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In the Beginning: Theories and images of creation in Northern Europe in the twelfth century

Conrad Rudolph

‘Logic has made me hated by the world!’

So Peter Abelard thought and wrote to his former lover, the brilliant Heloise, in probably his last letter to her before his death in 1142, after having been virtually driven from Paris by Bernard of Clairvaux, the austere Cistercian mystic and perhaps the most powerful ecclesiastical politician of Western Europe.¹ Characteristically for Abelard in matters of self-conception, he was exaggerating. Logic had made him hated not by the world but by only a portion of it. While this was certainly an influential portion and one that had almost succeeded in destroying him, it could never do so entirely. In fact, logic had made Abelard ‘the Socrates of the Gauls, the great Plato of the West, our Aristotle ... the prince of scholars’² – and this, this great fame and the almost unprecedented influence that accompanied it, was as much the problem as logic was.

In a word, Abelard had been caught up in the politics of theology. The time was one of great theological inquiry, challenging, as it did, the very authority of divine revelation on the most fundamental level, and at a moment when both interest in secular learning and the number of students were dramatically increasing – all factors that can hardly be over-emphasized. But for certain elements within the Church, more still was at stake. And this was nothing less than a perceived assault on one of the basic underpinnings of the complex relationship between religion, theology, society and political power.

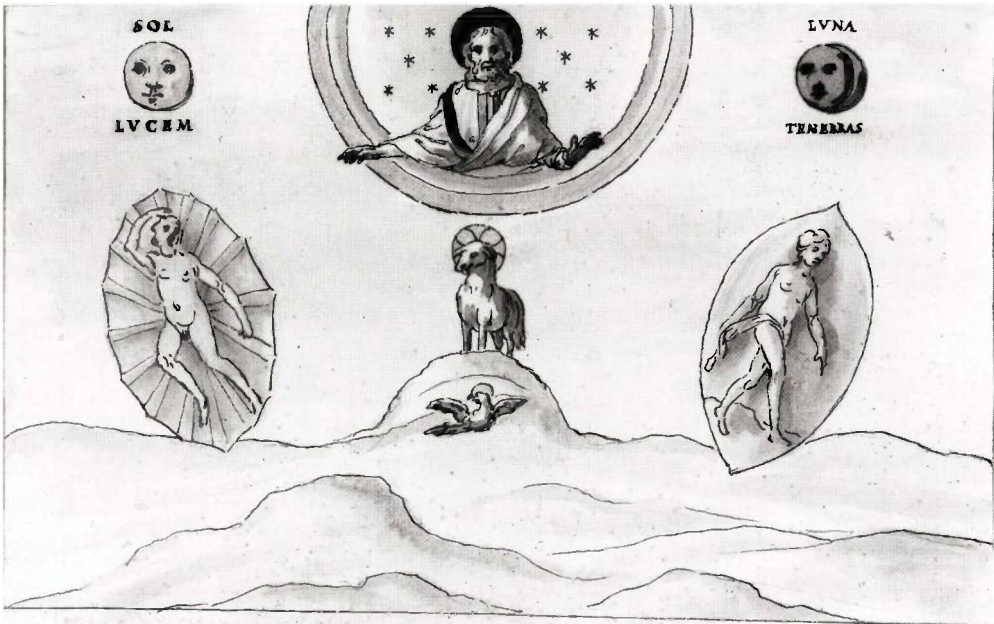
This relationship is an almost inexhaustible subject in its own right. But for the purposes of this study, religion may briefly be said to be a practical philosophy of existence whose intellectual justification is its theology. To determine a significant component of the theological justification of a religion that has a virtual monopoly in a given culture – as Christianity did in the Middle Ages – is to condition within certain limits how the people of that culture, more or less as a whole, think about their existence. To condition how a people thinks is, to a large degree, to determine what it will think. To determine what a people will think is to condition results. As power is the ability to condition results, to determine what a people thinks in such a central aspect of human experience is power. Or, put another way, to determine theology in such a culture is power, or at least one form of it. Because politics may be said to be the formation and exercise of power,

the determination of theology, therefore, is or can be one form of politics; the determination of theology is or can be the formation and exercise of one form of power – and much of the religious art of the Middle Ages acted to project this power, whether real or claimed.

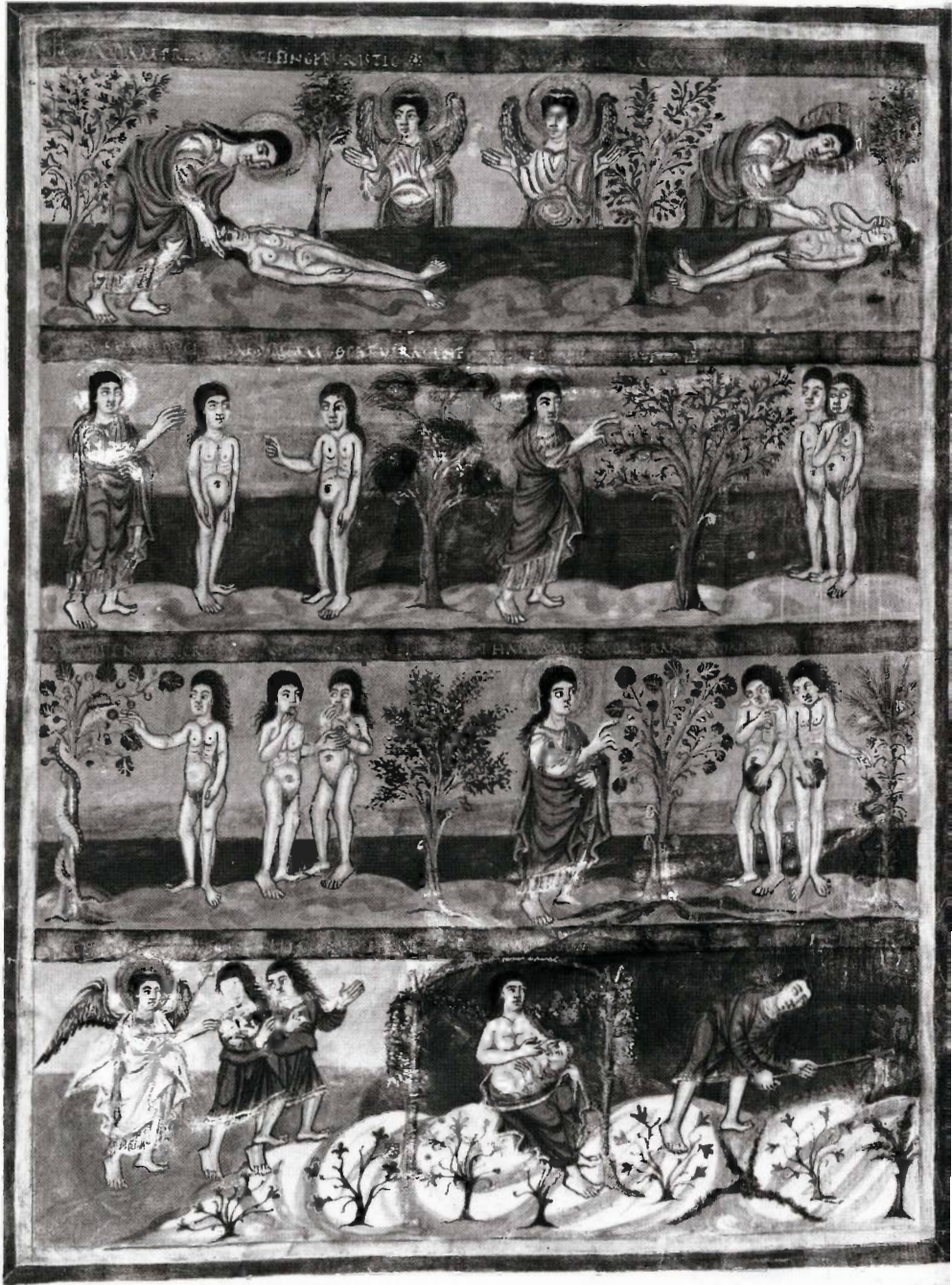
For reasons that will be explained below, one of the most pressing theological issues of the day was that of creation, competing theories of creation being far more deeply a concern in the pre-modern religious society of the Middle Ages than in our modern secular society in the United States where, even now, it remains a political issue.³ Indeed, because of the absolute fundamentality of the concept of creation, any given culture's view of creation is crucial to that culture's intellectual self-identity – and, as such, can act as a microcosm of sorts of its essential character, whether creation is looked at in its orthodox aspect or, even better, as a point of contention. And behind at least some of the contention that surrounded the controversy over creation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was the delicate question of the role of the Church: according to traditional Christian belief, all the history of humankind, from the beginning of time to its end, was directed toward a single goal, salvation, with the Church acting as the first and last authority on this. But new or newly popular theories of an independently working Nature, in challenging traditional understandings of the creation account of Genesis, indirectly and unintentionally also challenged this authority and, according to some, even the basis of Christian faith itself.

How all this worked out for the logician/theologian Abelard and his contemporaries in the schools in terms of civil politics is too complex to go into here. It is enough to say that the Ile-de-France of the time was dominated by *clan* politics.⁴ And for the purposes of this study, the two most significant *clans* of early twelfth-century Paris were the *clan* de Garlande (whose most prominent member was the same Etienne de Garlande, whose removal from power with the help of an alliance between Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis and Bernard of Clairvaux is so well known to art historians) and the *clan* that spearheaded ecclesiastical reform in Paris (led by Bishop Etienne de Senlis and the regular collegial house of Saint Victor, and strongly supported by Bernard). Without going into the details of the intense struggle that arose between the two – ultimately a tale of murder, intrigue, betrayal, and power both won and lost – it can be said that the *clan* de Garlande was extremely active in resisting reform.

It would be a mistake to draw facile parallels between *clan* politics and intellectual, as opposed to reform, positions. We simply do not know enough about most of the leading scholars to say how they aligned themselves or even if they aligned themselves at all. But we do know how two of these scholars, Abelard and Hugh of Saint Victor, fit in. They were on the fringes of the civil confrontation, unquestionably. But that Abelard had come under the patronage of Etienne de Garlande, as described by Robert-Henri Bautier – though the exact nature of this relationship is unclear – is certain, as is Hugh's allegiance to his own institution, Saint Victor, in which he held a high position for the time: master of the school. We cannot, however, expect the intellectual complex of the schools to correspond exactly with the political complex of northern France. While the approaches taken by the leading scholars to the philosophical issues in the controversies naturally divide them into traditional and non-traditional



1 St Paul's, *Creation of the Cosmos*. Rome, Bib. Vat. MS Barb. lat. 4406, f. 23.

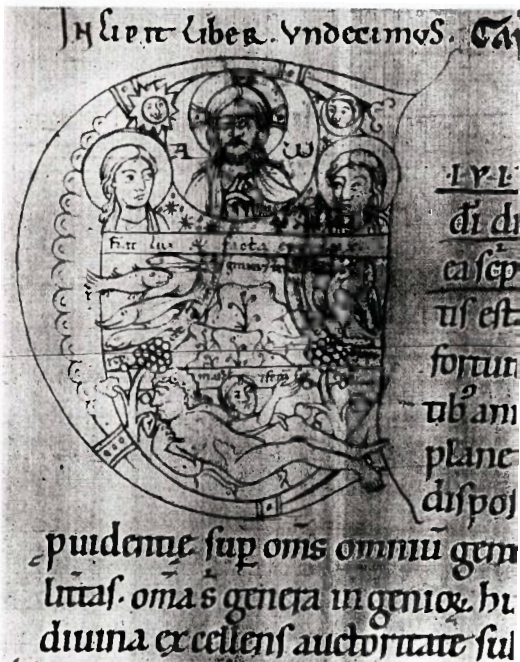


2 Grandval Bible, Genesis frontispiece. London, Brit. Lib. MS Add. 10546, f. 5v.



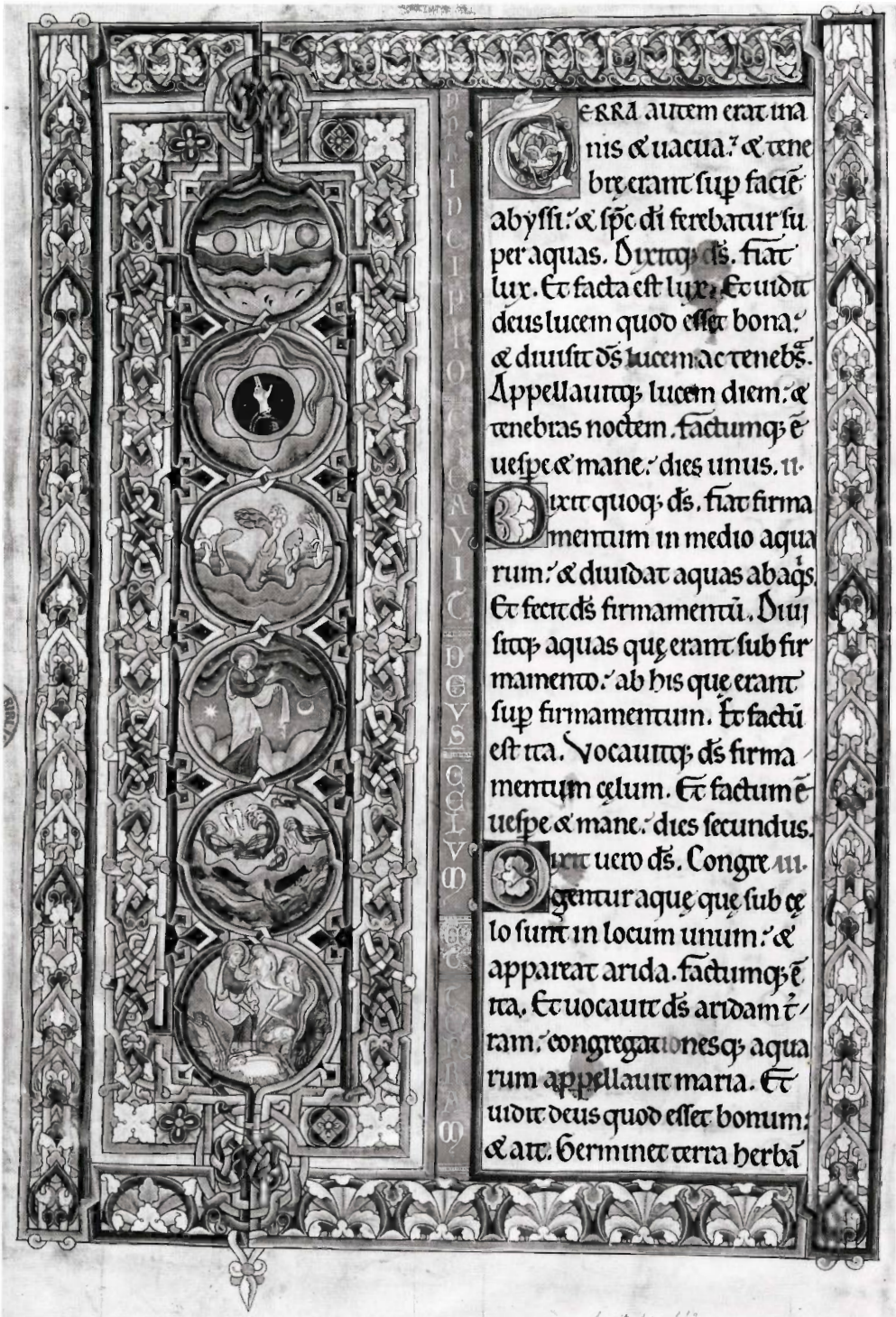
3 (left) Initial to Genesis. Salzburg, Stiftsbib. St. Peter MS A.XII.18, f. 6.

4 (right) Parc Bible, initial to Genesis. London, Brit. Lib. MS Add. 14788, f. 6v.



5 (left) Augustine, *City of God*, initial to book eleven. Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbib. MS 24, f. 96.

6 (right) Bible of Stephen Harding, initial to Genesis. Dijon, Bib. mun. MS 12, f. 3v.





7 (opposite) Pontigny Bible, initial to Genesis. Paris, Bib. Nat. MS lat. 8823, f. 1.

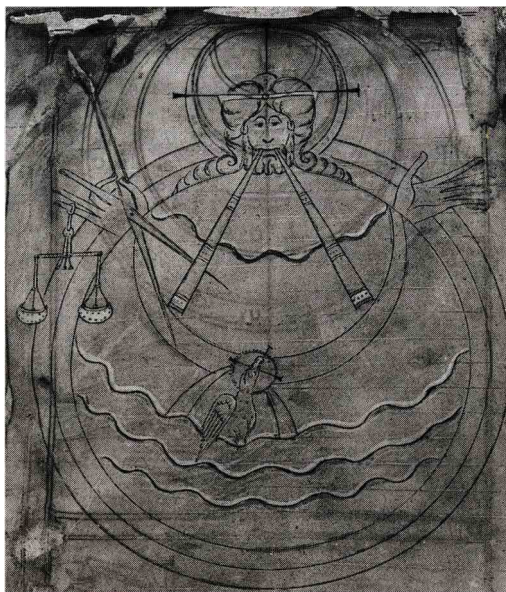
8 (above) Souvigny Bible, initial to Genesis. Moulins, Bib. mun. MS 1, f. 4v.



9 *Bible moralisée*, frontispiece, *Creation of the Cosmos*. Vienna, Ost. Nationalbib. MS 2554, f. Iv (photo: Bildarchiv der Ost. Nationalbib., Vienna).

