievale X-XVsecolo: confronti, interrelazioni, approfondimenti,* ed. Enrico Guidoni and Catia Mazzeri (Rome: Kappa, 2001).

25 Philip Jones, "Economia e societa nell'Italia medievale: la legenda della borghesia," in *Storia d'Italia: Dal feudalismo al capitalismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 1978), 187-372 and *The Italian City-State: From Commune to Signoria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

1997). Cf. Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

26 Marina, "Urbanistic Transformation," 144—45; Trevor Dean, "The Rise of the *Signori,*" in *The New Cambridge Medieval History 5, ca. 1198-ca. 1300,* ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 458—78; Olivier Guyotjeannin, "Podestats d'Emilie Centrale: Parme, Reggio et Modene (fin Xlle—milieu XlVe siecle)," in *I podesta dell'Italia comunale: Reclutamento e circolazione degli ufficiali forestieri (fine XII sec.—meth XIV sec.),* ed. Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, 2 vols. (Rome: Ecole Franchise de Rome, 2000), 1:349-403.

27 Marina, "Urbanistic Transformation," 147—48. Helene Wieruszowski, "Rhetoric and the Classics in Italian Education," in *Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy,* ed. Helene Wieruszowski (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1971), 602 [589-627], Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), especially 174-273; L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature,* 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 101; Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York: Pantheon, 1953), 36-61, 62-75, and 154-58; and Louis J. Paetow, *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1910), 503—95. Cf. Maureen C. Miller, "Religion Makes a Difference: Clerical and Lay Cultures in the Courts of Northern Italy, 1000-1300," *The American Historical Review* 105 (October 2000): 1095-1130.

28 Marina, "Urbanistic Transformation," 148-49. Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Tresor* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 3.1; "Oculus pastoralis pascens officia et continens radium dulcibus pomis suis," ed. Dora Franceschi, *Memorie dell'Accademia delle scienze di Torino, classe di scienze morali, storiche, e filologiche,* 4th ser., 21 (1966), as cited in Enrico Artifoni, "*I podesta professionali e la fondazione retorica della politica comunale,*" *Quaderni storici* 63 (1986): 699. On the importance of public speaking, see Lauro Martines, *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 115—23; Artifoni, "*Ipodesta,*" 687—719; Cinzio Violante, "Motivi e carattere della Cronica di Salimbene," in *La "cortesia" chiericale e borghese nel Duecento, Saggi di Lettere Italiane* 49 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1995), 13-80.

29 Italian teachers of rhetoric were often active in public life, practicing as lawyers, notaries, and other public functionaries, as Martin Camargo notes, *Ars dictaminis, ars dictandi, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental* 60 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), 39—41. Well-known surviving examples of "how to" manuals include the anonymous *Oculus pastoralis* (see n.28), and works by Boncompagno da Signa (including *Rhetorica novissima,* devoted to speeches alone), Guido Faba, Matteo dei Libri, etc. For bibliography on the *ars arengandi* specifically, see Camargo, *Ars dictaminis,* 40; Peter von Moos, "Die italienische 'ars arengandi' des 13. Jahrhunderts als Schule der Kommunikation," in *Rhetorik, Kommunikation und Medialitat* (Berlin: LIT, 2006), 127-52; and Ronald Witt, "Medieval *Ars dictaminis* and the Beginnings of Humanism: a New Construction of the Problem," *Renaissance Quarterly* 35.1 (1982): 14.

30 On clerical use of Sallust's *Bellum Jugurthium,* see Black, *Humanism,* 295-96. For the role of rhetoric in clerical speeches, see Margaret Jennings, "Introduction," in *Ars componendi sermones by Ranulph of Higden* (Leuven, BE: Peeters, 2003), 1-23.

31 Cicero, *De inventione,* 2.150—166. On the role of Cicero, see Virginia Cox, "Ciceronian Rhetoric in Late Medieval Italy: The Latin and Vernacular Traditions," in *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition,* ed. Virginia Cox and John O. Ward (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 114-19; Stephen J. Milner, "Communication, Consensus, and Conflict: Rhetorical Precepts, the *ars concionandi,* and Social Ordering in Late Medieval Italy," in *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition,* ed. Virginia Cox and John O. Ward (Leiden: Brill, 2006): 367; Hans Baron, "Cicero and the Roman Civic Spirit in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 22 (1938): 82-97; and Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics, Vol. 2: Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 17—30. On the reception of Ciceronian magnificence as a virtue in the late Middle Ages, see R. A. Gauthier, *Magnanimite: I'ideal de la grandeur dans la philosophie pa'ienne et dans la theologie chretienne* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1951), 250-81.

32 Marina, "Urban Transformation," 150—51; Rolandini Patavini, *Cronica Marchie Trivixane,* ed. A. Bonardi, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, 2nd ser., 8.1.2 (Citta di Castello: S. Lapi, 1905), 84. For the ancient Roman city foundation ritual, see E. J. Owens, *The City in the Greek and Roman World* (London: Routledge, 1991), 9. Isidore of Seville describes the ritual, *Etymologiae* 15.2.3—4, ed. and trans. Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J. A. Beach and Oliver Berghoff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

33 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 15.8.13, 19.10, and 19.13.

34 The fundamental history of Parma (up to 1346) remains Ireneo Affo, *Storia della citta di Parma,* 4 vols. (Parma: Stamperia Carmignani, 1792-1795; facs. ed. Bologna: Forni, 1980).

35 Guyotjeannin, "Podestats," 348-49 and 368-90.

36 Ibid., 348—49 and 368—90; Giovanni Bandieri, "I Rossi di Parma dalle origini alia meta del secolo XIII (Parte 1)," *Archivio storico per le province parmensi* 29 (1977): 247—77; Giovanni Bandieri, "I Rossi di Parma dalle origini alia meta del secolo XIII (Parte 2)," *Archivio storico per le province parmensi* 30 (1978): 195-225; Emilio Nasalli Rocca [di Cornegliano], "Le origini e la posizione politica dei Rossi," *Archivio storico per le province parmensi,* 4.21 (1969): 83—104; Emilio Nasalli Rocca di Cornegliano, "La posizione politica dei Sanvitale dell'eta dei comuni a quella delle signorie," *Archivio storico per le province parmensi,* 4.23 (1971): 135-54; Vincenzo Carrari, *Dell'historia de' Rossi parmigiani* (Ravenna: Francesco Tebaldini, 1583), vol. 1; Roberto Lasagni, *Dizionario biografico dei parmigiani,* 5 vols. (Parma: PPS, 1999), ss. vv. "Sanvitale Giacomo," "Sanvitale Giovanni," 4:305—06 and "Sanvitale Giovanni Quirico," 4:309—10.

37 Marina, "Urbanistic Transformation," 100—01.

38 Reinhold Schumann, *Authority and the Commune, Parma 833—1133* (Parma: Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province Parmensi, 1973), 43—44; G. Pochettino, "L'elezione dei vescovi di Parma nell'eta feudale," *Archivio storico per le province parmensi,* 2.22 bis (1922): 419-40.

39 Parma's factionalism is a recurring theme of two medieval chronicles, the anonymous *Chronicon Parmense* and the chronicle of Friar Salimbene de Adam. *Chronicon Parmense: ab anno MXXXVUI usque ad annum MCCCXXXVU1,* ed. Giuliano Bonazzi, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores 2nd ser., 9.9 (Citta di Castello: S. Lapi, 1902), hereafter cited as *Chronicon Parmense*. Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica,* ed. Giuseppe Scalia, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 125—125A, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998—1999); translations into English are mine.

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40 Maureen C. Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 111-13, 115, and 145-46. For this practice elsewhere in Italy, see also Maureen C. Miller, "From Episcopal to Communal Palaces: Places and Power in Northern Italy (1000-1250)," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 54.2 (June 1995): 175-85 and "Vescovi, palazzi e lo sviluppo dei centri civici nella civilta dell'Italia settentrionale, 1000—1250," in *Alhertano da Brescia: Alle origini del razonalismo economico, del umanesimo civile, della grande Europa* (Brescia: Grafo, 1996), 27-42.

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43 Marina, "Urbanistic Transformation," 151—56; Michael Greenhalgh, *The Survival of Roman Antiquities in the Middle Ages* (London: Duckworth, 1991), 123—28; Pliny, *Natural Histories,* 36.

44 Marina, "Urbanistic Transformation," 151—156. For comparable uses of *spolia* in medieval Italy, see Lucia De Lachenal, *Spolia, uso e reimpiego dell'antico dal III al XIV secolo* (Milan: Longanesi, 1995), 277—349; Greenhalgh, *Survival,* 145—247; and Dale Kinney, "Roman Architectural Spolia," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 145.2 (2001): 138-49.

45 Peter Rockwell, "La decorazione plastica," in *II Battistero di Parma: la scultura,* ed. Georges Duby, (Milan: Franco Maria Ricci, 1992), 219-48.

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47 The remains of the Septizonium stood on the Palatine Hill in Rome until 1588.

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50 Marina, "Urbanistic Transformation," 157-58; Pierre Racine, "Noblesse et chevalerie dans les societes communales italiennes," in *Les Elites urbaines au Moyen-Age, Collection de I'Ecole Franfaise de Rome,* 238, 27 (Rome: Ecole Franfaise, 1997), 137-152. C. Stephen Jaeger emphasizes the clerical origin of courtly ideas, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 989-1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985). Aldo Scaglione highlights the role of courtliness in the German imperial court and its impact on Italian notions, *Knights at Court: Courtliness, Chivalry, and Courtesy from Ottoman Germany to the Italian Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 169—87.

51 Olivier Guyotjeannin, "L'onomastique emilienne (Xle—milieu XHIe siecle)," *Melanges de I'Ecole Franfaise de Rome-Moyen Age—Temps Modernes* (Rome) 106 (1994): 381-446; Daniela Delcorno Branca, "Tavola rotonda," in *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana,* ed. Vittore Branca, (Turin: UTET, 1973), 3:471-76.

52 See n. 50 and Ronald G. Witt, *"In the Footsteps of the Ancients": The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 42—43.

53 Salimbene, *Cronica,* 887.8—10. Jacopo da Enzola died while in office. Salimbene reports that his tomb monument in Modena cathedral portrayed him "with honor" as a knight on horseback; Salimbene, *Cronica,* 886.5—8.

54 Marina, "Urbanistic Transformation," 157—58.

55 Fiamma, chap. 16, 16.

56 Marina, "Urbanistic Transformation," 149 and 164—65.

57 See n.49.

LISTENING TO MAGNIFICENCE IN MEDIEVAL PARIS

Emma Dillon

The medieval city is synonymous with magnificence. From the majestic vision of Augustine's *De civitate dei* to the strange vistas of Dante's *Commedia,* it furnished writers with an inexhaustible cipher for philosophical and theological values, and was template for exploration of ideals of social conduct. No mere product of the literary imagination, many actual medieval cities were shaped by awareness of the expressivity of place. Early urban planners and astute power-brokers built political ambition, civic virtues, and religious belief into the very bricks and mortar of their environments. They designed spaces to inspire awe, wonder, and sometimes fear—the hallmark emotions of magnificence—in inhabitants and in those who passed through.[1]

This essay takes the city as a lens through which to examine the theme of magnificence. Our subject is Paris, a place that has provoked much eloquent admiration, and particularly during the later Middle Ages, when it expanded beyond the scale of other renowned cities, and when the lure of its university, royal palaces, and marketplace transformed its population into one of the largest and most diverse in Europe.[2] According to the fourteenth-century Englishman Richard of Bury, Paris was no less than a heaven on earth—"paradisus mundi"—a metropolis so impressive and pleasurable as to be the very exemplum of the sublime city.[3] Nor was he alone in such aggrandizing sentiment. In the decades around the turn of the fourteenth century, a number of writers, artists, and musicians turned their hand to representing their city. Working in a range of genres not limited to the familiar tradition of Latin *encomium,* these artists offer fascinating evidence of contemporary perceptions of the city, and the things about the place that made it great. As they re-envisioned their city through their respective creative media, they were engaged in two quite distinct activities. For they were not only recording what made the city magnificent; in the very act of translation and representation, they were also implicated as architects of the city's grandeur.

How, then, did Paris express its magnificence? Not surprisingly, much historical and theoretical work on cities focuses on the concrete, material, and visible aspects that constitute place. Essays by Paul Binksi, Beth Williamson, and Areli Marina in this volume offer excellent illustration not just of the ways that physical spaces and objects could inspire feelings of the sublime, but also of the importance of the sense of sight in the experience of the magnificent. Indeed, sight has often dominated accounts of the city: One need only think of the most famous of theoretical treatments of the city, Michel de Certeau's "A Walk in the City," to recognize the "scopic" emphasis.[4] The desire to conjure the architectural fixtures and networks of streets and bridges of Paris as evidence of the city's greatness was undoubtedly part of the project of many of the artists we shall explore. However, hidden in the shadows of the city of these texts is another, altogether less concrete manifestation of the place. A Paris alive with sound.

While sound has served many later writers as an evocative topos of place, it is often framed in terms notably less lofty than the sublime or magnificent associations of the physical city. The term "soundscape" is often deployed to signal the presence of sounds occurring in real-time, everyday contexts, and which are distinct from the seemingly more rarified experience of musical performance.[5] City soundscape implies a soundworld which is the sonorous by-product of messy urban reality: A medley of street din, bells, carts and so on. In some contexts, such sound has served writers of many stripes as a romanticizing marker of the earthy reality of the medieval past. Some more popularist accounts of medieval cities evoke a clamorous soundscape for its reality-value—a sonic fantasy that injects a real-life strand into the sense of the past.[6] Another important strand of urban sound studies concerns the role of the soundscape in regularizing and ordering the daily actions of a given community. For example, work by historian Jacques Le Goff, well-known for its exploration of medieval concepts of labour and time, made groundbreaking use of evidence of bells in shaping everyday life.[7] With echoes of Johan Huizinga's famous summoning of the bell as "tuning" the medieval world, Le Goff illustrated how such sounds were imbued with very particular meanings, commands, and values as sonorous identifiers in the urban setting.

Another influential current of thinking about the city to deploy sonic markers is Bakhtin's famous essay on carnival.[8] As we shall later see, the street-cry was a vital social signal in his theorization of the market-place, the sounding emblem of the popular voice of all time. In all these instances, then, certain categories of sounds are evoked for their regulating or socially designating effect; their value is almost in their anti-aesthetic meaning. As a matter of instinct, then, we may wonder what such hubbub has to do with the notion of magnificence.

