Women and Strasbourg Cathedral: Thirteenth-Century Portal Sculpture and Representations of Women

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Abstract

In this thesis, sculptures of women on the south transept (c.1220-25) and west facade (c.1280-1300) at Strasbourg Cathedral are studied as they correspond to thirteenth-century Rhenish thinking on women. Strasbourg Cathedral cleverly altered popular portal iconography to educate its audience on contemporary perceptions of women. The women on the south transept portal invite such explorations, particularly with the inclusion of a female donor inscription and imagery from the *Hortus deliciarum* by a local abbess, Herrad von Hohenbourg. The west facade then provides a display of the evolution of regional thinking on women with its portrayal of exemplary and cautionary women. The biblical, allegorical, and literary women of the portals present comparative examples that correspond to groups of medieval women present in the thirteenth-century city. Varied primary sources are consulted throughout this to provide a nuanced exploration of regional thinking on women coinciding with the sculpture. Despite the fertile grounds for research, this is the first large-scale study on the portrayal of women in medieval portal sculpture. This thesis works to fill a gap in scholarship, building a new methodology for the study of medieval women and portal sculpture, through engagement with primary sources alongside theories on the function of medieval sculpture.

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Chapter 4

The Wise and Foolish Virgins: "Contemptus Mundi" and Crafting Personification

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Chapter 5

The Virtues and Vices: Church Art, Dominicans Preaching, and Women

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Chapter 6

"Fevresse" and Synagoga: Changing Allegories of Jewish Women

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Conclusion

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Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for a degree or other qualification at this University or elsewhere. All sources are acknowledged as references.

COVID Impact Statement

COVID significantly set back my project. I began my research in January 2020, resulting in three months of study before lockdowns began. Library shutdowns led to an extended period where I was unable to access sources I required for my research. In one instance, I requested a book, *Das Strassburger Münster: Seine Ostteile und die Südquerhauswerkstatt,* for either interlibrary loan or purchase. The request was originally placed in March 2020. I was informed that interlibrary loans were not occurring due to COVID, on 19 March 2020. As there is no e-book of his volume, I had to wait for the library to resume purchasing physical books. I resubmitted a request on 12 July 2020. I was informed that it had been purchased as of 13 August 2020. As soon as it appeared on Yorsearch I placed a request to loan it, on 24 August 2020. It was in the library as of 14 September 2020 and I picked it up the next day. This is only one volume that was necessary for my research and it took six months to gain access. This was the case with many books that I needed.

I was also unable to complete research trips until after travel resumed. Original plans to visit Strasbourg were delayed due to a new strain of the outbreak in December 2021. I could not travel to Strasbourg for research until May 2022. This led me to not be able to complete many research trips over the course of my research.

Women and Strasbourg Cathedral: Thirteenth-Century Portal Sculpture and Representations of Women

Introduction

The exterior of Strasbourg Cathedral is adorned with sculptures, many of which represent women, who occupy multiple roles in the iconographic scheme, especially on the great portals of the south transept and west facade. Diverse studies have been completed on the sculpture, but none has focused on the representation of women. This project sets out to fill that gap in scholarship.

The sculptures seized my attention from my earliest encounter with the site, on an undergraduate study abroad programme in 2014. I approached along the north side of the cathedral, via the "Rue des Juifs" and then past the St. Lawrence portal. I was particularly struck by how many women were present on the west facade. I recognised many of the biblical women. The Virgin Mary can be found in various places throughout the programme, including the Infancy of Christ tympanum, Passion tympanum, and Throne of Wisdom gable.[1] Mary Magdalene is depicted twice in the Passion tympanum, at the Three Marys at the Tomb and "Noli me tangere." However, I was struck by how different she appeared to any of the representations I had seen before. Mary Magdalene is dressed as a contemporary woman in elaborate costly dress, deviating from her popular iconography with loose hair. Thus, the cathedral chose to depict her in the same clothing as the women of this time and place.

Allegorical women occupy the jambs of the north and south portal, the Virtues and Vices and Wise and Foolish Virgins, respectively. The position of these figures invited me to engage with them spatially. I stood below the Virtues as I entered into the cathedral, standing amongst the Vices. The Fürst der Welt invited me to walk around him, watching the creatures on his back disappear while standing with the Foolish Virgins in the portal looking outwards. The cathedral seems to have intended for contemporary viewers to engage with these sculptures. Other women were not immediately recognisable. This led me to question, who were they and why were they there.

[1] The Virgin Mary can also be seen in the Last Judgement tympanum, a nineteenth-century restoration of the destroyed work based on earlier drawings of the tympana. She is also depicted with the Christ child in the trumeau, created during the nineteenth-century restoration efforts by Philippe Grass and reworked by Louis Stienne: Benoît van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: sculpture des portails occidentaux* (Paris: Picard, 2006), 77–78, 136–40, 174, 194–95.

On a later visit, I walked around the church to the portal of the south transept, approaching from the west as thirteenth-century visitors would have done.[2] I encountered Ecclesia and Synagoga, figures I had seen recently in the Passion tympanum, though their attributes differed slightly. Upon my approach, Ecclesia, the personification of the Church, forced me to meet her gaze. Synagoga stands on the other side of the portal, but blindfolded, to contrast with her counterpart's striking stare. I remembered my approach via the "Rue des Juifs," inviting me to consider medieval Jews. The various personifications of Judaism may have responded to the cathedral's relationship with these contemporary Jews. Casting my gaze upwards, I was met with tympana and lintels representing the Assumption of the Virgin. A woman, who I later discovered to be Mary Magdalene again, kneels in the foreground of the Dormition of the Virgin tympanum.[3] I wondered how medieval visitors would have interacted with the portal and if the imagery worked to direct them.

I left Strasbourg with questions about these biblical, allegorical, and apocryphal women. After identifying the women depicted on the exterior of Strasbourg Cathedral, I began to explore these sculptural women further to see if research had been completed on them. The sculpture of Strasbourg Cathedral featured in large scale studies, but no study had fully analysed the representations of women, as a means of understanding contemporary ideas on women. I questioned whether this indicated that the research was not viable or simply had not been completed yet.

The most substantial studies on women and Strasbourg Cathedral can be found in *Das Straßburger Münster: Seine Ostteile und die Südquerhauswerkstatt* by Sabine Bengel and *Bildwirkungen: Die kommunikative Funktion mittelalterlicher Skulpturen* by Bruno Boerner.[4] Sabine Bengel studied the south transept and choir of the cathedral, in particular an inscription naming a woman called Savina and wider questions of female patronage.[5] She argued that Savina was likely a Sabine who was listed as the sister of the Porter at the church of St. Thomas in the city.[6] Bengel further argued that this Sabine was a beguine, due to her ownership of a property on the "Stadelgasse."[7] However, I disagree with this identification as

[2] Unfortunately, I was unable to see the south transept portal until 2021, as conservation efforts were ongoing from 2013 to 2021. I have combined my encounters here.
[3] Gérard Cames, "Qui est la servante de la dormition au portail sud de la cathédrale de Strasbourg?" *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 10 (1972): 51–56.
[4] Sabine Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster: Seine Ostteile und die Südquerhauswerkstatt* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2011), 196–204; Bruno Boerner, *Bildwirkungen: Die kommunikative Funktion mittelalterlicher Skulpturen* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 2008).
[5] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 199–204.
[6] Ibid., 201.
[7] Ibid., 199–204.

this Sabine was associated with the parish church of St. Thomas. [8] I find it more likely that her donations would benefit St. Thomas as opposed to the cathedral. Bengel used the inscription to explore women's donorship as personal piety.[9] Her study displayed the importance of analysing contemporary sources concerning women from Strasbourg in the study of the cathedral, as she engaged with wills and testaments and records of donation. In my previous work, I further analysed this epitaph and I have continued this research in this thesis.[10]

In *Bildwirkungen: Die kommunikative Funktion mittelalterlicher Skulpturen*, Bruno Boerner argued that twelfth-century Rhenish prayer books were a likely source of inspiration for the pictorial motifs in the Passion tympanum at Strasbourg Cathedral.[11] More specifically, Boerner maintained that the educational quality of images in the west facade at Strasbourg drew from the earlier manuscripts that had been made for women.[12] He argued this was due to the Dominicans' role in the pastoral care of women in Strasbourg.[13] Boerner uses manuscripts for women to study the portrayal of the Man of Sorrows and the Passion Tympanum.[14] However, he is concerned with the west facade, with little consideration given to the south transept.[15] Though Boerner explored how these manuscripts for women shaped the imagery at Strasbourg, he did not take this to its logical conclusion and similarly apply it to the portrayal of women on the facade.

Alexandria Kotoch studied the figure of "Frau Welt" and the "Fürst der Welt" with the Wise and Foolish Virgins.[16] She argued that the portrayal of the Wise and Foolish Virgins responded to growing tensions surrounding the beguines in the city, claiming that the Virgins displayed the two paths available to women at the time, prostitution or religious life.[17] I find this to be an oversimplification of a complex iconography. However, Kotoch does employ a similar methodology to that which I use in this thesis, with close consideration of primary sources.

These sources contributed to the understanding of medieval women and the sculpture of Strasbourg. Only Kotoch looked at how the representations of women on the cathedral

[8] Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten Der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266,* 150–51.
[9] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster*, 196–204.
[10] Lauren Beck, "Savina of the Strasbourg South Portal: Commemoration, Patronage, and Gender in Thirteenth-Century Strasbourg" (Masters Diss. University of York, 2019).
[11] Bruno Boerner, *Bildwirkungen*, 176–9.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., 216–36.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Boerner, *Bildwirkungen.*
[16] Kotoch, "Seeing Is Behaving."
[17] Ibid., 174–80.

correspond to contemporary ideas on women. However, her analysis was limited and only briefly discussed this correlation. No source fully answered any of the questions I had regarding the imagery of women on the cathedral and how the choice of portrayal may have correlated to contemporary thinking on women in the city.

The Importance of Primary Sources

After identifying that nothing substantial had been written on the sculpture of women on Strasbourg Cathedral and contemporary thinking around women, I turned to primary sources. The lack of secondary literature caused me to question whether the sculpture could be studied alongside contemporary women. Perhaps there were so few relevant primary sources that research on the subject was not viable. To ascertain whether the thirteenth-century landscape of Strasbourg warranted such research, I used the *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Strassburg*.[18] This source records a multitude of municipal documents from Strasbourg, including city statutes, letters, donations, wills, and records of sales. I recorded all entries from the end of the twelfth century to the beginning of the fourteenth century, the period framing the creation of the south transept and west facade. I then colour coded all sources that mentioned women. The exploration of sources in this way allowed me to understand that women were active participants in the thirteenth-century city and Church, as they were recorded in numerous documents. The primary sources also posed new questions on the extent to which the cathedral would have responded to the contemporary women in their community.

The most obvious source evidencing the cathedral's acknowledgement of the women in the region is the *Hortus deliciarum*, a twelfth-century manuscript created under Abbess Herrad von Hohebourg in the local Hohenbourg Abbey for the education of nuns within her community.[19] Joseph Walter first observed the use of the manuscript in the creation of the Old and New Covenant windows of the south transept.[20] Many scholars have further explored the connection between the cathedral and the *Hortus deliciarum*. Jean-Phillipe Meyer argued that the manuscript was also used in the creation of sculpture and the liturgy in the south

[18] Wilhelm Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg,* Vol. I-IV (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1879–98).
[19] Michael Evans, "Description of the Manuscript and the Reconstruction," in *Hortus deliciarum*, eds. Rosalie Green, Michael Evans, Christine Bischoff and Michael Curschmann, Vol. 1 (London: Warburg Institute, 1979), 1–8.
[20] Joseph Walter,"Les deux roses du transept sud de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Archives Alsaciennes d'histoire de l'art* 7 (1928): 13–33.

transept.[21] Emilie Cornu presented the theory that the *Hortus deliciarum* was also used to create some imagery on the west facade.[22] This continued use suggested that those who created the art of Strasbourg Cathedral were not only aware of the women in their community but actively employed sources created by and for them. This opened the door to consider wider sources on women that the cathedral may have been aware of.

Over the course of this thesis, I consulted other primary sources to explore the contemporary context of the sculpture. I used wills and testaments, records of donations, letters to and from the bishops of Strasbourg, papal bulls, chronicles, miracle stories, sermon exemplars, liturgical texts, manuscripts created by and for women, city statutes, plays and vernacular literature. Many of the documents relating to the city of Strasbourg were published in the aforementioned *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg* and the *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg*.[23] Many of the aforementioned primary sources are housed in various archives including, the Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg, Grand Séminaire de Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Humaniste de Sélestat, and British Library.

Liturgical texts from Strasbourg and wider sources for preaching are used in this thesis to elucidate iconographic choices in the cathedral programme. The liturgical sources are the *Cantatorium, Liber fratrum Argentinenesium,* and *Ordinarum Chori ecclesiae argentinensis*.[24] The *Cantatorium* is a twelfth-century liturgical source attributed to Strasbourg Cathedral, now housed in the British Library.[25] The *Liber fratrum Argentinensium* is a manuscript dated to between the twelfth and thirteenth century.[26] It recorded the

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[21] Jean-Philippe Meyer, "Les sculptures du transept: thématique et facture," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: chœur et transept: de l'art roman au gothique (vers 1180 – 1240)* (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2010), 190–98; Jean-Philippe Meyer, " Les sculptures du bras sud: chronologie et style," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: chœur et transept: de l'art roman au gothique (vers 1180 – 1240)* (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2010), 187–97; Jean-Philippe Meyer, "Les sculptures du bras sud, le texte de l'*Hortus deliciarum* et la liturgie," *in La cathédrale de Strasbourg: chœur et transept: de l'art roman au gothique (vers 1180 – 1240)* (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2010), 199–218.

[22] Émilie Cornu, "Le vitrail de la Psychomachie (vers 1310): résurgence d'un thème à la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 29 (2010): 93–114.

[23] Alfred Hessel and Manfred Krebs, eds. *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg: Vom Jahre 1202-1305*, Vol. 2 (Innsbruck: Universitäts-Verlag Wagner, 1928);Hermann Bloch and Paul Wentzcke, eds. *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg: Bis zum Jahre 1202*, Vol. 1 (Innsbruck: Universitäts-Verlag Wagner, 1908); Wilhelm Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg,* Vol. I-IV (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1879–98).

[24] Joseph Walter, "Essai sur l'ancienne liturgie de la cathédrale de Strasbourg: Suivi d'une notice sur le trésor du XIIIe siècle," *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg*, no. 2 (1932): 7–38; André Wilmart, ed. *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg: mss add. 23922 du Musée Britannique. Les processions de la cathédrale au Moyen Age* (Colmar: Editions Alsatia, 1928); Fritsche Closener, *Consuetudines Ecclesiasticae Argentinensis ecclesia (Ordinarium Chori ecclesiae argentinensis),* Sélestat Bibliothèque Humaniste, MS. 081; *Liber Fratrum Argentinensium*, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Don. 512.

[25] André Wilmart, ed. *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg: mss add. 23922 du Musée Britannique. Les processions de la cathédrale au Moyen Age* (Colmar: Editions Alsatia, 1928).