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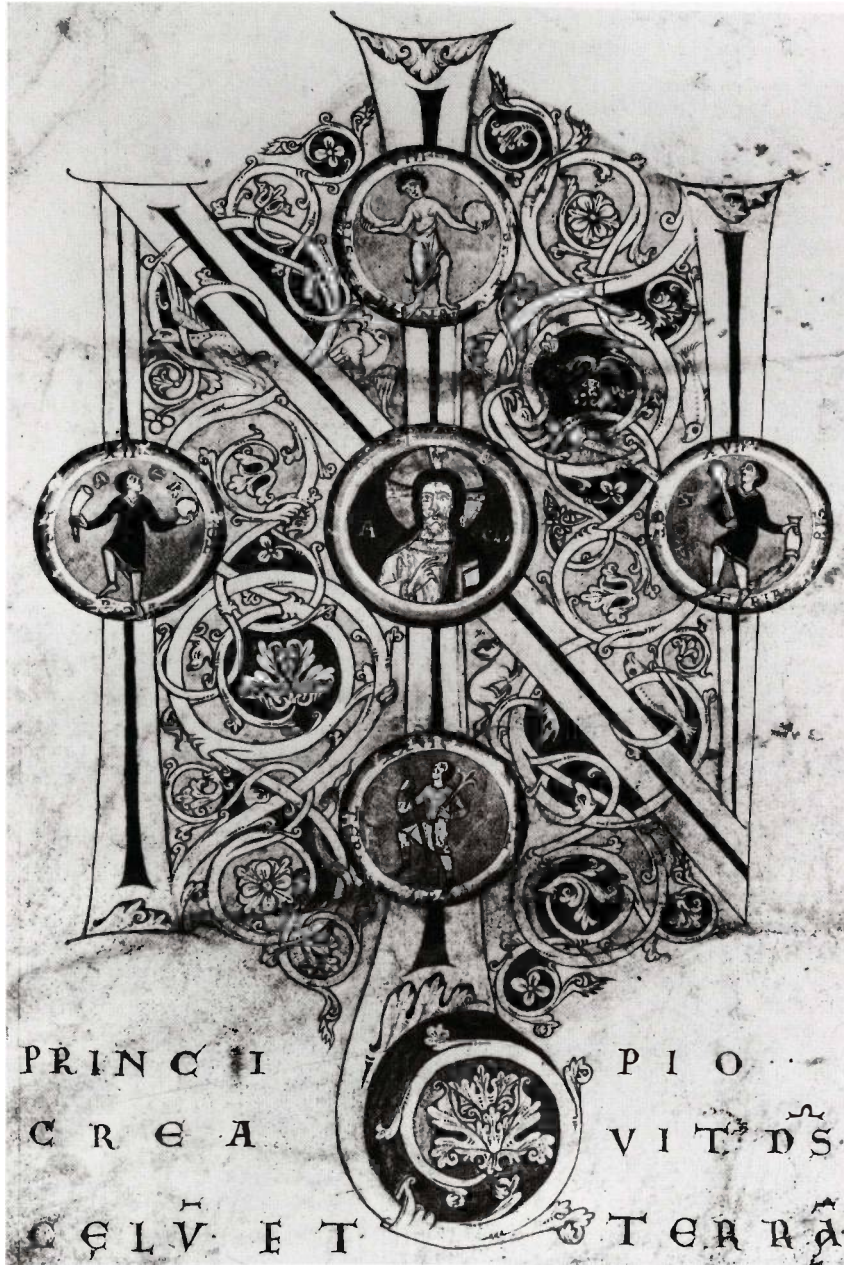
10 Eadui Codex, First canon table.
Hanover, Kestner Museum MS WM XXIa
36, f. 9v.



11 Tiberius Psalter, *Creation of the Cosmos*.
London, Brit. Lib. MS Cotton, Tiberius C. VI,
f. 7v.



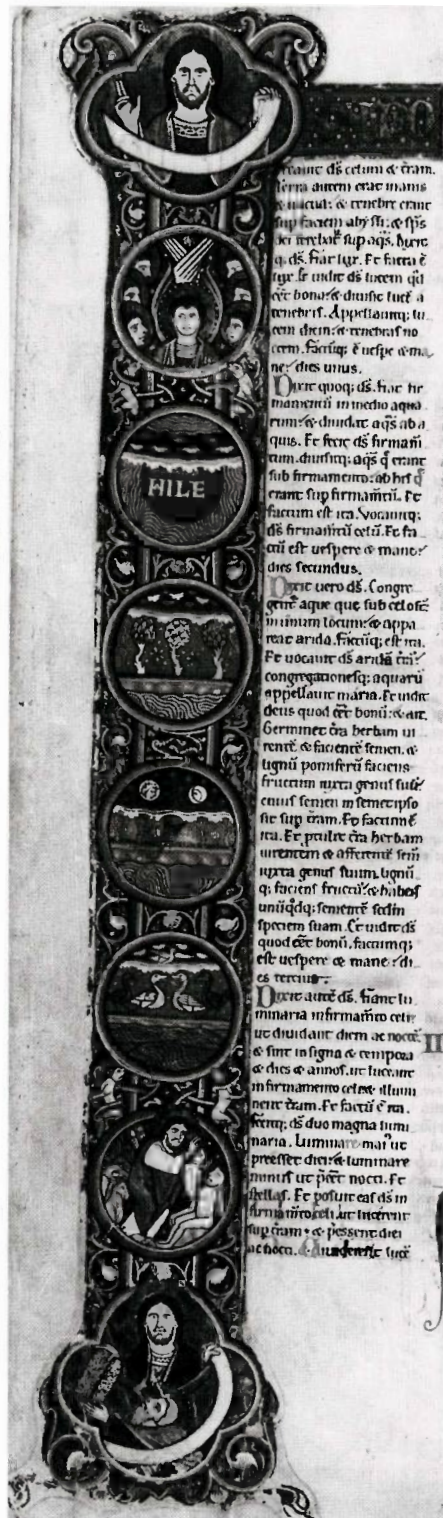
12 *Bible moralisée*, dedication page. New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib. MS M.240, f. 8.



13 Bible of Saint-Hubert, Genesis monogram. Brussels, Bib. Roy. MS II.1639, f. 6v (Copyright Bib. Roy. Albert Ier, Brussels).



14 (above) Gospels of Henry the Lion, creation page. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bib. MS Guelph 105 Noviss. 2^o, f. 172.



15 (right) Initial to Genesis. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 48, f. 7v (By permission Master and Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art).



16 (left) Honorius Augustodunensis, *Clavis Physicae*, Creation. Paris, Bib. Nat. MS lat. 6734, f. 3v.



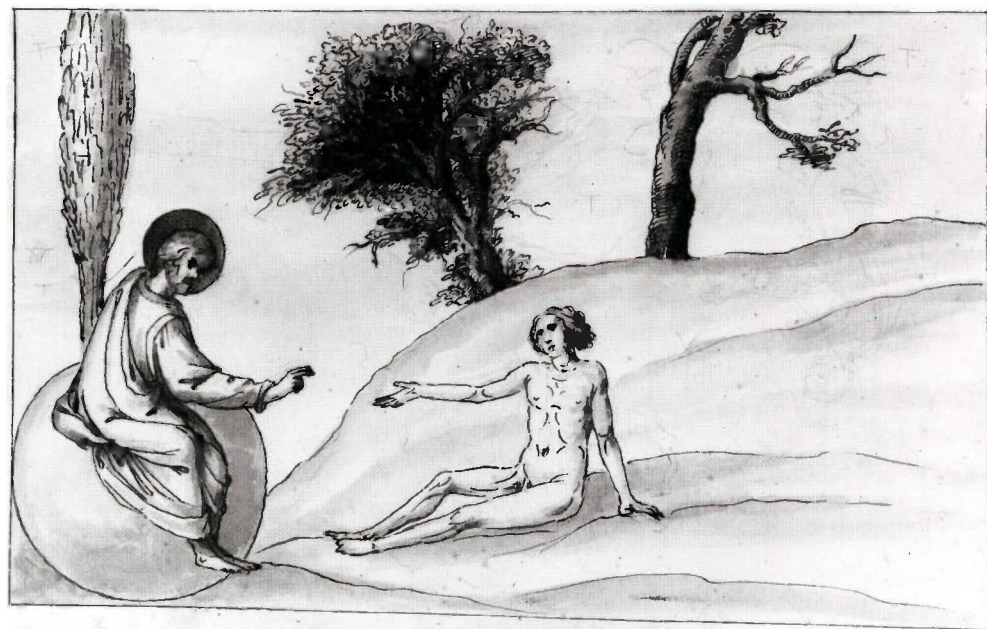
17 (right) Honorius Augustodunensis, *Clavis Physicae*, World soul. Paris, Bib. Nat. MS lat. 6734, f. 1v.

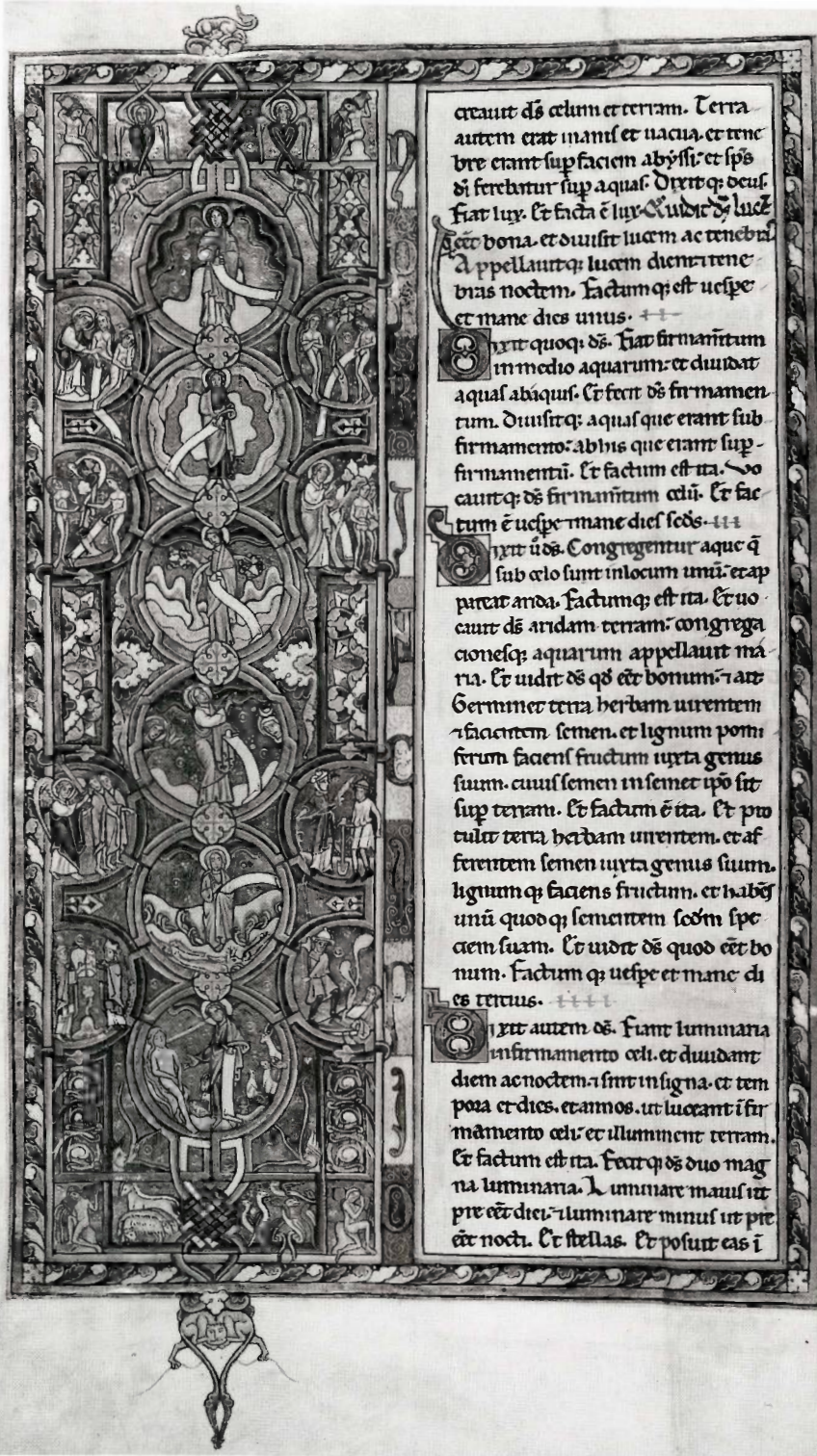


18 (left) Boethius, *De Musica*,
frontispiece. Cambridge, Univ. Lib.
MS li.3.12, f. 61v (By permission
Syndics of Cambridge University
Library)

19 (below) St Paul's, *Creation of Adam*. Rome, Bib. Vat. MS Barb. lat. 4406, f. 24v.

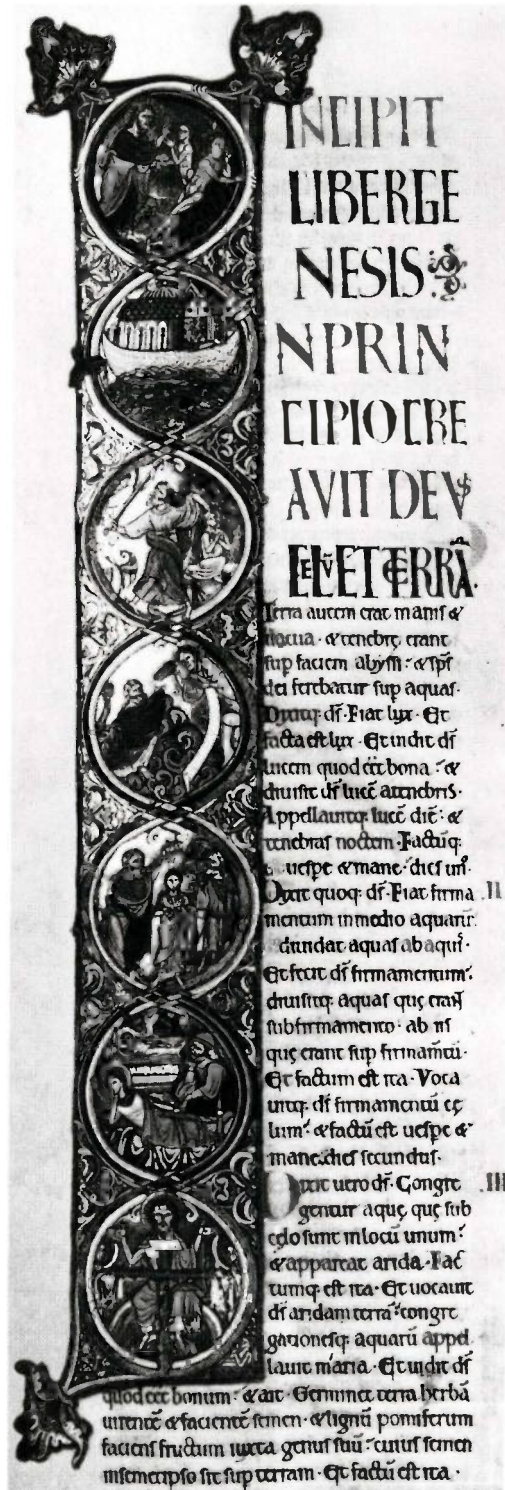
20 (opposite) Bible of Sainte-Geneviève, initial to Genesis. Paris, Bib. Nat. MS lat. 11535, f. 6v.







21 Bible of Robert de Bello, initial to Genesis. London, Brit. Lib. MS Burney 3, f. 5v.



22 Winchester Bible, initial to Genesis.
Winchester, Cath. Lib., Winchester Bible f.5.

intellectual camps, ultimately the institutions or *clans* with which those scholars were associated cannot be described in the same terms. Though Etienne de Garlande might back the brilliant Abelard to enhance his own prestige and – more importantly – to savage William of Champeaux, the founder of Saint Victor and the person who in the first two decades of the twelfth century was one of his worst enemies, in the end Etienne and the *clan* de Garlande cared nothing for intellectual dominance within the schools. Given this connection between Abelard and the *clan* de Garlande, however, and given the unavoidable association of all leading scholars, such as Hugh, with institutions that were by definition both political and intellectual, it is clear that the two do intersect at points, and that these institutions could play leading roles in both worlds.

The fundamentally political basis of these intellectual institutions leads us to the question of the relation of the art produced by them, generally speaking, to the process of the determination of theological thought. Were the issues that concerned them so greatly worked out in part through art? Or was it nothing more than accidental – in a time of general adherence to traditional iconographical forms – that the illuminator of one twelfth-century manuscript (plate 7, see page 8, for example) might choose to depict creation in terms of a literal presentation of the six days, while another (plate 16, see page 15, for example) might do so in the almost purely non-scriptural imagery of the proto-science of platonism? And was it simply a coincidence that the artist of a third (plate 8, see page 9) might use the scriptural structure of the first, whilst expressing it in terms of the proto-science of the second? Was it an oversight that the artist of one of the famous Vienna *Bibles moralisées* (plate 9, see page 10), should have depicted the sun, moon and stars – creations of the fourth day – among the primordial chaos of the first day, with which his Creator was still contending?

Elsewhere, what does the addition of the Fall of Adam and Eve to the traditional depiction of the Six Days of Creation mean (plate 21, see page 18)? Is it just a narrative continuation of the beginning of Genesis and, if so, is this also the case for the apparently random images from the rest of Genesis that accompany those of the Fall? Or, in an even more extreme example (plate 22, see page 19), how are we to read an initial to Genesis whose Creation of Adam and Eve is accompanied by scenes from throughout the Bible, incidents that are not found in Genesis at all?

These images have often been taken at face value by scholars as straightforward creation scenes or as the unique iconographical expressions of various patristic or contemporary writers on creation without reference to the larger, ongoing dialectical struggles of which the writings and the artworks were a part.⁵ But it is no accident that extant creation imagery in the manuscript illumination of the twelfth century should show an increase of almost 900 per cent over that of the eleventh, with this interest only continuing into the thirteenth century with almost four times the twelfth-century figure.⁶ In the twelfth century, the process of the determination of theological thought was one of public debate within elite culture and it was in part worked out through art: the primary images under discussion in this paper being not public art *per se* but an inward-looking institutional art whose realm is somewhere between the public and private spheres, an art that can be said to be exclusively by and/

or for the elite themselves in all the twelfth-century examples cited here, with the exception of perhaps only one.⁷ In the first part of this study, I will lay out the general intellectual/political context in which these images operated, as well as identifying some of the more specific issues involved in the various theories of creation as they pertain to creation imagery. In the second – after very briefly taking up a few prominent Early Christian and Carolingian images of creation in order to make plain the change of emphasis in the visual argumentation apparent in the twelfth- and early thirteenth-century examples discussed here – I will analyse the latter with an aim toward showing that these images should instead be seen as active factors in the process of forming elite opinion on the issue of creation as a prelude to conditioning opinion on a broader, lower level, and that they can act as indicators of the place on the intellectual/political spectrum of the monasteries and collegial houses in which they were made during this urgent controversy. Indeed, this was a time when the Church's monopoly on learning, as it had been known for centuries, was not only threatening to slip away from its control, but was actually doing so.

The 'old' and the 'new' theologies and the threat of logic

Logic and its accompanying fame had indeed made Peter Abelard hated by the world. But exactly how they were able to do this – and how logic relates to creation – is not as clear as it might seem to be at first glance.