However, it is precisely that "everyday" aspect of civic sound that I wish to explore: to demonstrate its complicity in connoting the magnificence of

Paris. As we shall see, urban sound can convey and shape meaning by virtue of its unpredictability, as much as through its regularity; through its cacophony, as much as through its harmony. Following where the primary texts have led me, I wish to consider that representations of city sound can also imply confusion and chaos, and that the very unusual and sometimes unruly nature of such sounds was precisely what made them so pertinent to constructing a sense of civic grandeur. For sound—musical and non-musical—is by its very nature impermanent, lacking in the very fixity that lent the spaces of the city their power to inspire awe, and to construct permanent ideologies into the fabric of the place. As Isidore of Seville famously articulated in his *Etymologies',* "unless they are remembered, sounds perish, for they cannot be written down."[9] Yet it is precisely sound's vanishing and perishing quality that will be of interest. In the first instance, it exposes an interesting fault line between the physical experience of the medieval city, and its transformation into records of various sorts. Sound's very resistance to easy translation or fixed record—the inverse of the monumental fixity of a city's actual spaces—may be in part what contributed to its power and meaning. Not only that: The vanishing quality of sound was also surprisingly well-suited to a notion of magnificence and the sublime as a sense of excess, superlative, or in the original medieval sense of *magnum facere.* Strange though it may seem, the records speak of a soundworld not so much elevating and moving, as simply overwhelming in its plenitude and changeability.

A Walk in Paris

We shall begin on the streets of Paris. Some time around 1300 Guillot de Paris took a walk. As he set off into his city, little could he have known what resonance history would lend his feet: His outing spawned the earliest vernacular poetic representation of Paris, and thus a landmark in the long tradition of writing about that metropolis. Although the original terrain of his constitutional would later fade, over-laid by the groove of more familiar nineteenth-century boulevards and architectural symmetries intended to inscribe the city's grandeur into every turn and vista, Guillot's walk nonetheless resonates with the shape of today's city: it, too, was a monument of sorts. For in transforming walking into writing, Guillot was concerned to make Paris memorable, to translate his route—and all the things he witnessed—into a literary map.

What remains of Guillot's outing, and of Guillot himself, is a poem, the *Dit des rues de Paris,* preserved in a fourteenth-century compilation manuscript.[10] Written from the first-person perspective of Guillot, the poem is a tour-de-force in the art of naming. In around 550 lines of tight, rhyming couplets, it presents a whistle-stop tour of the city streets, its sole premise apparently to record every one of their names. Organized around the three major areas of the city, beginning on the Left Bank ("Les rues outre Petit

Pont"), across to the Cite, and ending up on the Right Bank ("outre Grand Pont"), the poem depicts the narrator hurtling through the city in a frenzy of enumeration. Although framed in real time, Guillot's excursion comprises little more than a string of names, tenuously threaded together through the tug of rhyme.

A few examples will illustrate the abbreviating effects of the poem's topographical priority. Indeed, in the brief prologue, Guillot makes clear his intention, inviting his readers to listen how he has "put into rhyme" the streets of his city:

> Maint dit a fait de roys, de conte ;
> Guillot de Paris en son conte
> Les rues de Paris briement
> A mis en rime. Oiez comment.[11]

> Many a poem has told the tale of kings; Guillot, in his, briefly puts into rhyme the streets of Paris. Listen how.

On the Left Bank, he slips into relentless enumeration, reinforced by the small directives "pres," "apres," "puis":

> A rue de la Huchete a Paris
> Premiere, dont pas n'a mespris.
> Ases tost trouva Sacalie,
> Et la petite Bouclerie,
> Et la grant Bouclerie apres,
> Et Herondale tout en pres...
> La rue a l'Abe Saint-Denis
> Siet ases pres de Saint-Denis,
> De la Grant rue Saint-Germain
> Des Prez si fait rue Cauvin
> Et puis la rue Saint-Andri.[12]

> First of all is Rue de la Huchete a Paris, from whence the path is not mistaken. Quite soon you will find Sacalie, and Petite Bouclerie, and Grant Bouclerie after, and Herondale close by____The street of l'Abe Saint-Denis sits quite close to Saint-Denis, from great Rue Saint-Germain des Prez comes Rue Cauvin and then Rue Saint-Andri.

The purpose is not only to name but also to quantify the city's streets. At the end of each of the three main locales of the city, Guillot pauses to total up the number of streets he has run along. Thus, at the end of his run around the Cite, he alights on the bridge to reckon up the thirty-six streets.[13]

Obsessive street-naming may seem remote from an agenda of laudation more obviously associated with civic representation. Indeed, the sense

of Paris emerging as Guillot scurries around is strange, even decidedly anti-monumental. And as the city flies by, an uncanny and unpredictable array of sounds and sights cram into the tiny gaps between streets and lines:

> Mes par la crois de Tiroiier
> Ving en la rue de Neele
> N'avoie tabour ne viele:
> En la rue Raoul Menuicet
> Trouvai un homme qui mucet
> Une femme en terre et en siet.[14]

> But by the Crois de Tiroiier comes Rue de Neele which has neither tabour nor vielle. On the Rue Raoul Menuicet I find a man who buried a woman and who sits on the spot.

> Un homs a granz ongles locus
> Demanda: Guillot, que fes-tu?[15]

> A man with grubby nails asks: "Guillot, what are you up to?"

> Une dame vi sus un seil
> Qui moult se portoit noblement;
> Je la saluai simplement,
> Et elle moi, par Saint Loys!
> Par la saint rue Saint-Denis,
> Ving en la rue As Oues droit,
> Pris mon chemin et mon adroit
> Droit en la rue Saint-Martin,
> Ou j'o'i chanter en latin
> De Nostre-Dame un si dous chans.[16]

> I spy a woman in a doorway who carries herself very nobly; I greet her simply, and she me, by Saint Louis! By way of the holy Rue Saint-Denis I come right to Rue As Oues, take my path nimbly right to Rue Saint-Martin, where I hear sung in Latin from Nostre-Dame such a sweet chant.

Reference to a long-nailed man lurking on a street corner sits side by side with sightings of a man sitting on the burial site of a woman; meanwhile, Guillot's report of greetings exchanged between himself and a noblewoman is one of an abundance of female sightings, and a reminder that we see the city through emphatically male eyes. The voices mingled into these bizarre scenes are moreover part of a more pervasive and chaotic soundtrack in the text. The salutations between Guillot and the citizens of Paris are muddled into a mixture that includes a man blowing bagpipes, birds, a woman beating linens, prostitutes clamoring, and, just once, the sweet sounds of Latin song. It is impossible to single any sound out as contrived or deliberate. Rather, the

sheer pressure for Guillot to keep moving adds to the impression of random spontaneity.

What, then, is the purpose of such a map, and the reason for such a peculiar sound world? At first glance, the *dit* reads like an embellished A-Z of medieval Paris, its purpose indexical more than literary, and seemingly casual as a representation of the city's status and value in the wider world. Yet, produced in a period when to represent the city was also to extol its virtue, we must consider that Guillot's purposes were more lofty than we might imagine. In fact, easy though it is to be distracted by the quasi-science of relentless street-listing, Guillot's text does indeed have a story to tell, one that is contingent on the very haphazard effect brought about by the poem's style.

In better understanding the poem's strange effort at realism, we may usefully evoke one of the few modern critiques of the poem. Michelle Chilcoat makes an illuminating connection between the *dit* and Michel de Certeau's famous essay "Walking in the City" in which he famously deploys the city as a metaphor for exploring distinctions between language, speech, and writing.[17] A recurring theme concerns the affinity of speech-acts to walking in the city; and writing to those who seek to represent it as a whole. The one who walks the streets is engaged in the practice of the city, and is set in opposition to those with a "scopic" vision, the urban-planner, engaged in "seeing-the-whole," and who thus experiences the city as a concept. These perspectives in turn mimic modes of communication: the city-as-practice akin to the speech act; the city-as-whole closer in its totalization to the act of writing.[18] Reading Guillot through the lens of de Certeau, Chilcoat likens Guillot to de Certeau's "street walker," who in turn is akin to one who turns language into speech acts, while his later editors are more akin to the mappers or urban planners.

The analogy may go further. Guillot's *dit* may better be understood as occupying a middle ground. For implicit in de Certeau's distinction between the walker and the planner—between practice and concept of the city—is a distinction between the reality and idealization. In the case of this poem, I would like to suggest that both aspects of the city are in play. For, as Chilcoat likewise senses, Guillot's city is both rushed, real-time effect, and a literary contrivance. Walking that fine line, the poem harnesses the experiential aspect of the city for more writerly, creative purposes. And the story told here is one of the city's immensity, of the sheer vastness and magnitude of the place. Indeed, Guillot is forced to stop here and there, to snatch a quick drink, to catch his breath, before running on and on and on, through a network it is easy as a reader to get lost in. That readerly effect is all-important. For in that intersection of the experiential and monumental city is embedded a fundamental notion of medieval magnificence. If magnificence is to be understood according to its Latin roots—*magnum jacere*—as an act of enlarging, making great, this poem succeeds utterly in communicating a sense of place that is almost too big to contain, too vast to quantify, despite Guillot's best efforts to

count the streets. Within such a model, the strange sights and sounds picked up en route are just as important a part of the process of aggrandizement. For as we twist and turn through Guillot's conception, there is no knowing what we will see and hear next: no sense of a final limit to the city's sounds and sights. In short, I am suggesting that it is precisely what makes this poem so strange that makes it so successful as a laudation of its subject.

In the rest of this essay, I would like to use Guillot as *cicerone,* and consider the magnificence of Paris according to the notion of *magnum facere,* and to think more about the place of sound in magnifying the city. Some of those sounds, as Guillot's *dit* illustrates, will seem far from beautiful, and removed from the music we might think better suited to celebrating a city's grandeur. It is certainly not to say that musical sounds had no place in discourses of civic magnificence. Even Guillot's ears catch the sound of Latin chant as he speeds past the church. However, to focus on the orthodox, authorized realm of song is to overlook the efficacious powers of the sorts of sounds lurking in Guillot's city. In the next portion of the essay we shall see that such sounds were no less charged with ethical, aesthetic, and didactic meanings than the sounds associated with liturgy and song.

Jean de Jandun and the Scholastic's City Soundtrack

Our next view of Paris is as systematic and contained as Guillot's is frenetically unpredictable: A city of familiar landmarks and clearly-defined locales. Moreover, while Guillot's *dit* defied easy classification, Jean Jandun's *Tractatus de laudibus Parisius,* dating around 1323, is by contrast conspicuously aware of its place in a literary tradition.[19] It follows the form of Latin civic praise poems, or *encomia,* whose genealogy stretches back to classical antiquity, a medium given to lauding cities through heady, grandiloquent literary expression. Nor is it merely genre that lends weight to this representation of Paris. The poem's author was erudite in the extreme. Better known for his learned writings on Aristotle and Averroes, Jean was first and foremost a university man. He was first recorded as a member of the Faculty of Arts in 1307, and by 1315 was a professor at the College of Navarre. He was also in 1316 made a canon of Senlis, a position he maintained while teaching in Paris, and a connection that was important in the genesis of the *encomium.*[20]

The *Tractatus* is the clear product of Jean's intellectual environment: With every echo of prior models, every rhetorical trope and literary turn, the civic reality of Paris is transformed and reconstituted as a lofty ideal. Indeed, at first glance, it seems that his city is little more than an opportunity for rhetorical display. However, there is a twist to this text. For it seems that part of jean's intention was to break the mold of the genre, a desire to trump the literary expectations of *encomium* with an agenda of realism. His Paris to be not just a literary and historical ideal, but also as a recognizable place.

Indeed, Jean was explicit about his goal. The poem was one piece in a protracted conversation between Jean and a circle of academic colleagues, both in Paris and Senlis, on the virtues of their respective cities. Erik Inglis has recently reconstructed the sequence of exchanges prompted by an attack on Jean for having earlier praised Senlis at the expense of Paris. Jean's *Tractatus* was the last in the sequence.[21] That now-anonymous detractor had written a defense of Paris as the city of all cities so bland, that Jean had taken up his pen again, to answer the criticism, this time with a lavish celebration of Paris, and also with a swipe at shoddy rhetoric. As he sets out in Prologue, his Paris will not be lost in the kinds of predictable literary conventions that characterized his critic who:

> in narrating the grace of Paris, for the description of which all languages would be insufficient, constituted his work only from generalities which move [the reader] but little or not at all, and from other similes and metaphors that, although they interest the soul somewhat, give the intellect neither certitude nor satisfaction, and further [he constituted his work] from not a few commonplaces collected elsewhere.
>
> ad enarrandum gratiam Parisius, ad cujus descriptionem non sufficerent omnes lingue, nonnisi ex quibusdam universalibus que nichil movent aut modicum, et ex aliquibus similitudinibus metaphorisque, etsi aliqualiter oblectant animum, paucis tamen aut nullis quietant certitudinibus intellectum; et rursus ex nonnullis verbis communibus aliunde collectis constituit suum opus.[22]

Jean's move beyond the "commonplaces" was not merely literary. As is well-known to art historians, he extended the scope of the *encomium* by injecting highly specific accounts of certain locales into the civic portrait, including one of the most detailed and realistic representations of the city's major architectural monuments to survive from this period. These included delicately observed accounts of sites on the Ile-de-la-Cite, notably Notre Dame, the Sainte-Chapelle, and the spaces of the royal palace.[23] Jandun's description of the Sainte-Chapelle will illustrate the kinds of heady rhetoric at play in relaying not just the sense of the spaces, but also their magnificent effect:

> Sed et ilia formosissima capellarum, capella regis, infra menia mansionis regie decentissime situata, integerrimis et indissolubilibis solidissimorum lapidum gaudet structuris. Picturarum colores electissimi, ymaginum deauratio preciosa, vitrearum circumquaque rutilantium decora pervietas, altarium venustissima paramenta, sanctuariorum virtutes mirifice, capsularum figurationes extranee gemmis adornate fulgentibus, tantam utique illi orationis domui largiuntur decoris yberbolem, ut, in earn subingrediens, quasi raptus ad celum, se non immerito unam de Paradisi potissimis cameris putet intrare.
>
> But also that most beautiful of chapels, the chapel of the king, most fittingly situated within the walls of the king's house, enjoys a complete