[26] Joseph Walter, "Essai sur l'ancienne liturgie de la cathédrale de Strasbourg: suivi d'une notice sur le trésor du XIIIe siècle," *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg*, no. 2 (1932): 7–38; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Don. 512, *Liber Fratrum Argentinensium.*

Consuetudines of Baldolf, the eleventh-century customary laws of Strasbourg Cathedral. The later fourteenth-century *Ordinarum Chori ecclesiae argentinensis* included earlier customs and statues of Strasbourg Cathedral, collected by Fritsche Closener (priest and historian from Strasbourg, who died in the late fourteenth century).[27]

The references to the *Hortus deliciarum* prompted me to consider other manuscripts created by and for women in the region, including the *Guta-Sintram Codex* of Guta of Schwartzenthann, the *Scivias* and *Ordo Virtutum* of Hildegard von Bingen, and a Book of Hours in the Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen to broaden out the sources for female engagement in the manuscript culture of the Upper Rhineland during this period.[28] The *Guta-Sintram Codex* (1154) was created in a joint endeavor between the canoness Guta of Schwartzenthann and the canon Sintram of Marbach in the diocese of Strasbourg.[29] Various works of Hildegard von Bingen are considered as her works were widely circulated and she was well respected in her lifetime. These include the *Scivias* and *Ordo Virtutum.*[30] St. Gallen Cod. Sang 402 (1235-50) is a Book of Hours, created for the education of nuns in Basel.[31]

Thirteenth-century preaching sources are also consulted to understand contemporary preaching to and about women, including the *Dialogus miraculorum* of Caesarius von Heisterbach and *In festo sanctae Magdalenae sermo unicus* of Peter Comestor.[32] Dominican sources must be considered due to their appearance and growing influence in the thirteenth-century city. Dominican sources were analysed to understand how they were teaching women in their care. These include the *Scala coeli* by Johannes Gobi the Younger, *Sermones aurei* and *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, *Alphabetum narrationum* of Arnold of Liège,

[27] Fritsche Closener, *Consuetudines Ecclesiasticae Argentinensis ecclesia (Ordinarium Chori ecclesiae argentinensis),* Sélestat Bibliothèque Humaniste, MS. 081

[28] Hildegard von Bingen, "Ordo Virtutum: The Play of the Virtues," in *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Hildegard von Bingen, *Selected Writings*, trans. Mark Atherton (London: Penguin Books, 2001), 53–62; Hildegard von Bingen, *Scivias*, trans. Mother Columba Hart and Jane Bishop (New York: Paulist Press, 1990); Herrad von Hohenbourg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, eds. Rosalie Green, Michael Evans, Christine Bischoff, and Michael Curschmann, Vol. 1–2 (London: Warburg Institute, 1979); *Guta-Sintram Codex*, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire de Strasbourg, Strasbourg, Ms. 37; Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, St. Gallen, Cod. Sang. 402; Melissa Nieto, "St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 402," E-Codices – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland 2020, Accessed 20 May, 2021, https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/csg/0402/Nieto; "Cod. Sang. 402." *E-Codices – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland*. Accessed 15 March, 2021. https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0402.

[29] Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 35–37.

[30] Hildegard von Bingen, *Selected Writings*, 53–62; Hildegard von Bingen, *Scivias*.

[31] "St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 402," E-Codices – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland 2020.

[32] Peter Comestor (attributed to Hildebert de Lavardin), *In Festo Sanctae Magdalenae Sermo Unicus*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, Vol. 171, Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina (Paris: Bibliothecae Cleri Universae, 1854), 671–78;

Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus by Stephen of Bourbon, and *De bono* by Albertus Magnus.[33]

To provide a nuanced discussion of Christian-Jewish relations in the thirteenth century, I considered a variety of sources, including papal bulls regarding Jews such as the *Sicut Iudeis*, the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council, the itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, Jewish epigraphs, the 35 charges against the Talmud by Nicholas Donin, and Passion plays.[34]

Careful consideration of the authenticity of imagery and sources must also be considered to best ascertain what was visible and accessible in the thirteenth century. It is important to first consider what parts of the south transept and the west facade at Strasbourg Cathedral are original to the thirteenth century. The exterior of the cathedral was extensively damaged during the French Revolution and resulting iconoclasm of 1793.[35] Many original sculptures were lost. The south transept casualties include the central figure of Solomon, the bust of Christ, twelve apostle jamb figures, the previously mentioned inscription naming one Savina, and two Marian lintels.[36] Fortunately, an engraving of the portal was created prior to its destruction in 1617 by Isaac Brunn. This image was used to guide nineteenth-century restoration efforts.[37] Details of the restoration are dealt with in more detail later when

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[33] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, ed. Eamon Duffy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); Stephen of Bourbon, *Tractatus de Diversis Materiis Predicabilibus. Prologus. Prima Pars: De Dono Timoris*, eds. by Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 425–27; Johannes Gobi the Younger, *La scala coeli de Jean Gobi*, ed. Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: Edition du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991); Albertus Magnus, *De Bono*, ed. by Heinrich Kühle, Carl Feckes, Bernhard Geyer, and Wilhelm Kübel, Vol. 28 (Opera Omnia. Aschendorff: Monasterii Westfalorum in aedibus, 1951), 158–59, 161–62; Arnold of Liège, *An Alphabet of Tales: An English 15th Century Translation of the Alphabetum Narrationum of Étienne de Besancon; from Additional MS. 25719 of the British Museum*, ed. Mary Macleod Banks, Vol. 1–2 (London: Kegan Paul Trench Truebner, 1904); Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones Aurei*, ed. by P. Adel. Figarol (Toulouse: Ex Typis Orphanarum, 1874), 435, 518.

[34] Elisheva Baumgarten, *Biblical Women and Jewish Daily Life in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022), 114–15; Rainer Josef Barzen, "Hebrew Inscriptions in Public Spaces of Medieval Ashkenaz" (paper presented at the 57th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, 12 May 2022); Rainer Josef Barzen, "Personal Grief between Private and Public Space: A Micrographic Inscription as a Historical Source (Ms Vienna Cod. Hebr. 16)," in *Philology and Aesthetics Figurative Masorah in Western European Manuscripts*, ed. Hanna Liss (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2021), 35–57; Anonymous, *Das Benediktbeurer Passionsspiel: Das St. Galler Passionsspiel. Nach Den Handschriften,* ed. by Eduard Hartl (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 2016); Anonymous, *La passion du palatinus: Mystère du XIVe siècle*, ed. by Grace Frank (Paris: Librarie Honore Champion, Editeur, 1992); Shlomo Simonsohn, ed. *The Apostolic See and the Jews: Documents: 492–1404*. Vol. 94. Studies and Texts (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1991); Robert Weyl and Marie-Dominique Waton. "Découverte de deux inscriptions hébraïques rue des Juifs à Strasbourg." *Cahiers Alsaciens d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire* 30 (1987): 145–48; Anonymous, *Le mystère de la passion nostre seigneur du Ms. 1131 de la Bibliothèque Ste-Genevieve*, ed. by Graham A. Runnalls (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1974); Robert Weyl, "L'inscription dédicatoire d'une «Weiberschul» (?) du XIIIe siècle à Strasbourg," *Revue des etudes Juives* 132, no. 4 (1973): 682–86; Robert Weyl, "Les inscriptions hébraïques des Musées de Strasbourg," *Cahiers Alsaciens d'archeologie, d'art et d'histoire* 17 (1973): 85–92; Baldwin, ed. *Christianity Through the Thirteenth Century*, 320–3; Marcus Nathan Adler, ed. *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Critical Text, Translation and Commentary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1907); Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, Pal. lat. 1969; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Fr. 1526; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Lat. 16558, f. 211r–214v.

[35] Sabine, Bengel, "De la révolution à nos jours: destructions, usures et restaurations," in *Strasbourg- La grâce d'une cathédrale*, ed. Joseph Doré (Strasbourg: La nuée bleue, 2010), 96.

[36] Sabine Bengel, "Le décor sculpté des parties orientales de la cathédrale de Strasbourg. Du roman rhénan au gothique français," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, La Révolution Gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Giorgia Passaro (Strasbourg: Editions des Musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 89–93.

[37] Sabine Bengel, "De la révolution à nos jours: destructions, usures et restaurations," in *Strasbourg- La grâce d'une cathédrale*, ed. Joseph Doré (Strasbourg: La nuée bleue, 2010), 97–8.

analysing the iconography of the south transept. Scholars are in general agreement that this engraving is a faithful recreation of the portal prior to the French Revolution.

The damage on the west facade was more complex with most sculpture requiring some restoration work. Benoît van den Bossche analysed the sculpture of the west facade, cataloguing original sculpture and restorations.[38] His study includes diagrams identifying original elements with minimal restoration, original sculpture with considerable restoration, copies whose original elements are now housed in the Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame, new elements reflecting the original iconography, and recent additions with iconography not present before the French Revolution.[39] The nineteenth-century restoration work was based on engravings and drawings predating the iconoclasm of 1793.[40] The restoration of the west facade is also further addressed in this thesis when considering the iconography of the west facade.

This careful consideration of authenticity must also be applied to other primary sources. For example, the *Hortus deliciarum* was destroyed in 1870 during the bombardment of Strasbourg in the Franco-Prussian War.[41] Prior to its destruction it was extensively studied and copied.[42] The manuscript was carefully reconstructed by the Warburg Institute in 1979, based on the copies of images and text that were created prior to its destruction.[43] Image variants are also included in the volume, displaying the authenticity of the images in the manuscript reconstruction. Though this recreation was very carefully created, it is impossible to fully understand how the manuscript would have originally appeared.

It is impossible to fully understand how the cathedral appeared in the thirteenth century and its original context. Thus, it was important to carefully consider the authenticity of imagery and sources when studying the sculpture of Strasbourg Cathedral. As such, I refer to the Isaac Brunn engraving when discussing the lost sculpture of the south transept portal. I also endeavoured to study the sculpture of the west facade which had only sustained minimal restorative work.

[38] Benoît van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux* (Paris: Picard, 2006),
[39] Ibid., 51–54.
[40] Ibid., 68–78.
[41] Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights*, 1.
[42] Michael Evans, "Description of the Manuscript and the Reconstruction," in *Hortus Deliciarum*, eds. Rosalie Green, Michael Evans, Christine Bischoff and Michael Curschmann, Vol. 1 (London: Warburg Institute, 1979), 1-8.
[43] Ibid.

Building a Methodology

My project sets out to broaden our understanding of the relationship between the representation of women in medieval art and the social history of women in the thirteenth century. Art historical research on medieval women is still relatively new. My work responds to the feminist movement in art history, which emerged out of second-wave feminism in the 1970s, with the creation of collectives of art historians, critics and artists, to focus on women in art.[44] Thalia Gouma-Peterson, Patricia Mathews, Linda Nochlin, and Griselda Pollock responded to this gap in research, but the early movement neglected pre-modern art.[45] Instead, these scholars employed a Vasarian approach to the history of art, focusing on named female artists.[46] Most medieval female creators were unnamed, thus the methodology employed by these authors is of limited usefulness. In 1982, however, the volume *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany* included two chapters focused on medieval art.[47] Pamela Sheingorn and Paula Gerson founded the "Medieval Feminist Art History Project" in 1991.[48] Sheingorn's contribution raised many central questions for this thesis, including subgroups of women, women as beholders, and women's literacy.[49] She noted ideas around gaze that were later picked up by Madeline H. Caviness.[50] The "Medieval Feminist Art History Project" ended around 1998, due to the work constraints of Sheingorn and Gerson.[51] Rachel Dressler surveyed medieval feminist research in four leading journals between 1990 and 2006, finding forty essays on the subject were created during this time.[52] She attempted to restart the "Medieval Feminist Art History Project," though this was unsuccessful.[53] In

[44] Victoria Horne and Amy Tobin, "An Unfinished Revolution in Art Historiography, or How to Write a Feminist Art History," *Feminist Review* 107 (2014): 78.
[45] Rachel Dressler, "Continuing the Discourse: Feminist Scholarship and the Study of Medieval Visual Culture," *Medieval Feminist Forum: A Journal of Gender and Sexuality* 43, no. 1 (2007): 16, 29; Griselda Pollack, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and Histories of Art* (Milton Park: Routledge, 1988); Thalia Gouma-Peterson and Patricia Mathews, "The Feminist Critique of Art History," *The Art Bulletin* 69, no. 3 (1987): 326–57; Linda Nochlin, "Why Are There No Great Women Artists?" in *Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness*, eds. Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran (New York: Basic Books, 1971), 480–510.
[46] Ibid.; Dressler, "Continuing the Discourse," 16–17, 29
[47] Henry Kraus, "Eve and Mary: Conflicting Images of Medieval Women," in *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany*, eds. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), 79–100; Claire Richter Sherman, "Taking a Second Look: Observations on the Iconography of a French Queen, Jeanne de Bourbon (1338–1378)," in *Feminism and Art History : Questioning the Litany*, eds. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), 101–18.
[48] Pamela Sheingorn, "The Medieval Feminist Art History Project," *Medieval Feminist Forum: A Journal of Gender and Sexuality* 12 (1991): 5–10.
[49] Sheingorn, "The Medieval Feminist Art History Project," 6–8.
[50] Ibid.; Madeline Harrison Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy*, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).
[51] Dressler noted that they were effectively defunct in 1997. However, the "Medieval Feminist Art History Project" did organise a session at Kalamazoo in 1998; Dressler, "Continuing the Discourse," 20–21.
[52] These journals included *Art Bulletin*, *Gesta*, *Speculum,* and *Studies in Iconography;* Ibid., 21–29.
[53] Ibid., 30–31.

1996, “Feminae,” an index on medieval research on women and gender, was founded.[54] It is hosted online by the University of Iowa and maintained by various librarians and scholars.[55]

Regardless of the various efforts mentioned, medieval women are still under researched in the 2020s. To this day, most research on the Middle Ages is focused on medieval men. It is increasingly important now to further research on women, as the subject of women’s studies has recently come under attack. In the United States, broad funding cuts have occurred to university programmes considered to be a part of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) initiatives. A recent letter penned by professors, Carrie N. Baker, Michele Tracy Berger, Christa Craven, and Janell Hobson, called for university leadership to stand against the Trump administration's attacks on higher education.[56] They noted closures and consolidation of various Women’s, Gender, and Sexuality Studies (WGSS) programmes.[57] As such, the future of women’s studies faces uncertainty. Thus, it is important to further research on medieval women now, as there remains a large gap in our understanding.