The term *logica* can mean a number of things but, as employed by Abelard, it refers primarily to the application of Classical systems of reasoning to the sacred. Seen in the twelfth century as having been first taught by Plato and then developed by Aristotle,⁸ logic was understood to be the basis of pagan philosophy, which in turn was seen as a moral and highly advanced approach to the divine, but one that was not divinely revealed and consequently one that placed human reason above faith. While Plato's logic was known only indirectly at this time, Aristotle's logical treatises *De Interpretatione* and *Categories* were widely studied, even considered a basic part of the liberal arts.⁹ And logic was further taken up through well-known related commentaries and studies by Porphyry, Cicero and others.

Many influential Christian thinkers such as Paul, Ambrose, Benedict of Nursia, Cassian, Gregory the Great and Bernard of Clairvaux, to name only a few, were violently opposed to this 'secular' logic, which they saw as antithetical and even adversarial to Christian thought.¹⁰ At the same time, secular logic had been employed successfully within mainstream contemporary theology before Abelard, and had a long tradition of acceptance of varying degrees and qualifications by such moderate figures as Augustine, Boethius, Cassiodorus – who nevertheless complained bitterly that students were 'swarming' to schools of secular learning – Anselm of Canterbury and Hugh of Saint Victor.¹¹ The problem was thus not the use of logic *per se*, but rather by whom that logic was used and how: whether it was used by a more radical element in a way that was seen as contrary to the faith or, more precisely, to faith itself. Inextricably linked with this use of logic was concern over the perceived degree of acceptance of Classical learning, especially platonism, acquired through non-Christian or non-

Christianized sources: Chalcidius, Boethius, Macrobius and Cicero, for example.¹²

The basis of this conflict in the early and mid-twelfth century was as much intellectual and philosophical – even demographic – as it was theological and this is ultimately why Abelard and others like him were never fully repressed. Indeed, the time was the high point of a period commonly known as the renaissance of the twelfth century (*c.* 1050–1250), a period of phenomenal economic growth, the often contentious formation of critical social institutions, an explosion of learning, and perhaps the most dynamic period of artistic experimentation in Northern European history: arguably the first, embryonic heartbeats of modern Western culture, and the basis of an impending social change that threatened the very core of the status quo.¹³ Economic growth had stimulated social change which, in turn, brought about a demand for education and provided a larger and more intellectually inquisitive audience than had been seen, or felt, at any time since the disintegration of the Roman Empire and probably earlier. Concurrently, just as the economic revival brought about a change of focus from the closed manorial system of the countryside to the open market of the city, so did it begin the transfer of the concentration of learning from the monastic schools of the countryside with their socially relatively closed and educationally narrowly restricted programmes of study to the cathedral, collegial and independent schools of the cities with their relatively open and increasingly wide-ranging approaches to thought. The friction generated in this transition resulted in one of the great conflicts of the renaissance of the twelfth century: the struggle between the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ theologies, a struggle in which logic played a leading role.

The ‘old theology’ was an experiential theology of blind faith. While the vast majority of its adherents accepted the Classical tradition of education in the liberal arts, they did so in a highly circumscribed way, insisting that learning was of value only to the degree that it was directly applicable to spiritual knowledge in the narrow sense of an individual’s understanding or spiritual experience of Scripture, typically through the often extremely loose exegetical method associated with Gregory the Great.¹⁴ Classical literature was something that was tolerated primarily for instruction in literary and rhetorical skills, as well as for general scientific knowledge. Despite its central role in advanced education, Classical learning remained viewed by proponents of the ‘old theology’ as fundamentally corrupt as well as corrupting, something to be regarded with extreme suspicion, a seductive tool of the devil in a wide variety of ways. Although the lines of demarcation between the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ theologies broke down as the century progressed, in the early and mid-twelfth century the ‘old theology’ is best represented by monasticism and by such individuals as Bernard of Clairvaux and William of Saint-Thierry: institutions and men of great education, accomplishment and respect, but typically committed to the primacy of an experiential monastic spirituality as the ‘intellectual’ goal of learning.

The ‘new theology’ was a theology of inquiry whose faith was based on logic, at least theoretically. Its adherents not only saw the liberal arts as individual disciplines that could legitimately be studied for their own sake, they increasingly saw the use of logic as an interdisciplinary means of attaining the truth rather than simply as a

component of the liberal arts. In this, Aristotelian logic was of overwhelming importance. It provided a means of systematization to the increasing multiplication of knowledge, a systematization that has rightly been seen as the greatest intellectual accomplishment of the renaissance of the twelfth century.¹⁵ Adherents of the 'new theology' accepted Classical literature not only for instructional purposes but also as a source of advanced knowledge that could at times be seen – whether positively or negatively, depending by whom – as achieving an understanding of the divine which, within its natural boundaries, rivalled that of Scripture. In the early and mid-twelfth century, this meant particularly the cosmological thought of Plato and his followers. This 'new theology' was less a rejection of monastic learning than the creation of a new learning, eventually a secular learning, but one which at the time was largely clerically based. Nevertheless, because of the centuries-old monopoly on learning held by the monastic wing of the Church, it looked like such a rejection. The 'new theology' is best represented by Abelard, Thierry of Chartres, William of Conches and others who shared this general outlook, men who wanted to push the limits of learning and who were perceived by many as valuing learning for its own sake, not for personal spiritual advancement.

The two main threats to the 'old theology', then, were the use of Aristotelian based logic in a way contrary to faith, and the acceptance of Classical thought – at this time primarily platonism – as a body of human learning based on human logic that on certain matters could be claimed to equal and at times even surpass divine revelation. This emphasis on logic of the 'new theology' was perceived by the 'old theology' as striking at the very heart of Christianity, although this was something that was never intended by the 'new theologians'. The reaction to all this could be extreme. Sometimes it was veiled in aphorisms such as that of Tertullian, which was from time to time invoked: 'What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?'¹⁶ But at other times, it could take on tones of intimidation, accusation and even condemnation, as when Anselm of Canterbury branded those who in his opinion placed reason before faith as *dialectici haeretici*: heretical dialecticians or, better, dialectical heretics.¹⁷ This threat was given even greater immediacy by the fact that the 'new theology' was extremely popular, a phenomenon of the greatest significance. For the same mobs of students that had flocked to the secular schools in Cassiodorus's time were now flocking to the more secularized teaching of 'the great Plato of the West, our Aristotle' and of others who were forging ahead, something that the 'new theology's' opponents could not afford to ignore.¹⁸

Theories of Creation: The *Timaeus*, Scripture and the patristic precedent

This acceptance of the logic and substance of Classical learning is what not just the 'old theology' but also its moderate sympathizers called 'worldly knowledge'. And perhaps the most pressing issue raised by the growing acceptance of 'worldly knowledge' was the theory of creation: is creation best explained according to a literal interpretation of Genesis, or is the presentation in Genesis more or less an allegory for the 'scientific' principles described by Plato in his *Timaeus*, the leading authority on creation aside from Genesis at this time and widely available through the partial Latin translation and commentary by Chalcidius?¹⁹

There are a number of points in the creation account of the *Timaeus* that are of significance for the twelfth-century controversy over creation and its imagery. According to Plato, the cosmos was created by the Demiurge: the Craftsman, *demiourgos* in Greek, a word that was translated by Chalcidius as *opifex* and whose metaphoric sense was also often rendered as *artifex* in the Bible, by the Fathers and later writers.²⁰ The Craftsman, however, is not the highest god, but a god created by the highest god to create that which is immortal: the cosmos, souls and the lesser gods – who, in turn, create the remaining material and mortal things, including human bodies. Platonic creation theory sees creation proceeding from pre-existent, eternal matter which was not made by the Craftsman and which was chaotic in its primal form. Creation was effected on the basis of exemplars or models (platonic Forms or Ideas) which were also eternal and not created by the Craftsman. All material things are composed of varying amounts of the traditional four elements: fire, air, water and earth. The cosmos itself is perpetual (as opposed to eternal, having a beginning but no end), being a living thing with soul and reason that order and animate creation, this rational soul being known as the world soul. The Craftsman ordered the stars and planets of the cosmos, thus creating days, nights, months and years. Although the cosmos is specifically stated as being good, the presence of that which is not good is accounted for through an emanationist theory of creation – the idea of an hierarchically descending progression of creationary acts from the highest to the lowest – rather than the free will of humankind *per se*. Before their integration with material bodies, human souls were instructed in the rules of moral behaviour by the Craftsman – the choice between good and evil being theirs, as was the reward or punishment through the reincarnation that was to follow at the end of their potentially successive lives.

The biblical counterpart to the *Timaeus* primarily consists of the two creation accounts in Genesis. The first is known to biblical scholars as the 'Priestly account' (Gen. 1–2: 4a). This is the account of the hexameron, the six days of creation. For the purposes of this study, it relates a number of significant points. There is one supreme, eternal (having no beginning and no end) God who transcends the world. There was no pre-existent matter, all matter was created from nothing (*ex nihilo*) by God himself. Everything immaterial and material was created directly by God. The act of creation was performed by God speaking, by the Word of God. The process of creation is described as taking place over six days. The initial matter of creation was chaotic. The spirit of God is said to have 'moved over the waters' of this chaotic state. The stars and planets were created to divide night and day and to serve as signs, seasons, days and years. God created humankind in his own image and likeness. And, finally, God's creation was good.

Evil is explained in the second account, the Yawist account (Gen. 2: 4b–3: 24), which ascribes the source of evil to the free will of humankind. Also central to this account is the explicitly personal creation of humankind by God, his personal relationship with Adam and Eve, and his personal instruction of them in the rules of moral behaviour.

In neither account is nature animate, there is no indwelling force that gives life or orders the cosmos. Nor is there any emanationist hierarchy of creation. While

the Priestly account is the more cosmological and the Yawist the more anthropological, neither is primarily concerned with cosmology or anthropology *per se*. The goal of neither is to explain creation itself. The purpose of both is ultimately an historical one in the Christian view, to lay the foundation at the beginning of Scripture for the history of salvation, to show that the God of creation is also the God of restoration, to show that humankind's salvation is linked to its creation from the very beginning.

In contrast, the Sapiential books and Psalms begin to exhibit the influence of Greek thought, especially platonic thought. God is now described on occasion as a craftsman (*artifex* in the Vulgate) in connection with creation, and the creation of the cosmos is spoken of from time to time in the metaphorical terms of the construction of a work of architecture. Indeed, the Creator is figuratively described as calculating the 'foundations' of creation, weighing out some of the materials of creation in his three fingers or in a balance-scale, and ordering all things in 'measure, number and weight'.²¹ Elsewhere, the term *logos* is introduced in the Septuagint (*verbum* in the Vulgate), an ultimately pre-socratic term which, in the thought of the great Jewish philosopher Philo Judaeus, was equated with the exemplar of God that served as the model of the cosmos.²² Nevertheless, even here the subordination of such thought to the history of salvation is fundamental.

With the New Testament, Christ is almost from the very beginning said by Paul to serve as a mediator of creation: all things are from the Father, through Christ. Paul has taken Philo's platonizing conception of the *logos* as the exemplar of creation and identified it with Christ.²³ At the same time, this is integrated with the Old Testament history of salvation, with Christ's role in creation being linked to his role in redemption. Thirty to forty years later – a generation or two – in the Gospel of John, this has been taken further in the overt use of the term *logos* for Christ, a term which in the Christian tradition came to refer to the role of the second person of the Trinity as the creative wisdom of God, as mediator between the Father and creation.²⁴

From the point of view of the orthodox Early Christian thinkers, platonic creation theory was theologically quite untenable. The problem, however, was – given the fundamental tendency toward exegetical interpretation inherent in Christian thought and given the rudimentary state of critical biblical scholarship – that certain aspects of the *Timaeus* so closely paralleled the Genesis accounts that it could easily be seen, by those who wanted to see such a thing, as a deeper, more philosophical, more 'scientific' account of the creation described in Genesis, albeit one whose pagan cultural basis required Christian interpretation on some points and simple rejection on others. For example, there were strong similarities between the platonic Craftsman and the Creator of the Old Testament, between the emanationist structure of the *Timaeus* and the structure of the six days of Genesis, between the instruction of souls by the Craftsman and the instruction of Adam and Eve, and between the creation of non-corporeal beings in both (lesser gods in platonic thought, angels in Christian), the ordering of chaos in both, the ordering of the stars and planets and the resultant creation of 'days and nights, months and years' in both, the description of creation as good in both, and the

hierarchic creation of living corporeal things in both. Indeed, Church Fathers such as Clement of Alexandria thought that Plato had been taught by Jewish scholars, and Augustine – who repeatedly states that platonism is the pagan philosophy closest to Christianity – suggested that Plato was familiar with Scripture and took seriously the possibility that Plato had had the opportunity to learn from Jeremiah on a trip to Egypt.²⁵ To make matters even more difficult, platonism was enormously prestigious among the educated class, a prestige with which Christian thought very much wanted to associate itself.

It was therefore not only desirable but virtually necessary to co-opt platonism. This was done not by Christianizing platonic thought but by platonizing Christian thought. From the very beginning, Christianity had been both receptive and defensive toward the various forms of platonic thought. And, over a period of many generations, both ante- and post-Nicene Fathers – including Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Gregory of Nyssa and Augustine – developed Christian creation theory along platonizing but orthodox lines.²⁶ Although there was no shortage of disagreement or heterodox statements in the course of discussion, it can be said that from the point of view of an orthodox early twelfth-century scholar, the patristic heritage on creation was in general one that agreed on a number of points. The platonic Craftsman was neither the omnipotent Creator of the Old Testament nor the uncreated Logos of the New. Creation was not accomplished from pre-existent, eternal matter but was effected from nothing. There were no independent, eternal exemplars, uncreated by the deity. The emanationist basis of platonic creation was rejected, as was its corollary concerning the origin of evil. The perpetuity of the cosmos was denied, along with the idea of the world soul. And, perhaps most important of all for this study, the *Timaeus* was seen as presenting its theory of creation in a manner divorced from the history of salvation.

On the other hand, the concept of exemplars was accepted in a Christianizing context. The Creator was regularly spoken of as a craftsman (*artifex, opifex*). And it must be recognized that while there were platonic influences – however partial or diluted – in both the Bible and Christian culture that supported the idea of a parallel between the *Timaeus* and the biblical creation passages, these sometimes ran so deep as simply to be taken as scientific fact by contemporaries, not as the platonizing influences that they were. Such was the case for the identification of Plato's discussion of the traditional four elements with the heaven and earth, primal waters and primal light (of *fiat lux* fame) of Genesis 1: 1–3, even though much of the authority for this line of thought resided outside of Plato. Far from being a parallel only in the narrow sense, it related Christian creation – and so material existence – to the complex of macrocosmic/microcosmic theory that was such a fundamental part of basic scientific and medical thought, making a perceived parallel all the more natural.

For the purposes of this study, there were only two issues on which the Early Christian Fathers did not come to a consensus: whether the period of the six days of creation ought to be understood literally or figuratively, and whether the 'spirit of God' that moved over the waters of Genesis 1: 2 was the Holy Spirit. The situation was not exactly the same with the scholars of the 'old' and 'new' theologies.

Creation and the 'new theology'

A platonizing Christianity accepted on the authority of the orthodox Fathers was not at all the same thing as a Christianized platonism put forth on the basis of a contemporary individual's personal opinion. And, from the 'old theology's' point of view, nothing put this in greater relief than the 'new theology's' approach to creation in its use of logic, its ready acceptance of Classical authority, the relationship of scholarship to faith, and its ultimate neglect of the significance of the history of salvation within its discourse. The operative issues are many and complex, and can be both subtle and vague, but as far as the imagery of creation is concerned, they can be dealt with briefly.

Perhaps the most characteristic difference between the platonizing but venerable Augustine and the platonizing but suspect 'new theologians' may be found in their attitudes toward the creation account of the *Timaeus* as an authority. As put by Joseph Parent in his study of creation theory in the 'school' of Chartres, Augustine took from platonism what was useful for Christianity – despoiling the Egyptians, as he would say – but was unconcerned with a Christian reading of the *Timaeus*. But the 'new theologians', as represented by William of Conches, for example, tried to extract a Christian sense from the platonic text itself.²⁷ The significance of this from the standpoint of the 'old theology' was that a Christian theology of creation properly speaking was being displaced by a pagan, though Christianized, science of cosmology.²⁸ The focus of advanced thought on one of the major subjects in the education of society's intellectual elite was seen as shifting from salvation to science.