> and indissoluble structure of most solid stone. The most exquisite colors of the pictures, the precious gilding of the images, the beautiful transparency of the gleaming windows on all sides, the most beautiful cloths of the altars, the wondrous merits of the sanctuaries, the figured work on the reliquaries externally adorned with dazzling gems, bestow such a hyperbolic beauty on that house of prayer, that, in going into it from below, one understandably believes oneself, as if rapt to heaven, to be entering one of the best chambers of Paradise.[24]

This passage neatly illustrate a tension between description of real things—the windows, reliquaries, stone and so forth—and the powerful rhetoric by which their meaning and effect is suggested: the superlatives and amplifications here situate us in a moment of writerly virtuosity. In this same passage, Paul Binksi notes Jandun's use of asyndeton (absence of conjunctions), arguing that the device "has the effect of speeding up a series of dislocated impressions in its onward and upward rush to Paradise."[25] It is the direct reference to hyperbole that interests me here as window into a way of thinking about magnificence. Hyperbole is, of course, a familiar trope of rhetoric, and it will be helpful to dwell for a moment on its effects, as transmitted in the grammarians and rhetoricians from whom Jandun learned his craft. For it is here that we see a fascinating connection to the idea of magnificence, and furthermore, to praise. Consider the following definitions:

> Ad Herennium 4.43
> Superlatio est oratio superans veritatem alicuius augendi minuendive causa.
> Hyperbole is a manner of speech exaggerating the truth, whether for the sake of magnifying or minifying something.[26]

> Institutio Oratoria 8. 6
> Hyperbolen audacioris ornatus summo loco posui. Est haec decens veri superiectio: virtus eius ex diverso par augendi atque minuendi.
>
> I have kept hyperbole to the last, on the ground of its boldness. It means an elegant straining of the truth, and may be employed indifferently for exaggeration of attention.[27]
>
> Turn est hyperbole virtus, eum res ipsa, de qua loquendum est, naturalem modum excessit. Conceditur enim amplius dicere, quia dici, quantum est, non potest, meliusque ultra citra stat oratio.
>
> It is, moreover, a virtue, when the subject on which we have to speak exceeds the natural. For we are allowed to amplify, when the magnitude of the facts surpasses all words, and in such circumstances our language will be more effective if it goes beyond the truth than if it falls short of it.[28]

> Geoffrey of Vinsauf (fl. 1200L *Poetria nova,* vv. 1018-20: and vv. 1025-26
> Currat yperbolicus, sed non discurrat inepte
> Sermo: refrenet eum ratio placeatque modestus

> Finis, ut excessum nec mens nec abhorreat auris
> Mirifice laudes minuit modus iste vel auget;
> Et placet excessus. quem laudat et auris et usus.
> Let Hyperbole have rein, but do not let the discourse run wild; let reason rein it in and let its restrained conclusion be pleasing, so that neither ear nor mind will shudder at any excess____This manner can marvelously increase or lessen praise; and that excess is pleasing which both ear and custom approve.

Jandun's description also demonstrates a bold formulation of the effects of magnificence, as conduit to the Sublime. The passage concludes that the spaces are so beautiful as to effect a kind of rapture, transporting the viewer into the realms of Paradise ("quasi raptus ad celum, se non immerito unam de Paradisi potissimis cameris putet intrare"). These are the essential terms on which Jean's laudation organizes itself as a magnificat to the city. As we edge deeper into the city the working out of the sublime topos becomes all-pervasive, and as we shall hear, the sound of the city is complicit in making that glory evident.

Although quite sedate by comparison to Guillot's dash through the streets, Jandun's representation of Paris nonetheless shares with the *dit* an adherence to accurate geography. Jandun, too, follows a map, and his descriptions are organized according to the three main areas of Paris; reference here and there to specific streets, and also to the city's main bridges, heighten the sense of Paris as a distinct place.[30] We shall begin with Jandun's account of the Ile-de-la-Cite. For it is here, in the thick of his most vivid architectural descriptions, that the author offers a template for sound's role in the construction of civic grandeur. Given the lie's place as the city's spiritual and royal heart, it is not surprising that the sounds emanating in this space are the most overtly orthodox—voices doing the work of praying and chanting. Directly after the description of the Sainte-Chapelle (seen above), the text breaks off for three short laudations on three aspects of ceremony that communicate the superlative meaning of that space:

> O quam salubres in illis oratoriis Deo potentissimo preces fundunt, cum spirituales et interne puritates ipsorum precantium corporalibus et externis oratoriorum munditiis proportionaliter correspondent!
>
> O quam placide piissimo Deo in illis tabernaculis laudes canuntur, cum ipsorum corda canentium sunt amenis tabernaculorum picturis anagogice virtutibus venustata!
>
> O quam acceptabilia gloriosissimo Deo super hec altaria holocausta parantur, cum ipsorum sacrificantium vita, correspondente deaurationi altarium claritate, resplendet!
>
> O how salutary the prayers to the all-powerful God that pour out in these oratories, when the internal and spiritual purities of those praying

> correspond proportionally to the external and physical elegance of the oratory!
>
> O how peacefully are praises sung to the most holy God in these tabernacles, when the hearts of the singers are anagogically beautified with the virtues through the pleasing pictures of the tabernacle!
>
> O how acceptable to the most glorious God appear the offerings on these altars, when the life of those sacrificing shines in correspondence with the gilded light of the altars![31]

Each act—prayer, singing, and altar offerings—is linked by a common theme: Its anagogic or corresponding role. They are sensual or embodied equivalents to the virtue and divinity expressed through the architectural spaces in which they occur. Thus the outpouring of prayer embodies a connection between the inner purity of the prayerful and the outer elegance of the chapel; the singers' hearts are made more beautiful by anagogic relation to images in their surroundings; and the celebrants are radiant in proportion to the gleam of their altars. Thus Jandun ascribes to these performing bodies the role of translation: these are the living, outward equivalents to the place of the chapel, they are themselves nothing less than conduit to the sublime.

Jandun is of course not the first to deploy such concepts. There are unmistakable echoes here of Abbot Suger's accounts of the construction of the abbey of Saint-Denis, where, in his *De administratione,* he describes the anagogical effects of the superabundant ornaments of the abbey, serving to transport those present from the material to the immaterial realm.[32] Or in his *De consecratione,* where the account of processions depicts the senses engaged in a complex synesthetic exchange, to create a portal to the sublime. Sound is part of that sensual mix, but in Suger's evocation of sonic effect, there is again connection to hyperbolic excess, one in this instance that implies not so much heavenly harmony as raucous cacophony. The procession during the consecration of the building culminates in the deployment of twenty dignitaries to the many altars of the church, and the simultaneous celebration of masses at these stations: the masses are sung "so festively, so solemnly, so differently and yet so concordantly, so close [to one another] and so joyfully that their song, delightful by its consonance and unified harmony, was deemed a symphony angelic rather than human."[33]

What, though, of the rest of jandun's city? If the liturgical songs and prayers are an obvious sonic default for their locale, what sounds will suit the other two locales? In fact, the analogic and revelatory role assigned to sound on the Ile-de-la-Cite extends elsewhere. For, albeit less musically, the city clamours with sounds likewise designed to reinforce the ethical and social stature of their respective locales.

On the Left Bank, we are taken on a tour of the city's world-renowned seat of learning. As the text picks out intellectual landmarks of the various faculties, the senses are once again brought into service, now as the vehicle to

make the presence of knowledge felt. Beginning his account of the university with praise of the liberal arts and philosophy, Jandun leans on sensory experience, detecting scent and light as outward authenticators of knowledge.

> Incipiens itaque a genere bonorum honorabilitate atque dignitate priorum, dico quod in urbe urbium Parisius, in vico vocato Straminum, non solum septem artes liberales exercitantur, sed et totius philosophici luminis jocundissima claritas, veritatis sincere diffusis radiis, animas sui capaces illustrat. Ibidem quoque philosophici nectaris suavissima fragrantia tam subtilis diffusionis susceptivos olfactus oblectat.
>
> In beginning, then, with the category of good things that is foremost in honour and dignity, I say that in the city of cities, Paris, on the Rue du Fouarre [in vico vocato Straminum], one not only learns the seven liberal arts, but moreover the most joyful brightness of all lights of philosophy illuminates the souls capable of receiving it. There, too, the most pleasant scent of the nectar of philosophy delights noses susceptible to such delicate emanations.[34]

The connection between intellectual truth and the senses is recast just a few lines later, as Jean explains that the ineffable marvels of philosophy and mathematics express themselves across a range of situations—from the science of number, to "celestial magnificence, harmonious sounds, and in visual rays."[35] With echoes here of his other writings on Aristotle and Averroes, he posits once again that multi-sensory reality serves as experiential proof of the ineffable truth of intellect.

Sound, too, is part of sensory revelation of magnificent knowledge on the Left Bank, in the university. On the Rue de Sorbonne, home to the Theology Faculty, the health-giving truth of the scriptures is made apparent through an emphatically oral/aural practice: in this case of lecturing, debating and devout preaching, while the proponents of such practice, the clergy and seigneurs, are fashioned as sublime in their very being:

> In vico quietissimo nominato Sorbone, nec non in religiosorum domibus valde multis, admirari poteris reverendissimos patres et dominos qui, velut celestes et divini satrape, ad apices humane perfectionis, prout intellects magnitudini conjunctus accipere potest, feliciter sublimati, sacratissimas Veteris et Novi Testamenti scripturas lecturarum ac disputationum frequentibus exercitiis solemniter elucidant, ac saluberrima divine legis oracula, que et ipsi per sanctorum operum evidentiam verificant in se ipsis, crebro devote predicationis eloquio in cordibus fidelium radicare laborant.
>
> On the most peaceful street named Sorbonne, as also in numerous religious houses, one may admire most venerable fathers and seigneurs, who, like celestial and divine satraps, happily exalted to the summits of human perfection, to the extent that intellect joined with magnificence

> is able to achieve that, illuminate the most sacred texts of the Old and New Testaments with solemnity, by the frequent practice of lecturing and debating, they work, and by continuous pronouncement of devoted preaching, to fasten in the hearts of the faithful the most life-bringing revelations of divine law, revelations which they too confirm, in their very beings, through the evidence of holy works.[36]

The third portion of the city represented is the hubbub of the market around Right Bank at Les Halles and the Grand Pont. With a kaleidoscopic swirl of the eye, Jandun captures the site according to its multiplicity of products and the diversity of its merchants, cramming his account with vivid and quantifying description. Although emphasizing the sights and materials of the market, sound also surfaces as not merely descriptive of the scene, but also instructive. The noise in question sounds on the hectic scene of the Grand Pont; there, among a tally of artisans in the city, the author spies the metal workers, whose hammering fills the air:

> In super metallicorum vasorum, precipue de auro et argento, stanno et cupro, figuratores optimi supra Pontem vocatum Magnum, atque in ceteris, prout unicuique suppetit, pluribus locis, malleos super incudes, quasi armonice concurrentibus ictibus, faciunt resonare.
>
> Also to be found on the Grant-Pont, and in many other locations, are excellent sculptors of metal vases, mainly of gold and silver, tin and copper, according to the facility of each, making the hammers resound on the anvils, forming as it were a harmonious concord.[37]

As we shall see, there is ample documentation that Paris was filled with all manner of sounds of production and trade, from the bell-makers down to the roaming street-vendors selling their wares. However, the sound here does double service. For it is also an unmistakable Pythagorean allusion, recalling a founding myth of the speculative tradition of music: The philosopher's observance of a blacksmith striking four hammers of different weights and sizes revealing a connection between number and acoustics. Indeed, the earlier allusion to the "harmonious sound" of mathematics on the Right Bank likewise evokes *musica mundana* and the ancient idea of sounding number. Just like the voices of the university, or the songs of the Cite, the street sound here acts as an outward sign of the city's "truth," while the Pythagorean associations elevate the status of the workmen to that of lofty myth-makers.

However, the sound on the bridge is not merely symbolic. I would like to linger in the market, for in this most humdrum locale, the endeavor of magnificence finds its most eloquent expression. Seemingly far removed from the heady philosophical round-up of the university, or the architectural glories of the Ile-de-la-Cite, the market description descends into voracious material excess. In Les Halles, the focus is on pure luxury, with mouthwatering lists of

clothes, from animal skins to softest silks, as well as an eclectic list of accessories, ranging from ivory combs to sparkly crowns. As the text describes the work of the city's artisans, more tempting and tasty things appear in the conveyer-belt of the text: javelins, swords, shields, and jousts appear, mixed in with bread, parchment and book-making accoutrements, gold and so on.

The turn to listing and accounting feels reminiscent of Guillot de Paris's enumerating impulse. It resonates, too, with the kind of detailed quantifying of precious ornaments and *objets* in Suger's descriptions of Saint-Denis. Indeed, it is precisely the shift into enumeration here that signals the intent to be one of magnification—here, of the material, economic kind. The market marks the city's success in obvious ways. It is noticeable that most of the items he chooses to have us see are for those with a disposable income—luxuries, fripperies, signs of conspicuous consumption. As he says, this is a market where people buy by desire more than necessity:

> Ibi namque, si facultates tibi suppetunt et voluntas, emere poteris omnia genera ornamentorum, que sagacissima factive rationis industria, ut lacune desideria compleantur, deproperat excogitare.
>
> There, if you have the desire and the means, you will be able to buy all types of ornaments that most practiced industry and the most inventive spirit hasten to imagine to gratify all your desires.[38]

Extravagant excess is the sign of the city's economic success. Nor is that so far from reality: as Sharon Farmer's work on the poor of Paris reminds us, a city that can sustain a class of the poverty-stricken, reliant on charitable giving, is the best indicator of prosperity.[39]

Excess in Jandun's marketplace moreover expresses itself through a trope of writing. The author concludes a highly ornamented description of the goods on sale by running out of words:

> in aliis autem forrature decentes, hec quidem ex animalium pellibus, ille vero ex sindalis constitute; alie quoque ex ceteris delicatis et extraneis materiebus facte sunt, quarum propria nomina latini ydiomatis michi fateor esse ignota___pro capite quidem corone, serta et mitre; discriminalia quoque eburnea pro capillis... ceteraque talia de quibus nominum latinorum penuria, magis quam visive cognitionis defectus, me tacere compellit.
>
> in other [parts of the market], some superb pelisses, some made of animal skins, others of silk materials, others, finally, composed of delicate and foreign materials, whose Latin names I confess I do not know___[F]rom the head, crowns, braids, caps; ivory combs for the hair... and other things of this sort that I cannot cite, rather because of the penury of Latin words than for not having actually seen them.[40]

Twice here claims of the impossibility of capturing all the city's stuff give way to another formulation of magnification. For as he reels off the range of stuff

on sale, Jandun encounters variety that is literally beyond his knowledge, not just foreign, but also outside his vocabulary.