The most relevant sources to the methodology that I have applied in this thesis are “Uta and Isolde: Designing a Perfect Woman” by Alexandra Sterling-Hellenbrand and “Bernward and Eve at Hildesheim” by Adam S. Cohen and Anne Derbes.[58] Sterling-Hellenbrand analysed the sculptures of Uta and Isolde at Naumberg Cathedral.[59] She used Gottfried von Strassburg’s *Tristan* to explore how the sculptures of Reglindis and Uta at Naumburg reflected contemporary ideas on exemplary women. Cohen and Derbes addressed how Eve functioned as the antithesis to the Virgin Mary in the bronze doors of Hildesheim Cathedral.[60] They argued that Hildesheim used this popular typology to respond to the contemporary conflict between Bishop Bernward and Sophia, abbess of Gandersheim.[61] Thus, they explore how the portrayal of women in the Bernward Doors may have related to a contemporary event regarding women, using imagery to educate the laity on how women should and should not act. I similarly explored how images of ideal and cautionary women are employed at Strasbourg, engaging with primary sources, to explore how the imagery of

[54] “What is Feminae?,” *Feminae: Medieval Women and Gender Index*, Accessed 24 September 2024, https://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/feminae/whatisfeminae.aspx.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Carrie N. Baker, Michele Tracy Berger, Christa Craven, and Janell Hobson, “University Leaders Must Act: An Open Letter on the Threats Facing Critical Interdisciplinary Programs Like Women’s and Gender Studies,” *Ms. Magazine*, Accessed 16 October, 2025, https://msmagazine.com/2025/09/10/college-university-women-gender-studies-higher-education-interdisciplinary-programs/.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Alexandra Sterling-Hellenbrand, “Uta and Isolde: Designing a Perfect Woman,” *Essays in Medieval Studies* 19 (2002): 70–89; Adam S. Cohen and Anne Derbes, “Bernward and Eve at Hildesheim,” *Gesta* 40, no. 1 (2001): 19–38.
[59] Sterling-Hellenbrand, “Uta and Isolde.”
[60] Cohen and Derbes, “Bernward and Eve at Hildesheim.”
[61] Ibid.

women was a product of its specific time and place. These case studies have therefore informed my methodology to explore medieval thinking on women through the analysis of public sculpture.

My project engages inevitably with recent scholarship on the function and experience of medieval portal sculpture, while taking advantage of older surveys of style and iconography to provide a foundation for dating and the identification of subject matter.[62] Paul Binski explored the "rhetorical occasion" of gothic sculpture, which he described as the intersection between morality and emotion under a certain occasion to create an outcome.[63] This is not the emotion itself, but what it elicits in its audience, such as penitence.[64] He also utilized the rhetorical technique of "synkresis" to analyze and explain the iconography of portal sculptural programmes and their directive nature.[65] "Synkresis" is the rhetorical technique of comparison of opposites. Of particular relevance to the Strasbourg sculpture, he applied this to the iconography of the Wise and Foolish Virgins and Virtues and Vices, due to the clear moral distinction between the figures and their left-right arrangement within portal programmes.[66] He argued that through the use of distinct moral types, the portals guided viewers through them both mentally and physically. I have extended Binski's application of "synkresis" to explore its function as in the portrayal of ideal and cautionary women on Strasbourg Cathedral. Considerations of spatiality are integral to the understanding of the sculptures at the centre of my project. Unlike the church interior, the exterior was accessible to all who entered the cathedral precinct. This accessibility allowed the facade to be seen by a varied audience. Mary Carruthers, Paul Crossley, and Jacqueline E. Jung have studied spatiality and church programmes, reflecting on how church sculpture functions in situ.[67] I

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[62] Paul Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture, 1140-1300* (London: Yale University Press, 1995); Willibald Sauerländer, *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich: 1140 – 1270* (Munich: Hirmer, 1970).
[63] Paul Binski, *Gothic Sculpture* (London: Yale University Press, 2019); Paul Binski, "The Rhetorical Occasions of Gothic Sculpture," *Collegium Medievale* 30 (2017): 7-31.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Paul Binski, *Gothic Sculpture,* 44–45, 63–67.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Jacqueline E. Jung, *Eloquent Bodies: Movement, Expression, and the Human Figure in Gothic Sculpture* (London: Yale University Press, 2020); Jacqueline E. Jung, "Moving Viewers, Moving Pictures: The Portal as Montage on the Strasbourg South Transept," in *Mouvement/Bewegung: Über die Dynamischen Potenziale der Kunst*, eds. Andreas Beyer and Guillaume Cassegrain (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2015) 23–44; Mary Carruthers, "The Concept of Ductus, or Journeying through a Work of Art," in *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers, 78, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 190–213; Paul Crossley, "Ductus and Memoria: Chartres Cathedral and the Workings of Rhetoric," in *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers, 78, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 214-49; Jacqueline E. Jung, "The Kinetics of Gothic Sculpture. Movement and Apprehension in the South Transept of Strasbourg Cathedral and the Chartreuse de Champmol in Dijon," in *Mobile Eyes: Peripatetisches Sehen in den Bildkulturen der Vormoderne*, eds. David Ganz and Stefan Neuner (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2013), 132–63; Jacqueline E. Jung, "Dynamic Bodies and the Beholder's Share: The Wise and Foolish Virgins of Magdeburg Cathedral," in *Bild und Körper im Spätmittelalter*, eds. Kristin Marek, Raphaèle Preisinger, Marius Rimmele, and Katrin Kärcher (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2006), 135–60.

have employed their methodology throughout my thesis. Carruthers and Crossley argued that the imagery on the outside of a church then functioned to guide visitors through the interior, according to the rhetorical trope of "ductus."[68] "Ductus" is the theory that the art from the exterior of medieval churches prefigures the art from the interior. I have briefly discussed some representations inside the building as they are prefigured by the outside sculpture, to consider the idea of "ductus" at Strasbourg. Jacqueline E. Jung has considered the spatiality of church sculptural programmes from an embodied perspective.[69] She argued that modern studies rely heavily on photographs, which can obscure how earlier audiences would have interacted with the sculpture.[70] Instead, she argued that portal sculpture works like a drama inviting its audience into the narrative.[71] She has used Strasbourg Cathedral to explore the experience of the medieval audience in situ, in studies on the south transept and the Wise and Foolish Virgins on the west facade.[72] I have engaged with Jung's spatial methodology throughout this thesis, and developed it in relation to the Virtues and Vices.

This study has used the position of the sculpture in its urban landscape and its portrayal of contemporary women to understand its functionality. As Tina Bawden and Michael Camille have explored, church portals functioned as liminal spaces between the world of the laity and the divine, separating the city and church.[73] They not only prefigure the interior consecrated space but also engage with the contemporary cityscape around them. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg argued that medieval cathedrals were dynamic parts of their urban environments, as they were the social centre of the city.[74] Phillipe Dollinger, Jean-Pierre Klein, Bernhard Metz, and Francis Rapp have contributed studies on the medieval history of Strasbourg.[75] I have explored the imagery of the cathedral in relation to the

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[68] Carruthers, "The Concept of Ductus, or Journeying through a Work of Art," 190–213; Crossley, "Ductus and Memoria," 214–49.
[69] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*; Jung, "Compassion as Moral Virtue;" Jung, "Moving Viewers, Moving Pictures;" Jung, "The Kinetics of Gothic Sculpture;" Jung, "Dynamic Bodies and the Beholder's Share."
[70] Ibid.
[71] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 1–7.
[72] Ibid., 59–181; Jung, "Compassion as Moral Virtue;" Jung, "Moving Viewers, Moving Pictures;" Jung, "The Kinetics of Gothic Sculpture. Movement and Apprehension in the South Transept of Strasbourg Cathedral and the Chartreuse de Champmol in Dijon."
[73] Tina Bawden, *Die Schwelle im Mittelalter: Bildmotiv und Bildort* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), 209–47; Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), 77–97.
[74] Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *The Cathedral: The Social and Architectural Dynamics of Construction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
[75] Bernhard Metz "Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, La Révolution Gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Giorgia Passaro (Strasbourg: Editions des Musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 54–67; Francis Rapp, "Moyen âge : La cathédrale dans la cité," in *Strasbourg - La grâce d'une cathédrale*, ed. Joseph Doré (Strasbourg: La nuée bleue, 2010), 349–60; Jean-Pierre Klein, *Strasbourg: Urbanisme et architectures des origines à 1870* (Strasbourg: Musées de Strasbourg, 1986); Philippe Dollinger, "Origines et essor de la ville épiscopale," in *Histoire de Strasbourg des origines à nos jours*, ed. Georges Livet, 2 (Strasbourg: Éditions des dernière nouvelles de Strasbourg, 1981) 1–36; Philippe Dollinger, "L'emancipation de la ville et la domination du patriciat," in *Histoire de Strasbourg des origines à nos jours*, ed. Georges Livet, 2 (Strasbourg: Éditions des dernières nouvelles de Strasbourg, 1981) 37–95.

church's urban environment, by analysing the sculptures in relation to the particular roles of women in the city. My study has therefore expanded research on the urban history of the Rhineland.

Conclusion

This thesis is presented in two sections analysing the south transept and west facade, respectively. In this way, changes across the thirteenth century can be studied through the imagery, as the south facade dates from the first half of the thirteenth century and the west facade from the end of it. Each section begins with an introduction that outlines the contemporary setting surrounding the construction of the facade. Thus, the reader goes into each section with a general understanding of the environment surrounding the creation of the sculptures. The sections contain three chapters each, focusing on specific sculptures to explore the evolution of thinking on women and contemporary women in the city. The first section of the thesis analyses the south transept and the period between 1200 and 1240. Chapters engage with the sculptural representations of the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, Ecclesia, and Synagoga. It also features an analysis of non-sculptural imagery in the space, including an inscription naming a female donor and the stained glass Old and New Covenant windows. The second section of the thesis focuses upon the west facade and the period between 1280 and 1300. The west facade section analyses the sculptural portrayals of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, Virtues and Vices, Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, Ecclesia, Synagoga, and the "Fevresse." This also engages with the interior Virtues and Vices window. In each chapter, the sculptures of women are identified and analysed alongside other contemporary art of the same iconography. In this, the differences between Strasbourg and other works are explored. Primary sources are then used to analyse the imagery to provide a nuanced understanding of what was happening at this time and place to prompt its creation. To best examine the sculpture, other methodologies on women's studies and the function of sculpture are employed throughout. This thesis thus provides the first large-scale study on the portrayal of women in medieval portal sculpture, through the case study of the thirteenth-century facade programmes at Strasbourg Cathedral.

Section 1

The South Transept: 1200–1240

Introduction

Research dedicated to sculpture and the representation of women in the south transept of Strasbourg Cathedral has been limited, despite the fertile ground for research that the site presents. Many sculptures of women adorn the portal, including representations of the Assumption of the Virgin, Ecclesia, and Synagoga. It also notably once contained an inscription naming a female donor. Various scholars have observed that the *Hortus deliciarum* compiled by Herrad von Hohenbourg, the abbess of Hohenbourg Abbey, was used to craft imagery throughout the transept.[76] This section explores how the manuscript by women shaped the portrayal of women on the south transept. In the region, the cathedral had many interactions with women's communities, beginning as early as the eleventh century with its control of the "Frauenstift" of St. Stephen.[77] The period around the creation of the transept was also characterised by the expansion of religious communities for women in the diocese of Strasbourg, and the issuing of documents that record actions and donations of women in the city. In addressing these rich materials through a study of women, I contribute new dimensions to the ongoing scholarly conversation on the south transept of Strasbourg Cathedral and the medieval city, as recently explored by Jacqueline Jung, Sabine Bengel, Jean-Philippe Meyer, Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, and Nina Rowe.

Recent Research on the South Transept

In the last ten years, numerous scholars have written about the south transept and the early thirteenth-century city. In her recent volume *Eloquent Bodies*, Jacqueline Jung explored the south portal and transept based on the manner in which the site is traversed "in situ."[78]

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[76] Sabine Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster: Seine Ostteile und die Südquerhauswerkstatt* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2011), 128–44,168–79; Jean-Philippe Meyer, " Les sculptures du bras sud: chronologie et style," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: chœur et transept: de l'art roman au gothique (vers 1180 – 1240)* (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2010), 187–97; Jean-Philippe Meyer, "Les sculptures du bras sud, le texte de l'*Hortus deliciarum* et la liturgie," *in La cathédrale de Strasbourg: chœur et transept: de l'art roman au gothique (vers 1180 – 1240)* (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2010), 199–218*;* Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Les vitraux du choeur et du transept," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: chœur et transept: de l'art roman au gothique (vers 1180 – 1240)* (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2010), 242–54, 261–70.
[77] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 19–20, 55.
[78] Jacqueline E. Jung, *Eloquent Bodies: Movement, Expression, and the Human Figure in Gothic Sculpture* (London: Yale University Press, 2020).

Her second chapter is devoted to examining the south portal, taking into account the various angles from which it would have been approached.[79] In her analysis of the Dormition tympanum, she argued that altering one's position alters how the tympanum is perceived.[80] She demonstrated a similarly multivalent reading of the figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga, based on the direction from which the portal is approached. In her third chapter, Jung discussed the continuity of iconography from the exterior south portal into the interior of the south transept, in line with theories of "ductus" as presented by Mary Carruthers and Paul Crossley.[81] In this section, I employ Jung's methodology to consider how the different representations of women functioned for female viewers, and in the context of the different purposes of the space. Thus, I have adapted her methodology to study medieval women, displaying the broader usefulness of her methodology.

The volume, *Strasbourg 1200–1230, La révolution gothique,* is a multidisciplinary study on the appearance of the Gothic style in the south transept, including essays by Jean Wirth, Jean-Philippe Meyer, Sabine Bengel, Daniel Parello, and Jean Delivré.[82] Wirth studied how the Gothic style was brought to Strasbourg, beginning with the cathedral and the church of St. Thomas, and how from there it spread into the Holy Roman Empire.[83] He supported the generally accepted theory of the relocation of sculptors from the workshop of Chartres Cathedral to Strasbourg Cathedral, based on stylistic similarities and the supposed appearance of the same hand at both.[84] Meyer summarised and updated research that he had published earlier, dating the choir and crossing and the corresponding construction stages.[85] Bengel analysed the style and iconography of the sculpture.[86] She also presented new arguments about the foundation of the "Oeuvre Notre Dame" in the early thirteenth century.[87] Parello studied the intercultural exchange in the stained glass of the south transept, through an

[79] Ibid., 59–89.
[80] Ibid., 65–69.
[81] Mary Carruthers, "The Concept of Ductus, or Journeying through a Work of Art," in *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 190–213; Paul Crossley, "Ductus and Memoria: Chartres Cathedral and the Workings of Rhetoric," in *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 214–49.
[82] Lize Braat and Giorgia Passaro, eds. *Strasbourg 1200–1230: la révolution gothique* (Strasbourg: Editions des Musées de Strasbourg, 2015).
[83] Jean Wirth, "Une révolution artistique," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, La révolution gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Giorgia Passaro (Strasbourg: Editions des Musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 38–53.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Jean-Philippe Meyer, "Nouvelles données sur le transept de la cathédrale de Strasbourg et sa datation," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, la révolution gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Giorgia Passaro (Strasbourg: Éditions Musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 68–81.
[86] Sabine Bengel, "Le décor sculpté des parties orientales de la cathédrale de Strasbourg. Du roman rhénan au gothique français," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, La Révolution Gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Giorgia Passaro (Strasbourg: Editions des Musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 82–101.
[87] Ibid.

analysis of the influence of the *Hortus deliciarum* and the earlier windows on the stained glass workshop.[88] He also studied donorship, as it related to the stained glass programme.[89] Delivré studied the extant polychromy on the sculpture of the Pillar of Angels, Ecclesia, and Synagoga.[90] Each of the studies has informed my understanding of the south transept, in their varying methodologies.