The 'old theology' saw a similar threat in the 'new theology's' treatment of the role of the Trinity in creation, a threat it saw as credible enough to attack in the person of Abelard at the Council of Soissons in 1121. Exactly what Abelard said to bring about this attack is unknown. But it is known that one discussion of trinitarian attributes which appeared in the earliest recension of his book *Theologia Summi Boni* is not found in later ones, suggesting that this was in fact what was objected to, at least ostensibly and at least in part.²⁹ In this passage Abelard identifies the Father, Son and Holy Spirit in the work of creation with the power, wisdom and goodness of God, respectively – a train of thought that was also attacked by the 'old theology' through the persons of Bernard of Clairvaux and William of Saint-Thierry when it was later taken up by William of Conches. In his admittedly one-sided account of the affair, Abelard repeatedly notes how he was mixing theology and logic in a manner that explained the former by means of the latter. From the 'old theology's' point of view, the inquiries of Abelard and William of Conches threatened the mystery of the Trinity and were seen as limiting the omnipotence of its individual members.³⁰

Also seen as limiting by the 'old theology' was William of Conches's denial of a primordial chaos, which, according to William, was inappropriate to an all-powerful God; as was his rejection of a literal interpretation of the six-day period of creation, something which he thought, along with Abelard (following Augustine), should be taken figuratively.³¹

Perhaps the most problematic passage of the biblical creation account for medieval scholars was Genesis 1: 2, which describes how the 'spirit of God moved

over the waters' of the primordial chaos. For the purposes of this study, there were two issues at play here for the 'new theologians' of the twelfth century. The first was whether the spirit of God should be identified with the Holy Spirit. The second was, if so, whether the Holy Spirit should be identified with the platonic world soul in a Christianizing sense. The 'new theologians' had been left with an ambiguous precedent by the most authoritative Western Christian authority in this area, Augustine, who seems to have struggled with the passage throughout his life. In regard to the first issue, he says in typically Augustinian fashion that the spirit that moved over the waters is or can be understood as the Holy Spirit.³² But as to the second, he sometimes seems to reject the idea of a world soul and at other times to accept it with the qualification that it be understood as having no divine status in the platonic sense, but rather as something closer to the idea of Nature as the divinely ordained principle that orders and moves the cosmos.³³ In probably his last statement on the subject, however, he states that the idea is one that comes from Plato and other pagan philosophers, that he has found no firm proof for it, and that Scripture provides no answer to this problem.³⁴ And this was just the sticking point in the controversy between the 'old' and the 'new' theologies. It was not that Abelard had interpreted the spirit of God as the world soul as Augustine and others had done before him (platonizing Christianity) that in part caused Bernard of Clairvaux and William of Saint-Thierry to attack him, most notably at the Council of Sens in 1140. It was that he interpreted the world soul as the Holy Spirit (Christianizing platonism). As Bernard said of Abelard's position on the world soul in his treatise *De Erroribus Abaelardi*, 'While he struggles to make Plato into a Christian, he easily demonstrates himself a pagan.'³⁵ It was a question of perceived attitude, not theology – which was why the Council refused to support Bernard in this particular charge. Nor was it that William of Conches and Thierry of Chartres had interpreted the same spirit of God as the world soul – again, as Augustine had done before them – that caused them, too, to be systematically attacked, with William of Conches being so sharply criticized by William of Saint-Thierry that he left Chartres (and/or Paris) for Normandy. It was that they were perceived as reducing the process of creation to the natural operation of the four elements, thus desacralizing the cosmos.³⁶ In the end, all three retracted their positions on the world soul. Nevertheless, the stature of these figures within the 'new theology' could not help but give prominence to the concept, a concept whose desacralization of the cosmos was seen by orthodox Christian thought as reducing the role of creation in the history of salvation.³⁷

And this, the history of salvation, is the issue of most concern to the imagery of creation. In the use of the *Timaeus* and other examples of Classical scientific learning as authorities on creation, in denying the historicity of the literalness of the six-day period of creation in the biblical account, and in the desacralization of the cosmos inherent in the theory of the world soul with its essentially independent working of Nature and of the elements at creation, the 'new theology' made science the focus of creation and not humankind, thus undercutting the significance of the history of salvation as one of the most fundamental components of orthodox Christian thought, undercutting the idea that humankind's salvation is linked to its creation from the very beginning. But the most popular, and therefore influential, member of the 'new theology' – the

one to whom the students were flocking, according to both himself and his enemies – went even further. According to Abelard, logical consistency demanded that the requirements of salvation be understood as being the same before the Incarnation as after. Thus, seemingly denying inherent righteousness, he saw the people of the period of natural law (the time from the beginning up to the Mosaic law) and the period of the written law (from the Mosaic law up to the Incarnation) as lost without at least some confession of Christ – something largely possible only to those of the period of grace (from the Incarnation to the end of time).³⁸ While this extreme statement was eventually more or less retracted by Abelard, the basic shift from the history of salvation to science by the ‘new theologians’ as a group was not. And, because of the ever-increasing interest in science, this turning from the history of salvation continued to be something with which the ‘old theology’ and its allies struggled – including in contemporary imagery.

Images of creation

The vast majority of medieval thought on creation never made it to parchment. What does survive represents only a very small fraction of the debate, although from the highest level. What is more difficult to find evidence of is the controversy as it took place more broadly, at the middle level, in the thousands of discussions of the educated public of the monastic and collegial wings of the Church – the same people who constituted the public of the artworks with which this study is concerned.³⁹ At the same time, while the loose division into the ‘old’ and the ‘new theologies’ is one that comes from the polemical literature of the twelfth century, the traditional grouping of so many of the leading ‘new theologians’ into the so-called School of Chartres has been shown by R.W. Southern to be misleading. While there were Chartrians (a succession of scholars at the cathedral school of Chartres with similar interests), there does not seem to have been an actual School of Chartres (a continuing school of supra-regional importance with an intellectual tradition distinct from other schools of the same level).⁴⁰ The Chartrian scholars important to this study who were previously identified with a School of Chartres also taught at Paris and elsewhere, as did Abelard. Their concern with creation did not stem from an interest in the *Timaeus* in the narrow sense, but from a broader intellectual demand that was widespread throughout Western Europe, as their movements and the origins of their students show. In this inquiry, the lines between the ‘old’ and the ‘new theologies’ were as often as not blurred, with the evidence suggesting that many of the less controversial figures – as well as the rank and file – were, on the polemical level, firmly in neither one camp nor the other, but saw all the authorities as a patrimony that had to be critically sifted through, at times with a great deal of creative interpretation.

This broad interest in creation theory immediately found a vehicle of expression and projection in the art of the time: it is no accident that while there are only 7 extant depictions of creation from the illuminated manuscripts of the eleventh century, there are no less than 61 from the twelfth and 233 from the thirteenth.⁴¹ Nor is it an accident that they come from throughout France,

Germany, England and Italy – from precisely those places that had active schools and from which students flocked to the great masters of France, and especially of Paris. Like their public within elite culture, these images of creation could put forth the arguments of both extremes of the ideological spectrum as well as less polemical positions that were more concerned with the body of information on creation than with any specific school of thought *per se*.

As the statistics just mentioned suggest, artistic interest in creation paralleled the progress of the controversy of the twelfth century, a controversy whose immediate foundations had been laid in the later eleventh. Before this, artistic depictions of creation were less frequent and could take any form. But on the whole, they were based on an internal logic different from the general scheme of things in the twelfth century. Let me cite a few examples.

In the Early Christian period, the venerable fifth-century mural programme of Saint Paul's in Rome began with a depiction of creation (plate 1).⁴² It was, however, one in which the cosmological hexameron – the Priestly account – was presented in a single panel, while the anthropological Yawist account, the traditional story of the Fall of Adam and Eve, was elaborated in seven.⁴³ Clearly, it was the question of the relation between the origin of humankind and the origin of original sin in the Fall – the area of the authority of the Church and, ultimately, its reason for being – that was seen as the more appropriate message to be derived from the opening of Genesis: more appropriate than the subject of cosmogony, the area of authority of the schools of philosophy that were still so flourishing and so prestigious. Not only did this visual argument respond to the current Pelagian controversy, in which original sin was such a significant factor and which centred on Rome, but it did so in terms of the history of salvation.⁴⁴ At the same time, the compression of the hexameron into a single panel – in this particular context – seems to be a denial of a literal interpretation of the six days, a rejection of what could be seen as its mythological character along the lines of Augustine (although not necessarily on his authority) as a needless embarrassment in the face of the widespread and sophisticated creation theories of contemporary secular culture.

One must be careful, however, not to read too much into creation imagery. The context of the consecutive Priestly and Yawist accounts in the largely destroyed illuminations of the more or less contemporary Cotton Genesis of the late fifth century, for example, suggests that the goal of the person determining the selection of images in this programme of an estimated 339 miniatures was primarily one of comprehensive narrative illustration.⁴⁵ The Yawist story of the origin of original sin receives no more attention than any other part of Genesis. Whatever inherent content there is in this imagery, it remains passive, not active, and cannot be said to be operating on the same explicitly polemical or theological level as the creation imagery of Saint Paul's. This is confirmed by the presentation of the Priestly account of the six days in ten illustrations: a straightforward visual narrative of the text, indifferent to its fundamentally sexpartite character.

Perhaps the classic Early Medieval artistic presentation of creation is the frontispiece to Genesis in the Grandval Bible, made c. 840 at Saint Martin at Tours – one of the great collegial centres of learning – a work that is iconographically related to both the Cotton Genesis and Saint Paul's, although not directly dependent on them (plate 2).⁴⁶ When compared to the creation imagery of

Saint Paul's – whose theological meaning was active, as opposed to the passive Cotton Genesis illustrations – we see that the Grandval programme repeats each scene (in one case, combining the events of two of the Saint Paul's panels into one scene), but goes further in including two scenes not found in the earlier arrangement. It seems to be no coincidence that the two scenes which the person responsible for determining the Grandval programme chose to include beyond the particular Early Christian conception found at Saint Paul's were scenes which elaborate upon the core argument of the origin of original sin – original sin having brought about the loss of sanctifying grace originally inherent in humankind, which in turn necessitated the sacrifice of Christ. The first of these is the Introduction of Eve to Adam (Gen. 2: 22–24), an event that is interpreted by the authoritative and widely read Augustine as referring to the relation between the future Church and her spouse, Christ.⁴⁷ The second is the Lord's Admonition Concerning the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil (Gen. 2: 16–17), which is seen by the equally authoritative Ambrose as a sign that salvation is available to all through free will and is used by him in his arguments against predestination.⁴⁸ Indeed, that the concern here is something more than narrative is made plain by the fact that the person responsible for the Grandval programme actually broke with the biblical narrative – the ultimate source – by including Eve in the Admonition and placing it after the Introduction of Eve: not a minor point, and something that happened neither before nor after in the great series of illustrated Touronian Bibles.⁴⁹ Together, in this particular context, the two scenes demonstrate how the Yawist account of creation could be adapted to respond to the contemporary needs of the ninth century. This is not to say that these two scenes might not appear earlier, or that when they do appear either earlier or later they necessarily carry the identical meaning that they have in this specific context. It is to say that they were meant to bring to this creation programme a dramatically increased emphasis on the role of the Church in the history of salvation – the Church, whose reason for being was predicated upon its monopoly on the sacraments, which were considered to be the leading source of sanctifying grace outside the deity – especially in contradistinction to the contemporary polemics of the almost romantic Gottschalk, whose extreme predestination threatened the Church in denying that Christ died for all humankind, thus ultimately bringing into question the efficacy of the Church and its sanctifying sacraments.⁵⁰ The issue is contemporary but its visual projection is traditional in that the exegetical logic of the contemporary argument is conveyed through the widely recognized traditional iconographical compositions of these two scenes: there was no need to formulate new iconography because the traditional forms were available and had the potential for far wider recognition than any new iconographical compositions might.⁵¹ Ultimately, the Genesis frontispiece of the Grandval Bible is a statement on original sin as the occasion of the loss of sanctifying grace, an assertion of the need for the restoration of that grace through the Church, a reaffirmation of the belief that salvation was available to all through free will, and thus a denial of the theory of extreme predestination.

The great change that took place in the creation imagery of the renaissance of the twelfth century was not characterized by a decrease of interest in the

portraying them as a prelude to the history of salvation – this being Augustine’s famous interpretation of the creation of Eve from the person of Adam as a foreshadowing of the creation of the Church from the person of Christ, relating it to the flowing of blood and water from the side of the crucified Christ.⁵⁹ If this was, in fact, made at a Cistercian monastery, as some believe, it is in strong contrast to the earlier Genesis initial from the Bible of Stephen Harding, something that points up not so much the absence of interest in creation in a Cistercian monastery of the early years of the twelfth century as it does the almost compulsory attention toward it in the later years of the same century, after the influence of the schools had spread. Coming at a time when, unlike the period of the making of the Bible of Stephen Harding, Cistercian statutes prohibited just such illuminations, the hexameral *I* of the Pontigny Bible is an intransigent reaffirmation of the ‘old theology’ and fully in league with the Cistercian reaction to the ‘new’.⁶⁰

What makes it plain just how ‘fundamentalist’ the rather common iconography of the Pontigny Bible can be at this time of the renaissance of the twelfth century is the hexameral imagery of other contemporary, monastically produced luxury Bibles, such as the Souvigny Bible of the late twelfth century (plate 8).⁶¹ Although Souvigny was one of the great Cluniac priories, like so many other respectable monasteries, its monastic school was decent but made no claim to supra-regional status according to the standards of twelfth-century France.⁶² And that is precisely what scared the ‘old theology’ so badly. For despite the evidence that Souvigny was an average conservative monastic institution, the almost full-page block of eight paintings that opens Genesis and which depicts the hexameron (with an additional scene dedicated to the Fall) presents a view of creation that can only be described as deeply informed by the current creation theories that the ‘old theology’ saw as so threatening. A selective comparison with the writings of Thierry of Chartres, the defender of Abelard at Soissons in 1121, will demonstrate this, although there is no need to insist that the Souvigny creation scenes are an illustration of the specific writings of Thierry himself – the broader cultural influence of the ‘new theology’ and the strong attraction it held through its contemporaneity undoubtedly spread the teachings of such masters as Thierry far beyond their direct writings and lectures.

In his discussion of the first day, Thierry notes among other things that at its creation, matter immediately began to move in a circular motion, with fire in particular rising to become the highest element and to illuminate the air. This is the immediate conceptual source of the fiery roundel from which the Creator presides at the top of the first panel. While a bust of the Creator does appear in creation imagery in an ornamental roundel in *imago clipeata* fashion on occasion – primarily in the Yawist variation known as the Roman type⁶³ – a fiery roundel was never shown, to the best of my knowledge, before the twelfth century, and rarely – if ever – after illustrating the elemental logic of this particular scientific concept of the Priestly hexameron. Thierry further describes how in the interaction between the elements fire warmed the air, causing water vapour to rise above the air – although, as a rule, air ‘moved’ (Gen. 1: 2) over the water. Not an easy thing to depict visually, this is precisely what is shown in the ‘chaos’ of the three remaining elements beneath the orange fire of the roundel (though all four

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elements are in a state of chaos), with black earth at the bottom, blue-black water above, and the orange-streaked air in the middle of the water: demonstrating how the water vapour rose but the air still ‘moved’ over the water. (The general arrangement of the elements is, by the way, right out of Plato.)⁶⁴ At the same time, the use of these colours illustrates another of Thierry’s points, that fire and earth are active and passive, respectively, and that the two elements of air and water in between work in both directions: with the orange of the orange-streaked air relating it to the orange fire above, and the black of the blue-black water relating it to the black earth below. As to the form of the elements, he also states that in the beginning air had the density of water, and in fact that all unformed matter was similar to water – an idea that is visually conveyed, within the natural limitations of the composition, through the wave-like depiction of all four elements. Finally, according to Thierry, the spirit of God mentioned in the opening of Genesis refers to the power of the *artifex*, the power of the Craftsman; he says that this is what David called the Word, what Christians call the Holy Spirit – and what Plato called the world soul!⁶⁵ It is only here that there is any ambiguity in the illustration. Certainly, the dove with the lightly indicated halo ‘moving’ over the water does represent the Spirit of God that was commonly identified with the Holy Spirit. But is it also meant to equate the Holy Spirit with the world soul of Plato to the informed reader, one of the greatest fears of the ‘old theology’? Given the consistent, pronounced, and rather thorough visual projection of scientific theories sympathetic with this line of reasoning, the point is not that it cannot be shown that it does, but that it is impossible to show that it does not – with the inevitable (though not necessarily very satisfying) corollary that, in light of the specific context, it very well may.

Continuing in his exegesis of the sacred through the discipline of physical science, Thierry tells how, during the second day, the water vapour that had risen above the air on the first now continued to rise above the level of the highest ether, i.e., above the level of what would later become the region of the heavenly spheres. This left the air (or firmament) suspended between the waters of the earth and the waters of the heavens – something that is indicated in many ways in hexameral imagery, but perhaps most commonly as a disk surrounded by the waters, as in the Pontigny Bible (plate 7).⁶⁶ In the second panel of the Souvigny Bible, the two bodies of water are shown divided as they are in all hexamera, but now by a hemicycle of red, white and green. This is a device used later by the same artist to indicate the orbits of the heavenly spheres, one such hemicycle being enough for now as none of these spheres have as yet been created. Together with the gold ground, the two here represent the ether and air, being inverted with a slight artistic license in order to accommodate the all-important device of the roundel.

In the third panel, the Souvigny Bible depicts the third day – in which the sea was brought together, dry land appeared, and vegetation began to grow – in a way that seems to be unique up until this time and fairly rare afterwards. It is Thierry’s contention that when dry land appeared through continued primal heating, the land mass of Europe, Asia and Africa did not surface at once, but rather was preceded by a number of islands. He explains this through comparison with the process of evaporation of water on an uneven surface through heat, in which as the water evaporates, the highest areas of the surface emerge first.⁶⁷ Perhaps not

surprisingly by now, that is exactly how the person responsible for this hexameral programme chose to represent the third day: as a number of islands surrounded by blue water and with the Creator above in a fiery roundel, the fiery roundel appearing elsewhere only in the discussion of the first day, where heat was also a major component of the argument.

In his explanation of the fourth day, the creation of the planets and stars, Thierry discusses the belief that the heavenly bodies were made of the second day's ethereal water vapour during this fourth rotation of the cosmos – mentioning in passing that the heavens are sometimes thought to look green.⁶⁸ In illustration of the fourth day (the fourth panel), the person responsible for this programme had the outer limits of the cosmos depicted as if surrounded by rotating green water vapour, the material source of the heavenly bodies, just as Thierry wrote. (The water in the other days is consistently blue or blue-black.) But to this, in order to indicate the heavenly bodies – something that was typically done by portraying the planets or stars themselves – he chose to depict the seven hemicycles or orbits of the seven planets in alternating coloured and gold bands: not showing the seven planets (except for the sun and moon, which the Creator holds) but continuing the idea of rotation. Although the seven planets are not explicitly mentioned in Thierry's discussion, they were taken for granted by all the formally educated people of the time (and probably many of the uneducated).⁶⁹ The seven planets were also found in countless contemporary astronomical schemata. But, to the best of my knowledge, they never appeared in hexameral imagery until the twelfth century. And this seems to have been no accident. Just as much as the opinions of Thierry, this was an invasion of scientific thought – of human reasoning – into the word of God, and, as such, was exactly what the 'new theologians' were so bitterly condemned for at the time.

As to the fifth day, Thierry argues that the creation of the creatures of the air and water was brought about when the heat generated through the movement of the newly created heavenly bodies reached a level at which life could exist. Because this new heat warmed the elements that were above the earth first – the air and water – it was the creatures of the air and water that were created first.⁷⁰ This idea is shown in the fifth panel of the Souvigny Bible through the appearance of the Creator blessing these creatures (as described in the Priestly account) from a wavy, blue roundel. According to Thierry, it was through the water vapour in the air that the life-giving heat was transferred to these animals. Thus, the roundel of the Creator is wavy and blue, suggesting water vapour – the earlier roundel of primal heat not being appropriate as the sun had been in place since the previous day and the operative factor of water vapour remains to be indicated.

Thierry applied the same logic to the creation of the terrestrial animals of the sixth day, and so the same watery roundel is shown with the Creator blessing the terrestrial animals in the sixth panel. And while he also credited this process with the creation of humankind, he did state – briefly enough to be described as formulaically – that humankind was created in the image and likeness of God, following the language of the Priestly account.⁷¹ It is only now, with this idea, that the imagery of creation in the Souvigny Bible reverts to a truly traditional conception with a separate, seventh panel showing the Creation of Eve from the side of Adam and with the Fall of Humankind in the eighth and final panel. What

immediately distinguishes the first six panels from the last two is the consistent presence of the roundels in which the Creator appeared. The purpose of this device – whether indicating primal heat, ether, the orbits of the planets, or water vapour – is to make plain the idea that it is the force of Nature that is the actual medium of creation, though always with God as its source: no more or no less than what Thierry himself says. While Thierry's ideas – and so the school of thought of which he was a leading member – are not all that different from many of the great Fathers, such as Ambrose, Augustine and Bede; what is different is his attitude.⁷² And in the Souvigny Bible, we find this attitude fully integrated into a luxury artwork of a mainstream Cluniac Benedictine monastery far from any major centre of 'new theology' – the character and location of the monastery undoubtedly making these manifestations of the new thought all the more disturbing to the 'old theology'.