It is possible—indeed likely—that the claim here was based in reality: As Paris was a major center for international trade, fourteenth-century residents would certainly have encountered things they had never seen before. But to run out of words is also, in the arena of writing, the ultimate accolade: It defines a kind of limit of language, the boundary of excess, or a hyperbole of sorts—a coming-to-the-end of the currency of language that mirrors here the supreme success of the market it seeks to represent.

As the text looks off to the horizon of this civic cornucopia, there is something else that eludes the power of representation. Hinted at in the hammering metal-workers on the Grant Pont, what Jandun's bursting market also implies is sonic excess. For just as knowledge hums with lecturing voices, or sacred spaces resonate with song, so do the goods and chattels on sale, and in manufacture, have a voice. To bring sound to this scene, we shall step sideways, to texts circulating in Jean's sphere, and covering almost identical ground.

Hubbub, or the Magnificent Marketplace

What text might writers of Jean de Jandun's background have reached for in a moment of linguistic no-man's-land? John of Garland's Latin *Dictionarius,* written around 1230, and circulating with a lively commentary tradition well into the fourteenth century, seems designed for exactly that sort of wordless moment.[41] As explained in his *Prologue,* it was a Latin word-list for Parisian university students, designed to provide language for all manner of things: parts of the body, flowers and fauna of royal gardens, sights of pilgrimage, all the humdrum paraphernalia of the city. While the *Dictionarius* announces a utilitarian function,[42] the encyclopedic scope of the text, and the latent scholasticism of its etymological approach to words (reflected too in the later commentary tradition) reveals that to be a disingenuous claim, nowhere more so than in the words for the city. In the act of translation, the *Dictionarius* Latinized—and therefore authorized—commonplace realities. Such an act is tantamount to valorizing the city, as a place worthy of Latin discourse.

As in the *Tractatus,* Paris is a city of flourishing economy, and among the lists of commonplaces are lively lists of consumables—from delectable foods to handy gadgets and useful services. But these are not just visible things; the *Dictionarius* creates its word lists via short anecdotes or sketches of their actual context. Indeed, the author casts his portion of words devoted to the city as a reflection of his own walks around it: "nominabuntur res quas, eundo per civitatem Parisius, denotavi." ("things will be called by the names that I have noted down as I wandered through the city of Paris").[43] In some instances, it is the voices of vendors and hawkers, crying out their wares and services, that

offer John his living crib sheet. The voice of the stuff of the city is heard, for instance, in the description of cloak makers and repairers: "Quidam clamatores peliciorum reparandorum discurrunt per plateas civitatis, et reparant furraturas epitogiorum eorum et palliorum, partim furando." ("Some hawkers run through the city streets calling for fur cloaks to be repaired, and they repair the fur linings of their overcoats and cloaks partly by thieving.")[44] Or in the cries of tinkers: "Reparatores ciphorum exclamant ciphos reparandos cum filo ereo et argenteo. Ciphos autem reparant de murinis, et planis, et brucis, de acere, et tremulo." ("Repairers of goblets call out for cups to be repaired with copper and silver wires. They also repair goblets made of tree burls, of wood from plane trees, of boxwood, of maple, and of aspen.")[45] Then there are the wine vendors who shout out to thirsty throats: "Precones vini clamant gula yante vinum ataminatum in tabernis." ("To the gaping gullets wine peddlers loudly offer wine diluted in the tavern.")[46] Finally, the students' favorite cry might be that of the roaming waffle vendors: "Precones nebularum et gafrarum pronunciant de nocte grafras et nebulas et artocreas vendendas in calatis velatis albo manutergio; et calati suspendentur frequenter ad fenestras clericorum, senione perditi." ("Street criers of wafers and waffles call out through the night, selling waffles and wafers and meat pies in baskets covered with a white towel; and the baskets are often hung by the windows of clerks who are damned by dice.")[47]

John's *Dictionarius* thus reminds us of the city's most obvious soundtrack: The street cry. However, the author's position here, one of reportage, remains a stage removed from sounding reality. To get closer to the actual experience and sound of the cries, we may turn to one of the earliest vernacular representations of the Parisian market, Guillame de Villeneuve's *Crieries de Paris*. It survives in one source, a large compendium of Northern French poetry and chansons dating from the last quarter of the thirteenth century.[48] The poem configures the market's economy in a manner similar to Jandun's *Tractatus*: Through abundance, represented as a city full of temptations out of reach for the poverty-stricken first-person narrator. It is reminiscent also of the *Dictionarius* or Guillot de Paris's *Dit des rues de Paris* in the erratically pedantic way in which it enumerates the city's contents. However, the poem is explicitly focused on the sound of commerce, and is organized not as a collection of things, but as a medley of the cries. The poem opens by evoking the continuous cries of the vendors:

Un noviau dit ici nous trueve
Guillaume de la Vilenueve
Puisque povretez le justice.
Or, vous dirai en quele guise
Et en quele maniere vont
Cil qui denrees a vendre ont,
Et qui penssent de lor preu fere,

Que ja ne fineront de brere *[bruire],*
Parmi Paris jusqu'a la nuit.
Ne cuidiez-vous qu'il lor anuit,
Que j'a ne seront a sejor;
Oiez con crie au point du jor.[49]

Guillaume de Villeneuve here discloses to us a new poem, since he is punished by poverty. Now, I will tell you about the form and manner of those who have goods to sell, and who think of their voracious profit, so that they never cease to clamor throughout Paris until nightfall. Do not imagine that they sleep, for they will never rest; hear how they cry at the break of day.

The poem progresses as a catalogue of the cries which announce a market of sheer consumable pleasure. Fish, breads, fruits, nuts, oils, and cakes, are just some of the goods conveyed to the ears of the city. And as the poem proceeds, the narrator slips from desciption into reportage, the poem shifting into an unpredictable collage of cries:

J'ai bon frommage de Champaingne,
Or i a frommage de Brie;
Au burre fres n'oublie mie.

Huile de nois or au cerniaus :
Vin aigre qui est bons et biaus,
Vin aigre de moustarde i a.

J'ai cerises, or au verjus![50]

I have good cheese from Champaingne! Now I have cheese from Brie! Don't forget my fresh butter!... Nut oil and green walnuts! Vinegar which is good and tasty, I've mustard vinegar!... I've cherries and verjuice!

Not surprisingly, the poem's refrain-like patchwork of edible aphorisms has been interpreted as authentic records of the voices of Paris's merchants. Indeed, Bakhtin denoted the author of the poem to be a "compiler" of the street,[51] in a tradition ending with Janequin, a view echoing the work of nineteenth-century historian George Kastner, who likewise positioned the poem in a tradition of realistic reportage.[52] One effect of such literal treatment is to assume that the poeticization of the cries in the context of the *dit* reflects a reality in which the cries were themselves a kind of artistic contrivance. Thus, Bakhtin designates them as a "genre": "the *cris* were loud advertisements called out by the Paris street vendors and composed according to a certain versified form; each cry had four lines offering and praising a certain merchandise."[53] Questions of the authenticity of the poetic and

musical record of street cries persist to the modern day. But while we will never know the sounding reality of the streets, the problem with the assumption that contrivance and artistry were the defining aspect of the cries is that it subdues an alternate way of listening to these records, one that conveys a very different notion of sonic reality. Elsewhere, Bakhtin emphasizes an idea of a carnivalesque world—of which the market is microcosm—poised in a state of life and death; of praise and abuse—it is a world, he says, that is "eternally unfinished; a world dying and being born at the same time."[54] It is akin to the vanishing quality that I proposed at the outset to be sound's essential strength in articulating the magnificence of the city. Listening again to the *Crieries,* we can hear, too, another sonority in the representation of the cries, one where the "unfinished" aspect of the material market converges with the vanishing aspect of sound itself. Listening not so much for authentic sound bite, but for traces of the coming-and-going quality of the market, another soundtrack emerges. It surfaces through poetic artifice more than through authentic reportage. For the *Crieries* shares with Jean, and Guillot before him, a principal of magnification. It is not merely in the superabundance of things being advertised, pressed past us through the speed of rhyme that gives this poem the same frenetic feel as the *Dit des rues de Paris.* It is also scattered with a series of temporal and spatial reminders that these cries are ubiquitous, being heard in every corner of the city; constant, sounding from the break of day, even into the night; and also multiple, as suggested by the string of "et puis... et puis... et puis" and "aussi" in the reportage. This city, too, is magnificent, by virtue of that constant feeling of surplus. And I suggest that in evoking the sound of the street, the writer of this poem also found his most fitting marker of magnificence. For these sounds, like the things they seek to sell, are characterized by their perishability, unpredictability, mobility, and spontaneity. Indeed, for the city to be successful, the sound of the streets should be exactly as Guillot originally suggested—surprising, and constantly changing; the city should be dissonant with the multiplicity of cries in order to be consonant, just as the clamor of the twenty masses sung simultaneously in Saint-Denis were "harmonious."

Visualizing and Musicalizing the City's Sound

In the texts discussed so far, we have seen the multiple ways sound serves the literary agenda of civic magnificence: As equivalence to material and intellectual grandeur; and as metaphor, too, for the hyperbolic excesses essential to the process of aggrandizement. But by their very perishable nature, such sounds exist as distant echoes, elusive to our modern ears. In the final portion of this essay we shall consider how the sound of Paris fared in other media of representation—in image, and finally, surprisingly, in music itself.

Around 1317, just a few years before Jean de Jandun's *Tractatus,* artists and manuscript makers of the abbey of Saint-Denis completed one of the most

famous visualizations of the medieval Paris: the *Vie de Saint Denis,* presented to King Philip V around his coronation that year. Begun early in the second decade of the fourteenth century, Bibliotheque Nationale de France, fonds fran^ais 2090-92 was originally destined as a gift for Philip's father, Philip IV, who died in 1314 before work was completed.[55] Notwithstanding the switch of royal dedicatee, the book's subject and luxury speak clearly of a didactic program: To impress on the monarch the power and history of the city over which he presided, and specifically the realm's profound connection to the city's most treasured saint, St. Denis. The book thus represents an intricate program of images and texts (Latin and French) depicting his life, with considerable emphasis on the saint's ties to Paris. A particularly consistent and unusual feature of the manuscript's visual campaign is what Camille Serchuk calls the "naturalistic representations of the urban environment"[56]: The standard iconography of the saint's life is framed with images of the city, one alive with minute activity, including abundant detail pertaining to sound. The manuscript thus offers us rare visual correlations with the incidental sonorities of city life we have glimpsed in the literary texts we have explored here.

The city we see in the *Vie de Saint Denis* corresponds to the magnificence of its patron, St. Denis. In pictorial terms, the city walls serve as a literal frame to the dramatic visualization of the vita told in the text. As illustrated in Plate 39, the saint appears throughout in a scale vast in proportion to his venerability, and is here, as elsewhere, depicted in the center of the city. Around the edges, at the gates, bridges and on the river, the city is shown going about its affairs, oblivious to the saintly epic unfolding inside. Folio after folio, people come and go along the bridges (landmarks that were essential, too, in the literary accounts of Paris). In Plate 39 coaches of visitors enter, while another receives urine consultations from the doctor resident at the gate, or exchange money with a local money merchant. Meanwhile, the Seine teams with boatmen bringing barrels up the river (and one in the convoy pausing for light refreshments). Elsewhere in the manuscript, coals and produce float by, while some boatmen indulge in fishing, snoozing, and swimming.

We might ask how such a vision of the mundane hustle and bustle of Paris might imply or reinforce the sanctity of its patron? What do those fishermen and busy merchants have to do with the sublime narrative above? It is conveyed by the visual equivalence of the hyperbolic marketplaces, streets, and cries heard in the textual laudations. The scenes in this manuscript are hyperbole of sorts, too, on account of their constant changeability: The walls, river, and gates remain fixed and steady, but players on this city-set alter with the turn of each page. Magnificence is here impressed on the viewer through the sense of infinite variety of action and people who animate the space of the city. Such sights in turn offer useful ways for thinking about the sonority of the city. In one sense, the manuscript may hint at a real world beyond the book. For although the scenes exist on the silent surface of parchment, the sheer detail and clutter makes it easy to imagine into the fabric the hubbub

accompanying such activity: Voices of many different languages; the noise of cart wheels and feet, of assorted animal noises from the herds shepherded in; of scuffles between citizens. But real or otherwise, using the forms of its medium—the repetition of the city frame -the *Vie de Saint Denis* perfectly communicates something about the sonority of the city: The sound of magnificence here resides in the messy, changeable mixture of different sounds, its cacophony the civic equivalent of the supermusical confection of singing heard in the consecration of the saint's own abbey.

If the sight of sound in the *Vie de Saint Denis* offers a new perspective on the sonority of magnificence, the manuscript also allows us fitting entry point to consider music's potential as witness to sublime civic hubbub. Indeed, there is no better testimony to music's presence in the soundtrack of the city than the cast of the *Vie de Saint Denis*. For among the noisy mix of people, animals, and goods, musicians also take their place in the cityscape. In one scene (on folio 99r), there is a rather special kind of musical performance. Two men row a boat down the Seine carrying a cargo unlike any other shown in the manuscript. Their freight is a group of three singers: Shown dead center, directly beneath the meeting of the two bridges, they sing from a notated rotulus that unfurls upright and visible not just to the singers, but also to the viewer of the manuscript. Open-mouthed, the singers are caught in the very act of singing: A sighting of something like a musical sound bite. The sheer visibility of the rotulus cannot but invite the viewer to wonder what sort of music that sound bite might have been.