Nina Rowe's book studied representations of Ecclesia and Synagoga in Gothic sculpture, including the Strasbourg examples.[91] She used the figures to explore the relationship between the Christian and Jewish population in thirteenth-century Strasbourg, coinciding with the construction and early usage of the south transept.[92] She investigated the perception of Jews in the predominantly Christian society of the city.[93] Rowe also explored the use of the space in front of the portal, connecting the penitential rituals taking place there to Ecclesia and Synagoga.[94] In this section, I expand on Rowe's research to focus on the relationship between Christian and Jewish women, and the church's perception of Jewish women. Thus, I display that a broader understanding of medieval Christian-Jewish relations can be achieved through a study of Jewish women and their portrayal on churches.

In 2011, Sabine Bengel published her PhD thesis on the choir and south transept in *Das Straßburger Münster: Seine Ostteile und die Südquerhauswerkstatt*.[95] As noted, Bengel dedicated a section of her resulting book to the women who contributed to the fabric of the cathedral. She researched the inscription of the donor Savina, and examined why medieval women donated, arguing that it was a form of personal piety.[96] Bengel is one of the few scholars whose research has contributed to the study of women through the south transept; I engage with it extensively. However, while some of her findings are persuasive, in the course of this section arguments are presented against some of hertheories , especially with regards to her identification of the female donor named on the south facade.[97]

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[88] Daniel Parello, "Une rencontre interculturelle: Les vitraux du transept de la cathédrale de strasbourg, entre continuité et mutation," in Strasbourg 1200–1230, La révolution gothique, eds. Lize Braat and Giorgia Passaro (Strasbourg: Editions des Musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 104–12.
[89] Ibid., 112–14.
[90] Jean Delivré, "Les sculptures du transept sud de la cathédrale de Strasbourg: une étude matérielle de l'eglise, de la synagogue et du pilier des anges," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, La révolution gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Giorgia Passaro (Strasbourg: Editions Musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 146–59.
[91] Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 191–237.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid., 232–37.
[95] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster*.
[96] Ibid., 196–204
[97] Ibid.

The French volume on the south transept by Jean-Philippe Meyer and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz was released the previous year.[98] Meyer analysed the use of the imagery in the *Hortus deliciarum* through the iconography and style of the sculpture of the south portal and the Pillar of Angels in the south transept.[99] He also examined the use of themes from the *Hortus deliciarum* in the liturgy there.[100] Kurmann-Schwarz studied the stained glass of the south transept, exploring the stylistic influences and iconographic scheme of the windows.[101] In particular, she analysed the connection between the imagery of the windows and the *Hortus deliciarum*.[102] Meyer and Kurmann-Schwarz presented arguments on dating and iconography, which I use throughout this section. In this, I expand on their analysis of the *Hortus deliciarum* to ask why the Cathedral used the manuscript. I explore what the use of the *Hortus deliciarum* could indicate in regards to relations between the Cathedral and women in the region.

Building the South Transept

The building of the south transept marked the beginning of the reconstruction of the Romanesque cathedral. Scholars have speculated on when exactly work began.[103] I follow the recent dating by Jean-Philippe Meyer, which is based upon analysis of the stones, as well as primary sources from the period.[104] He argues that construction of the crossing and apse began between 1176 and 1196, under the auspices of Bishop Heinrich I von Hasenburg (1181-1190) and Bishop Konrad II von Hühnenburg (1190–1202).[105] It can be ascertained that the choir was in use by 1188, based upon a document in which Heinrich I judged a dispute between the canons of Marbach and the knights of Hattstatt, issued "in choro Argentinensi".[106] In 1198, Bishop Konrad II participated in the election of Otto von Brunswick (king of Germany, 1198–1209, Holy Roman Emperor, 1209–18) as the king of Germany, in opposition to the Hohenstaufen Philip of Swabia (king of Germany, 1198–

[98] Jean-Philippe Meyer and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz. *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: choeur et transept: de l'art roman au gothique (vers 1180 – 1240)* (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2010).
[99] Jean-Philippe Meyer, "Les sculptures du bras sud: chronologie et style," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: chœur et transept: de l'art roman au gothique (vers 1180 – 1240)* (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2010), 190–98; Meyer, "Les sculptures du bras sud: chronologie et style," 199–203.
[100] Meyer, "Les sculptures du bras sud, le texte de l'Hortus deliciarum et la liturgie," 199–218.
[101] Kurmann-Schwarz, "Les vitraux du choeur et du transept," 254–70.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Meyer, "Nouvelles données sur le transept de la cathédrale de Strasbourg et sa datation," 68–81.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid., 78–80.
[106] Translation: "In the choir of Strasbourg"; Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster*, 309; Archives départementales du Haut Rhin, Colmar, 13 H 51.

1208).[107] This incited the ire of Philip against the bishop and city of Strasbourg, which he besieged in 1199, resulting in an interruption of the cathedral building.[108] Meyer contended that work then resumed on the north and south transepts around 1200 and continued until approximately 1220 to 1225, with much of the sculpture of the south portal created between 1220 and 1225.[109] He argued that construction was once again interrupted during the conflict of Dabo, which lasted from 1228 to 1230, as this dispute resulted in a blockade of resources in 1229.[110] He attributed the different style of the Pillar of Angels to this break in construction, dating it to between 1230 and 1240.[111] He contended that the construction of the south transept could then have continued up to the start of work on the new nave.[112] Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz has dated the stained glass of the south transept, arguing that much of it was created between 1230 and 1240, including the two rose windows and the St. Christopher window.[113] Based on this building history, most of the south transept was completed under Bishop Heinrich II von Veringen (1202–23) and Bishop Berthold I von Teck (1223–1244). During this period, the city of Strasbourg was under the control of the bishop and his four ministers, the "causidicus" or "scultetus," the "burcgravius," the "thelonearius," and the "monetarius" or "magister monetae."[114]

Cathedral construction was overseen by the bishop and cathedral chapter during this time.[115] The institution of an organisation for the building work on the cathedral, called the "Oeuvre Notre Dame," was founded during the thirteenth century, but the exact date of its inception has been debated. Marie-José Nohlen argued that it was established between 1202 and 1224.[116] Her conclusion is based on a document of Bishop Konrad II von Hühnenburg (1190–1202) that uses the terms "opus" and "opere somptuoso" when referring to cathedral

[107] Philippe Dollinger, "L'émancipation de la ville et la domination du patriciat," in *Histoire de Strasbourg des origines à nos jours*, ed. Georges Livet (Strasbourg: Éditions des dernières nouvelles de Strasbourg, 1981), 41.
[108] Ibid., 78–80; Jean-Philippe Meyer, "Histoire et liturgie," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: chœur et transept: de l'art roman au gothique (vers 1180 – 1240)* (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2010), 20–22.
[109] Meyer, "Nouvelles données sur le transept de la cathédrale de Strasbourg et sa datation," 80.
[110] Meyer, "Histoire et liturgie," 23–25; Bernhard Metz, "Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, La révolution gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Passaro Giorgia, (Strasbourg: Editions des Musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 58.
[111] Meyer, "Les sculptures du bras sud: chronologie et style," 174–78.
[112] Meyer, "Nouvelles données sur le transept de la cathédrale de Strasbourg et sa datation," 80.
[113] Kurmann-Schwarz, "Les vitraux du choeur et du transept," 254–61.
[114] For more information on the responsibilities of the bishop's four ministers, see Philippe Dollinger, *Pages d'histoire: France et Allemagne médiévales Alsace* (Gap: Imprimerie Louis-Jean, 1977) Association des publications près les Universités de Strasbourg collection de l'Institut des hautes études Alsaciennes XXV, 189–96.
[115] Marie-José Nohlen, "La construction de la cathédrale gothique: XIIIe - XVe siècles," in *Strasbourg - La grâce d'une cathédrale*, ed. Joseph Doré (Strasbourg: La nuée bleue, 2010), 41-2.

[116] Marie-José Nohlen, "L'Oeuvre Notre-Dame au moyen âge," in *Bâtisseurs de cathédrales: Strasbourg mille ans de chantiers*, ed. Sabine Bengel, Marie-José Nohlen, and Potier Stéphane Kelhetter Clément (Strasbourg: La nuée bleue, 2014), 114; Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266,* 118.

construction.[117] I disagree with her claim, as this is not proof of a formal foundation. Sabine Bengel argued that the "Oeuvre Notre Dame" had been created by 1224 to 1228, corresponding with the creation of the south transept.[118] She based this claim on a document which refers to the "opus sancte Marie," and recorded properties outside of the city which belonged to the cathedral chapter and fell under the jurisdiction of the "magister operis."[119] I agree that this is the "Oeuvre Notre Dame" and that the "magister operis" is the head of the fabric fund. Previously, scholars such as Alain Erlande-Brandenburg and Charlotte Stanford had argued for a later foundation in the mid to late thirteenth century.[120] Stanford asserted that the formal *Oeuvre Notre-Dame* was founded in 1264, with the creation of an altar of the Blessed Virgin funded by citizen Heinrich Wehelin.[121] This is more likely to have displayed the evolution of the fabric fund, as it began to shift into the hands of the bourgeois after the Battle of Hausbergen.

Iconography of the South Portal

The south portal (Fig. 1) is a dual portal displaying imagery that spans the course of sacred history, from the Old Testament to the Last Judgement. The portal was damaged during the iconoclasm of 1793, in the course of the French Revolution. Many sculptures were casualties of this destruction, including the central figure of Solomon, the bust of Christ, twelve apostle jamb figures, an inscription naming one Savina, and two Marian lintels.[122] Fortunately, an engraving of the portal had been created in 1617 by Isaac Brunn, contained in the volume *Summum Argentoratensium Templum* by Osee Schad (Fig. 2). This has been a foundation for scholarly understanding of how it originally appeared, and also for its restoration. Various restoration efforts were undertaken to return the south transept to its former glory beginning in 1811.[123] Many of the sculptural elements were recreated based upon this engraving, and others created prior to the desecration of the site, save for the twelve

[117] Ibid.
[118] Sabine Bengel, *Des pierres et des hommes: le chantier de la cathédrale de Strasbourg et la foundation de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame* (Eckbolsheim: Editions du Signe, 2020), 113; Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 197, 311.
[119] Translation: "Work of the Blessed Mary," "Master of Works"; It reads, "Item in Bibilnheim sunt duo mansi, qui pertinent ad opus sancte Marie, quos dedit Albertus causiticus kalenda februarii. de quibus magistri operis tenentur fratribus dare 2 uncias;" Bengel, *Des pierres et des hommes,* 113; Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 197,311.
[120] Charlotte A. Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg: The Cathedral's Book of Donors and its Use (1320–1521)* (London: Routledge, 2016), 124–25; Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *The cathedral: the social and architectural dynamics of construction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 262–63.
[121] Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg,* 124–25.
[122] Bengel, "Le décor sculpté des parties orientales de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," 89–93.
[123] Sabine Bengel, "De la révolution à nos jours : destructions, usures et restaurations," in *Strasbourg- La grâce d'une cathédrale*, ed. Joseph Doré (Strasbourg: La nuée bleue, 2010), 97–98.

apostle jamb figures and the inscription naming Savina.[124] Throughout this section I refer to Brunn's engraving when referencing works that were restored on this basis.

The sculpture of the portal was originally painted in a similar manner to many other Gothic sculptural programmes, though only a few traces of polychromy remain today, primarily on the head of Ecclesia.[125] The central focus of the portal was a sculpture of Solomon, who sat between the two entryways enthroned with a hand on his sword, denoting the Judgement of Solomon and prefiguring Christ as judge at the Last Judgement. A bust of Christ appeared directly above Solomon, framed by a halo and holding an orb. This type of representation is indicative of Christ's position as the final judge. Christ was covered by an architectural baldachin representing the New Jerusalem and an angel reaching down toward Christ. The figures of Solomon and Christ were amongst the sculptures replaced in the 1811 restoration of Étienne Malade.[126] They were again replaced with the current examples in the subsequent effort of 1827 led by Jean Vallastre.[127]

The jambs of the doorways were occupied by sculptures of the twelve apostles. These were not replaced with modern copies in the restoration projects. The majority of the figures held books, save for St. Peter and an unidentified disciple. St. Peter was depicted clutching the keys to the Church, as displayed in the Brunn engraving. One of the apostles, whose identity is unknown, held a phylactery containing an inscription naming a female donor, Savina. Five heads in the Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame may have belonged originally to these jamb sculptures (Fig. 3).[128] Two allegorical figures stand on either side of the portal. These are copies, with the originals housed in the Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame (Fig. 4). On the left side of the entryway stands Ecclesia, a triumphal woman who is the personification of the Church and Christianity. She is depicted crowned, with a standard topped by a cross held in her right hand, and a chalice in her left hand. Jean Delivré studied the sculpture for remains of polychromy and found that Ecclesia was painted to have blue eyes, red lips, pink skin, and golden hair.[129] On the opposite side of the portal stands her counterpart Synagoga, the representation of the Jews and Judaism. She is depicted blindfolded with a broken standard in her right hand and the tablets of the law in her left hand.

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[124] Ibid.
[125] Delivré, "Les sculptures du transept sud de la cathédrale de Strasbourg: Une étude matérielle de l'eglise, de la synagogue et du pilier des anges," 153.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Meyer, "Les sculptures du transept: thématique et facture," 139.
[129] Delivré, "Les sculptures du transept sud de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," 153.

The dual portal features two tympana and lintels portraying the narrative of the Assumption of the Virgin. The tale reads from the left tympanum downward to the lintel, onto the right lintel and then up to the associated right-hand tympanum. The left tympanum opens the narrative with a representation of the Dormition of the Virgin, with the Virgin on her deathbed. The twelve disciples and Christ holding Mary's soul are shown standing behind her bedside with Mary Magdalene kneeling before it.[130] The corresponding lintel features sculpted images of the funerary procession of the Virgin. In this, the draped casket of the Virgin is represented being carried aloft by two men, while three figures stand to the side. The right lintel displays the Assumption of the Virgin, with the Virgin's soul being carried up from her tomb to heaven surrounded by angels. The tympanum above represents the Coronation of the Virgin, with God crowning Mary as queen of heaven flanked by two censing angels. As noted, the original lintels of the portal were lost during the iconoclasm. They were replaced with copies in 1811 during the restoration work completed by Étienne Malade, based on the Brunn engraving.[131]

Urban Context and Uses of the South Portal

The south portal functioned as the entryway into the south transept. It was used as the primary entrance into the cathedral during the construction of the nave and western facade, so until the end of the thirteenth century.[132] Jean-Pierre Klein studied the expansion of the city, during which he provided a reconstruction of the medieval cathedral precinct (Fig. 5).[133] Bengel used Klein's diagrams to explore the topography of the space in front of the portal.[134] She explained that in the Middle Ages, it could be viewed in its entirety from a large open plaza, called the Fronhof, situated between the bishop's palace and the cathedral.[135] The bishop's palace, also known as the Pfalz, was located directly across from the portal.[136] It therefore functioned as the entry point for the bishop into the church.[137] Though the portal could be approached frontally from the bishop's quarters, few were able to access the portal directly from this angle in the thirteenth century.[138] The laity would have entered the

[130] For the identification of Mary Magdalene, see Gérard Cames, "Qui est la servante de la dormition au portail sud de la cathédrale de Strasbourg?" *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 10 (1972): 51–56.
[131] Ibid., 97.
[132] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 83.
[133] Jean-Pierre Klein, *Strasbourg: urbanisme et architectures des origines à 1870* (Strasbourg: Musées de Strasbourg, 1986).
[134] Ibid.; Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster*, 159–62.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 62.
[137] Meyer, "Les sculptures du bras sud, le texte de l'*Hortus deliciarum* et la liturgie," 218
[138] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 80.

cathedral precinct via the entryway facing the cathedral in the Roman wall.[139] This resulted in an approach to the south portal from the west.[140] Additionally, a plethora of shops and temporary markets were recorded by the fourteenth century in the space around the cathedral, though the exact date of their appearance is unknown.[141] The area around the cathedral was also previously used as a wine market, evidenced by the bishop banning the sale of wine in the cathedral complex at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[142] The placement of lay commerce in the space likely would have resulted in a diverse audience for the portal.