Indeed, the threat of the Christianized neoplatonic conception of creation was generally presented in the lecture hall. But if the thought of the 'new theology' could insinuate itself so thoroughly into the philosophical culture of such a mainstream, moderately conservative monastery as Souvigny that it brought about a virtual reconception of the traditional understanding of creation within that monastery's artistic culture, more overtly platonic elements could find their places in other such institutions as well. And it was not limited to the creation account of Genesis. As mentioned earlier, the Sapiential books and Psalms have a platonic component to them, however minor, but one that could at times take on major proportions. The image of the Creator with a compass, whose ultimate manifestation is the magnificent frontispiece of the *Bible moralisée* of c. 1220–1230 and now in Vienna (Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 2554), is a case in point (plate 9).⁷³

According to John Friedman, previous scholars – including Erwin Panofsky – have wrongly seen this particular image as little or no different from the other forty or so extant images of the Creator holding a compass, viewing them all as having their biblical source in Wisdom 11: 21, where it is said that God, whose hand created the world from formless matter, has ordered all things in 'measure, number and weight'.⁷⁴ The only noteworthy exception to this has been Otto von Simson, who attributes the source to Proverbs 8: 27, the translation of which he gives as, God 'set a compass [circle] upon the face of the depth'.⁷⁵ It is, however, the opinion of Friedman that there are two distinct iconographical types of the Creator with compass, the first being based on Wisdom 11: 21 and the second primarily on Proverbs 8: 27. Of what he sees as the earlier type, the earliest extant example is found in the tympanum of a canon table in the Eadui Codex of c. 1020, written by a monk at Christ Church, Canterbury (plate 10), and perhaps better known in the more complex composition of the Tiberius Psalter (plate 11).⁷⁶ This illumination shows the Creator holding a compass and balance-scales in his left hand, while his right hand makes a gesture of blessing. The second type is exemplified in the Vienna *Bible moralisée* (plate 9), which shows the Creator holding only a compass, inscribing a circle on the cosmos. But as pointed out by Friedman, neither of these literary sources actually mention a compass – Panofsky and the others overinterpreted Wisdom 11: 21 as an exact source, and von

Simson's modern English translation of Proverbs 8: 27 uses the word 'compass' in the sense of a circle, not a geometrical instrument. Friedman himself is forced to follow impossibly tortuous paths in his desire to find a specific, written exegetical source for the word 'compass', finally having to go outside both the Latin and Christian cultures in which this image functioned.⁷⁷ Toward this end he cites three Jewish commentators who refer to the use of a compass by the Creator in relation to the Proverbs passage. Of these, however, two were published only in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the third, the famous Rashi, probably only toward the late eleventh – and then in Hebrew – by which time the image of the Creator with the compass was already firmly established. There is, however, no need to go to such lengths. Medieval artistic culture, particularly in this period, was not entirely dependent on the written word, and its artists were quite willing and able to go beyond their texts in offering a sort of visual exegesis when required. Once established – in the age of the creation of the great Gothic cathedrals, when the role of the architect was becoming such an authoritative one – a different set of factors undoubtedly contributed to the appeal of this particular type of image. But Friedman is correct in his belief that there are two different iconographical types, though, in a different sense than that described by him.

In the first type, the Wisdom type (plate 11), the head and hands of the Creator protrude from behind the earth, which is surrounded by the regions of air and ether (the heavens): the two constituting the 'heaven and earth' of Genesis 1: 1. His right hand makes the gesture of blessing while at the same time holding a compass and balance-scales. Friedman wants to see a literal interpretation of Wisdom 11: 21 in this, with the compass referring to measure, the fingers to number, and the scales to weight.⁷⁸ But while Wisdom 11: 21 may be the specific source of some of this imagery, such as the scales, the gesture of blessing is simply an indicator of the Creator's approval of creation, similar to his seeing that creation was 'good' (Gen. 1: 4), and is commonly seen throughout creation imagery (cf. plates 7, 8, 15, 19, 20, and 21); it is not the deity counting on his fingers and does not refer to his ordering things in 'number'. It is enough to say that the artist of the Eadui Codex (plate 10) saw the compass and scales as sufficient indicators in themselves: the scales as referring to weight is obvious enough, while the compass can easily be seen as referring to both measure and number, in that measure (*mensura*) is described in perhaps the most authoritative commentary on this passage as being concerned with imposing limitations, and number with form – both of which are inherent in the use of the compass.⁷⁹ Of more interest to this study is the context in which this imagery is actually used in the Tiberius Psalter – i.e., in a depiction of the first day, the creation of 'heaven and earth' with the spirit of God 'moving' over the waters, and not of the Book of Wisdom itself. In fact, none of the other examples of this type are found in copies of the Book of Wisdom either. They appear in various places, the Tiberius Psalter image being found in some computus material in the beginning of the psalter. Thus, though biblically based, the image has conceptually migrated away from the text, and is, in fact, not a textual illustration at all. It is instead something quite different. It is the manifestation of the desire to have an independent image of the Creator, an image in which the conception of the Creator was fundamentally influenced from outside Genesis – in this case from the slightly

platonically influenced Book of Wisdom – though the inspiration remains biblical.

In the frontispiece of the Vienna *Bible moralisée*, this is taken a step further – a significant step. Typically described as a depiction of God as the architect of creation,⁸⁰ as if it were an iconic image, this miniature seems to be something else again (plate 9).

Its basic biblical source is not particularly in question, as has been explained. In the great reminiscence of creation in Proverbs, the author, believed in the Middle Ages to have been no less than Solomon, writes how God ‘encompassed the waters with true law and circuit’ (Pr. 8: 27), meaning – in this English translation of the Latin translation of the already poetic and enigmatic Hebrew passage – that when God gave a spherical form to the earth, which is surrounded by the Ocean Stream, he did so according to his own unchanging laws of Nature.⁸¹

But if this explains the general form of the frontispiece, what accounts for its rationale within the conceptual structure of the manuscript? The sequence of paired texts and images in the *Bible moralisée* begins, as one might expect in a picture Bible, with the traditional six days of creation.⁸² And, being a moralized picture Bible, each biblical text and image is given a corresponding figural interpretation in text and image; the interpretations of the six days here being fundamentally ecclesiological, with a strong Augustinian component.⁸³ But, for the frontispiece which precedes this entire sequence of texts and images, there is no moralized counterpart. Although the creation of the world in six days as described in Genesis was accepted as a literal reality by most in the Middle Ages, Augustine provided a powerful authority for a different understanding of this biblical passage, whose illustration the person or persons responsible for the illumination of the *Bible moralisée* had to come to terms with here. According to Augustine, the process of the six days is best understood figurally, though he remains purposefully vague about this, despite the fact that he gives at least two different exegetical interpretations of its meaning (the best known of which is not even integrated into his discussions of creation, properly speaking). He repeatedly states that creation was simultaneous, that the creation of the original formless mass of elemental matter took place before the first day, whatever that first day constituted, that it was precisely now – with the creation of matter, with change and with motion – that time began, and that this is or may be what is understood by the creation of ‘heaven and earth’.⁸⁴ Given that the bulk of the formless mass which the Creator is circumscribing consists of the four primal elements (with the water of the Ocean Stream forming the circumference, in accordance with Proverbs 8: 27),⁸⁵ given that the first and last parts of the inscription of the miniature state, ‘Here God creates heaven and earth ... and all the elements’, given that there is no figural interpretation offered for this image, and given that the images of the six days which it faces are interpreted only figurally, it seems that the frontispiece should be thought of on an overt level – in regard to its immediate relation to the succeeding hexameral imagery – as the depiction of the beginning of time at the moment of simultaneous creation, before the first day, according to Augustinian thought, with God creating formless matter and bending over it to set it into cosmic motion with his own hand.

But there is more at play here. Creation was a very closely studied subject in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the use of details in creation imagery is typically very exact. In the frontispiece of the Vienna *Bible moralisée*, some of the details are uncommon and the rest unique, serving the purpose in their very unusualness of taking this image another step deeper into creation theory, another step further in specifying and projecting a particular position on creation. The presence of the four elements in one form or another is common enough, although not necessarily with the same purpose as here. But the appearance of the compass with which the Creator gives spherical form to the whole is rather uncommon,⁸⁶ and the depiction of the ten astronomical spheres found among the four elements is unique, as far as I have been able to determine. In Genesis, it is explicitly said that the sun, moon and stars were created only on the fourth day, after the chaotic state of the universe had been made orderly, and after the earth had been fully formed and provided with vegetation. Yet in the Vienna *Bible moralisée*, while the state of the cosmos is still one of primal elemental chaos, the sun, moon and stars are depicted as already created. This was not the oversight of an inattentive artist. Indeed, the complete title to the frontispiece openly declares, 'Here God creates heaven and earth, the sun and moon, and all the elements.'⁸⁷ Both in what they specify and what they exclude, these details preclude any reference to the Roman type of creation mentioned earlier, in which the imagery of the entire six days is collapsed into a single scene. Thus, despite the presence of the Creator, the course of creation in this image is decidedly and consciously non-biblical in its details – as distinct from its generally biblical form and Augustinian rationale within the conceptual structure of the manuscript – something that was not the case in either the Souvigny Bible or the Tiberius Psalter. Ultimately, the same might be said for the presence of the compass, that it is decidedly non-biblical, regardless of its possible indirect justification through Proverbs 8: 27. For unlike the compass in the Tiberius Psalter – which is unemployed, one of several more or less incidental symbols that individually contribute certain discrete characterizations to the larger iconic depiction of the Creator – the actively used compass here serves as the focal point of the entire image and the primary device of narration.

And what is being narrated through these details of astronomical spheres and compass is nothing less than the Christianized creation of the world according to Plato. In the *Timaeus*, in the crucial passage on the beginning of time – the same subject that is shown here – Plato describes how, as part of the general process of creation, the sun, moon and five other planets were created (the canonical seven planets, the sun and moon being considered planets in pre-modern astronomy).⁸⁸ In the Vienna *Bible moralisée*, these are shown as the sun, moon and eight other spheres: the ten representing the seven planets (of which only the sun and moon are specified in Genesis), the sphere of the fixed stars, the sphere of the primum mobile and the sphere of the empyrean.⁸⁹ And while the spherical shape of the cosmos was more or less standard and certainly non-controversial, one of the functions of the compass is to draw attention to its perfect, geometric form: concern with the geometric perfection of the cosmic sphere at the time of creation being entirely absent from Genesis but being an important matter in Plato's account, which emphasizes that at every point the circumference was perfectly equidistant from the centre point.⁹⁰ There is only

one way to convey this idea visually, and that is through the use of a compass – the visual reading of whose active use here is, therefore, not at all the same as that of the passive compass in the Tiberius Psalter. This leads us to the other function of the compass. In the Middle Ages, there were only two types of people who were thought of as using a compass: the geometer and the *artifex*, or craftsman.⁹¹ The image of the Creator in the Vienna *Bible moralisée* is clearly not that of a geometer. This leaves only an *artifex*, or, more precisely, *the artifex* – the word *artifex* being so commonly understood to mean God that it was defined as such in a dictionary of biblical terms contemporary with the Vienna *Bible moralisée*.⁹²

Thus, this is not exactly an iconic image of God as the architect of creation, as described by some authors. It is rather a narrative image of the Christianized Demiurge – the Craftsman, *the artifex*, in all his platonic seduction – at the beginning of time, in the process of simultaneous creation before the first day.⁹³ But would anyone, aside from the ‘old theology’, have actually thought of this as platonic? To the ‘old theology’, the issue was not platonism, it was Christianized platonism. When such an image was placed at the beginning of Genesis, certainly all educated viewers – and this image was made under French royal patronage⁹⁴ – would have been fully aware of the image’s ostensible scriptural basis in Proverbs. But the platonic factor would have been operative as well, even overriding, and can only be described as overt, given the extremely high recognition level and prestige of the *Timaeus* at this time. Yet this would have been the case not necessarily in the sense of an independent reference to the *artifex* of the *Timaeus*, but more insidiously – in the opinion of the ‘old theology’ – in the sense of a concordance between the Bible and platonic thought. And in this regard, it seems to have been no coincidence that the famous body of Bibles of which the Vienna manuscript is a part was made under the instruction of clerical scholars. While these were clerical scholars who explicitly rejected the ‘dialecticians’ and ‘secular’ scholars within their profession and who were more moderate than Abelard or Thierry of Chartres, their very middle-ground position is an indicator of how far Christianized platonism could penetrate – here, in the vernacular, reaching to the heights of the very throne itself (plate 12).⁹⁵

But it gets worse, from the point of view of the ‘old theology’. If the Vienna *Bible moralisée* could show at the beginning of Genesis a process of creation different from that recounted in Genesis, the Bible of Saint-Hubert shows not even this, depicting instead a platonic conception – not even the process – of creation, through boethian and macrobian interpretations, in its Genesis monogram (plate 13).⁹⁶ Made in the late eleventh century at the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Hubert, formerly an Augustinian house, this almost crypto-platonic monogram shows the Creator surrounded by images of the four elements with inscriptions declaring their function as a variation of the platonic solids: evidence that a greater than comfortable degree of platonic influence was penetrating monasticism long before the great platonizing masters of Paris and Chartres had brought about a concerted reaction against themselves from such monastic leaders as Bernard of Clairvaux and William of Saint-Thierry.⁹⁷

Similar examples could be multiplied endlessly. Boethius himself appears alongside Moses, David and Solomon in the hexameral creation page of the

Gospels of Henry the Lion, made at the traditional Benedictine monastery of Helmarshausen by the monk Herman in around 1175, where the Early Christian master of Christianized platonism is ranked with the authors of Genesis and of the Sapiential books and Psalms as a sacred authority on creation (plate 14).⁹⁸ The word *hile* is featured prominently in the depiction of the second day of creation in the initial to Genesis of a Bible from St Albans Abbey from the end of the twelfth century (plate 15).⁹⁹ The latinization of the Greek word for the primordial chaotic material, *hile* (or more properly, *hyle*) is a word referred to by Ambrose and Augustine in the late fourth century but which in the twelfth century was part of the platonic vocabulary of such new theologians as Thierry of Chartres on the basis of Chalcidius's commentary on the *Timaeus* – here, being gratuitously thrust into the imagery of the second day to indicate the still unformed nature of much of the cosmos at this time.¹⁰⁰ The inclusion here of overtly platonic elements into otherwise traditional representations is illustrative of the 'marginal' character of much of the public: these educated members of society, not the 'new theologians' *per se*, were the public for whom the 'old theology' was fighting so tenaciously.

But certainly beyond hope, in the opinion of the 'old theology', must have been whoever was responsible for the two full-page illustrations in a copy of Honorius Augustodunensis's *Clavis Physicae*, both of which go beyond Honorius's abridgement of Erigena's *De Divisione Naturae* in their Timaeian and Chalcidian themes – possibly a monk at the venerable Benedictine monastery of Michelsberg, near Bamberg. The first depicts creation not in the biblical six days but in the platonic four types of living creatures (plate 16).¹⁰¹ The second illustrates William of Conches more than it does Honorius or Erigena, boldly proclaiming ANIMA MUNDI across the top of the page, over the head of a personification of this same world soul presiding over the interaction of the four elements, showing better than the writings of the 'new theology' to what degree twelfth-century monastic culture had become infiltrated by platonism, according to Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny (plate 17).¹⁰² Lost also, according to this view, must surely have been the monk of Christ Church in Canterbury, who was responsible for the frontispiece to Boethius's *De Musica* of c. 1130, however innocent his intention may have been, which shows Plato sitting on the cosmos, book in hand, right arm raised in a gesture of authority, in general form looking for all the world like the Creator himself in the Yawist cycle of Saint Paul's in Rome (plates 18 and 19).¹⁰³

While many of the conceptual and iconographic components of these neoplatonic theories and their images had long traditions in Western medieval literary and artistic culture, their central role in the 'new theology' made them newly suspect – and newly attractive. Indeed, from the point of view of the moderate educated monk or canon, much of this imagery could have been seen as little more than a contemporary integration of learning and biblical study. But from the point of view of the 'old theology', this shift of interest from salvation to science was perceived as reducing the process of creation to the natural operation of the four elements – something that desacralized the cosmos, something that could very easily be seen as an undermining of the basis of the theory of the

history of salvation. Furthermore, in many cases, this could be seen as coming from precisely that quarter from which the 'old theology' most needed support: the more highly educated component of the monastic and collegial wings of the Church. Thus, when the 'old theology' responded, its arguments were actually directed not so much at the leading thinkers of the 'new theology' themselves, the danger without, but at those monks and canons on the margins, the danger within – a marginal public not unsympathetic to both sides which today is sometimes called the 'swing voters', a group that was all the more sought after precisely because of its marginal character and all that that implied.

How did the 'old theology' respond artistically? Remembering always that the breadth of interest in creation in the twelfth century and the nature of the extant artistic evidence make it both unnecessary and impossible to do a closely chronological analysis, the basic tendency was for the 'old theology' to respond traditionally – and so respectably but ineffectually according to the standards of the new urban centres of thought. The Bible of Sainte-Geneviève, believed to have been made for the collegial foundation of Saint-Etienne in Troyes c. 1185–1195, contains an interesting example of what seems to be a deliberate, though weak, response to the scientific challenges of the 'new theology' in the twelfth-century controversy over creation (plate 20).¹⁰⁴ In the initial to Genesis in this Bible, which is universally seen as connected to a group of luxury Bibles of the late twelfth century including the Pontigny Bible discussed earlier (plate 7), the artist presents a conception of the six days of creation that is clearly related to the Pontigny Bible, although not directly dependent upon it, in the general composition of the six central roundels and the overall design.¹⁰⁵ But there are a number of significant differences in the otherwise strikingly similar Sainte-Geneviève initial: the image of the Creator appears centrally in each of the hexameral roundels; the Four Cardinal Winds are depicted in the four corners of the inner rectangle; and the Priestly account of creation in the central roundels is fully integrated with the Yawist account of the creation and Fall in the flanking roundels – all missing from the purely Priestly account of the Pontigny Bible. In general, these elements taken individually do not necessarily have any special significance. But in this particular instance they are directly related to the creation controversy. In this particular case, the repeated and centralized images of the Creator are meant to emphasize the direct role of God in creation, as opposed to the more scientific theories of elemental creation of the 'new theology'. The Four Cardinal Winds act to make plain the cosmic significance of the events they define as the centre of the universe, as opposed to the desacralized universe of the 'new theology'. And – because these first two elements have suggested a specific polemical direction on the part of the person responsible for determining this scene, a direction beyond the literal illustration of the text – it seems that the integration of the Yawist account of the Fall, in this specific case, is meant to go beyond a simple narrative of creation in connecting the need for salvation with creation, in connecting creation with the need for restoration. (The two cherubim guarding the gate of Paradise, the Four Rivers of Paradise, and the groups of animals at the bottom add nothing to this cosmic intent, but only serve to indicate locality and contribute to the ornamentation of the initial.) Thus, when seen in comparison to the initial to

Genesis in the Pontigny Bible, this might be said to be a standard hexameral *I* reaction to the new scientific theories, an attempt to 'resacralize' the cosmos desacralized by the 'new theology' and to reintroduce, in however minor a way – and it is rather minor – the history of salvation into the history of humankind.