To imagine music out of the folio is a fruitful exercise with which to conclude. In the first instance, it is helpful for distinguishing different categories of sound in Paris, and for pinpointing ways musical sound is connected to the prestige of the city. To a contemporary reader, the scroll might act as cue to recall the city's well-known musical traditions. At the time the *Vie de Saint Denis* was made, Paris was renowned for a number of musical practices: We might interpret the scroll as emblem of the tradition of organum at the city's cathedral dated back to the late twelfth century; or of the city's lively tradition of vernacular songs and motets. While the sound of that music may offer audible evidence of what contemporaries may have heard as magnificent, the explicit materiality of these musical traditions is no less important here. For musical prestige—of the Notre Dame repertories, but also other vernacular traditions—was intricately bound to music's physical, visual identity. Indeed, the banner-like appearance of the curly scroll in the *Vie de Saint Denis* advertises a specific kind of musical economy in Paris during the early decades of the fourteenth century. It connects music to the city's burgeoning commercial book trade. Indeed, both Jean de Jandun and John of Garland include descriptions of parchment makers and scribes among their inventory of merchants and merchandise, and this is borne out in archival evidence of their presence, and of course in the vast corpus of extant manuscripts produced in Paris.[57] Music, too, was part of that material economy, with numerous

manuscripts being produced in the city, containing repertories indigenous to the city, such as the Notre Dame repertories, but also consolidating in the act of compilation traditions from further afield (as in the great vernacular chansonniers).

While the *Vie de Saint Denis* thus opens out into ways of thinking about musical sound as magnificent, the musicians in the boat are also clearly implicated as being part of the hubbub of the city. The image of singers competes with abundant clamor of work and economy depicted throughout the scenes of Paris in the manuscript. It seems to suggest that music, too, is part of the economy of the city. However, there is perhaps another way we might interpret this interplay, one that can finally bring musical sound to bear on discussions of that elusive sonorous reality of the city. We might understand them also as commentators, and their musical performance a sounding analogue of the sound of the city, which is in turn analogous to the saintly presence at the heart of the page. And we might wonder, then, were it possible to turn up the volume on the folio, what musical sounds would be fitting exegesis of the city beyond.

One possible candidate survives in the Montpellier Codex, a book of Northern French, possibly Parisian provenance, copied in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and comprising a vast compilation of motets.[58] Among its collection is one devoted to a topic otherwise unusual for the genre: To the city of Paris. Like other motets, its voices sing different texts, here in the common language of Old French. But this piece is unusual in both its choice of subject matter and for its use of a vernacular tenor line, more commonly the domain of liturgical chant.[59] While many motets of this tradition explore devotional topics, often through allegorical play across their different texts, or restage popular vernacular genres such as the *pastourelle,* this piece makes Paris its subject matter.[60] Each voice sings of a different attribute of the city. The triplum celebrates the many material and visceral pleasures of the city: wine, women, and companionship:

<u>Triplum</u>
On parole de batre et de vanner
et de foi'r et de hanner;
mais ces deduis trop de desplaisent,
car il n'est bone vie que d'estre a aise
de bon cler vin et de chapons
et d'estre aveuc bons compaignons,
lies et joiaus,
chantans, truffans et amorous,
et d'avoir, quant c'on a mestier,
pour solacier
beles dames a devis:
Et tout ce truev[e] on a Paris.

> One speaks of threshing and winnowing, of digging and cultivating; but these pleasures quite displease me, for the only good life is to take one's ease with good, clear wine and capon, and to be with good friends, happy and joyful, singing and joking and loving, and to have for comfort, when in need, one's fill of beautiful ladies: and all this you can find in Paris.

The motetus likewise recalls the tasty delights of the city, and with echoes of Guillaume de Villeneuve also emphasizes the perpetual nature of the market, where things are available "soir et matin":

> Motetus
> A Paris soir et matin
> truevje] on bon pain et bon cler vin,
> bone char et bon poisson,
> de toutes guises compaignons,
> sens soutie, grant baudour,
> biaus joiaus dames d'ounour;
> et si truev[e] on bien entredeus
> de menre feur pour homes desiteus.
>
> In Paris, morning and evening, you can find good bread and good, clear wine, good meat and good fish, every sort of friend, clever wits, great merriment, beautiful, joyous noblewomen; and, in the middle of it all, you can find it all at the lowest price for the man short of funds.

In the tenor, the foundational voice, we seem to bypass representation altogether. As it announces the juicy produce of the city, it appears to offer us the unthinkable: An audible trace of the lost reality of the streets, the motet as kind of tape-recorder, freezing the city for eternity:

> Tenor
> Frese nouevele, muere france, muere, muere france!
> Frese nouvele, muere france, muere, muere france!
> Etc.
>
> New strawberry, noble mulberry, mulberry, noble mulberry!

Here we find what appears to be an authentic street cry, with the melody furnishing the vocal line of the sorts of cries captured in the *Crieries de Paris*. However, as was the case with that poem, I suggest that issues of the melody's authenticity are ultimately defunct. For divorced from the produce it advertises, and from the crowd of other cries it competes with, the line is nothing but a shadow of its real context. At best, it is a moment of the living city turned into a kind of post-card or memento of a world that in order to

be worth preserving, must be turning itself over, constantly moving out of reach. Perhaps, though, there is another way to listen to the city through this piece. First, the very location of the street cry in the musical texture imbues it with import: in usurping the place normally allocated to plainchant, the cry also assumes the authority designated to the tenor voice. But there are more audible ways that the motet musicalizes its subject. For in harnessing an emphatically contrived musical effect, the motet finds an ideal equivalent to civic hubbub. We rehear the chaos and cacophony of the magnificent market within the tightly controlled framework of polyphony, which here perfectly contrives words to clash and cancel out their semantic content. As words shimmer and spin past the ear, just out of semantic reach, the piece offers us another version of hyperbole, another version of a city whose unpredictable vitality is the hallmark of its glory. And so for the few fleeting moments of its performance, this little piece allows us to listen in if not to the actual sound of medieval Paris, then to something perhaps more meaningful and moving: to one anonymous musician's magnificat to his city.

Notes

1 A point eloquently demonstrated in Areli Marina's essay in this volume. Another excellent account of urban design and its expression of civic identity and power is Marvin Trachtenberg's *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art and Power in Early Modern Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

2 The history of Paris has been extensively documented. The following is a sample of the most frequently cited texts, which offer comprehensive accounts of the city's expansions during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: Jean Favier, *Paris: deux mille ans d'histoire* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), Pierre Lavedan, *Nouvelle Histoire de Paris: histoire de I'urbanisme a Paris* (Paris: Hachette, 1993), and Raymond Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris: de la fin du regne de Philippe Auguste ci la rnort de Charles V, 1223-1380* (Paris: Hachette, 1972, repr. 1994), esp. 13-31 for a useful summary of the main expansions of the city limits, and changes to the parish boundaries within.

3 Richard of Bury, *Philobiblon,* Book VIII. See *The Love of Books: The Philobiblon of Richard of Bury,* trans. E. C. Thomas, ed. with a foreword by Michael Maclagan (Oxford: Blackwell, 1960).

4 Michel de Certeau, "Walking in the City," in *The Practice of Everyday Life,* trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 91-114.

5 The term "soundscape" was first coined by R. Murray Schafer in *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (1st ed., 1977; reissued Rochester: Inner Traditions International, 1993), where he defined it as "any portion of the sonic environment regarded as a field of study" (274).

6 For the appeal of sound to the imagination of nineteenth-century writers, one need only think of Victor Hugo's Notre Dame of Paris. In the twentieth century, sound is a fixture in a number of scholarly portraits of the medieval city. Aimed often at a more popular audience, such accounts often use sound as an almost impressionistic device, to add color and authenticity to the imagined reality of the medieval past. See for example Goronwy Tidy Salusbury-Jones, *Street Life in Medieval England* (Oxford: Pen-in-Hand, 1948); Joseph and Frances Gies, *Life in a*

Medieval City (New York: Harper & Row, 1981); Chiara Frugoni, with an introduction by Arsenio Frugoni, *A Day in a Medieval City,* trans. William McCuaig (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

7 See his "Merchant's time and church's time in the Middle Ages" and "Labor time in the "crisis" of the fourteenth century: from medieval time to modern time," both in Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages,* trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980), 29-42, and 43-52, with footnotes at 289—93 and 293—96. Both essays appeared previously in French in 1960 and 1963, respectively. Perhaps the most memorable evocation of bells in the medieval soundscape comes at the opening of Johan Huizinga's 1919 *Waning of the Middle Ages,* issued in a new edition and translation as *The Autumn of the Middle Ages,* trans. Rodney Payon and Ulrigh Mammitzsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Huizinga was later inspiration for musicological treatment in the opening of Reinhard Strohm's monograph, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

8 Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World,* trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984). For his discussion of the cries, see especially 181-87. In describing the effect of Rabelais's use of the cries, he writes: "For Rabelais and his contemporaries the cries of Paris were not a mere document of life in the modern sense of the world. This genre, which later became in literature a mere picture of mores, was filled with philosophic meaning for our author

They were an essential part of the marketplace and the street, they merged with the general popular-festive and Utopian world. Rabelais heard in them the tones of a banquet for all the people, 'for all the world'" (185).

9 "Nisi enim ab homine memoria teneantur soni, pereunt, quia scribi non possunt," in *Etymologiarum sive Orignium libri xx,* ed. W. Linday (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911; repr. 1966), 3.15.

10 Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale de France, fonds fran^ais 24432, fols. 257v-260v. Several partial and complete editions of the poem were made in the nineteenth century, and I shall refer to the following in this essay: *Le dit des rues de Paris par Guillot: manuscrit du quatorzitme sikle, vers I'an 1300,* compiled in a collection of essays by Louis Lazare (Paris, n.d.), *Les Rues de Paris mises en vers <J la fin du 13e sikcle par Guillot publiees d'aprks un manuscrit du 14e siecle* (Paris: Baillieu, 1866), and *Le Dit des rues de Paris (1300) par Guillot (de Paris avec preface, notes et glossaire par Edgar Mareuse, suivi d'un plan de Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel* (Paris: Librairie generale, 1875). All citations from the *dit* are taken from the 1875 edition.

11 *Dit,* ed. Mareuse, 1.

12 Ibid., 3-5.

13 At the end of his run round the Cite for example, the narrator sits down for a moment to tot up thirty-six streets. See Ibid., 35—6.

14 Ibid., 48-9

15 Ibid., 50.

16 Ibid., 58-9.

17 Michel de Certeau, "Walking in the City," in *The Practice of Everyday Life,* trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 91-114.

18 De Certeau's theme of city-as-writing has a rich theoretical afterlife. Consider, for example, Graham Ward's *Cities of God* (London: Routledge, 2000), where he explores the implications of "an ancient connection between urbanism and writing" (4).

19 The text is published with a parallel French translation in Le Roux de Lincy and L. M. Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens aux XIVe et XVe siecles* (Paris: Imprimerie

Imperiale, 1867), 3—79. For English translations of extracts of the poem see Erik Inglis, "Gothic Architecture and a Scholastic: Jean dejandun's *Tractatus de laudibus Parisius* (1323)," *Gesta*, 42 (2003), 63-85, and Robert Berger, ed. and trans., *In Old Paris: An Anthology of Source Descriptions, 1323-1790* (New York: Italica Press, 2002), 7-17.

20 Inglis, "Gothic Architecture," 63-5. For additional discussion ofjandun's intellectual context see also Paul Binski's essay "Reflections on the 'Wonderful Height and Size' of Gothic Great Churches" in this volume, p. 145.

21 Inglis, "Gothic Architecture," 65.

22 Jandun, *Tractatus,* prologue, 32; translation from Inglis, "Gothic Architecture," 65.

23 Ibid., part II, chaps. 1-2, 44-49; translation from Inglis, "Gothic architecture," 66-8, and Berger, ed., *In Old Paris,* 7-10.

24 Ibid., part II, chap. 1, 46-7; translation from Inglis, "Gothic Architecture," 67.

25 Binski, "Reflections on the 'Wonderful Height and Size'," p. 145.

26 *Cicero, Ad C. Herennium de ratione dicendi (Rhetorica ad Herennium),* with an English translation by Harry Kaplan (Harvard: Heineman, 1954), 338-9.

27 *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian,* with an English translation by H. E. Butler, vol. 3 (London: Heineman, 1921), 338-9.

28 Ibid., 344-5.

29 Ernest Gallo, *The Poetria Nova and its Sources in Early Rhetorical Doctrine* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), 68-9.

30 Paris's bridges were often used as a recognizable identifying feature of the city in literary and visual representations of this period, on which see Camille Serchuk, "Paris and the Rhetoric of Town Praise in the *Vie de St. Denis* Manuscript" (Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale de France, ms fr. 2090-2), *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery,* 57 (1999), 35-47.

31 Jandun, *Tractatus,* part II, chap. 1, 46; translation, Inglis, "Gothic architecture," 67-8.

32 Erwin Panofsky, ed. and trans., *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and its Art Treasures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946; repr. 1979), 62—4: "Unde, cum ex dilectione decoris domus Dei aliquando multicolor, gemmarum speciositas ab exintrinsecis me curis devocaret, sanctarum etiam diversitatem virtutum, de materialibus ad immaterialia transferendo, honesta meditatio insistere persuaderet, videor videre me quasi sub aliqua extranea orbis terrarum plaga, quae nec tota sit in terrarum faece nec tota in coeli puritate, demorari, ab hac etiam inferiori ad illam superiorem anagogico more Deo donante posse transferri." ("Thus, when—out of my delight in the beauty of the house of God—the loveliness of the many-coloured gems has called me away from the external cares, and worthy meditation has induced me to reflect, transferring that which is material to that which is immaterial, on the diversity of the sacred virtues: Then it seems to me that I see myself dwelling, as it were, in some strange region of the universe which neither exists entirely in the slime of the earth nor entirely in the purity of Heaven; and that, by the grace of God, I can be transported from this inferior to that higher world in an anagogical manner.")

33 Suger, *De consecratione,* 118—21: "Qui omnes tam festive, tam solemniter, tam diversi, tam concorditer, tam propinqui, tam hilariter ipsam altarium consecratione missarum solemnem celebrationem superius inferiusque peragebant, ut ex ipsa sui consonantia et cohaerente harmoniae grata melodia potius angelicus quam humanus concentus aestimaretur."

34 Jandun, *Tractatus,* part I, chap. 1, 34.

35 "Amplius, nonne dogmatizatur in vico philosophic infallibilis et incontradicibilis doctrine mathematice certitudo, per quam numerorum et figurarum, tam secundum se quam per celestes magnitudines, sonos armonicos ac visuales radios contractorum, mirabilia accidentia indicantur." *Tractatus,* part I, chap. 1, 36.

36 Ibid., part I, chap. 2, 38. My thanks to Shane Butler for help translating this passage.

37 Ibid., part II, chap. 4, 54; translation from Berger, ed., *In Old Paris,* 13-14.

38 Jandun, *Tractatus,* part II, chap. 3, 50; translation from Berger, ed., *In Old Paris,* 11.

39 Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

40 Jandun, *Tractatus,* part II, chap. 3, 50; translation from Berger, ed., *In Old Paris,* 11-12.

41 *The Dictionarius of John de Garlande,* trans. Barbara Blatt Rubin (Lawrence: Coronado Press, 1981).