Though the south transept was primarily used for religious purposes, it was also utilized in other ways. Adalbert Erler argued that the portal was used for judicial proceedings, a theory which has since been accepted by many scholars.[143] He substantiated his claims by citing the Second Civic Law Code of Strasbourg of c. 1214.[144] It dictates that disagreements between the bourgeois were resolved through civic councillors meeting "ante monasterium beate virginis", which Erler argues indicates the south side of the cathedral.[145] Bengel observed notches carved into the stone of the portal which she argued are further evidence of the portal's judicial uses, as the sharpening of a sword was part of many legal rituals.[146] Based on these marks, she argued that the south portal was also used for the ceremonies of oath taking and marriages.[147] The iconography of the south portal also justifies this hypothesis, as it contains imagery of Christ at the Last Judgement and the Judgement of Solomon. Similarly, Jean-Phillipe Meyer identified Ecclesia and Synagoga as the brides in the Song of Songs, which may give credence to the theory that the south portal was used for marriage ceremonies.[148]

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[139] The portal was known as the Porte "face à la cathédrale;" Ibid.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 159–62; Joseph Walter, "La topographie de la cathédrale au moyen age," *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 2, no. 3 (1935), 81.
[142] "interdictum est, ne vinea venalia in Bruscha in navibus vel ante monasterium in plaustris ante primam figantur vel vendantur," Ibid.; Wilhelm Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, Vol. 1 (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1879), 479.
[143] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies,* 83; Meyer, "Les sculptures du bras sud, le texte de l'*Hortus deliciarum* et la liturgie," 204–5; Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 182; Adalbert Erler, *Das Straßburger Münster im Rechtsleben des Mittelalters,* (Frankfurt am Main:Vittorio Klostermann, 1954), 27–29.
[144] The Second Civic Law Code was dated by Philippe Dolinger to 1214; Jung, *Eloquent Bodies,* 83; Dollinger, "L'émancipation de la ville et la domination du patriciat," 43–45; Erler, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 27–29; Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 477–81.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 182–84.
[147] Ibid., 183.
[148] Jean-Philippe Meyer, "La synagogue, l'église, Salomon et le Christ: le dialogue strasbourgeois du Cantique des cantiques et les sculptures du portail sud," in *Bulletin de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 29 (2010): 29–50.

Scholars have also argued that the performance of plays occurred in front of the portal.[149] More specifically, Bengel argued that dramas dedicated to Solomon were performed there, due to the iconography of the space.[150] However, there is no definitive evidence for this in the thirteenth century.[151] As, Jung pointed out, the earliest known instance of this being the locus of the performance of plays is in 1532.[152]

Iconography of the South Transept Interior

Upon entry into the cathedral, one is immediately confronted by the Pillar of Angels (Fig. 6). The pillar is positioned in the center of the south transept and adorned with a multitude of figural sculptures arranged in three registers. It can be observed in the round, allowing for all elements to be viewed as one traverses the space. Much of the polychromy remains on the sculptures due to its protection from the elements, inside the cathedral.[153] This has allowed scholars to study it for the purpose of understanding how the exterior sculptures may have been painted.[154] Jean Delivré observed that polychromy can be found on the hair, skin, eyes, and nimbuses of each figure, the wings of the angels, and the throne, robe, and blood of Christ.[155] Anne Vuillemard found that the drapery of the figures, save for Christ, remained unpainted, preserving the natural tint of the rose sandstone.[156] The painted details of the pillar allow easy legibility for viewers at ground level.

The bottom row is composed of sculptures of the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. They stand on pedestals supported by their respective symbols of the Angel, Lion, Ox, and Eagle. The middle row is composed of four heralding angels with trumpets, calling for the emergence of bodies from their graves to be judged at the end of time. The uppermost row contains three angels with the instruments of the Passion, including the cross and nails, lance, and the crown of thorns. Christ is also amongst the figures of the top row, facing north towards the choir. He is seated on a dais, draped in a robe, with an exposed chest bleeding from the wounds of his crucifixion. The fabric of Christ's vestment is painted gold

[149] Ibid., 182; Eckehard Simon, "The Lord Embraces Synagoga: A Unique Moment in Religious Drama and the Mary Portal of Strasbourg Cathedral," *Mediaevalia* 28, no. 1 (2007): 149–71; Eckehard Simon, "The First German Mary Assumption Play (c. 1300) and the Mary Portal of Strasbourg Cathedral," *European Medieval Drama* 9 (2005): 1–24.
[150] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 182.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies,* 75.
[153] Delivré, "Les sculptures du transept sud de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," 146–59.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid., 153.
[156] Anne Vuillemard, "Le pilier des anges de la cathédrale de Strasbourg: un cas de polychromie partielle?" *Bulletin de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 27 (2006): 17–34.

with a red lining. The saved are depicted below the throne, emerging from their tombs. They look upward towards Christ. The iconography of the pillar has been thoroughly studied for its portrayal of the Last Judgement and its redemptive message.[157]

Turning from the Pillar of Angels in the direction of the portal, the two rose windows of the Old and New Covenant (Fig. 7, w. 106 & Fig. 8, w. 108, c. 1230-5) located directly above the entryways come into view. It has been demonstrated conclusively that the design of the windows is based on diagrams found in the *Hortus deliciarum* (Fig. 9 & Fig. 10, c. 1180s).[158] Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz argued that the windows were influenced by the style of 1200, characterised by supple and fluid drapery folds and detailed forms.[159] She suggested that the creators of the windows drew inspiration from the rose in the north facade of Laon Cathedral.[160] Both windows contain seventeen roundels, with one central roundel and an inner and outer ring each with eight roundels. The Old Covenant window represents the covenant between God and the Israelites, in the Old Testament. The center of the window contains a two-headed prophet. In the inner ring are roundels with four prophets, two sacrifices of the Old Covenant, an altar with ten loaves of bread, and a menorah titled the "septiformis spiritus." The outer ring of the window contains roundels with eight sacrifices of the Old Covenant.

Moving to the New Covenant window, it is representative of the covenant between God and humanity after the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Jesus. The central roundel contains the priest king, Melchizedek, symbolising Christ as high priest and king of heaven. The inner ring contains representations of eight female personifications of virtues. The outer ring includes roundels with two virtues, the symbols of the evangelists, Christ with the symbols of alpha and omega, and the Ark of the Covenant. By contrast with its neighbour, the window has been shifted on its axis, forming a cross in the configuration of its roundels.[161] Jacqueline Jung argued that the shifted axis and placement of the four evangelists in the outer ring are directly referencing the Pillar of Angels, as they are depicted in the same position in both the window and on the pillar.[162]

The Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame contains various statues from this period which were created by the south transept workshop, and that were originally in the cathedral. The

[157] Louis Grodecki and Roland Recht, "Le bras sud du transept de la cathédrale: architecture et sculpture," in *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg X* (1972): 11–32; Otto von Simson, "Le programme sculptural du transept méridional," in *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg X* (1972): 33–49.
[158] Parello, "Une rencontre interculturelle," 104.
[159] Kurmann-Schwarz, "Les vitraux du chœur et du transept," 254–59.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 129–32.
[162] Ibid.

original placement of them is unknown. Some are merely fragments, with little detail dictating their original iconography. Nevertheless, the sculpture from this period allows us to gain a greater understanding of the early thirteenth-century cathedral and workshop. One complete statue is of a woman, who has been identified as either the Petit Ecclesia or Queen of Sheba (Fig. 11).[163] It has been suggested that she was made for a choir-screen project that was abandoned.[164] She is a near replica of the Ecclesia of the south portal. However, Cécile Dupeux and Sabine Bengel identified her as a representation of the Queen of Sheba, arguing that she once faced the sculpture of Solomon.[165] She is depicted crowned and holds a phylactery.

Many scholars have analyzed the iconography of the south transept, including Jean-Philippe Meyer, Otto von Simson, Louis Grodecki and Roland Recht.[166] Grodecki and Recht argued that the iconography is eschatological in nature, a reading with which many scholars agree.[167] They explored the Last Judgment theme as it continues from the Marian south portal through the space, culminating in the Pillar of Angels, and the Old and New Covenant windows.[168] Sabine Bengel contended that the overall theme of the space is one of redemption through Christ, and that the reintegration of the Jews into the fold of Christianity is a pervasive theme.[169] She based her argument on the sheer amount of imagery referencing the connections between Judaism and Christianity, including the exterior Ecclesia, Synagoga, Solomon, and Christ and the interior Old and New Covenant windows.[170] Jean-Philippe Meyer drew attention to the portrayal of the Song of Songs throughout the south portal iconography.[171] He referred to the *Hortus deliciarum,* the recorded liturgy of the cathedral in the *Cantatorium,* and the sculptures of Solomon, Ecclesia, and Synagoga.[172] As established, Meyer contended that Ecclesia and Synagoga are representations of the two brides in the Song of Songs.[173] These arguments are not mutually exclusive, as the iconography of the south transept was likely intended to inspire multivalent readings. In this section, my

[163] Cécile Dupeux, "Reine de Saba, dite aussi 'Petite Église,'" in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, La révolution gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Giorgia Passaro (Strasbourg: Editions Musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 273; Bengel, "Le décor sculpté des parties orientales de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," 97.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Meyer, "La synagogue, l'église, Salomon et le Christ;" Grodecki and Recht, "Le bras sud du transept de la cathédrale: architecture et sculpture", 11–32; Von Simson, "Le programme sculptural du transept méridional," 33–49.
[167] Grodecki and Recht, "Le bras sud du transept de la cathédrale: architecture et sculpture," 11–32.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Bengel, "Le décor sculpté des parties orientales de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," 97.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Meyer, "La synagogue, l'église, Salomon et le Christ."
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.

iconographic analysis encompasses the whole of the transept, focusing on specific sets of sculptures and windows.

Uses of the South Transept Interior

The transept was used in the thirteenth century for a number of religious and liturgical purposes. Much of our current understanding of the liturgical uses of the transept is based upon the twelfth-century *Cantatorium* and the later fourteenth-century *Ordinarium Chori ecclesiae argentinensis* of Fritsche Closener.[174] These reveal that the space was involved in the liturgy for Easter.[175] Sources from the fifteenth century record Easter processions to the cathedral; it is likely that they originated earlier, as numerous scholars have assumed.[176] Bengel argued that on Ash Wednesday the portal was employed to expel sinners in need of penitence from the church, citing the comparative example of Bamburg Cathedral.[177] The fifteenth-century sources specify that the south portal was the final stop of a Palm Sunday procession through the city, beginning at St. Pierre-le-Jeune.[178] Bengel also used Bamberg to claim that penitential sinners expelled from the church on Ash Wednesday were once again welcomed back into the church on Maundy Thursday, via the south portal.[179] On Good Friday the south transept featured rituals in adoration of the cross, including prayers and chants as specified in the *Cantatorium*.[180] After Easter, liturgy regarding the return of Christ at the Last Judgement was carried out in the transept, including a hymn on the next Saturday and a prayer for the Last Judgement on the Sunday after.[181] Jean-Philippe Meyer argued for a connection between the liturgy and the iconography of the Pillar of Angels with Christ as judge, who presides over the events occurring below.[182]

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[174] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 180; André Wilmart, ed. *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg: mss add. 23922 du Musée Britannique. Les processions de la cathédrale au Moyen Age* (Colmar: Editions Alsatia, 1928); Fritsche Closener, *Consuetudines Ecclesiasticae Argentinensis ecclesia (Ordinarium Chori ecclesiae argentinensis).*
[175] Ibid.; Meyer, "Les sculptures du bras sud, le texte de l'*Hortus deliciarum* et la liturgie," 205–11.
[176] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 180–81; Walter,"La topographie de la cathédrale au moyen age," 94–95. Joseph Walter transcribes a source which he references as Melk Melic. 966, though as this source is from 1935 its location and shelfmark appear to have changed.
[177] Ibid., 180–81; Jung, *Eloquent Bodies,* 83–84.
[178] "tunc vadunt retro curiam fratrum ante curiam episcopi circa gradus ibi erit septima et ultima stacio crucis ut supra et tunc intrant per eandem portam quam exibant et cantant ea que cantanda sunt ut supra scriptum est etc." Walter,"La topographie de la cathédrale au moyen age," 95.
[179] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies,* 83–84; Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 180–81.
[180] Meyer, "Les sculptures du bras sud, le texte de l'*Hortus deliciarum* et la liturgie," 204–6; Wilmart, ed. *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg.*
[181] Ibid., 209–10.
[182] Ibid.

Erler and Bengel have both argued that the interior of the south transept was also a space to negotiate secular and ecclesiatical matters.[183] Erler claimed that the south transept functioned as an episcopal court.[184] Evidence for this is lacking, but documents were enacted in the new choir of the cathedral, which was accessed via the south transept,with extant examples from 1188, 1196, 1213, 1220, 1225, and 1234.[185] Based on this documentation, Jung argued that the space was used for the issuing of documents, though she does not extend this to claims that it was the site of a court. Additionally, she observed that after the completion of the Pillar of Angels, Christ as judge looked down into the choir from the south transept overseeing the conveyance of these acts in the space.[186]

Structure of Section

The sculpture of the cathedral provides extremely rich material for a study of medieval women, around which the section is structured. The south portal includes sculptural representations of Ecclesia, Synagoga, the Virgin Mary, and Mary Magdalene. It also included an inscription dedicated to a person called Savina commemorating female donorship. The location of the portal and its function as the entrance to the cathedral, resulted in a diverse audience for its sculptural programme.[187] Women from various social groups would have experienced the imagery of the entryway and seen their own forms displayed on the church. Also, the interior of the transept contained the Old and New Covenant windows, with diagrams taken from the *Hortus deliciarum*, a manuscript compiled by the Abbess Herrad of the nearby Hohenbourg Abbey for the education of nuns.[188] These windows contain many female figures, in allegories of the ten sacrifices of the Old Covenant and the ten virtues of the New Covenant. The Church would have been aware of the cathedral's audience and likely used the imagery of women as a means to teach them about Christian morals and themselves.