A stronger, more confident move in the same direction is seen in the hexameral initial to Genesis in the Bible of Robert de Bello, abbot of Saint Augustine's, made *c.* 1230–1240, possibly at Canterbury (plate 21).¹⁰⁶ In this lavish initial, the Nine Choirs of Angels are shown above the descending Six Days of Creation, the choirs integrated along with the Fall of the Bad Angels into the first day. The Creator is prominently portrayed in each day, and the Trinity is depicted as resting on the seventh at the bottom. Though made with deliberate near-ambiguity, the figure of the Creator is that of the Father alternating from day to day with the Son – arranged in such a way that, appropriately, the Father administers over the creation of the first day, and the Son over the creation of Adam and Eve – and with the *spiritus* (breath) of the *Spiritus Sanctus* (Holy Spirit) coming equally from the mouth of each on the seventh day: this arrangement constituting a denial to those who wanted to delineate too finely the various roles of the members of the Trinity in creation, such as Thierry of Chartres, Abelard, and William of Conches, whose views were denied by William of Saint-Thierry and others.¹⁰⁷ Extending away from this in a way that breaks dramatically with the letter form of the *I*, drawing attention to itself through its almost antithetical horizontal relationship with the vertical presentation of the creation series, are two rows of three roundels each. The top three depict (in five scenes) an abbreviated Yawist account of the Fall from the Admonition to the Labour of Adam and Eve. The bottom three show Noah's Ark, the Tower of Babel and the Sacrifice of Isaac. As a group, these are not exactly the main events of Genesis, as has been said by others, though no further explanation has been given. To begin with, there are a number of stories from Genesis that are of much more importance both narratively and exegetically than the Tower of Babel, such as the stories of Cain and Abel, Jacob and Joseph. Furthermore, although the general importance of Noah's Ark and the Sacrifice of Isaac is obvious, their specific meaning is unclear in this particular context – both having a number of important, even famous, interpretations, something that is not the case with the Tower of Babel. Thus, it must be the Tower of Babel that provides the key to the specific meaning of Noah's Ark and the Sacrifice of Isaac in this creation initial. The predominant significance of the Tower of Babel is – as Augustine says in *The City of God* – that it represents Babylon, the Great Whore, the ultimate Old Testament symbol of the City of Man. Given this basic direction, the great ecclesiological and christological interpretations of Noah's Ark and the Sacrifice of Isaac should be seen as having only passive roles in this instance. Instead, at play here is the active exegetical sense of the Ark and Abraham as representing the two ages of the six ages of the history of salvation that occur in Genesis, both of these events being specifically described by Augustine as symbols of the City of God on earth.¹⁰⁸ When these scenes at the bottom of the initial – that is, at the end of the visual narrative – are seen in connection with the nine choirs of angels at the top, or beginning, the whole presents a forceful

statement of the history of salvation. History began with the creation of the ten choirs of angels and the fall of one, and will conclude only when that tenth choir is replaced by humankind: the goal of the history of salvation.¹⁰⁹ Toward this end, the goal of neither the Priestly nor the Yawist account here is to explain creation itself. The purpose of both is ultimately an historical one, to lay the foundation for the history of salvation, to show that the God of creation is also the God of restoration, to show that humankind's salvation is linked to its creation from the very beginning. Still, the presentation, though not the concept, is one that is limited to the narrative of Genesis and the addition of the apocryphal fall of the angels.

This is not the case with the great Winchester Bible, made c. 1150–1180 at the Cathedral Priory of Saint Swithun, in Winchester. In its initial to Genesis, the degree to which the history of salvation could be seen as conceptually imbedded in the beginning of Genesis is nowhere more fully manifested (plate 22).¹¹⁰ Unlike the Bible of Robert de Bello, the initial here is taken to its logical conclusion, looking beyond the immediate text to its greater significance, replacing the six or sometimes seven days of creation of the traditional hexameral *I* with the six ages of the history of salvation, and with the Last Judgement initiating the period of the perpetual sabbath that forms the seventh and last age, as articulated by Augustine in the conclusion to his *City of God*.¹¹¹ What was put timidly and without profound thought in the Sainte-Geneviève Bible, and ingeniously but in a limited fashion in the Bible of Robert de Bello, here reaches what might be described as the natural limits of the initial to Genesis as a visual vehicle for those seeking to expound polemically in this direction.

We thus see that these are something more than simple sets of 'pretty pictures', as they are sometimes described as being. We see that thought on the burning issue of creation – both literarily and artistically – was dominated by two seemingly contradictory mentalities: one that saw creation primarily in light of the history of salvation, as incidental to the restoration of humankind after the fall, and one that saw it through the prism of Classical learning about the cosmos and the elements. But we also see that between pronounced manifestations of these positions other opinions existed at every point of the spectrum – the opinions of educated monks and canons who were not committed to either extreme, but the weight of whose opinions mattered to the proponents of the 'old' and 'new' theologies. This was by definition a marginal public, not at all necessarily the great minds, although they were a significant factor. In order to win them over, clearly both traditional and more current demands had to be met. They had to be seduced, seduced with equal amounts of both sides of the argument.

From the point of view of the mainstream Church – that part of the educated Church which accepted change but only at a cautious pace, theologically, and with a deferential though not slavish attitude toward the Fathers – this was not something that the 'old theology' could address effectively, for with the 'old theology' there could be no compromise. Nor, ultimately, could the 'new theology' effectively win over the vast majority of this group at this time, as mainstream thought still saw the primary purpose of learning as leading one to an intellectual/spiritual illumination which in turn could lead to personal salvation.

No, in order to retain this marginal group within the mainstream, which itself was slowly but irrevocably turning in the direction of the 'new theology', the only effective response could be a dialectical one – one with a traditional basis that dialectically coopted certain of the trappings of Classical learning – and this was possible only from a position that was itself the result of a certain amount of dialectical thought: the middle-ground.

Theologically, this was accomplished through the work of such middle-ground scholars as Peter Lombard and Hugh of Saint Victor, scholars who were well versed in both the methods and thought of Classical learning but who could dialectically synthesize them into the traditional orthodox framework in order to create contemporarily attractive but doctrinally acceptable systems of thought. An excellent example of this is Lombard's *Liber Sententiarum*, which adopts the method but not the attitude of Abelard's *Sic et Non*. No less, in its own way, is Hugh's *De Sacramentis*, the first treatise ever to be called a *summa* by its author and ultimately the product of Aristotelian logic in its systematization of knowledge.¹¹²

Artistically, this middle-ground position was publicly argued in the imagery of the time just as it was with the more pronounced positions of the 'old' and 'new' theologies in the language of creation, restoration, knowledge, the use of knowledge in the ascent of the soul – which is the proper pursuit of knowledge for the scholar, according to the middle-ground position – the relation of the individual to the cosmos, the history of salvation, and so on. These issues were most effectively and comprehensively put forth in perhaps the most complex single work of art from the entire Middle Ages, *The Mystic Ark*, a painting conceived by Hugh c. 1130 in response to this controversy. The subject of a brilliant series of lectures, it is summarized in a fifty-six-page 'treatise' that is unique in the study of medieval art: *The Mystic Ark*. The treatise records the form and meaning of a highly complex cosmic schema containing hundreds of figures, the central object of which is Noah's Ark preceded by the Six Days of Creation. Based on a combination of literal description from Genesis, previous exegetical tradition, and a certain amount of neoplatonic thought, *The Mystic Ark* is a presentation of the Christian history of salvation within the framework of a neoplatonic cosmic schema. That is, *The Mystic Ark* was an attempt to leave the rejection of secular learning and logic of the 'old theology' behind while at the same time co-opting the intellectual basis of the theory of creation of the 'new theology', thus attempting to prevent the 'new theology' from claiming this prestigious intellectual position as its own – a middle-ground position which corresponded to the middle-ground character of the canons regular, of which Hugh was one, somewhere between monasticism and the clerics of the new Schools. But this is another story.¹¹³

So much of the popular modern conception of public discourse in the Middle Ages has been formed either by the Romantic view of the nineteenth century of that period as a time of now-lost social harmony and unquestioned religiosity, or by the anti-Catholic Protestant view of the medieval Church as unhesitatingly imposing, preferably by force, a system of belief on a docile mass of people kept purposefully ignorant, the few of whom who dissented being eagerly burned at the

stake. This was simply not the case. Not only was the entire Middle Ages a period of theological inquiry actively commensurate with the contemporary economic base that normally supports such inquiry, but there were many, at all levels of society, who did not agree with mainstream theological opinion. Indeed, on many important matters, no Church view existed which could actually claim the unquestioned force of dogma – something that typically only resulted from current debates, rather than preceded them. Certain aspects of the issue of creation were among these disputed points, and the debate was in part worked out through images, images for the intellectual elite, the conditioners of thought, the shapers of power – the public who would eventually decide the outcome through the force of its opinion. The position of the ‘old theology’, as expressed by Bernard, was straightforward: ‘Is not our hope unjustified, if [the elements of] faith are in doubt?’ – against which attitude the ‘new theology’, in the person of William of Conches, railed, ‘Ignorant themselves of the forces of nature and wanting to have company in their ignorance, they do not want people to look into anything. They want us to believe like peasants and to not ask the reason behind things.’¹⁴ What *were* people to think? Were they to think that, despite the benevolent overview of a Christian deity, human existence was predicated upon an essentially independently working Nature, and that God’s role in creation was indirect, with all that that distance implied for the Church both theologically and as a temporal institution of great power and wealth? Or were they to think that every aspect of the existence of humankind began with and was directed toward one goal: the fulfilment of the history of salvation which had been pre-ordained from the beginning of time, the guide and interpreter for which was the Church? These were questions for which the stakes were high and the answers varied, both verbally and visually, and for which the imagery of creation can serve as evidence of the intellectual/political state of the monasteries and collegial houses in which they were conceived.

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Notes

To John Williams, on his seventieth birthday. My thanks to the Guggenheim Foundation for its generous support of my larger project, *The Mystic Ark: Hugh of Saint Victor and the Multiplication and Systematization of Imagery in the Early Gothic Portal*, of which this is part, and to Kathleen Pyne for her close reading of this text. When dual systems of traditional numeration exist for primary sources, reference is made to the more precise of the two. All biblical references are to the Vulgate.

- 1 Abelard, *Epistola*, ed. V. Cousin, *Petrus Abaelardi: Opera*, 2 vol., Paris, 1849, vol. 1, p. 680. On Abelard in general, see, among others, J. G. Sikes, *Peter Abailard*, reissued New York, 1965; D. E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard: The Influence of Abelard's Thought in the Early Scholastic Period*, Cambridge, 1969; and most recently, J. Marenbon, *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard*, Cambridge, 1997; the latter two with full bibliographies.
- 2 Attributed to Peter the Venerable, *Epitaphia Abaelardi* 1, ed. V. Cousin, *Petrus Abaelardi: Opera*, 2 vols, Paris, 1849, vol. 1, p. 717.
- 3 Or in the post-Darwinian world of late nineteenth-century England and America; cf. K. A. Pyne, *Art and the Higher Life: Painting and Evolutionary Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century America*, Austin, 1996; my thanks to Kathleen Pyne for this apt reference.
- 4 On this see esp. R.-H. Bautier, ‘Paris au temps

- d'Abélard', *Abélard en son temps*, Acts du Colloque international organisé à l'occasion du 9e centenaire de la naissance de Pierre Abélard, Paris, 1981, pp. 21–77; and R.-H. Bautier, 'Les origines et les premiers développements de l'abbaye Saint-Victor de Paris', ed. J. Longère, *L'abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor au moyen âge*, Communications présentées au XIIIe Colloque d'Humanisme médiéval de Paris, Turnhout, 1991, pp. 23–52. See also A. Luchaire, *Louis VI le Gros: Annales de sa vie et de son règne, 1081–1137*, Paris, 1890, pp. XLII–LXIV. I use the French word *clan*, which is borrowed from Bautier and which refers to a political culture characterized by a particular form of patronal factions, in order to avoid any confusion with its common meaning in English. For a discussion of the fundamental structural distinctions between the two *clans* cited here, see my forthcoming book, *The Mystic Ark*.
- 5 For example, J. Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi: Darstellungen der sechs Schöpfungstage und naturwissenschaftliches Weltbild im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1979.
 - 6 *ibid.*, pp. 25–6, 219.
 - 7 For a further discussion on religious art that lies between the public and private spheres, see C. Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life: Reading, Art, and Polemics in the Cîteaux Moralia in Job*, Princeton, 1997, p. 94.
 - 8 Hugh of Saint Victor, *Didascalicon* 3: 2, ed. C. Buttner, Catholic University of America: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin 10, Washington, 1939, p. 52.
 - 9 Both were ascribed to Aristotle in the Middle Ages and comprised what was known as the Old Logic. *De Interpretatione* is generally considered today to be by Aristotle, *Categories* is thought by many to be spurious. The remaining logical treatises of Aristotle translated by Boethius, and known as the *Organon*, were not current in the early twelfth century, gradually resurfacing only later. On these, see C.H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, New York, 1927, p. 345. The liberal arts as they eventually came to be conceived under the influence of Martianus Capella comprised grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy.
 - 10 These criticisms of logic are typically embedded in broader condemnations of secular learning. For example, Paul, 1 Cor. 8: 1; Col 2: 8; 1 Tim. 6: 20–21. Ambrose, *Exameron* 1: 7, 1: 9, 1: 24, ed. K. Schenkl, et al., *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 32, Vienna, 1897, vol. 32, pt. 1, pp. 6–7, 8, 22–3. Benedict of Nursia, as traditionally conceived in Gregory the Great, *Dialogorum Gregorii Papae Libri Quatuor* 2: preface 1, ed. A. de Vogüé, *Dialogues*, 3 vols, Paris, 1979, vol. 2, p. 126; and implied in Benedict of Nursia, *S. Benedicti Regula Monachorum* prologue, ed. B. Linderbauer, Metten, 1922. Cassian, *Conlationes* 14: 16, ed. and trans. E. Picery, *Sources chrétiennes* 42, 54, 64, Paris, 1955–1959, vol. 2, pp. 203–206 (citing the passage from Timothy referred to above). Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 27: 1, ed. M. Adriaen, *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina* 143–143B, Turnhout, 1979–1985, p. 1331. Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Die Pentecostes* 3: 5, ed. J. Leclercq and H.M. Rochais, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, 8 vols, Rome, 1957–1977, vol. 5, pp. 173–4; *In Sollemnitatem Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* 1: 3, vol. 5, pp. 189–90; *Epistola* 190, vol. 8, pp. 17–38; among very, very many others.
 - 11 Among any number of other works by these authors, this practice is apparent in Boethius, *Philosophiae Consolatio*; Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* (1: preface, *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford, 1961, p. 3, for the passage cited here); Anselm of Canterbury, *Cur Deus Homo*; Hugh of Saint Victor, *Didascalicon*; it pervades the writings of Augustine. On this subject in general, see R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, London, 1953, pp. 170–84.
 - 12 My use here of the term platonism encompasses all forms of platonism, including neoplatonism, which as a term dates only from the nineteenth century.
 - 13 The standard work on this is Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, op. cit. (note 9), to which must be added R.L. Benson and G. Constable (eds), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, Mass., 1982, with historiographical introduction (pp. xvii–xxx) and reference to further bibliography on the question of the renaissance of the twelfth century (p. xxi, n. 3).
 - 14 On the two mentalities, see esp. J. Leclercq, 'S. Bernard et la théologie monastique du XIIIe siècle,' *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, vol. 9, 1953, pp. 7–23; and G.R. Evans, *Old Arts and New Theology: The Beginnings of Theology as an Academic Discipline*, Oxford, 1980. My use of the terms 'old' and 'new theologies' comes from the twelfth-century expression, the 'new theology.' Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistola* 190: 1, op. cit. (note 10), vol. 8, p. 17; William of Saint-Thierry, *Disputatio Adversus Petrum Abaelardum* 3, *PL* 180: 255. For an example of the twelfth-century awareness that it was the experiential aspect of the 'old theology' that in part distinguished it from the 'new,' see Bernard of Clairvaux, *De Conversione* 4, 25, op. cit. (note 10), vol. 4, pp. 74, 99.
 - 15 Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, op. cit. (note 11), pp. 11, 181. The crucial texts of Aristotelian logic – all translated by Boethius – were Aristotle's *Categories* and *De Interpretatione*, and Porphyry's *Isagoge* (an introduction to the *Categories*).