42 Ibid., 10—11: "Dictionarius dicitur libellus iste a dictionibus magis necessariis, quas tenetur quilibet scolaris, non tantum in scrinio de lingnis facto, sed in cordis amariolo firmiter retinere, ut ad faciliorem oracionis constructionem perveniat" ("This little book entitled 'Dictionarius' from the most necessary words which each and every student needs to keep, not so much in his wooden letter-case, but in the little cupboard of his heart in order to obtain an easier command of speech").

43 Ibid, (with minor freedom taken), 16—17.

44 Ibid., 30-1.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid., 30-3.

47 Ibid., 32-3.

48 Bibliotheque Nationale de France, fonds fr. 837. The poem is edited with a partial translation in *Proverhes et dictons populaires avec les dits du mercier et des marchands, et les crieries de Paris aux xiiie et xive sikles* (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1831), 137-46.

49 "Les crieries", in *Proverhes et dictons populaires,* 137.

50 Ibid., 139.

51 Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World,* 181.

52 Georges Kastner, *Les Voix de Paris: essai d'une histoire litteraire et musicale des cris populaires de la capitale depuis le moyen dge jusqu'c! nos jours* (Paris: Brandus, 1857). See 23 for his citation of the *Crieries.* Part of Kastner's desire to hear the medieval evidence as authentic was shaped by the larger historical trajectory of his project: namely, to propose continuity with the street of his own day and the voices of history.

53 Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World,* 181.

54 Ibid., 166.

55 Key images from the manuscript are reproduced in *Legende de Saint Denis: reproduction des miniatures du manuscrit original presente en 1317 au Roi Philippe le Long,* ed. Henry Martin (Paris: H. Champion, 1908). See also Virginia Wylie Egbert, *On the Bridges of Mediaeval Paris: A Record of Early Fourteenth-Century Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974) for commentary on the manuscript and details from many folios. For an account of the manuscript's didactic function and connection to the tradition of Mirror of Princes, see Charlotte Lacaze, "Parisius-Paradisus: An Aspect of the 'Vie de Saint Denis' Manuscript of 1317," *Marsyas,* 16 (1972-3), 60-66.

56 Serchuk, "Paris and the rhetoric of town praise," 35.

57 On which see Richard and Mary Rouse, "The commercial production of manuscript books in late-thirteenth-century and early-fourteenth-century Paris," in *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence* ed. Linda Brownrigg (Los Altos Hills: Red Gull Press, 1990), 103-15 and their *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2000).

58 For a facsimile see Yvonne Rokseth, *Polyphonies du Xllle siecle: le manuscrit H196 de la Faculte de Medecine de Montpellier,* vol. 1 (Paris: Editions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1935—39). Datings for the manuscript vary, placing its creation anywhere from 1270 to 1300. For a recent account see Catherine Parsoneault, "The Montpellier Codex: Royal Influence and Musical Taste in Late Thirteenth-Century Paris," Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin (2001).

59 For the edition of the motet, and transcriptions and translations of the texts, see *The Montpellier Codex, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance,* ed. Hans Tischler, 4 vols. (Madison: A-R Editions, 1978). For the edition see vol. 3, 189—90; for the transcription and translation by Susan Stakel and Joel Relihan see vol. 4, 109—10.

60 For an excellent introduction to the textual variety of the motet, see Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play and the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

HOW MAGNIFICENT WAS MEDIEVAL ART?*

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The terms "Magnificence" and "the Sublime" are both commonly used in conjunction with art, architecture and visual culture, and each term is sometimes used as an attempt to delineate a variety of an "aesthetic of grandeur." And yet when these terms are used in discussions of visual culture and of specific material artefacts they are rarely defined or interrogated. "The Sublime" has been the subject of several general studies,[1] but "Magnificence" has not, to my knowledge. Still less have these terms been considered alongside one another in terms of their suitability or currency with regard to viewing medieval art, either during the Middle Ages, or later. The result is that their usage in relation to medieval art proceeds from assumptions derived from modern, or at least post-medieval usage of the terms, which are not necessarily directly applicable to earlier periods and situations. I intend here to look at the ways in which these terms are used within art-historical writing, and to consider how the principal understandings of each term have developed in relation to visual culture. This will enable a clearer analysis of the whether or not the general usages of these terms are readily applicable to medieval visual culture, or whether the "aesthetic of grandeur" in medieval art and architecture contains elements that are not adequately encapsulated by the notions of "Magnificence" or "the Sublime" as they are most usually understood within art history and aesthetics. This, in turn, will help to determine whether the terms, in their common usage, are suitable for discussions of the Middle Ages and therefore whether it is possible to answer the question "How magnificent was medieval art?" or, indeed, whether it is even really possible to ask it.

"Magnificence" is a well-used word in art history. It is used in connection with many different art forms from many different periods. Its frequent appearance in subtitles, either of books or of exhibitions, or in abstracts or press releases, betrays something of the way in which the term has attained

a variety of general currency, an agreed impression that is intended to be conveyed. Popular usage tends to apply the term with little or no definition, beyond an implied understanding that the objects or images under discussion are impressive, imposing, usually large, but if not large then very expensive. If there is any interrogation of the term at all, the concept of "Magnificence" as used in art and architectural history is normally based upon the discussion by Aristotle, in the *Nichomachean Ethics*.[2]

Aristotle understood "magnificence" (the Greek term being ixeya^ojipejceia "megaloprepeia") as a virtue of character describing "the disposition to expend substantial amounts of one's private wealth on projects which both benefit the city and, by the element of display which such projects involve, bring credit on the individual who provides them."[3] The opening of chapter 2 of Book IV declares that "megaloprepeia"[4] is a virtue to do with wealth, and with appropriate expenditure on a grand scale.[3] An element of display was essential, and the admiration which that display attracted was integral to the understanding of "megaloprepeia."[6] Aristotle's treatment of "megaloprepeia" was made available in the Middle Ages through translations into Latin. Some partial translations were made from Arabic versions, but the first complete translation into Latin from the Greek was that undertaken by Robert Grosseteste in ca. 1246-47.[7] The term "megaloprepeia" was translated as "magnificentia" in the Latin, and it is from this Latin rendering that the modern term "magnificence" derives.

As has already been noted, the term "magnificence" is often used in art historical contexts in a very general, undefined way. However, there are areas of art history where one can expect the word to have some more specific resonance. In the scholarship on architectural patronage, and particularly architectural patronage in Italy, for instance, "magnificence" is often given a specific and theoretically-delineated treatment, explicitly derived from Aristotelian ideas. Many well-known studies describe how fourteenth-, fifteenth-, and sixteenth-century understandings and reworkings of Aristotle's ideas on the virtue of magnificence were marshalled to justify lavish building projects.[8] Cosimo de' Medici was explicitly discussed as an exemplar of "magnificentia" by contemporaries because of his grand and publicly visible architectural patronage.[9] Supporters praised him as equalling the magnificence of ancient kings or emperors,[10] and his grandson Lorenzo was known as "Il Magnifico" by contemporary Florentines. Later historians have adopted this renaissance usage of "magnificence," describing lavish and visible building projects which encourage public admiration, and it is this notion which appears to form the basis of the concept of "magnificence" within most art-historical and architectural discussions, whether or not the term is expressly defined, its derivation considered, or the concept explicitly theorized.

Another area in which this Aristotelian-inflected concept of magnificence is found is the scholarship on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century court culture, especially in studies of fifteenth-century Burgundy and

sixteenth-century England. Here the concept of magnificence as expressed in lavish building and in other rich artefacts, such as tapestry, is often coupled with the notion of magnificence as manifested in court pageantry, processions and solemn entries.[11] And yet, in these areas, while the word "magnificence" is often used, it is not always dwelt upon, or theorized. The exhibition *Tapestry in the Renaissance,* at the Metropolitan Museum in 2002, had as its subtitle the phrase "*Art and Magnificence*." The catalogue, by Thomas Campbell,[12] contains a brief consideration, in one of the introductory essays, of Renaissance tapestries as contributing to a patron's magnificence, and of gifts of tapestries demonstrating magnificence. But beyond that, any definition of the concept of magnificence is largely absent from the text, despite the prominence of the term in the subtitle of the exhibition and catalogue. There is neither consideration of what the visual characteristics of a magnificent object might be, nor of how, specifically, these objects were deemed to contribute to the magnificence of their patrons and owners.

In Thomas Campbell's later monograph on tapestries at the court of King Henry VIII of England[11] the treatment of "magnificence" is more explicit: Campbell notes that this concept can be characterized as the public demonstration of power and wealth through lavish and tasteful expenditure and generosity.[14] Other studies of Henry VIII's use of art and visual and material culture have also stressed the currency of the concept of "magnificence" at the Tudor court.[15] Not only tapestries, but other artefacts, as well as architecture and pageants and processions are all clearly seen to have enhanced the king's magnificence. Tania String has noted how, by the time of Henry's reign, Magnificence was a traditional concept. In discussing different types and levels of communication, she designates magnificence as a "tonal" message, with a generalized significance. This she compares with much more precise and widely disseminated ideas that merit the designation "propaganda," with intermediate levels of communication such as "persuasiveness" in between.[16]

But when did the commonly understood concept of magnificence (that is to say, the Aristotelian-derived idea of lavish and publicly visible expenditure on material artefacts and architecture which generates admiration on the part of observers) become current? While this concept of magnificence was for some time treated as a re-creation by humanists and court theorists in the fifteenth century,[17] Louis Green showed in 1990 how the idea had been used in the 1330s by Galvano Fiamma to justify the building projects of the Milanese ruler Azzone Visconti,[18] and not only to justify, but to assert that lavish architectural patronage was essential for a prince.[19] Fiamma's understanding of "magnificence" made use of Aquinas's discussion of expenditure, but went back more directly to Aristotle as the basis for a theory of magnificence related to great expenditure on building.[20]

This means that the currency of the Aristotelian-derived idea of magnificence has been pushed back into the fourteenth century. In fact, as

Areli Marina shows, in the essay in this volume, the Visconti building projects were effective because they used existing local norms and traditions linking architecture and power that are traceable even earlier than the fourteenth century. She argues that "sophisticated visual architectural language of magnificence was well-defined and clearly understood before Fiamma documented its appropriation by the Visconti."[21] This suggests that in Italy there was an especially early and developed awareness of concepts of magnificence, which would later be codified in texts by Fiamma and others.

But even where commentators rely upon the appearance of ideas of magnificence in textual evidence, it is now generally accepted that an established Aristotelian-derived concept of magnificence was in play at the Italian courts in the fourteenth century. It is therefore sometimes assumed that therefore fourteenth-century patrons (and indeed the viewers who encountered and interpreted the visual and material culture of fourteenth-century courts) understood magnificence in the same way as did their fifteenth- and sixteenth-century counterparts. This is not necessarily the case. Alison Cole, in writing of the Italian Renaissance courts, notes the use of the Aristotelian theory of magnificence by Galvano Fiamma in the early fourteenth century, but points out that this positive justification continued to co-exist with moral and social reservations about wealth during the fourteenth century.[22] Furthermore, other writers who deal with fifteenth- and sixteenth-century courts in other areas of Europe often seem to imply that awareness of the concept of magnificence goes back to the fourteenth century in those areas also. However, there is usually very little specific evidence offered for such statements, beyond general conflations between the specific understandings of magnificence derived from Aristotle's *Ethics* and earlier, more general concepts of *largesse*.

Turning to the secondary scholarship on medieval art, we find that the term "Magnificence" is not particularly common there. One finds hardly any discussions of the concept in chapter headings or indices in general works on medieval art and architecture.[23] This is in contrast to the literature on Renaissance art and architecture, where even general studies use the term frequently, albeit often sometimes in the kind of unspecific ways I highlighted at the outset. Even in the scholarship on medieval court culture, the concept of magnificence is often notably absent. This is perhaps unexpected, given that there is no lack of medieval court patrons who, at first sight, seem to have been just as interested in projecting their self-image through the patronage of art and architecture as some of their Renaissance counterparts. It is striking, therefore, that the word "magnificence" appears so rarely, and usually only in the more general sense, in the literature on fourteenth-century court culture.

In a parallel fashion, the contemporary usage of medieval court patrons and of those who observed them does not seem to indicate that the term

"Magnificence" was commonplace. Richard II of England was very well aware of the potential of architecture and artistic commissions to propagate ideas about the nature of his kingship. He was also particularly concerned with the way in which he should be addressed, or described, and he encouraged the development of a new language of address to the king. But he does not seem to have been routinely described as magnificent. Instead, the preferred terms seem to have been "Highness," "Prince," and "Majesty."[24] It would seem that the concept of magnificence, as it was understood in the later courts of the Medici in Florence, or of Henry VIII in England, was not properly current in England until the late fifteenth century. Sir John Fortescue's *On the Governaunce of England,* originally entitled *The Difference Between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy,* probably written in the early 1470s, uses the term "Magnificence" in relation to large-scale and expensive patronage. The concept of Magnificence, in the form discussed by Aristotle and propagated at the Renaissance courts, appears to have been specifically animated at the English court during the reign of Edward IV (1461—70, and 1471—83). Edward IV was immensely impressed by the ceremonial and pageantry of the court of the Dukes of Burgundy when he visited that principate in 1468 for the wedding of his sister Margaret of York to Duke Charles the Bold, and the splendor and extravagance of that occasion made a deep impression on those members of the English court who experienced it.[25] The earlier dukes of Burgundy had been well-known for their rich tastes, and their penchant for lavish entertainment, spectacle, and extravagant court banquets. The best known of these, the so-called Feast of the Pheasant, was held by Philip the Good (1419-1467) at Lille on 17 February 1454. It was witnessed not only by the actual guests at the banquet but also by a large audience who watched from the galleries of the hall in which it was held.[26] But it was not until the reign of Charles the Bold (1467-77) that the Burgundian court possessed theorized treatments of the concept of magnificence, such as that which Galvano Fiamma had written in the 1330s. Guillaume Filastre, Chancellor of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece, explained in his book *La Toison d'or* (ca. 1470), that the chief virtue of a prince was magnificence. In this, Thurley argues, he followed Aristotle's treatment of the concept.[27] It was no doubt the material and the theoretical articulations of magnificence at the Burgundian court to which Edward IV was exposed, especially during his exile in Burgundy during the restoration of Henry VI (1470—71), which stimulated the development of the concept at the English court in the 1470s.