The early thirteenth century is an intriguing time to study women in Strasbourg as they were thoroughly involved in the everyday affairs of the city. This period was marked by an expansion of female communities, leading to many new convents.[189] Prior to the thirteenth

[183] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 182–84; Erler, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 37–42
[184] Erler, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 37–42, 49–50, 57–58.
[185] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 183, 309–12.
[186] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies,* 114–17.
[187] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 83*;* Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster*, 159–62
[188] Parello, "Une rencontre interculturelle," 104.
[189] Metz, "Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle," 61

century, Strasbourg had been home to one convent of women within the city walls, the community of aristocratic women, the "Frauenstift" of St. Stephen (founded c. 720).[190] The first half of the thirteenth century was a time of expansion, with five convents recorded in 1237 and a further convent founded within the walls in 1239.[191]

In this section, I focus specifically on the period between 1200 and 1240, encompassing the beginning of construction on the south transept to its completion, before the start of construction on the nave. The section is split into three chapters, addressing different representations of women on the portals. The first will be dedicated to the Virgin Mary in the tympana and lintels. As the patron saint of both the city and cathedral, her iconography is found throughout the cathedral, including imagery of her Assumption on the south transept portal. I track the iconography of the Assumption on church tympana through France to Strasbourg. In examining the sculptures themselves, I apply recent work on "in situ" spatial awareness and the intercessory gaze.[192] My methodology in this chapter differs slightly from that employed in subsequent chapters. It is important to first explore the portrayal of the Virgin Mary, the woman above all women, when studying medieval women. Mary is incomparable, while the other examples I study present comparable examples to differing groups of contemporary women. However, the Virgin's portrayal can be used to study women's piety and Marian worship, inviting an exploration of the collaboration between religious communities for women and men, in the city and region. I explore how the iconography and veneration of the Virgin in the cathedral may have responded to the relationship between the institutions. The Old and New Covenant windows and a donor inscription, naming a woman called Savina are analysed to make a comparison with the iconography of the south transept and the portrayal of piety in manuscripts created by and for the devotional use of women, specifically the *Guta-Sintram Codex*, the *Hortus deliciarum*, and the St. Gallen Cod. Sang. 402. I analyse how the cathedral may have responded to women's manuscript culture in the Rhineland, adapting imagery and text from these sources to suit their needs. Jacqueline E. Jung's methodology on spatial awareness will be applied to

[190] Sabine Klapp, "Negotiating Autonomy: Canons in Late Medieval Frauenstifte," in *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany, 1100–1500*, eds. Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie Hotchin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 368–69; Jan Gerchow, Katrinette Bodarwé, Susan Marti, and Hedwig Röckelein, "Early Monasteries and Foundations (500–1200): An Introduction," in *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti, translated by Dietlinde Hamburger (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 21.
[191] Ibid.; Metz, "Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle," 61; Wilhelm Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Nachtrage und Berichtigungen zu Band I—III*. Vol. IV (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1898), 53–54.
[192] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*; Thomas Lentes, "'As Far as the Eye Can See…': Rituals of Gazing in the Late Middle Ages," in *The Mind's Eye, Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 360–73; Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages*.

study how manuscript imagery may have been adapted for imagery on the south facade.[193] While Jung used the *Hortus deliciarum* to study the interior, I will use it, alongside other manuscripts created by and for women, to explore the function of the south facade imagery. Various primary sources will be consulted including the *Miracles de Notre Dame de Chartres* by Jean le Merchant, *Dialogus miraculorum* by Caesarius von Heisterbach, writing of Elisabeth von Schönau, *Cantatorium*, *Liber Fratrum Argentinensium,* hymns, and documents regarding the local women's communities.[194]

In the second chapter, I use the imagery of Mary Magdalene as a means to study a new emphasis upon penitence. The sculpture postdates the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, resulting in the portrayal of Mary Magdalene responding to the new theology propagated there. Her cult expanded to Strasbourg during the 1220s.[195] A house of penitents dedicated to Mary Magdalene was founded between 1225 and 1227, contemporaneous with the south transept.[196] Limited research has been completed on this community previously. I explore what may have prompted the organisation to shift from housing penitent prostitutes to aristocratic women and when this change may have occurred. [197] Study of the penitents

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[193] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*; Jacqueline E. Jung, "Compassion as Moral Virtue: Another Look at the Wise and Foolish Virgins in Gothic Sculpture," in *Faces of Charisma: Image, Text, Object in Byzantium and the Medieval West*, eds. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Martha Dana Rust (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 76-127; Jacqueline E. Jung, "Moving Viewers, Moving Pictures: The Portal as Montage on the Strasbourg South Transept," in *Mouvement/Bewegung: Über die Dynamischen Potenziale der Kunst*, eds. Andreas Beyer and Guillaume Cassegrain (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2015), 23-44; Jacqueline E. Jung, "The Kinetics of Gothic Sculpture. Movement and Apprehension in the South Transept of Strasbourg Cathedral and the Chartreuse de Champmol in Dijon," in *Mobile Eyes: Peripatetisches Sehen in den Bildkulturen der Vormoderne*, eds. David Ganz and Stefan Neuner (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2013), 132-63; Jacqueline E. Jung, "Dynamic Bodies and the Beholder's Share: The Wise and Foolish Virgins of Magdeburg Cathedral," in *Bild und Körper im Spätmittelalter*, eds. Kristin Marek, Raphaèle Preisinger, Marius Rimmele, and Katrin Kärcher (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2006), 135-60.

[194] Patrick G. Walsh and Christopher Husch, eds. *One Hundred Latin Hymns* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012); Elisabeth von Schönau, *Elisabeth of Schönau: The Complete Works*, translated by Anne L. Clark (New York: Paulist Press, 2000); Jean le Marchant, *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, ed. Pierre Kunstmann (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1973); Walter, "La topographie de la cathédrale au Moyen Age," 37–108; Joseph Walter, "Essai sur l'ancienne liturgie de la cathédrale de Strasbourg: Suivi d'une notice sur le trésor du XIIIe siecle," *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg*, no. 2 (1932): 7–38; Caesarius von Heisterbach. *The Dialogue on Miracles: Caesarius of Heisterbach (1220–1235)*, Translated by H. Von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland, Vol. 1 (New York: Harcourt. Brace and Company, 1929); André Wilmart, ed. *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg: mss add. 23922 du Musée Britannique. Les processions de la cathédrale au Moyen Age* (Colmar: Editions Alsatia, 1928); Caesarius von Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles: Caesarius of Heisterbach (1220–1235)*, Translated by H. Von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland, Vol. 2 (New York: Harcourt. Brace and Company, 1929); Wilmart, ed. *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg*; Hermann Bloch and Paul Wentzcke, eds. *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg: Bis zum Jahre 1202*, Vol. 1 (Innsbruck: Universitäts-Verlag Wagner, 1908); Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Die Fragmente der Libri Viii Miraculorum des Caesarius Von Heisterbach*, ed. Aloys Meister (Rome: Buchdruckerei der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Heilandes, 1901); Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Nachtrage und Berichtigungen zu Band I—III*; Wilhelm Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, Vol. 1 (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1879); Archives départementales du Haut Rhin, Colmar, 13 H 51; Sélestat, Sélestat Bibliothèque Humaniste, MS. 081, Fritsche Closener, *Consuetudines Ecclesiasticae Argentinensis ecclesia (Ordinarium Chori ecclesiae argentinensis)*; Strasbourg, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire de Strasbourg, 37, *Guta-Sintram Codex*; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Don. 512, *Liber Fratrum Argentinensium*; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, Cod. Sang. 402.

[195] Larissa Juliet Taylor, "Apostle to the Apostles: The Complexity of Medieval Preaching about Mary Magdalene," in *Mary Magdalene in Medieval Culture*, eds. edited by Peter Loewen and Robin Waugh, (London: Routledge, 2014), 37; Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City,* 234–35.

[196] Metz, "Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle," 61; Medard Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter* (Strasbourg: Société d'histoire de l'eglise d'Alsace, 1960), 1375–81.

[197] Ibid.

invites exploration into the penitential rituals that took place in front of the south portal, before the image of the penitent sinner Mary Magdalene.[198] Jung's methodology is employed again to explore how Mary Magdalene's position may have guided interaction with the portal, as an extraliturgical space for the performance of penitential ritual.[199] Though other authors have studied the portal as the locus of penance, none has fully explored how its iconography may have functioned as an instructional model for its performance.[200] I begin to explore this possible function of portal imagery. In this chapter, I analyse contemporary sermons and other writing about Mary Magdalene, drawing from a variety of primary sources including the *Cantatorium,* documents involving the penitent community, a breviary from the monastery at Prüm (BNF Latin 17325), a homiliary from the cathedral (Burgerbibliothek Bern, Cod. 114 Passiones Sanctorum), penitentials, the sermons and letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and the *Dialogus miraculorum* by Caesarius von Heisterbach.[201]

In the third chapter, the sculptures of Ecclesia and Synagoga are used to analyse the cathedral's portrayal of Christian and Jewish women and to explore Christian and Jewish relations in the medieval city through a study of women , developing Nina Rowe's research .[202] Unlike Rowe's study which focused mostly on imperial and episcopal relations, I turn to contemporary Christian and Jewish women.[203] The figures raise important broader questions on whether allegorical women can be used to study contemporary women. The Jewish population expanded in the thirteenth century, with imagery on the cathedral responding to these changing relationships. I explore how Ecclesia and Synagoga evolved into their thirteenth-century forms. They feature significant variations in dress, corresponding to the difference in dress between Christian and Jewish women in the thirteenth-century. I analyse contemporary thinking on Christian and Jewish motherhood. Jung argued that Ecclesia and Synagoga also functioned as the two mothers from the Judgement of Solomon, due to their position alongside King Solomon.[204] There were Jewish donor inscriptions on the "Rue des

[198] Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City,* 234–37.
[199] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*; Jung, "Compassion as Moral Virtue;" Jung, "Moving Viewers, Moving Pictures;" Jung, "The Kinetics of Gothic Sculpture;" Jung, "Dynamic Bodies and the Beholder's Share;" Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral, and the Medieval City*, 226, 234; Adalbert Erler, *Das Strassburger Münster im Rechtsleben des Mittelalters* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1954), 22–4, 28–9.
[200] Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City*, 226, 234; Erler, *Das Strassburger Münster im Rechtsleben des Mittelalters*, 22–4, 28–9.
[201] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux Collection*, translated by Watkin W. Williams (London: Aeterna Press, 2014); Marshall W. Baldwin, ed. *Christianity Through the Thirteenth Century*, Document History of Western Civilization (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1970); Caesarius von Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles,* Vol. 1; Caesarius von Heisterbach. *The Dialogue on Miracles,* Vol. 2; Wilmart, ed. *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg;* Bern, Burgerbibliothek Bern, Cod. 114 (A), f. 156r–8r.
[202] Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City*.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies,* 75.

Juifs," that reference women, inviting comparison with Christian women donors. These epigraphs recording the contributions of Jewish women are studied alongside the Savina inscription, thus contributing a wider study of the portrayal of Christian and Jewish female piety.[205] In the course of this research, primary sources have been consulted that record the actions of Christian and Jewish women, as well as contemporary sermons and writings on them. One key source records Pope Gregory IX's (1227–41) ruling in a custody case between a Jewish mother and newly converted Christian father in Strasbourg, to understand how Jewish motherhood was perceived by the Church.[206] Contemporary sources that were useful in this analysis include the works of Honorius Augustodunensis, the works of St. Augustine, the *Dialogue of Miracles* by Caesarius von Heisterbach, the *Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae,* and the *Disputatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae*.

[205] Elisheva Baumgarten, *Biblical Women and Jewish Daily Life in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022),114–15; Rainer Josef Barzen, "Hebrew Inscriptions in Public Spaces of Medieval Ashkenaz" (paper presented at the 57th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, 12 May 2022); Rainer Josef Barzen, "Personal Grief between Private and Public Space: A Micrographic Inscription as a Historical Source (Ms Vienna Cod. Hebr. 16)," in *Philology and Aesthetics Figurative Masorah in Western European Manuscripts*, edited by Hanna Liss (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2021), 35–57; Robert Weyl and Marie-Dominique Waton. "Découverte de deux inscriptions hébraïques rue des Juifs à Strasbourg," *Cahiers Alsaciens d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire* 30 (1987): 145–48; Robert Weyl, "L'inscription dédicatoire d'une «Weiberschul» (?) du XIIIe siècle à Strasbourg," *Revue des etudes Juives* 132, no. 4 (1973): 682–86; Robert Weyl, "Les inscriptions hébraïques des Musées de Strasbourg," *Cahiers Alsaciens d'archeologie, d'art et d'histoire* 17 (1973): 85–92.

[206] Elisheva Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 160–61.

Chapter 1

The Virgin Mary: Veneration in the Cathedral and Collaboration between Religious Communities

Introduction

This chapter considers how the imagery of the Virgin Mary on the south transept portal may have been conceived and understood from a variety of perspectives on women. The Virgin Mary cannot be used as a direct comparison to medieval women, due to her divine nature. However, any study of medieval portrayals of women would be incomplete without an exploration of the woman above all women. The portrayal of the Virgin at Strasbourg can thus be studied to explore women's piety in the region. It is known that female religious communities played a part in the design of the portal. The case study of Strasbourg Cathedral furthers our understanding of how women were involved in medieval religious and social networks.[207] Thus, the research in this chapter on twelfth and thirteenth-century Rhenish nuns and the Strasbourg women's communities builds on studies completed by Sabine Bengel, Fiona Griffiths, Herbert Grundmann, Jeffrey Hamburger, Sigrid Hirbodian, and Sabine Klapp.[208] Specifically, the *Guta-Sintram Codex*, *Hortus deliciarum*, and the St. Gallen Cod. Sang 402 present comparative imagery to the Marian sculpture. These manuscripts were created by women in local communities within 150 kilometers of Strasbourg (Fig. 12). The gaze of the Virgin at Strasbourg and in the aforementioned manuscripts invites study on intercessory gazing, engaging with the research of Thomas

[207] For more information on medieval networks involving women, see Emma O. Bérat, Rebecca Hardie, and Irina Dumitrescu, *Relations of Power: Women's Networks in the Middle Ages* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress Bonn University Press, 2021); Kathryn L. Reyerson, *Women's Networks in Medieval France: Gender and Community in Montpellier, 1300–1350* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

[208] For research on twelfth and thirteenth-century Rhenish nuns, see Herbert Grundmann, *Herbert Grundmann (1902–1970): Essays on Heresy, Inquisition, and Literacy*, ed. Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2019); Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie Hotchin, "Women and Men in the Medieval Religious Landscape," In *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany, 1100–1500*, eds. Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie Hotchin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 1–46; Sigrid Hirbodian, "Pastors and Seducers: The Practice of the Cura Monialium in Mendicant Convents in Strasbourg," in *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany, 1100–1500*, eds. Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie Hotchin, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 303–38; Sabine Klapp, "Negotiating Autonomy: Canons in Late Medieval Frauenstifte," in *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany, 1100–1500*, eds. Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie Hotchin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 367–400; Sabine Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster: Seine Ostteile und die Südquerhauswerkstatt* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2011), 197–204; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (Princeton: Zone Books, 1998); Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995).