- 16 Tertullian, *De Praescriptione Haereticorum* 7, ed. R.F. Refoulé, *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis* 1, Turnhout, 1954, p. 193.
- 17 Anselm of Canterbury, *Epistola de Incarnatione Verbi* 1, ed. F.S. Schmitt, *S. Anselmi Opera Omnia*, Edinburgh, 1946–1961, vol. 2, pp. 9–10; cited by Evans, *Old Arts and New Theology*, op. cit. (note 14), p. 69.
- 18 The sources on Abelard's phenomenal popularity are too numerous to cite here; many of these may be found in Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard*, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 1–13.
- 19 Chalcidius translated that part of the *Timaeus* which deals with creation; Plato (trans. Chalcidius), *Timaeus* 17a–53c, J.H. Waszink (ed.), *Timaeus: A Calcidio Translatum Commentarioque Instructus*, London, 1962, pp. 7–52. Somewhat less of the *Timaeus* had also been translated by Cicero and was available but less widely used; Plato (trans. Cicero), *Timaeus* 27d–47b, ed. R. Giomini, *De Divinatione, De Fato, Timaeus*, M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta Quae Manserunt Omnia 46, Leipzig, 1975, pp. 179–227. On the importance of the *Timaeus* in the Middle Ages, see R. Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages*, rev. edn, Munich, 1981, p. 28.
- 20 For Plato's account of creation in the *Timaeus*, which is summarized in the following paragraphs, see especially Plato, *Timaeus* 28a–53c, trans. R.G. Bury, *Plato*, 10 vols, Cambridge, Mass., 1952, vol. 7, pp. 48–126. For Chalcidius's rendering of *demiourgos* as *opifex*, see Plato (trans. Chalcidius), *Timaeus*, 29a, 41a, op. cit. (note 19), pp. 21, 35; he also uses *fabricator* once along with *opifex* (29a, p. 21). Cicero translates *demiourgos* as *artifex* and *effector*; Plato (trans. Cicero), *Timaeus* 29a, 41a, op. cit. (note 19), pp. 180, 214, also using such words as *fabricator* and *aedificator* to convey the general idea (28c–29a, p. 180). References to the use of *opifex* and *artifex* in the Fathers and later writers are far too numerous to cite here. While *artifex* generally has a higher status than *opifex*, the words are used interchangeably in the patristic literature. Various architectural metaphors are also quite common in the sources.
- 21 God or Wisdom (Christ) as an *artifex*: Wis. 7: 15–21, 13: 1–5. The cosmos as a work of architecture: Job 38: 4–6. The foundation of the earth, and weighing and ordering: Prov. 8: 22–31, Is. 40: 12, Wis. 11: 21. The Book of Psalms is technically not a part of the Wisdom books but is traditionally associated with them in the Catholic tradition. Part of this discussion of the Sapiential books is based on L. Scheffczyk, *Creation and Providence*, New York, 1970, pp. 16–18, who also discusses the Priestly and Yawist accounts.
- 22 The term *logos* appears in Wis. 9: 1, 18: 15, among other places. Philo Judaeus, *De specialibus legibus* 1: 81, ed. and trans. F.H. Colson, *Philo*, Cambridge, Mass., 1950, vol. 7, p. 146.
- 23 Scheffczyk, *Creation*, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 24–8. Cf. esp. 1 Cor. 8: 6, Col. 1: 15–19.
- 24 Scheffczyk, *Creation*, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 29–30.
- 25 Clement of Alexandria, *Cohortatio ad Gentes* 6, PG 8: 176. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 8: 11–12, B. Dombart and A. Kalb (eds), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini de Civitate Dei*, *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina* 47–8, Turnhout, 1955, pp. 227–9; *De Doctrina Christiana* 2: 43, ed. J. Martin, *Aurelii Augustini Opera* 4: 1, *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina* 32, Turnhout, 1962, p. 63. Plato is known to have travelled to Italy and Sicily, though whether he visited Egypt is unknown.
- 26 For a discussion of patristic commentaries on Genesis, see Y.-M. J. Congar, 'Le thème de Dieu-Créateur et les explications de l'Hexameron dans la tradition chrétienne', *L'Homme devant Dieu: Mélanges offerts au Père Henri de Lubac*, 1963, pp. 189–222.
- 27 J. Parent, *La doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres*, Paris, 1938, pp. 49–50. Despoiling the Egyptians: Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana* 2: 60, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 73–4. On the chartrians in general, see also, among others, de J. de Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique du XII^e siècle*, 2nd ed., Bruges, 1948; R.W. Southern, 'Humanism and the School of Chartres', *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, Oxford, 1970, pp. 61–85; Southern, 'The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres', eds R.L. Benson and G. Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, Mass., 1982, pp. 113–37; Evans, *Old Arts and New Theology*, op. cit. (note 14); Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition*, op. cit. (note 19).
- 28 The phrasing is from Scheffczyk, *Creation*, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 115–16.
- 29 Sikes, *Peter Abailard*, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 165–6. Abelard, *Theologia Summi Boni* 1: 2, ed. H. Ostlender, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters*, vol. 35: 2/3, 1939, p. 3 (also known as *Tractatus de Unitate et Trinitate Divina*). Cf. Abelard, *Historia Calamitatum*, ed. J. Monfrin, Paris, 1959, pp. 81–9, esp. 87–8. Otto von Freising, *Gesta Frederici seu Rectius Cronica* 50, eds G. Waitz, B. von Simson and F.-J. Schmale, Berlin, 1965, pp. 224–6.
- 30 Abelard, *Historia Calamitatum*, op. cit. (note 29), pp. 81–9, esp. 81–4. Parent, *La doctrine de la création*, op. cit. (note 27), pp. 70–4. R.W. Hanning, 'Ut enim Faber . . . sic creator: Divine Creation as Context for Human Creativity in

- the Twelfth Century', ed. C. Davidson, *Word, Picture, and Spectacle*, Kalamazoo, 1984, p. 113. And along similar lines on Thierry of Chartres, cf. N. Häring, 'The Creation and Creator of the World According to Thierry of Chartres and Clarenbaldus of Arras', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, vol. 22, 1955, pp. 155–6.
- 31 Parent, *La doctrine de la création*, op. cit. (note 27), pp. 42. J. Taylor, 'Introduction,' in *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, New York, 1961, pp. 12–13. M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, Chicago, 1968, pp. 27, 171. Scheffczyk, *Creation*, op. cit. (note 21), p. 127. Hanning, 'Ut enim Faber,' op. cit. (note 30), pp. 101, 109–10. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 11: 6–7, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 326–7.
 - 32 Augustine, *De Genesi ad Litteram Imperfectus Liber* 16–18, PL 34: 226–7.
 - 33 For example, Augustine, *De Genesi ad Litteram Libri Duodecim* 1: 12, PL 34: 250–1; *De Immortalitate Animae* 24, PL 32: 1033; *De Genesi ad Litteram Imperfectus Liber* 16–17, PL 34: 226–7. For Augustine's thought on this throughout his life, see Vernon Bourke, *Wisdom from St Augustine*, Houston, 1984, pp. 78–90.
 - 34 Augustine, *Retractionum Libri Duo* 10: 4, ed. P. Knöll, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 36, Vienna, 1902, pp. 54–6. Boethius was also of importance on the issue of the world soul. The fact, however, that he wrote in verse and not prose seems to have given him a certain amount of latitude with his readers; Boethius, *Philosophiae Consolatio* 3: poem 9, ed. L. Bieler, *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae Consolatio*, *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina* 94, Turnhout, 1957, pp. 51–2.
 - 35 Abelard, *Theologia Christiana* 1: 68–109, ed. E.M. Buytaert, *Petri Abaelardi Opera Theologia*, *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis* 11–12, Turnhout, 1969, vol. 2, pp. 100–117. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistola* 190 (*De Erroribus Abaelardi*) in general; and 190: 10, op. cit. (note 10), vol. 8, p. 26, for the passage cited. William of Saint-Thierry, *Disputatio Adversus Petrum Abaelardum* 5, PL 180: 265–6. On this see further, Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici* 51–2, op. cit. (note 29), pp. 226–36; Parent, *La doctrine de la création*, op. cit. (note 27), pp. 73–5; Scheffczyk, *Creation*, op. cit. (note 21), p. 127; Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard*, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 123–7.
 - 36 William of Conches, *In Boetium* 3: 9, Troyes MS 1381, f. 63v (cited Parent, *La doctrine de la création*, op. cit. (note 27), pp. 74); and *Philosophia Mundi* 1: 15, PL 172: 46–7 (wrongly ascribed to Honorius Augustodunensis). On this, Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society*, op. cit. (note 31), p. 69. On William in general, see Parent, *La doctrine de la création*, op. cit. (note 27), pp. 73–5; Scheffczyk, *Creation*, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 117–8; and B. Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester*, Princeton, 1972, pp. 249–62. Thierry of Chartres, *Magistri Theoderici Carnotensis Tractatus* 25–7, N. Häring (ed.), in, 'The Creation and Creator of the World According to Thierry of Chartres and Clarenbaldus of Arras,' *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, vol. 22, 1955, p. 193. On Thierry of Chartres, see Parent, *La doctrine de la création*, op. cit. (note 27), pp. 76; Häring, 'The Creation and Creator,' op. cit. (note 30), pp. 153–4; and Stock, *Myth and Science*, op. cit. (note 36), pp. 240–9. On the desacralization of nature, see Chenu, pp. 10–15. This is a subtle issue; cf. Scheffczyk, *Creation*, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 118–19, who is not, however, in disagreement with Chenu: it is a question of precisely what type of 'rational' approach is taken to nature and how the world soul/Nature is defined.
 - 37 Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society*, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 4–24. Scheffczyk, *Creation*, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 118–19.
 - 38 Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society*, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 172–3. Abelard, *Introductio ad Theologiam* (2: 6), ed. V. Cousin, *Petrus Abaelardus: Opera*, 2 vols, Paris, 1849, vol. 2, p. 84; *Theologia Christiana* 4: 76–8, op. cit. (note 35), vol. 2, pp. 300–02. See also R.W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 2. Hugh of St Victor and the Idea of Historical Development', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, series 5, vol. 21, 1971, p. 168.
 - 39 For an example of such discussions, see C. Rudolph, *The 'Things of Greater Importance': Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art*, Philadelphia, 1990, p. 210.
 - 40 Southern, 'Humanism and the School of Chartres', op. cit. (note 27), in general, but especially pp. 74–7; and Southern, 'The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres', op. cit. (note 27), which reviews criticism of his original thesis.
 - 41 Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi*, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 25–6. Zahlten has added the figures for all media for the twelfth century incorrectly; cf. the table on p. 219. This trend began to decline in the fourteenth century and continued to do so for the rest of the Middle Ages. Zahlten's categories are ultimately iconographical and unrelated to the conceptual categories and arguments presented here. On the iconography of creation, see also J. Van der Meulen,

- 'Schöpfer, Schöpfung', E. Kirschbaum (ed.), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 8 vols, Rome, 1968–1976, vol. 4, with bibliography here; for bibliography see also Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi*.
- 42 Rome, Bib. Vat. MS Barb. lat. 4406, f. 23.
- 43 On the panels of Saint Paul's, see J. Garber, *Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen der alten Peters- und Pauls-basiliken in Rom*, Berlin, 1918; J. Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom*, Munich, 1964; and more recently, H.L. Kessler, 'Pictures as Scripture in Fifth-Century Churches', *Studia Artium Orientalis et Occidentalis*, vol. 2, 1985, pp. 23–7.
- 44 For an excellent discussion of this panel in light of the history of salvation, see Kessler, 'Pictures as Scripture', op. cit. (note 43), pp. 25–6.
- 45 On the Cotton Genesis, of which only a few fragments survive from the fire of 1731, see K. Weitzmann and H. L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis: British Library Codex Cotton Otho B.VI*, Princeton, 1986.
- 46 London, Brit. Lib. MS Add. 10546, f. 5v. H.L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, Princeton, 1977, pp. 13–35. Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, op. cit. (note 45), pp. 22, 55.
- 47 Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 2: 37, PL 34: 215–16; and to a lesser extent 2: 19, 39, PL 34: 206, 217; possibly following Tertullian, *De Anima* 11, ed. J.H. Waszink, *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis* 1, Turnhout, 1954, p. 797; both on the basis of Eph. 5: 31–32. That this passage from Augustine is the basis of the additional scenes is supported by the fact that in the same passage he discusses Gen. 2: 6, which states how a spring watered the entire face of the earth, something which Augustine interprets as referring to the relationship between the Holy Spirit and the Virgin. This accounts for the body of water in the background of the scenes of paradise. This has been interpreted as a vestige of late antique atmospheric perspective (F. Mutherich and J. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting*, New York, 1976, p. 73), something that is the case for other elements of the banded background but not for this one: the two attendant angels and Christ of the top register appear from behind this paradisaical spring but in front of the other bands, a spring which abruptly disappears upon the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise.
- 48 Ambrose, *De Paradiso* 38–40, ed. K. Schenkl, *et al.*, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 32, 62, 73, 78, 79, 82, Vienna, 1897 f., vol. 32, part 1, pp. 294–7.
- 49 Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, op. cit. (note 46), pp. 23, 28–9, has already dealt with this question, drawing attention to the *Vita Adae et Evae* and Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaicae*, where Eve takes part in the Admonition. To this can be added that the sequence found in the Grandval Bible is the same found in Isidore's *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*, Genesis 3–4, PL 83: 217–18; and that in the Old Latin Version and the Septuagint, the plural is used (thus implying the presence of Eve) in different phrases of the same sentence of Gen. 2: 17; *Vetus Latina*, Gen. 2: 17, ed. B. Fischer, Freiburg, *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, vol. 2 *Genesis*, 1951, pp. 47–8. Cf. also Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 2: 15, PL 34: 205–206; and Ambrose, *De Paradiso* 26–7, op. cit. (note 48), vol. 32, pt. 1, pp. 282–4. For illustrations of the Bamberg, Vivian, and San Paolo Bibles, see Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, op. cit. (note 46), figs 2, 3, 4.
- 50 On Gottschalk's threatening the Church, see E. Bréhier, *Histoire de la philosophie*, Paris, 1951, vol. 1, p. 542. W. Koehler, (*Die Schule von Tours*, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen* 1, 3 vols, Berlin, 1930–33, pp. 200–12 and *passim*) has suggested that this frontispiece was part of a larger, fifth-century anti-Manichaean prototype belonging to Leo I, copied by the monks of Tours. A. A. Schmid (*Die Bibel von Moutier-Grandval: British Museum Add. Ms. 10546*, Bern, 1971, p. 149 f.) rejects this, arguing instead that the four frontispieces of the Grandval Bible are an assemblage of Pauline theology. For an analysis of these authors, see Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, op. cit. (note 46), pp. 145–8: I myself have not studied these illustrations as a group, but only the component discussed here, though the basic elements of grace, creation and salvation are part of all three arguments. Whatever the meaning of these images as a group, they should be seen in conjunction with the penetrating analysis of the intellectual/spiritual atmosphere in H.L. Kessler, "'Facies Bibliothecae Revelata': Carolingian Art as Spiritual Seeing", *Testo e immagine nell'alto medioevo*, *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 41, Spoleto, 1994, pp. 533–94.
- 51 For an example of the limited recognition of newly formulated iconographical compositions, see the discussion of the west central portal of Saint-Denis in C. Rudolph, *Artistic Change at St-Denis: Abbot Suger's Program and the Early Twelfth-Century Controversy over Art*, Princeton, 1990, pp. 32–63.
- 52 Salzburg, Stiftsbib. St Peter MS A.XII.18, f. 6. This study is in no way an iconographical analysis, for which see Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi*, op. cit. (note 5).
- 53 London, Brit. Lib. MS Add. 14788, f. 6v.
- 54 Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbib. MS 24, f. 96.
- 55 Dijon, Bib. Mun. MS 12, f. 3v.

- 56 Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi*, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 57–63 and *passim*. Van der Meulen, 'Schöpfer, Schöpfung', op. cit. (note 41), pp. 119–21. Although it was only in the early twelfth century that the historiated hexamer *I* began to become widespread, the earliest known example is from the Lobbes (Goderannus) Bible of 1084; Tournai, Bib. du Séminaire MS 1, f. 6 (Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi*, op. cit. [note 5], fig. 74). Images of the six days also appear in contexts other than the Bible; for example, Ambrose's *Hexameron* (Munich, Bay. Staatsbib. MS Clm. 14399, f. 10, 14v, 21v, 40, 52, 74; Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi*, op. cit. (note 5), figs 155–8); Peter Comestor's *Historia* (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS lat. 16943, f. 2; Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi*, op. cit. (note 5), fig. 86); and Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaicae* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 1632, f. 3; J.J.G. Alexander, *The Decorated Letter*, New York, 1978, pl. 25).
- 57 Paris, Bib. Nat. MS lat. 8823, f. 1. On this manuscript in general, see W. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, Ithaca, 1982, no. 91; and more recently Patricia Stirnemann in L. Pressouyre and T. Kinder (eds), *Saint Bernard et le monde cistercien*, Paris, 1990, no. 132, both with bibliography.
- 58 For the iconographical tradition of the four elements in creation imagery, see Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi*, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 133–44. For a benign literary example of this, see Abelard, *In Hexameron*, PL 178: 733; and *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*, PL 178: 622. Often described as the Aristotelian elements, these are pre-Socratic in the origin of their thought, which was not superseded until Robert Boyle's definition of an element as a chemically irreducible substance in his *The Sceptical Chymist* of 1661.
- 59 Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 22: 17, op. cit. (note 25), vol. 2, pp. 835–6.
- 60 On this artistic legislation, see C. Rudolph, 'The "Principal Founders" and the Early Artistic Legislation of Cîteaux,' *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture*, vol. 3, Cistercian Studies Series 89, Kalamazoo, 1987, pp. 21–8.
- 61 Moulins, Bib. mun. MS 1, f. 4v. On this manuscript, see Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, op. cit. (note 57), no. 76, with bibliography; special attention must be drawn to Walter Cahn's exceptional unpublished doctoral dissertation on the visual sources of the Souvigny Bible, 'The Souvigny Bible: A Study in Romanesque Manuscript Illumination', Ph.D. Diss., New York University, 1967.
- 62 On Souvigny, see L. Côte, *Moines, sires et ducs à Souvigny: Le Saint-Denis Bourbonnais*, Paris, 1966.
- 63 On the Roman type, see Van der Meulen, 'Schöpfer, Schöpfung', op. cit. (note 41), pp. 106–108; and Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi*, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 47–9.
- 64 Plato, *Timaeus* 32b, op. cit. (note 20), pp. 58–60.
- 65 Thierry of Chartres, *Tractatus*: general discussion of the first day, 5–7, op. cit. (note 36), p. 186; air over water, 22, pp. 191–2; order of the elements, 17, pp. 189–90; density of air and all unformed matter, 23, 28, pp. 192, 193–4; the spirit of the Lord [sic], 25–8, pp. 193–94. On this, see also Häring, 'The Creation and Creator', op. cit. (note 30), pp. 147–54.
- 66 Thierry of Chartres, *Tractatus* 8, op. cit. (note 36), pp. 186–7. On this, see also Häring, 'The Creation and Creator', op. cit. (note 30), pp. 148–9.
- 67 Thierry of Chartres, *Tractatus* 9, op. cit. (note 36), p. 187. On this, see also Häring, 'The Creation and Creator', op. cit. (note 30), p. 149. Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi*, op. cit. (note 5), p. 169, has also noticed the connection between Thierry and the islands.
- 68 Thierry of Chartres, *Tractatus* 10–13, op. cit. (note 36), pp. 187–8. On this, see also Häring, 'The Creation and Creator', op. cit. (note 30), pp. 149–50.
- 69 Although there is no need to attribute such a generality to Plato, his *Timaeus* 38c–d, op. cit. (note 20), p. 78, is the *locus classicus*.
These are not four circuits with areas of air in between, but seven continuously adjacent circuits, just as they are consistently depicted in medieval astronomical schemata. The gold circuits carry a very faint ornamental pattern meant to indicate that they are not air but circuits.
- 70 Thierry of Chartres, *Tractatus* 14, op. cit. (note 36), p. 189. On this, see also Häring, 'The Creation and Creator', op. cit. (note 30), p. 150.
- 71 Thierry of Chartres, *Tractatus* 14, op. cit. (note 36), p. 189. On this, see also Häring, 'The Creation and Creator', op. cit. (note 30), p. 150. The swirl of green across the body of Adam refers to his formation from the 'slime of the earth' (Gen. 2: 7), the rest of the earth also being coloured green.
- 72 As noted in Häring, 'The Creation and Creator', op. cit. (note 30), p. 155.
- 73 Vienna, Ost. Nationalbib. MS 2554, f. Iv. See G. Guest, *Bible moralisée: Codex Vindobonensis 2554, Vienna Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, London, 1995, for an overview of the literature and bibliography. More recently, see K.H. Tachau, 'God's Compass and *Vana Curiositas*: Scientific Study in the Old French *Bible Moralisée*', *Art Bulletin*, vol. 80, 1998, pp. 7–33. I follow the date suggested by R. Haussherr, *Bible moralisée: Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Vindobonensis 2554 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 2 vols, Graz, 1973, vol. 2, p. 7.