Charles V of France (1364-80) was another medieval king who was well aware of the potential of visual culture to create the desired impression of a monarch, and someone who commissioned numerous fine buildings, sculptural commissions and other works or art. But at Charles's court the dominant terms of discussion were *noblesse* and *sagece,* as, for example, in the biography of Charles V by Christine de Pisan.[28] In Christine's *Le livre des fais de bonnes*

meurs du sage roy Charles V (written in 1404, at the behest of the regent of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy), the term "magnificence" appears five times, with other cognate terms such as "magniffiez," "magnificent," and "magnificum," etc., used a total of fourteen times. This compares with the uses of "sage" (513 times), and "sagesse," "sagece," or "sagesce" (95 times), and "noble" (382 times) and "noblesse," "noblece" or "noblesce" (170 times). This is despite the fact that Charles V commissioned the first translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* into a modern vernacular from Nicolas Oresme,[29] and one can assume, therefore, that if he and his court circle made little use of the term "magnificence," it was not for ignorance of Aristotle's treatment of the concept.

In contrast to Richard II of England, and Charles V of France, the term "magnificus" *was* used of the Emperor Charles IV, who had become King of Bohemia in 1346, and who was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1355. The most informative Bohemian chronicler of Charles's deeds and achievements, Benes Krabice of Weitmile (d. 1375), uses the terms *magnificus* and *magniftcencia* on several occasions in relation to Charles IV and his deeds.[3]" And it might seem that Charles IV's exceptionally lavish patronage of art and architecture might be described as "magnificent" in some of the same ways as are the building activities of Renaissance rulers. Charles carried out an elaborate and expensive programme of building and rebuilding, both in his capital city of Prague and beyond, and was certainly very well aware of the potential of cultural patronage to promote and aggrandize himself and his family lineage. He rebuilt Prague Castle, rebuilt the basilica of St. Vitus and established it as the seat of a bishop, founded a University and developed Prague New Town.[31]

In addition, besides this re-creation of the built environment of Prague, Charles's vision of his own kingship, and the way in which he conceived of the city as a theatrical space for processions and progresses, appears to have a fair amount in common with another aspect of magnificence that is so often discussed in conjunction with the courts of Renaissance Italy: that is, the solemn entries and pageants that were designed to create a spectacle of power and to impress courtiers and citizens. Scholars with an interest in the visual and display culture of the Renaissance courts have described royal entries into cities, and other events such as coronation processions, in terms of the theorized understanding of magnificence.[32] Charles IV developed a number of ritualized processions, through the cathedral of St. Vitus, and through the city of Prague more widely, which were designed to express the links between his German, imperial lineage, derived from his father, and his Bohemian, Premyslid lineage, from his mother. He devised a complex set of rituals for the coronation of a Bohemian king as it was to take place in the cathedral.[33] He also developed an important processional route, from the old Premyslid settlement at Vysehrad, through the new town and into the old town, up to the castle on the hill at Hradcany.[34] This journey was

to be undertaken by any Bohemian monarch on the eve of his coronation. This was also the route for a Bohemian king's funeral procession, whereby the body of the king would be brought down from the castle at Hradcany, to Vysehrad, to rest overnight, before being taken back through the town up to the cathedral on the Hradcany hill.[35]

These processions, both in the cathedral itself, and in the wider city, taking place within and against the backdrop of Charles's new buildings and furnishings, would surely have been impressive, and perhaps "magnificent" in the general sense of the word. And, indeed, within the parameters in which the magnificence of Renaissance patrons is discussed, this sort of activity would perhaps seem to qualify as magnificent in the sense of large expenditure that benefits the city, or the public good, and impresses contemporaries. However, to compare Charles's architectural projects and his ritual processional activity with the building activities, or the solemn entries and pageants, of the courts of Renaissance Italy, Burgundy, or England, seems to force an analogy which is not entirely straightforward. Charles IV's architectural patronage, and the elaborate processions and progresses would, no doubt, have impressed his contemporaries in many and various ways. But whereas Renaissance magnificence was primarily addressed to a secular viewership, it seems that the audience that Charles had in mind for his various activities was not just his courtiers and citizens. The theatrical spectacles created by Charles were a kind of "sacral theatre." The main area of reference for this activity was religious, not secular. To take the processions through Prague, along the so-called "Royal Route," as an example: Charles seems to have conceived of the journeys between the Hradcany settlement in the north of his capital, and the ancient settlement at Vysehrad in the south, not simply as a performance designed to impress his citizens, but more as a necessary stational route, joining places of immense spiritual and sacral resonance. It was perhaps more akin to liturgy than to the royal or ducal progresses or solemn entries that were performed by Renaissance patrons.

Similarly, Charles IV spent considerable time, money and effort on creating other types of progression through space in ways that were not even wholly visible to his human subjects. For example, the triforium of the choir of St. Vitus cathedral contains a number of sculpted busts of Charles, his family and his closest associates, disposed above the doorways through the triforium passage.[36] This evocation of the immediate present, in Charles IV's own court, was juxtaposed with, and elevated above, the tombs of his Premyslid ancestors at floor level in the choir below. These tombs represented Bohemia's sacred past. Finally, above the busts of Charles and his court are arranged another set of busts, depicting Christ, the Virgin Mary, St. Wenceslas, St. Vitus and other important Bohemian saints. But these busts—which clearly represent the otherworldly, the infinite future of heaven, beyond and above earthly time—are arranged on the outside of the triforium. They cannot under normal circumstances be seen by any human

observer, but they are there, and are visible to God, and present in the mind of Charles.

This seems to me to be a rather different conception from "magnificence" as discussed by commentators on the architectural patronage of Renaissance Italy, or those who praised the magnificence of the ducal court in Burgundy or the Tudor court in England. For despite the fact that the discussions of "magnificence" that were marshalled to justify lavish expenditure mentioned the virtue of building "for God, for the city and for oneself,"[37] it was, in practice, only the second two categories that really seem to have attracted attention as markers of magnificence in the Renaissance. Aristotle's own discussion of magnificence places "expenditure connected with the gods" and "public spending" together, and does not privilege religious expenditure as the most commendable. Nor does he create a specific distinction between them. Thomas Aquinas, however, in his exploration of the links between magnificence and holiness within the *Summa,* interprets Aristotle as having said that "the *most* commendable expenditure is that which is directed to Divine sacrifices."[38] This interpretation seems to make a greater link between magnificence and holiness than Aristotle himself did. In fact, while for Aquinas very large-scale, magnificent public spending by monarchs could not but have been (on some levels) connected with the divine, because of the essentially sacral nature of kingship, this was becoming less the case in the Renaissance. As non-monarchical patrons (such as Azzone Visconti, and the Medici) began to patronize art and architecture on a scale previously associated mainly with kings, and in their capacities as rulers (or de facto rulers), the picture began to change. Renaissance patrons and commentators continued to use Aquinas's interpretation of Aristotle as a means of further justifying lavish and magnificent expenditure on building. However, although they—and Aquinas—might have delineated a three-fold set of honorable reasons for such expenditure, with glory to God at the top, in practice, it was usually the secular audience, and the public good, which won out in Renaissance discussions of magnificence.

Green notes that Azzone Visconti's building activity was "following a tradition set in northern Europe in the previous century by such kings as Louis IX of France and Henry III of England, both of whom had undertaken architectural projects involving palaces and chapels which had been adorned with carefully conceived decorative programmes."[39] However, he argues that Azzone's attempt to confer legitimacy on his rule by a programme of works of princely magnificence owed less to the previous building activity of northern European monarchs, and more to Italian—specifically Tuscan—developments in the preceding two decades.[40] And yet, even with this connection having been made, Green argues that Visconti's building activity was different in character and purpose from his Tuscan predecessors in that he was far more self-consciously concerned to use his palaces and works of art as a means of impressing his subjects.[41] While his "policy of display" seems

to develop upon earlier tendencies, it was different enough in character to require "ideological justification to persuade others of its public benefits."[42] Strong, too, notes that Renaissance and Baroque magnificence partook of a medieval inheritance, but points out the differences between Renaissance and medieval conceptions: "The true focus of medieval symbolic pageantry had been religious, the liturgy of the Church, mirroring a world picture which centred directly on God and in which the place of man, whether ruler or peasant, was still basically on the periphery."[43]

Renaissance conceptions of Magnificence, whether one sees them as originating in fifteenth-century defenses of the building projects of Cosimo de' Medici, or in the fourteenth-century justifications of the patronage of Azzone Visconti, are somewhat different from the kinds of structured visual displays that were seen in the Middle Ages, and it is likely that they would have been understood differently. Evidently Aristotelian-Thomist theories of magnificence were current in fourteenth-century Italy, but it does not follow that similar attitudes were necessarily prevalent in other areas of Europe in the fourteenth century. In the case of a patron like Emperor Charles IV of Bohemia, the extensive building and town planning activity, and the complex rituals of procession do not seem to have been designed primarily to impress his subjects with a sense of his legitimacy and power. Here the principal motive was a concrete expression, or material fulfilment, of Charles's view of the past, present and future coming together in his own time and in his own person. He viewed his reign as the culmination of a divine plan for the conjunction of the two thrones of the Imperial line of Luxembourg and the Premyslid line of Bohemia. To pursue the analogy with liturgy again for a moment, the mere representation of these truths was not enough: Charles wished to see them performed in real space. The ancient Premyslid settlement of Vysehrad was linked with the imperial palace on the Hradcany by an extended, processional journey, and the ancient site of St. Wenceslas's tomb, in the Wenceslas chapel, was linked to the high altar by the king's own movement through the space of the cathedral during the coronation procession. In a slightly different tracing of spatial and temporal relationships, the "past" (represented by Charles's ancestors in their tombs at floor level) was surmounted by the more illustrious present, represented by the sculptural busts at triforium level. All of this was, in turn, completed by what Paul Crossley has called the "radiant and timeless saints in the clerestory."[44]

These performative progressions through space are also seen in another of Charles's commissions: his castle of Karlstein, outside Prague.[45] The interior spaces of this building also seem to operate within the conceptual context of sacral theatre. The interior of the castle, its painted decoration and graduated hierarchy of spaces act together, in the words of Paul Crossley: "to orchestrate a quasi-theatrical journey, a journey in which the person and office of the emperor—the private and the institutional—are interwoven with the progress of sacred time."[46] Moving through the spaces of the castle enacts

this sacral interpretation of Charles's own person and history. The journey starts with a secular genealogy of Charles in the imperial palace. There are then multiple images of Charles himself as the perfect Christian emperor in the present, in the Lesser Tower. Finally, the climax of the journey is the so-called Holy Cross chapel, at the top of the Great Tower.[47] Here, the decoration of the chapel, gilded and encrusted with precious gemstones, and with walls studded with relics of the saints, represented a literal embodiment of St. John's vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem to come.

This sacred "theatre" could have been viewed, or even enacted, by mortal visitors to Charles's castle, and they would no doubt have been impressed, as Charles would surely have wanted them to be. But this is, it seems to me, so much more complex than the kind of definition of Magnificence that one sees in the descriptions of Renaissance architectural patronage. There the great palaces of Florentine families beautified the city, reified the magnificence of their owners, and impressed contemporaries, by being concrete evidence of their lavish expenditure. While there was a performative aspect to the experience of these buildings, as they and the spaces surrounding them were "practised" by Florentine citizens, these buildings created an impression of magnificence largely by having been built, and being there. By contrast, the project embodied by Charles IV's patronage of visual culture *required* enactment and performance, to activate the desired echoes of sacred history and to confirm Charles's position in the drama of human salvation. This is different from the conception of magnificence understood in Italy from the fourteenth century, and in England from the late fifteenth century, because of its fundamentally religious character.

To take Charles IV as just one example of a medieval patron, both creating and participating in such sacred theatre, we can see that his conception of himself, his reign, and his lineage, and the way in which he represented this visually and materially, is surely grand, and perhaps magnificent in the more general sense in which historians of art and material culture sometimes use the term. But the grandeur of Charles IV's building activity and sacred theatre is not adequately encompassed by the Aristotelian notion of Magnificence as a moral virtue concerned with the decorous expenditure of wealth which draws admiration. This being so, to turn to another of the themes of the conference, can the visual and material culture created by Charles IV perhaps be discussed more fruitfully within the parameters of the Sublime? The range of answers one might give to this question depends, as ever, on definition, in this case on the way in which one understands the concept of the Sublime.

The rhetorical sense of the Sublime, as applied by Cicero and Augustine to grand style in oratory and preaching, is understood as being the appropriate style for persuasion, that is, for overcoming objections in the minds of those in an audience who are hostile to the message being communicated. As theorized by Pseudo-Longinus, the Sublime overwhelms resistance: "It is

impossible to resist its effect."[48] While it is perhaps inappropriate to apply notions derived from verbal expression directly to the intended effects of architecture and ritual activity it is nevertheless clear that in some instances buildings were meant to impress, astonish, or even overwhelm observers.[49] But Emperor Charles IV's activities in this area are not simply, or even primarily, designed to impress, persuade or overwhelm an audience of other human subjects. And while the sublime style could overwhelm, and thus persuade, there is little evidence that Charles was working to persuade an audience to accept specific ideas to which they were resistant. Charles was trying, at least in the respects that I have outlined, to make manifest the truths which he saw himself and his reign as embodying. He was trying to enact or to "practise" those truths by using material and visual culture, and progression through space, as an evocation of the progression—through time—of humanity from sin to salvation. Naturally, there is a subtext to this, which highlights Charles's own place in that drama of the journey to salvation, but even there, while Charles might have been happy to accept any propagandist benefits accruing from a human observer's understanding of this, God was his primary audience. The impression on the viewer may have been overwhelming, or minor, or nonexistent, but this was not Charles's major concern.

Of course certain types of Christian art might much more readily be understood as seeking to persuade, or even to overwhelm the human viewer with the truth of its message. The cycle of the life of St. Francis in the Upper Church of the Basilica of San Francesco at Assisi has been considered by Hans Belting as an example of a new kind of narrative, where the images are no longer simply isomorphic with the structure of a text upon which it is based.[50] This new kind of narrative began to stress human feelings and to invite psychological interpretation of the stories depicted, rather than simply to tell the story. The style in which the St. Francis cycle was painted, Belting points out, used a new and dramatic realism, in which the events took place in contemporary and known localities, and were enacted by people recognizable as close relations of the viewers of the paintings. Belting calls this a "painted movie" and asserts that it would have produced a real shock, by suddenly making painting a mirror of the world of experience, and asking the beholder to control the relationship of reality and image.[51] The relatively less expensive medium of fresco might not have produced an effect of magnificence like that of, for example, its earlier and more expensive analogue, mosaic. Nevertheless we might see a way in which one could attribute at least a version of the Sublime to this type of medieval art. The shock and the deep impression made upon the viewer by this new style of realism drove home the important message that its designers wished to convey.