Lentes.[209] I study how the gaze of the Virgin may have heightened worship before the portal. As mentioned previously, a female donor was named on the south portal itself. This chapter contextualises the imagery of the south portal in relation to the devotional life of women within the city during the first half of the thirteenth century. This chapter expands on research on women's studies in the Middle Ages relating to the Virgin Mary, as explored by Penny Schine Gold, Miri Rubin, and Marina Warner.[210]

The Marian Narrative of the Strasbourg Transepts

Marian themes run throughout the sculptural and glazed decoration of Strasbourg Cathedral, representing the building's dedication to the Virgin, so it is not surprising that they greeted visitors entering by the south portal which was the main entrance through much of the thirteenth century.[211] As discussed, the tympana and lintels represent the Dormition, Funerary Procession, Assumption, and Coronation of the Virgin.[212] In the Dormition Tympanum (Fig. 13), the Virgin lies on her deathbed, which is angled to display the entirety of her form, mirroring imagery in contemporary manuscripts of the Dormition. The twelve apostles and a woman identified as Mary Magdalene stand around the Virgin, their gazes fixed upon her and mourn her passing.[213] A small representation of Mary's soul is held in the hand of Christ, positioned behind her bed. In the left lintel (Fig. 14), the Virgin is not visible in her Funerary Procession as she is contained in a covered casket, reminiscent of a

[209] Thomas Lentes, "'As Far as the Eye Can See…': Rituals of Gazing in the Late Middle Ages," in *The Mind's Eye, Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 360–73.
[210] Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Penguin UK, 2009); Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).
[211] Jacqueline E. Jung, Eloquent Bodies: Movement, Expression, and the Human Figure in Gothic Sculpture (London: Yale University Press, 2020), 83; It was common for the portals of medieval churches to contain imagery of the saints to whom they were dedicated, see Paul Crossley "Ductus and Memoria: Chartres Cathedral and the Workings of Rhetoric," in *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 78 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 216–31.
[212] The narrative displayed on the south portal does not originate from the original biblical text. The earliest reference to the Assumption of Mary is found in the writing of Epiphanius (c. 310–403), who speculated that Mary may not have died as there was no mention of her death in the Bible. Theological speculation on the Assumption of the Virgin grew from this point and the Feast of the Assumption began to be celebrated by the sixth century. The feast was associated with the earlier apocryphal text Transitus, from the end of the fifth century. Theoteknos of Livias expanded the doctrine of the Assumption to include Mary's bodily assumption, at the end of the sixth century. He wrote that after her assumption, Mary intercedes on behalf of humanity from heaven. For further information on the doctrine of the Assumption, see Tony Burke, "Mary in the Apocrypha," in *The Oxford Handbook of Mary*, ed. Chris Maunder (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 40–53; Stephen J. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1963).
[213] For the identification of Mary Magdalene, see Gérard Cames, "Qui est la servante de la Dormition au portail sud de la cathédrale de Strasbourg?" *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 10 (1972): 51–56.

reliquary.[214] The right lintel portrays the Assumption (Fig. 15), with angels on either side of Mary lifting her body upward to heaven and toward the scene in the tympanum above (Fig. 16). This features Mary enthroned alongside Christ, who is crowning her as Queen of Heaven. Christ has his hand up to bless his mother, who has both hands up to receive it. The Virgin's eyes are cast down and outward toward the audience who pass below. Mary is symbolic of the Church. As such, she possesses a similar facial structure and dress to the crowned personification of the Church, Ecclesia, who is located to the left of the portal (Fig. 17).[215]

The north transept of Strasbourg Cathedral also once featured a tympanum (Fig. 18) containing an image of the Virgin. The stone is no longer in situ, having been moved to the gallery of the cloisters.[216] The tympanum has been dated to the end of the twelfth century, during an earlier stage in the crossing construction.[217] Though the work has been badly damaged, the subject can be identified as the Adoration of the Magi. Based on the remnants, the work contained a representation of the Virgin and Child at the center, with the Magi presenting their gifts to the newborn Christ. In this image the Virgin would have likely been enthroned, and so mirrored her final position as Queen of Heaven in the south portal tympanum. The tympana of north and south transept portals function together across the cathedral, as moments in the life of the Virgin. The use of this imagery spanning the church works functions in conjunction with the synonymous figures of Mary and Ecclesia on the south portal. This emphasises the role of the Virgin as the Church and to identify her with the physical space of the cathedral itself, at the entrances.

Strasbourg and the Virgin Mary

In Strasbourg, the Virgin Mary was regarded as the patron saint of both the cathedral and the city, which was entrusted to her protection. She was associated with the cathedral

[214] As discussed in the introduction to this section, I have chosen to analyse the Brunn engraving of the portal for its portrayal of the lintels, as they were damaged during the French Revolution and replaced in the nineteenth century with replicas based on this engraving.
[215] Rubin, *Mother of God*, 167–68.
[216] Jean-Philippe Meyer, "Les parties orientales et leur ornementation," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: choeur et transept: de l'art roman au gothique (vers 1180 – 1240), eds.* Jean-Philippe Meyer and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2010), 73.
[217] Jean-Philippe Meyer, "Nouvelles données sur le transept de la cathédrale de Strasbourg et sa datation," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, La Révolution Gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Giorgia Passaro (Strasbourg: Editions des Musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 78–80; Calvin B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 280–81.

from at least the eighth century.[218] A document from 728 referred to the cathedral as "ecclesieque sancte Marie Stratburgo."[219] The dedication of the city assuredly followed. The first official seal of the "burgenses" of Strasbourg (Fig. 19) features an image of the Virgin and child enthroned, surrounded by architectural elements indicative of the city and the heavenly Jerusalem. Mary is depicted crowned with a scepter in her right hand, as Queen of Heaven.[220] Text runs around the circumference of the seal stating, "SIGILLVM: BVRGENSIVM ARGENTINENSIS. CIVITATIS."[221] Above the head of both figures runs a trilobed arch which reads, "VIR(GO) ROGA P(RO)LEM QVOD PLEBEM SERVET ET URBEM," requesting the Virgin's protection for the citizens and city of Strasbourg.[222] This seal was used from 1201 to 1595.[223] Jean Wirth argued that it was modeled after the seal of the city of Worms (Fig. 20), which was first recorded in 1190.[224] Both seals feature near-identical architectural details; the sole difference is the figure found in the center under the trilobed arch; the central figure is St. Peter in the Worms seal. Additionally, the seal of the cathedral chapter (Fig. 21), first recorded in 1185, contained an image of the Virgin and Child enthroned in a similar configuration to that of the seal of the city.[225] This particular iteration reflected Mary's status as the patron saint of the cathedral.[226]

In the Middle Ages, many cities and churches attributed significant miracles to the Virgin, hoping that she would intercede on their behalf in earthly and spiritual affairs. In the second half of the thirteenth century, Jean le Marchant recorded miracles connected to the relic of the veil of the Virgin at Chartres, in which she intervened on the city's behalf in conflicts that could have spelled its destruction.[227] Similarly, Caesarius von Heisterbach (a

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[218] Medard Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter* (Strasbourg: Société d'histoire de l'Église d'Alsace, 1960), 1429.
[219] Translation: "The church of St. Mary in Strasbourg;" Ibid.
[220] For information on patron saints of cities as it relates to seals and urban identity, see Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 238–47.
[221] Translation: "Seal of the Burghers of Strasbourg"; Damien Berné, "Premier grand sceau de la ville de Strasbourg," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, La Révolution Gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Giorgia Passaro (Strasbourg: Éditions Musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 222.
[222] Ibid. A banner of the city of indeterminate date similarly displayed the Virgin and Child enthroned. Mary is depicted as Queen of Heaven with arms outstretched. Christ sits upon her lap extending a hand in a gesture of blessing with his other hand grasping the fleur-de-lis symbol of Strasbourg. The creation date is in question as the work was a casualty of the bombardment of Strasbourg in 1870. See Hans Reinhardt, "Grande Bannière de Strasbourg," *Archives Alsaciennes d'histoire de L'art* 15 (1936): 7–17.
[223] Translation: "Blessed Virgin, beseech your son to protect the people and city." Berné, "Premier grand sceau de la ville de Strasbourg."
[224] Jean Wirth, "Une révolution artistique," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, la révolution gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Giorgia Passaro (Strasbourg: Editions des musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 42.
[225] Berné, "Premier grand sceau de la ville de Strasbourg."
[226] Ibid.
[227] Jean le Marchant, *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, ed. Pierre Kunstmann (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1973), 45; For more information on church imagery shaped by local miracles, with the case study of Chartres, see Claudine Lautier, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres. Reliques et images," *Bulletin monumental* 161, no. 1 (2003): 3–96.

Rhenish Cistercian monk, d. 1240) recorded various miracles throughout Europe, with many occurring in the Rhineland, in his *Dialogus miraculorum*.[228] The *Dialogus* was created in Heisterbach Abbey, north of Strasbourg, between 1220 and 1235.[229] The text was a series of stories constructed as a dialogue between a monk and a novice on aspects of Christian life. By the first half of the thirteenth century, there had been no recorded miracles in Strasbourg associated with Mary, but various miracles would be connected to a sculpture of the Virgin (Fig. 22) in 1280.[230]

The Marian iconography holds greater significance in the context of the church and city dedicated to the Virgin. It could remind the bishop of his responsibility as caretaker for the city, alongside the Virgin. Citizens would be reminded of their divine protector in this life and the next. While the Marian programme would have been poignant in Strasbourg, it is not unique to the city. It corresponded to contemporary portal sculpture from France and theology from the Rhineland.

Iconography of the Assumption in Gothic Tympana from France to the Rhineland

Sculptural imagery of the Assumption in tympana had emerged at the end of the twelfth century.[231] In Penny Schine Gold's analysis of Marian imagery in tympana and women, she argued that the earliest instance of the Virgin enthroned after the Assumption was in the west portal tympanum of Senlis Cathedral (Fig. 23), dating from this time.[232] Subsequently, other sites in France incorporated Assumption iconography in the tympana of their new constructions, including at Laon (Fig. 24, c. 1180–1210), Chartres (Fig. 25, c. 1205–10), Paris (Fig. 26, c. 1210–20), and Amiens (Fig. 27, c. 1220–30).[233] Chartres is of particular interest when considering the imagery of the south transept at Strasbourg. Jean Wirth persuasively argued that the work of the same sculptors is present at both sites.[234] He explored the formal stylistic similarities between Ecclesia and Synagoga from Strasbourg and

[228] Caesarius von Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles: Caesarius of Heisterbach (1220–1235)*, translated by H. Von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland, Vol. 1 (New York: Harcourt. Brace and Company, 1929), 453–546.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Benoît Jordan and Roger Lehni, "Le mobilier," in *Strasbourg - La grâce d'une cathédrale*, ed. Joseph Doré (Strasbourg: La nuée bleue, 2010), 272–73; Francis Rapp, "Moyen âge : La cathédrale dans la cité," in *Strasbourg - La grâce d'une cathédrale*, ed. Joseph Doré (Strasbourg: La nuée bleue, 2010), 355; Georgius Heinricus Pertz, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum*, Vol. XVII (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1861), 114–17.
[231] Paul Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture, 1140–1300* (London: Yale University Press, 1995), 25–37, 51–59.
[232] Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin*, 43–75.
[233] Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture,* 25–37, 51–59.
[234] Wirth, "Une révolution artistique," 46–50. Additionally, the nave of Chartres Cathedral contained a window from 1205–15 that displayed the narrative of the Assumption in a similar manner to the south portal sculpture at Strasbourg. For more information, see Lautier, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres," 33–34.

St. Modeste (c. 1210–25) and the Allegory of the Beauty of the Virgin (c. 1210–25) at Chartres.[235] He also compared the architectural forms above the figural sculpture at Strasbourg and Chartres.[236] So some of the sculptors working on the south portal would have been familiar with the iconography of Chartres and other French programmes.[237] Shine Gold argued that the creation and spread of the imagery coincided with increased theological thought on the subject, in the twelfth century.[238]

The subject probably found a receptive audience in the Rhineland due in part to the Rhenish women who had visions of the Virgin.[239] In particular, Elisabeth von Schönau (d. 1164) shaped beliefs about Mary's bodily assumption.[240] Her visions occurred over multiple years during the Feast of the Assumption, and were recorded with the aid of her brother Eckebert, a deacon at the collegiate church of St. Cassius in Bonn.[241] He later became a Benedictine monk, and abbot at Schonau, to better assist his sister.[242] In one vision of the Virgin, Elisabeth asked her whether she had been bodily assumed into heaven.[243] Mary responded that she had.[244] The following year, she witnessed an apparition of the Assumption of Mary, in which she saw the Virgin emerge from a tomb surrounded by angels, who together ascended to heaven.[245] In another vision, Mary divulged to Elisabeth that all of the apostles were present at her death and assisted in her burial.[246] Shortly after their first documentation, the visions of Elisabeth were circulated in copies throughout Europe, impacting the representation of the Assumption narrative.[247] Additionally, Elisabeth sent sermons on the subject to the archbishops of Trier, Mainz, and Cologne, although it is unknown if they were ever preached.[248] It is likely that the clergy of Strasbourg were aware of Elisabeth's visions, due to her status as a venerated nun in the Rhineland. As we shall see, they certainly showed a continuing interest in the women's communities in their diocese.

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[235] The sculpture of St. Modeste was destroyed and replaced with a copy in the nineteenth century. There are photos of the sculpture prior to its destruction; Wirth, "Une révolution artistique," 46–49.
[236] Ibid., 49–50.
[237] Ibid., 46–50
[238] Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin*, 43–75.
[239] Elisabeth of Schönau, *Elisabeth of Schönau: The Complete Works*, translated by Anne L. Clark (New York: Paulist Press, 2000), 209–11; Caesarius von Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles: Caesarius of Heisterbach (1220–1235)*, translated by H. Von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland, Vol. 1–2 (New York: Harcourt. Brace and Company, 1929).
[240] Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex,* 91–92.
[241] Ibid.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Ibid.
[245] Ibid.
[246] Ibid.
[247] Barbara Newman, "Preface" to *Elisabeth of Schönau: The Complete Works*, translated by Anne L. Clark (New York: Paulist Press, 2000), xi; Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex,* 91–92.
[248] Newman, Preface to *Elisabeth of Schönau: The Complete Works*, xiv–xv.

The sculpture of the Strasbourg south transept may therefore have been influenced by the visions of Elisabeth about the Assumption, with the portrayal of the bodily assumption of Mary alongside angels and the Apostles present at the Dormition and Funerary Procession.[249] The proliferation of Assumption imagery at Strasbourg and in other Rhenish schemes is likely due to increased regional interest, alongside the popularity of similar iconographic schemes from France. This new thinking around the Assumption on the south transept will have been enhanced by the liturgy of the Cathedral.