- 74 For this entire discussion, J. Friedman, 'The Architect's Compass in Creation Miniatures of the Later Middle Ages', *Traditio*, vol. 30, 1974, pp. 419–29.
- 75 O. von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order*, expanded ed., Princeton, 1987, p. 35, n. 37.
- 76 Hanover, Kestner Museum MS WM XXIa 36, f. 9v. On this manuscript, see E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles vol. 2, London, 1976, no. 67, with complete bibliography. This illumination should be seen in relation with the facing folio, folio 10, which shows the face of the Creator (Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, fig. 225).
- Tiberius Psalter: London, Brit. Lib. MS Cotton, Tiberius C. VI, f. 7v. On this, Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 98, with extensive bibliography; but special attention should be paid to A. Heimann, 'Three Illustrations from the Bury St Edmunds Psalter and Their Prototypes', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 29, 1966, pp. 39–59. To this should be added the extensive study, K.M.J. Openshaw, 'Images, Texts and Contexts: The Iconography of the Tiberius Psalter', London, British Library, Cotton MS. Tiberius C.VI, unpublished Ph.D dissertation, University of Toronto, 1990, esp. pp. 31–3, 456–7, 490.
- 77 Friedman, 'The Architect's Compass', op. cit. (note 74), gives full critical discussion, bibliography and artistic sources. E. Panofsky, *Dürers 'Melencolia I': Eine quellen- und typengeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Berlin, 1923, pp. 67–8. R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art*, London, 1964, pp. 339–40. Von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, op. cit. (note 75), p. 35, n. 37.
- 78 Friedman, 'The Architect's Compass', op. cit. (note 74), p. 423. Heimann ('Three Illustrations from the Bury St. Edmunds Psalter', op. cit. [note 76], pp. 52–3) differs from this in seeing the pipes that extend from the Creator's mouth as referring to number and also to the Son, giving a trinitarian interpretation of this image which she herself does not seem to be completely convinced by, despite her broad learning. The two pipes that extend from the mouth of the Creator are in all likelihood meant to show his vivifying powers, as Heimann herself shows in another creation image in an earlier article; New York, Pierpoint Morgan Lib. MS 394, f. 5v (A. Heimann, 'Trinitas Creator Mundi', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 2, 1938, fig. 8b). Perhaps more directly related is the testimony of Ps. 32: 6, which states how God established the heavens and their power by the word and *spiritus* (spirit/breath) of his mouth, the pipes coming from his mouth giving visual emphasis to this concept which is otherwise rather difficult to depict.
- 79 Augustine, *De Genesi ad Litteram Libri Duodecim* 4: 7, PL 34: 299. Alan of Lille, *Liber in Distinctionibus Dictionum Theologicalium*, PL 210: 856, confirms this understanding of *mensura*, referring to this very passage.
- 80 On this, see Tachau, 'God's Compass and *Vana Curiositas*', op. cit. (note 73).
- 81 Pr. 8: 27: '... certa lege et gyro vallabat abyssos.'
- 82 Vienna, Ost. Nationalbib. MS 2554, f. 1–1v.
- 83 For example, on the creation of the angels of the first day, as referred to in Vienna, Ost. Nationalbib. MS 2554, f. 1, see Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 11: 9, 11: 32–3, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 328–30, 351–4. On the foreshadowing of the Church of the sixth day as described in Vienna MS 2554, f. 1v, Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 2: 37, PL 34: 215–16. On the non-literality of the hexamer on in general, Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 11: 6–9, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 326–30; *De Genesi ad Litteram Libri Duodecim* 2: 28, 4: 1, 4: 37–5: 1–6, PL 34: 274–5, 295–6, 310–23; *De Genesi ad Litteram Imperfectus Liber* 28, 31, PL 34: 231, 233.
- 84 Augustine's thought varies somewhat on this; but in general see *De Civitate Dei* 11: 6–9, 11: 32, 11: 33, 22: 30, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 326–30, 352, 353–4, 865–6; *Confessiones* 12: 9, 12: 15–16, 12: 24–25, ed. L. Verheijen, *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina* 27, Turnhout, 1981, pp. 221, 223–4, 228–9; *De Genesi ad Litteram Libri Duodecim* 1: 8, 1: 12, PL 34: 249, 250–1; *De Genesi ad Litteram Imperfectus Liber* 6–12, PL 34: 222–4.
- 85 The sea-green colour of this element is consistent with that in the second, third, fifth and seventh days; Vienna MS 2554, f. 1–1v. The next elemental ring toward the centre is the air, the next fire (in the sense of ether), and the form in the centre earth (cf. the depiction of the earth in the roundel of the second, third and seventh days).
- 86 On this, see Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi*, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 153–6.
- 87 Vienna, Ost. Nationalbib. MS 2554, f. 1v: 'Ici crie Dex ciel et terre, soleil et lune, et toz elemenz.'
- 88 Plato, *Timaeus* 38c, op. cit. (note 20), p. 78.
- 89 This arrangement would have been obvious to anyone familiar with astronomical schemata in the Middle Ages. Definitions and arrangement of these components vary, but as used here the primum mobile represents the crystalline sphere; the empyrean is the heavenly sphere of ether or fire; cf. K. Künstle, *Iconographie der Christlichen Kunst*, 2 vol., Freiburg im Breisgau, 1926–1928, vol. 1, p. 174.

90 Plato, *Timaues* 33b, op. cit. (note 20), pp. 60–2.

91 For example, the compass is shown as the attribute of the geometer in folio 32 of the nineteenth-century copy of the famous illumination of the Liberal Arts from the lost, late twelfth-century *Hortus Deliciarum*; R. Green, et al., *Hortus Deliciarum*, 2 vols, London, 1979, vol. 2, p. 57. The compass is presented as the tool of the *artifex* in Is. 44: 13: 'artifex lignarius ... in circino tornavit illud'; and a compass is depicted in the stained glass window of the sculptors at Chartres (for an illustration, see J. Favier, *The World of Chartres*, New York, 1990, p. 155), and at the feet of Hugues Libergier in his tomb relief in Reims Cathedral (for an illustration, see P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1996, p. 90), both contemporary with the Vienna *Bible moralisée*. On the *artifex* in general, see von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, op. cit. (note 75), pp. 33–7 and *passim*; Friedman, 'The Architect's Compass', op. cit. (note 74); J. Leclercq, 'Otium Monasticum as a Context for Artistic Creativity', T. Verdon (ed.), *Monasticism and the Arts*, Syracuse, 1984, pp. 69–71; Hanning, 'Ut enim Faber', op. cit. (note 30).

92 Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, PL 210: 711.

93 For a different view, which sees this image as 'emblematic' and the following hexameron as narrative (rather than in the figural, Augustinian sense I describe here), see J.M. Heinlen, 'The Ideology of Reform in the French Moralized Bible', unpublished Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1991, pp. 14–15.

94 On the likelihood of royal patronage, see Heinlen, 'The Ideology of Reform in the French Moralized Bible', op. cit. (note 93), pp. 238–42.

95 New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib. MS M.240, f. 8. My interpretation is in complete accordance with Heinlen's theory that the frontispieces of the *Bibles moralisées* must be thought of in relation to the imagery that follows; Heinlen, 'The Ideology of Reform in the French Moralized Bible', op. cit. (note 93), pp. 12–30.

Recently, Tachau, 'God's Compass and *Vana Curiositas*', op. cit. (note 73), has shown how the *Bibles moralisées* carry strong messages against 'secular' scholars (those with excessive interests in astrology and dialectics) and against Catharists, suggesting that the Bibles were in part the work of the circle of Peter the Chanter (following Heinlen, 'The Ideology of Reform in the French Moralized Bible') – a general argument that is convincingly shown. But more specifically, she has also suggested that the frontispiece of Vienna MS 2554 is directed against both secular scholars on the grounds that the compass conveys the idea that only God 'encompasses the entire created order' and Catharists because God himself is shown creating the material world.

As to the first part of her interpretation, the word play between 'compass' and 'encompasses' is one that does not work in Latin. But more to the point, the visual vocabulary of the *artifex*, in conjunction with creation imagery, overwhelmingly relates it to platonist thought. The term *artifex* (or *opifex*) for the Christian Creator is something that appears hundreds of times in the sources on creation, many of which were among the most important texts read by the educated. For example, the term is found repeatedly in the authoritative Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 11: 22, 11: 23, 12: 26, 22: 11, 22: 19, 22: 30, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 341, 342, 382, 829, 838, 862 (these are only the most important, see also *passim*); *Confessiones* 11: 15, op. cit. (note 84), p. 201; and throughout his other writings; the unquestionably orthodox Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 14: 70, op. cit. (note 10), p. 742, and cf. 9: 86, 34: 11, pp. 518, 1741; the middle-ground contemporary Hugh of Saint Victor, *Didascalicon* 1: 7, PL 176: 745; *De Sacramentis* 1: 1: 1, 1: 6: 17, PL 176: 187, 274; *De Arca Noe Morali* 2: 16, PL 176: 645; *In Hierarchiam* 1: 1, 1: 2, 2, 7, 9: 13, PL 175: 926, 928, 949, 1064, 1118; the conservative William of Saint-Thierry, *De Natura Corporis* 2, PL 180: 715; and cf. *Epistola Domni Willemi ad Fratres de Monte Dei* 265, ed. and trans. J. Déchanet, *Lettre aux frères du Mont-Dieu*, Sources chrétiennes 223, Paris, 1975, p. 356; and, of course, the source of it all, Plato (trans. Cicero), *Timaues* 29a, op. cit. (note 19), p. 180; Cicero also uses such words as *fabricator* and *aedificator* to convey the general idea (28c–29a, p. 180); Chalcidius renders *demiourgos* as *opifex*, see Plato (trans. Chalcidius), *Timaues*, 29a, 41a, op. cit. (note 19), pp. 21, 35; he also uses *fabricator* once along with *opifex* (29a, p. 21); among many, many others from the Bible to Ambrose to Basil to Boethius to Rupert of Deutz. It is also important to note in regard to the first part of Tachau's interpretation that neither Peter the Chanter nor the person responsible for Vienna MS 2554 rejected Plato or Classical thought out of hand, by any means. On Peter's middle ground views on Plato, see J.W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, 2 vols, Princeton, 1970, vol. 1, pp. 103–104. On Vienna MS 2554's acceptance of Classical thought through the vehicle of Augustine and Jerome, see Vienna MS 2554, f. 65 (Tachau, 'God's Compass and *Vana Curiositas*', op. cit. [note 73], fig. 18), where the latter are shown bemoaning the theft of 'the philosophy of the pagans' by 'heretics and the unfaithful' (*les populicans et les mescreantz*); and cf. Tachau, 'God's Compass and *Vana Curiositas*', pp. 19–22 on this.

As to the second part of her interpretation,

- the depiction of the creation of the material world by the Creator is true of virtually all creation imagery. The idea that creation is good, as repeatedly stated in Genesis, is integral to this. What distinguishes this image here is not its general theme but its specific details, details that, again, unequivocally relate it to platonist thought as I describe above.
- Given its strong rejection of secular scholarship on the one hand and its moderate acceptance of platonist thought on the other, the manuscript must be seen as one form of middle-ground argumentation.
- 96 Brussels, Bib. Roy. MS II.1639, f. 6v. On the Bible of Saint-Hubert, see Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, op. cit. (note 57), pp. 124–6, no. 39, with full bibliography. Of special interest is H. Bober, 'In Principio: Creation Before Time', *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. M. Meiss, 2 vols, New York, 1961, pp. 13–28, who has analysed the platonic theme of this initial.
 - 97 The appearance of the platonizing Bible of Saint-Hubert before the twelfth-century platonizing scholars has been commented on by Hanning, 'Ut enim Faber', op. cit. (note 30), p. 121.
 - 98 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bib. MS Guelph 105 Noviss. 2°, f. 172. On the Gospels, see H. Fuhrmann and F. Mutherich, *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen und das mittelalterliche Herrscherbild*, Munich, 1986; and F. N. Steigerwald, *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen*, Offenbach, 1985; both with full bibliographies.
 - 99 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 48, f. 7v. C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066–1190*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, vol. 3, London, 1975, no. 91, with full bibliography.
 - 100 On the use of the word *hile* by Ambrose, Augustine and in Chalcidius's commentary on the *Timaieus*, see Häring, 'The Creation and Creator', op. cit. (note 30), p. 153. Thierry of Chartres, *Tractatus* 24, op. cit. (note 36), p. 192.
 - 101 Paris, Bib. Nat. MS lat. 6734, f. 3v. Plato, *Timaieus* 39e–40a, op. cit. (note 20), pp. 82–4. For an analysis of these images, as well as of Michelsberg as the possible place of their origin, see M.-T. d'Alverny, 'Le cosmos symbolique de XIIe siècle', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, vol. 20, 1953, pp. 36–7.
 - 102 Paris, Bib. Nat. MS lat. 6734, f. 1v. D'Alverny, 'Le cosmos symbolique', op. cit. (note 101), pp. 31–81.
 - 103 Cambridge, Univ. Lib. MS li.3.12, f. 61v. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, op. cit. (note 99), no. 41, with bibliography. Rome, Bib. Vat. MS Barb. lat. 4406, f. 24v.
 - 104 Paris, Bib. Nat. MS lat. 11535, f. 6v; sometimes called the Bible of Sainte-Geneviève, sometimes called the Bible of Saint-Germain-des-Près. For the possible place of origin and date, I follow M. Harrison Caviness, *Sumptuous Arts at the Royal Abbeys in Reims and Braine: Ornatus Elegantiae, Varietate Stupendae*, Princeton, 1990, p. 71; P. Danz Stirnemann, 'Quelques bibliothèques princières et la production hors scriptorium au XIIe siècle', *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, n.s., vol. 17–18, 1981–1982, pp. 31–2; and Stirnemann, 'Nouvelles pratiques en matière d'enluminure au temps de Philippe Auguste', ed. R.-H. Bautier, *La France de Philippe Auguste: Le temps des mutations*, Actes du Colloque international organisé par le C.N.R.S., Paris, 1982, pp. 963–7, 970 (the latter uses the name, the Bible of Saint-Germain-des-Près). On the house of Saint-Etienne, see T. Boutiot, *Histoire de la ville de Troyes*, 4 vols, repr. Marseille, 1977, vol. 1, pp. 210–12 and *passim*.
 - 105 On the Bible of Sainte-Geneviève, see Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, op. cit. (note 57), no. 93, with bibliography; on the related manuscripts, see Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, pp. 175–80, 221–2, nos. 91 and 99, with bibliographies. The Manerius Bible (Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, no. 99) has a virtually identical composition for the Genesis initial; I use the Bible of Sainte-Geneviève here because of its more obvious similarities with the Pontigny Bible (A. Boinet, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève de Paris*, Paris, 1921, pl. IV).
 - 106 London, Brit. Lib. MS Burney 3, f. 5v. On the Bible of Robert de Bello, see N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1: 1190–1250*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, vol. 4, Oxford, 1982, no. 63, with full bibliography.
 - 107 On this aspect of the creation controversy, see Parent, *La doctrine de la création*, op. cit. (note 27), pp. 69–81; Scheffczyk, *Creation*, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 95–104, 115–30; and Hanning, 'Ut enim Faber,' op. cit. (note 30), pp. 112–14.
 - 108 Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 15: 26, 16: 4, 16: 10, 16: 12, 16: 17, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 493–4, 504–505, 511–13, 515–16, 521–2. The six ages as given in *De Civitate Dei* 22: 30, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 865–6 (cf. also 16: 24, p. 527) are: 1) Adam to the Flood, 2) the Flood to Abraham, 3) Abraham to David, 4) David to the Babylonian Exile, 5) the Exile to Christ, 6) Christ to the end of time (and, finally, the seventh age, the Sabbath of humankind awaiting the Last Judgement; and the eighth age, eternity).
 - 109 Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 22: 1, op. cit. (note 25), p. 807.
 - 110 Winchester, Cath. Lib., Winchester Bible f.5.

- Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066–1190*, op. cit. (note 99), no. 83, with full bibliography.
- 111 Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 22: 30, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 865–6. Developed by Bede, *De Temporum Ratione* 66, PL 90: 520–521; *De Temporibus Liber* 16, PL 90: 288; and Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 5: 38–39, ed. W.M. Lindsay, Oxford, 1911, (n.p.).
- 112 On the comparison between Abelard and Peter Lombard, see Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, op. cit. (note 9), pp. 357–8. Hugh of Saint Victor, *De Sacramentis*, prologue to the prologue, PL 176: 183–4: ‘Hanc enim quasi brevem quamdam summam omnium in unam seriem compegi. ...’ On *De Sacramentis* as the first treatise to be called a *summa* by its author, M. Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 227; but on this, see also the qualification by Evans, *Old Arts and New Theology*, op. cit. (note 14), p. 40.
- 113 The painting, treatise and their context will be studied in my forthcoming book, *The Mystic Ark*.
- 114 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistola* 190: 9, op. cit. (note 10), vol. 8, p. 25: ‘Nonne si fluctuat fides, inanis est et spes nostra?’ William of Conches, *Philosophia Mundi* 1: 22, PL 172: 56; cited by Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society*, op. cit. (note 31), p. 11.