But beyond this, what variety of the Sublime might be found in medieval art? Erich Auerbach's influential treatment of the Sublime and its position relative to the "middle style" or "humble style" in the Middle Ages

discussed the way in which Augustine decoupled the relationship between the three purposes of oratory and the three classes of subject matter.[52] All Christian subject matter, for Augustine, was sublime, and therefore all three styles could be used to speak of Christian doctrine, as applicable. But because of the paradoxes central to Christian doctrine—that God should become man, and suffer an abject Passion and death—the lowest and simplest style, *sermo humilis,* was deemed especially suited for Christian themes, in imitation of the Scriptures. For, as Auerbach put it, "[t]he lowly, or humble, style is the only medium in which such sublime mysteries can be brought within the reach of men."[53] The reasonable objections that might be posited against Auerbach's conception of the *sermo humilis*[54] have not stopped the concept being extended into treatments of the visual arts. Thus, objects that are described as being in a "low style," or having an "ugly" appearance, are marshalled as the visual equivalent of the literary "sermo humilis." Thus they are presented as being a particular variety of a medieval conception of the Sublime, magnifying without being conventionally magnificent.

Several medieval art historians, including Jeffrey Hamburger[55] and Paul Binski,[56] have discussed Hans Robert Jauss's observation that "the Christian concept of *humilitas passionis* shattered the canonical, classical pairing of the good with the beautiful, and of the ugly with the depths of evil."[57] Both Hamburger and Binski discussed and illustrated the Rottgen Pieta as an example of an ugly[58] or repellent[59] object (Plate 40). The paradoxical concept of the incarnate God allows for the idea that an unattractive, unmagnificent object such as the Rottgen Pieta, could be, under some modes of thought, a more appropriate way of representing these divine truths than any attempt at beauty, which could never even begin to approach the true beauty of God. So is it here, in an object like the Rottgen Pieta, where we can find the truly sublime in medieval art? To be sure, neither Hamburger nor Binski describes it as such, nor do they seek to harness the concept of the medieval Sublime to such an object. But the logic of Auerbach's position might suggest that such a connection could be made. Here we enter the complicated business of the relationship between style, content, and effect. For this object to exemplify the concept of *sermo humilis* in the visual, it would need to be accepted that it presents "high" subject matter in a "low" style. But what would it mean to describe this as "low" style? If its appearance is unsophisticated, is that because of the limitations of the scale, or of the medium, or of the skill of the artist, or perhaps a combination of all three? If so, then it is difficult to describe it as being in the "low style" in the way that Auerbach thought of it, that is, deliberately low or humble, when it could have been magnificent. The intimacy that is required in order for the beholder to engage most effectively with the Rottgen Pieta's presentation of Christ's suffering dictates to a certain extent the form of the object. It is therefore difficult to suggest that objects of this sort, with this kind of appearance, are conceived deliberately to engage in some form of aesthetic reversal, or deliberately to use a form of

sermo humilis, in order to convey the greatness of the theme. In addition, there are problems with describing such an object as ugly and assuming that what a modern observer might experience as "ugly" would have been thought of in that way by a contemporary observer. Its uncompromising, dramatic rendering of pain and suffering might rather have been regarded as a helpful connection with the truth and beauty of Christ's sacrifice, and therefore, in that sense, genuinely be understood as sharing in that beauty in a way that a modern observer might find difficult to comprehend.

But what of effect? If we conceive of the Sublime as overwhelming, then perhaps one can attribute the shock, and perhaps the tears, elicited by an image like the Rottgen Pieta, as an effect of its sublimity. Such an experience would not necessarily be confined to an object of this kind, nor to such a conjunction of form, style and content. Shock, tears, or a feeling of being overwhelmed are perhaps just as likely—perhaps more likely—to have been produced by huge, fine, magnificent objects and buildings as by lesser objects. So perhaps it may be that we must seek the Sublime in medieval art not in its style, nor in what it represents, but in what it makes the viewer feel, conceiving of the Sublime as a description of an experience as much as a description of a mode of representing. However, more difficulties arise here in applying such a notion of the Sublime to medieval art. This time it is the Sublime as conceived by post-eighteenth-century aesthetics that causes the problem. This is because of the notion of a separation, or distance, between viewer and viewed. Thomas Burnet's *The Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1684-89), and Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757) and various of the works of Immanuel Kant (most notably the "Analytic of the Sublime" in *The Critique of Judgement* (1790)[60]) paid close attention to the Sublime as manifested in the vast and grand aspects of the visible world. In Burke's notion of the Sublime it is important that the vast or grand object or sight that creates the feeling of the Sublime should be experienced from some distance. The sublime experience is one in which power or force is felt and acknowledged. It is tinged with danger and the threat of violence, but one can delight in it, feel exalted and enraptured by it, only when the viewed object or event is not in danger of actually harming the viewing subject. So, for Burke, the dramatic sight of an erupting volcano might be experienced as uplifting or sublime, but only if one is viewing it from far enough away, so as not to be distracted or diverted by fears for one's own safety.[61]

Burke's treatment of the Sublime became very influential in the strands of literature, art, and thought that are grouped under the term "Romanticism," and that particular conception of the Sublime, as an experience of something to be feared (even if that fear is tinged with excitement or exaltation), or something to be encountered at a distance, has in turn become very influential in certain modern conceptions of the Sublime. (Postmodern notions of the Sublime, which deal with horror, and the abject,[62] are partly drawing upon

this tradition.) The notion of distancing aligns also in some ways with Kant's treatment of the Sublime, and this is one of the most problematic aspects of the Kantian Sublime, in relation to quite a lot of medieval Christian art, and in relation to the experiences or feelings that were designed to be elicited by that art. Kant's notion of the Sublime involved the idea that the experience of the Sublime had to be one in which the viewing subject was disinterested (just as in the experience of beauty he argued that a true judgement of taste must be disinterested).[63] The subject must not expect to gain anything from the experience, not any kind of self-interest, not even simple gratification, otherwise the experience was not pure, and not Sublime. This aspect of Kant's conception of the Sublime is inappropriate in relation to medieval art. For medieval art had a purpose, and people used it with a purpose. Far from observing it distinterestedly, viewers and users of medieval art—the Rottgen Pieta as much as Charles IV's Holy Cross Chapel—saw in it a means of accessing the divine. It was thus necessary not to seek distance from the thing observed (or indeed, to recoil from its so-called "ugliness"), but to seek visual, mental and emotional contact with the material object through which the human observer might make contact with the divine. This is what Abbot Suger of St.-Denis meant in one of the most famous passages in the *De Administratione*. In this text Suger describes, and justifies, his own achievements in enlarging and altering the abbey church of St.-Denis:

> Unde, cum ex dilectione decoris domus Dei aliquando multicolor gemmarum speciositas ab exintrinsecis me curis devocaret, sanctarum etiam diversitatem virtutum, de materialibus ad immaterialia transferendo, honesta meditatio insistere persuaderet, videor videre me quasi sub aliqua orbis terrarum plaga, quae nec tota sit in terrarum faece nec tota in coeli puritate, demorari, ab hac etiam inferiori ad illam superiorem anagogico more Deo donante posse transferri.
>
> Thus, when—out of my delight in the beauty of the house of God—the loveliness of the many-colored gems has called me away from external cares, and worthy meditation has induced me to reflect, transferring that which is material to that which is immaterial, on the diversity of the sacred virtues: then it seems to me that I see myself dwelling, as it were, in some strange region of the universe which neither exists entirely in the slime of the earth nor entirely in the purity of Heaven; and that, by the grace of God, I can be transported from this inferior to that higher world in an anagogical manner.[64]

Suger's *De Administratione* rhapsodises on the beauty of the abbey church and its furnishings. With this rhapsody he makes it plain that the experience of medieval art that he expresses could never be described as sublime in the eighteenth-century sense: it is not a one-way experience of being overwhelmed by something powerful; and it is not an experience in which one

remains untouched, distant, or disinterested. On the contrary, the viewer using medieval art in this way hoped to engage in a dialogue with the divine, to work through the loveliness of the material towards the true beauty of the immaterial, to the benefit of his or her immortal soul.

This process was not easy. Medieval devotion of this kind required work. And it required the devotee to tread the right side of the line, so as not to be distracted, or overwhelmed, indeed, by the loveliness of the many-colored gems, and so interrupt the dialogue with the divine. Some thinkers seem to have considered that the dangers of stepping the wrong side of this line were possibly too great. This might account for some of the objections in Cistercian thinking, not just to what Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia* called "the soaring heights and extravagant lengths and unnecessary widths"[65] of monastic churches, but also the greater objection to the "ridiculous monstrosities" in sculpture, or other representational media, described by St. Bernard as "deformed beauty and beautiful deformity."[66] In the *De Administratione* Suger seems to be asserting the value of the beautiful in the material perhaps precisely against the sort of questions raised by Bernard. However, although the *De Administratione* has been seen partly as a response to Bernard's *Apologia*,[67] the writings of Bernard and Suger on the value, or otherwise, of beautiful material artefacts in the honor and worship of God must be seen in their correct context as representative statements from two longstanding schools of thought: Bernard's asceticism goes back at least as far as St. Jerome, and Suger's defense of earthly art and beauty in the apprehension of the glory of God can be traced back to St. Ambrose.[68] Bernard's criticisms of monastic architecture were not written as a specific diatribe against Suger's St.-Denis, as the *Apologia* was written possibly as early as 1122, almost twenty years before Suger's new choir was built,[69] and it is unlikely that Bernard had Suger's St.-Denis specifically in mind when he wrote his criticisms of monastic art.[70] Given the long tradition of divergent opinions on art and material beauty in churches it is impossible that Bernard was unaware of the kinds of thinking that Suger chose to employ in his praise of the work of the "many-colored gems." Is it perhaps more likely that Bernard was more worried than Suger about the distraction of the representational? Certainly the sensuous way in which Bernard describes the "ridiculous monstrosities" seems to betray someone who is rather more affected himself by the "deformed beauty and beautiful deformity" than he cares to be. But properly understood, the sort of experience described by Suger, of color and light, could represent—or rather signify—the unrepresentable, and thus begin to provide a bridge to the divine.

It is this bridging—the desire for contact—which prevents medieval art of this kind from being sublime in the way that later aesthetics understands the term. The theologian John Milbank has pointed out that the removal of desire from the experience of the Sublime (as well as the separation of beauty from the Sublime) is a particular, post-medieval conception of the relationships

between these terms.[71] Modern understandings of aesthetics and the beautiful have tended to emphasize strongly the fact that in the Middle Ages the beauty of the created world was deemed to be an aspect of the divine, so that no specific discipline of "aesthetics" emerged that was devoted to an autonomous discussion of beauty.[72] Therefore an encounter with the visual culture of medieval Christianity did not, and could not, effect what later aestheticians would consider a "pure" experience of the Sublime, because what we might wish to call "the Sublime" in this context would not then have been divorced from beauty, and beauty would not have been divorced from God. Because Christian visual culture materially referred to, represented, or evoked the divine, it was always available to be utilized in the attempt to set up a connection with the divine. The difference between this and the kind of experience of the Sublime described by Burnet and Burke is that for those writers, the experience was about admiring something grand, beautiful, or ineffable, from afar, and staying removed from it. The experience of medieval art that I have been describing was about desiring the ineffable, the divine, and the truly beautiful, and trying to rise above the earthly, and make a connection with the divine.

An answer to the questions "How magnificent was medieval art?" or indeed "What is the nature of the Sublime in relation to medieval art?" can only be partial and contingent. Indeed, both the terms "magnificent" and "Sublime" can be argued to be terms most fittingly ascribed not to objects but to persons and to human experiences respectively. But in both cases there is a slippage in the more general usages of the terms, so that each can be ascribed to material objects (a slippage especially pronounced in the use of "Magnificence"). An interim conclusion could be that there is, indeed, much that is grand in the visual and material culture of the Middle Ages, including a grandeur of conception that can inhere in both the large and the small scale. There is much that could be understood as being "magnificent" or "sublime" in some of the more general senses of those terms. But the heavy, and specific, semantic loading that the terms "magnificent" and "sublime" carry, in art history in particular, make them problematic for medievalists, and especially for art historians. For this reason it is not straightforward to use these terms, unglossed, in relation to an aesthetic of grandeur in medieval art. We must be careful not to transpose backwards, and to apply these terms uncritically to medieval objects or spectacles, impressions or reactions, because if we do we run the risk of misinterpreting the appearance or "message" of medieval buildings and artefacts by superimposing a set of anachronistic notions upon the material.

Nevertheless, an impression or a feeling that might be called something like "sublime" *can* be discerned in relation to medieval art and architecture. Its effect is felt where the devotee, in the proper use of visual and material artefacts, is moved—overwhelmed even—by a perception of the possibility of contact between the human soul and the divine object of

its desire. This contact, mediated by visible beauty, was possible because beauty was an aspect both of the material world and of God. Therefore, in order to explore the concept of the Sublime as it pertains to medieval art, it is necessary to reinterpret the modern Sublime: only if "Sublime" is understood in a sense as "transcendent," as it is in the work of John Milbank, can the term adequately describe the appearance of medieval artefacts and buildings or the transcendent experiences of the divine that they elicited. "Magnificence," on the other hand, seems to have been understood primarily in secular terms, as a communication between persons, not a communication between mortals and the divine. This is despite the classical and Renaissance justifications that placed honoring God alongside the honor of the city and the honor of the mortal patron of "magnificent" buildings. It is this aspect of contact between the human subject and the divine object of devotion which makes the term "magnificent" inadequate to describe the sorts of building activity effected by Charles IV, Suger, and the other patrons of wonderful, astonishing, overwhelming buildings.

Notes

* I am grateful to Paul Binski, Judith Bryce, Steven d'Evelyn, Stephen Jaeger, Elizabeth Prettejohn, and Tania String for assistance with the preparation of this chapter, or for comments on it.

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2 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics,* 4.1122a-1122b.

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