The Marian Liturgy of Strasbourg Cathedral

The exterior sculpture referenced the liturgy that occurred within. The space of the south transept was used in the celebration of various feast days associated with the Virgin, including the Feast of the Assumption.[250] Miri Rubin observed that these feast days are known to have drawn large crowds.[251] It is likely, therefore, that lay people would have learned about the Virgin from the hymns and sermons that were performed on these days. Willibald Sauerländer argued that the south transept featured in feasts dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August).[252] More specifically, Jean-Philippe Meyer connected two sermons to the celebration of the Assumption in the south transept, including a thirteenth-century homily from the cathedral (Burgerbibliothek Bern, Cod. 114 (A)) and one attributed to St. Jerome.[253] Each of the sermons focuses on the Virgin's place alongside her son, assuming her position as the Queen of Heaven. Meyer argued that the sermon of Jerome, in particular, was instrumental in the creation of the iconography of the south portal tympana.[254] They both appear in the *Consuetudines of Baldolf,* which record the customary laws of Strasbourg from the eleventh century, likely still in use into the thirteenth century.[255] The *Liber fratrum Argentinenesium* (Stuttgart LandesBibliothek, Cod. Don. 512), a manuscript dated to approximately the twelfth or thirteenth century, contains them.[256] The

[249] Though Warner examined Elisabeth's influence on Assumption tympana iconography, she did not explore its regional influence on the Strasbourg south portal iconography.
[250] Jean-Philippe Meyer, "Les sculptures du bras sud, le texte de l'*Hortus deliciarum* et la liturgie," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: choeur et transept: de l'art roman au gothique (vers 1180 – 1240)*, eds. Jean-Philippe Meyer and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2010), 214.
[251] Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary*, 194.
[252] Willibald Sauerländer, "Marientod-Tympanon vom Südquerhausportal des Strassburger Münsters (Gipsaguss)," in *Die Zeit der Staufer*, ed. Reiner Haussherr (Stuttgart: Wurttembergisches Landesmuseum, 1977), 323–4.
[253] Meyer, "Les sculptures du bras sud, le texte de l'*Hortus deliciarum* et la liturgie," 214.
[254] Ibid.
[255] Joseph Walter, "Essai sur l'ancienne liturgie de la cathédrale de Strasbourg: suivi d'une notice sur le trésor du XIIIe siècle," *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg*, no. 2 (1932): 7–38.
[256] "Liber Fratrum Argentinensium - Cod.Don.512," *Württembergische Landesbibliothek*, Accessed March 14, 2021, http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz411103342.

important feast days within included those of the Assumption and Nativity of Mary would include the antiphon *Judea*, the response *Judea,* the hymn *A solis ortus,* and the antiphon *Cum esset desponsata*.[257] They were also to finish with either the verse *Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros* or the *Gloria.*[258] Furthermore, the hymns *Quem terra* and *Gaude visceribu*s were to be included in these feast days.[259]

The extent of lay literacy in Latin must be considered in evaluating how far the audience could have understood the hymns performed during the Feast of the Assumption. Marco Mostert explored the expansion of literacy in the thirteenth century in relation to the urbanisation of the period.[260] He argues that this can be observed through the increase in the number of charters and manuscripts coinciding with the commercial revolution and the founding of urban schools.[261] So certain groups can be assumed to have understood some Latin in thirteenth-century Strasbourg. The clergy would have been well educated in Latin, as it was the language of the Church. Municipal documents of the early thirteenth century were written in Latin. Influential members of the laity would have needed to possess at least partial understanding of Latin to read them. The mercantile class would have also possessed at least partial understanding of Latin, as it was utilised in business transactions.[262] However, an aspect that cannot be accounted for is partial literacy or understanding of oral Latin by the laity. Franz H Bäuml has problematized the classification of literate and illiterate, as this binary does not account for the fluidity of literacy.[263] He examined the literacy of those who could read and write Latin and what he termed the "quasi-literacy" of those who benefited from the literacy of others.[264] Additionally, Michael Clanchy considered the role of mothers as purveyors of literacy in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, mirroring St. Anne's

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[257] "Ad priorem autem vesperam natalis Domini, cantor imponat officium cum antiphona Judea 1) et responsorio Judea, et hymno A solis ortus et ad Magnificat cantetur antiphona : Cum esset desponsata. Finito autem versu Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros cantetur antiphona particulatim una vice, finito Gloria cantetur particulatim altera vice, finito Sicut erat cantetur simul. Similiter fiat in secunda vespera, et in omnibus summis festivitatibus ; item in natale sancti Stephani, sancti Johannis, in octava Domini, in epiphania, in purificatione, in priori vespera quadragesime, in Ascencione, in Pentecostes, in Assumptione sancte Marie et in Nativitate, in Dedicatione, in festivitate sancti Michahelis et omnium Sanctorum et sancti Martini;*"* Walter, "Essai sur l'ancienne liturgie de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," 26.

[258] Ibid.

[259] "assumptionis et nativitatis sancte Marie cum hymnis Quem terra, Gaude visceribus;*"* Ibid, 32–33*;* For more on hymns dedicated to the Virgin Mary, see Eileen Rubery, "The Virgin Mary in the Hymns of the Catholic Church," in *The Oxford Handbook of Mary*, ed. Chris Maunder (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 247–64; Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary*, 143–49, 193

[260] Marco Mostert, "Some Thoughts on Urban Schools, Urban Literacy, and the Development of Western Civilisation," in *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns*, 27 (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy. Brepols Publishers, 2014), 337–48.

[261] Ibid.

[262] Ibid., 339–41.

[263] Franz H. Bäuml, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Speculum* 55, no. 2 (April 1, 1980): 237–65.

[264] Ibid.

education of the Virgin and the Virgin's role as educator.[265] By the fourteenth century, women are recorded to have educated their children on how to read.[266] However, the question remains whether they were doing so in the thirteenth century. So, it is hard to say definitively who would have been able to understand the hymns, in their entirety or in part. In any case, the clergy may have used these feast days to educate their lay audience, regardless of whether the laity understood the hymns or not.

The hymn *A solis ortus* is attributed to Sedulius, in the fifth century, and was performed for various important feast days in the cathedral, including the Feasts of the Assumption and Nativity of the Virgin.[267] It outlined the life of Christ, telling of his birth while exalting Mary's virginity.[268] The third stanza states that the Virgin's womb was filled by the heavens with secrets that she did not know, referencing her virginity and the Incarnation.[269] The next stanza describes the breast of Mary as the temple of the Lord, likening her body to that of the church.[270]

As established, another such hymn that was performed at the same feasts, the *Quem terra,* concerns the Annunciation of the Virgin.[271] It has been observed in various Carolingian manuscripts.[272] The work repeatedly extols the Virgin's virtues of chastity and maternity.[273] It celebrates her status as the woman above all women, physically and spiritually.[274] Similarly, the hymn refers to the Virgin's redemption of the sin brought into the world via Eve, and her status as the New Eve. The *Quem terra* utilises architectural terms throughout to describe the Virgin and God. God is identified as the "artifex," which translates to master craftsman.[275] It venerates the womb of the Virgin, using the term "claustrum" to describe it, a term also used for monasteries and cloisters.[276] The hymn also states that through Mary a window to heaven is created, once again connecting her to the cathedral.[277]

The architectural language referring to Mary may have resonated in a particular way when recited in the cathedral or by monastic communities. God as the master craftsman could

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[265] Michael Clanchy, "Did Mothers Teach Their Children to Read?" in *Motherhood, Religion, and Society in Medieval Europe, 400–1400*, eds. Conrad Leyser and Lesley Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011) 147–72.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Patrick G. Walsh and Christopher Husch, eds., *One Hundred Latin Hymns* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 418; Walter, "Essai sur l'ancienne liturgie de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," 26.
[268] Walsh and Husch, eds., *One Hundred Latin Hymns*, 86–93.
[269] "Clausae parentis viscera, caelestis intrat gratia, venter puellae baiulat, secreta quae non noverat*,"* Ibid.
[270] "Domus pudici pectoris, templum repente fit dei, intacta nesciens virum, verbo concepit filium;" Ibid.
[271] Ibid., 198–201, 455.
[272] Ibid; Walter, "Essai sur l'ancienne liturgie de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," 32-3.
[273] Walsh and Husch, eds., *One Hundred Latin Hymns,* 198-201, 455; Ibid.
[274] "O gloriosa femina, excelsa super sidera! Qui te creavit provide, lactas sacrato ubere. Quod Eva tristis abluit, tu reddis almo germine; intrent ut astra flebiles, caeli fenestra facta es;" Ibid.
[275] "cuius supernus Artifex;" Ibid.
[276] "Quem terra, pontus, aethera Colunt, adorant, praedicant, Trinam regentem machinam Claustrum Mariae baiulat;" Ibid.
[277] "caeli fenestra facta es;" Ibid.

evoke the human artisans who created the cathedral programme. In addition, the language associated with Mary in conjunction with the dedication of the cathedral could conjure the image that those participating in worship in the space were doing so symbolically in her womb.[278] Earlier theological writings similarly equated the womb of the Virgin with holy structures. Ambrose claimed that the ark of the covenant prefigured Mary's womb.[279] Within the church, the choice of language would have functioned as a mnemonic device to guide one mentally through the cathedral programme from the exterior to interior of the cathedral as the heavenly body of Mary.[280] Thus, the sculptures of the Virgin and Ecclesia on the south portal foreshadow the liturgy and the hymns performed within the cathedral, in a manner consistent with the idea of *ductus* as outlined by Mary Carruthers.[281] Together these elements would activate one's senses visually and audibly, further connecting the physical cathedral and the Virgin together in the memory of their medieval audience.

It is striking that the correlation between the body of the Virgin and religious buildings is also written about in the hymns by the Rhenish mystic, Hildegard von Bingen (d. 1179), for performance in the liturgy of her community.[282] One of these reads, "O quam preciosa est virginitas virginis huius que clausam portam habet, et cuius viscera sancta divinitas calore suo infudit, ita quod flos in ea crevit. Et Filius Dei per secreta ipsius quasi aurora exivit. Unde dulce germen, quod Filius ipsius est, per clausuram ventris eius paradisum aperuit. Et Filius Dei per secreta ipsius quasi aurora exivit."[283] Hildegard references the Virgin Mary's "virgin gate," "Secret chamber," and "the cloister of her womb."[284] Additionally, in *Alleluia! O virga mediatrix*, Mary's modesty is referred to as enclosed.[285] In *O virga ac diadema*, Hildegard referenced Mary's cloister.[286] However, the female body regarded as architecture was not solely attributed to Mary, as Hildgard referred

[278] For literature on Gothic architecture and the womb of Mary, see Peter Fingesten, "Topographical and Anatomical Aspects of the Gothic Cathedral," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 20, no. 1 (1961): 3–23.
[279] Elina Gertsman, *Worlds Within: Opening the Medieval Shrine Madonna* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), 152–53.
[280] Mary Carruthers, "The Concept of Ductus, or Journeying through a Work of Art," in *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 78 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 190–213.
[281] Ibid.
[282] Hildegard von Bingen, *Symphonia: A Critical Edition of the Symphonia Armonie Celestium Revelationum [Symphony of the Harmony of Celestial Revelations]*, ranslated by Barbara Newman (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 12–17.
[283] Translation: "Priceless integrity! Her virgin gate opened to none. But the Holy One flooded her with warmth until a flower sprang in her womb and the Son of God came forth from her secret chamber like the dawn. Sweet as the buds of spring, her son opened paradise from the cloister of her womb. And the Son of God came forth from her secret chamber like the dawn;" Hildegard von Bingen, *Symphonia: A Critical Edition of the Symphonia Armonie Celestium Revelationum [Symphony of the Harmony of Celestial Revelations]*, Translated by Barbara Newman (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 134–35.
[284] Ibid.
[285] "Alleluia! O virga mediatrix, sancta viscera tua mortem superaverunt et venter tuus omnes creaturas illuminavit in pulcro flore de suavissima integritate clausi pudoris tui orto;" Ibid., 124–25.
[286] "O virga ac diadema purpure regis que es in clausura tua sicut lorica;" Ibid., 128–29.

to wombs as roofed and walled dwellings, in other writings.[287] Thus, the performance of these hymns would function similarly at the south transept and in Hildegard's community. The hymns would further sanctify the space in the mind of their audience, placing them symbolically in the womb of the Virgin.[288] At the cathedral, the laity would be reminded of the protection afforded to them by their divine intercessor. In the convent, nuns would be reminded of the woman above all women whose virginity they emulated.

Strasbourg Cathedral and its Relationship with Women's Communities in the City and the Diocese

To research the representation of the Virgin at Strasbourg Cathedral as it relates to women's religious communities in the Rhineland, it is necessary to study the convents of the Strasbourg diocese.[289] Before the thirteenth century, the sole community of women in Strasbourg itself was the "Frauenstift" of St. Stephen (founded c. 720), occupied by noble women of the region.[290] The convent was placed under the bishops of Strasbourg in 1003, when it was given to them by Heinrich II (king of Germany, 1002–24, Holy Roman Emperor, 1014–24) after the city and cathedral were sacked by Hermann II (duke of Swabia, 997–1003). The bishop was aided in his maintenance of the "Frauenstift" by the cathedral chapter.[291] Members of the chapter are listed amongst the witnesses in documents concerning the community, evidencing their involvement with the house.[292] One such document, from 1160, is a sale of land belonging to St. Stephen's to the cathedral monastery in Worms overseen by the bishop.[293] The master of the cathedral school was listed amongst those present at the issuing of the document.[294] Another such source, dated 1233, records the bishop mediating between two of his marshals and the Frauenstift over the bailiwick of Schiltigheim.[295] The provost, dean, and other members of the clergy were present.[296]

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[287] Gertsman, *Worlds Within,* 152; For additional research on architecture and women, see Abigail Wheatley, *The Idea of the Castle in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004).
[288] The conception of Mary's womb as a divine architectural structure continued in the medieval Rhineland and can be observed in the later fourteenth-century Madonna Shrines, as explored in the work of Elina Gertsman: Gertsman, *Worlds Within: Opening the Medieval Shrine Madonna*.
[289] For further information on the medieval Church and religious communities in Strasbourg, see Medard Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter* (Strasbourg: Société d'histoire de l'eglise d'Alsace, 1960).
[290] Bernhard Metz, "Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, La révolution gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Passaro Giorgia (Strasbourg: Editions des musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 59.
[291] Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 90–-91.
[292] Ibid., 90–91, 186–87.
[293] Ibid., 90–91.
[294] "testes hujus rei sunt hii canonici Argentinensis ecclesie: de domo Heinricus magister scolarum;" Ibid.
[295] Ibid., 186-7.
[296] "testes hujus rei sunt dominus Reinhardus prepositus, dominus Bertoldus decanus, dominus Ulricus cantor et scolasticus, Arnoldus custos, Hermannus portarius;" Ibid.

The community of St. Stephen began following the Rule of St. Augustine around 1150, which Medard Barth argued was due to the influence of Hohenbourg Abbey, which had adopted the rule in the ninth century.[297] However, it was recorded that the rule was followed only loosely by the women of St. Stephen.[298] It appears that word of their actions had spread in the Rhineland. Caesarius von Heisterbach recorded a miracle regarding a knight who engaged in an illicit affair with a nun of St. Stephen's.[299] The reputation of these women prompted Bishop Berthold I von Teck (1223–44), who was invested in the lives of the nuns, to attempt to reform the community.[300] Barth argued that the Bishop wanted to institute a reform in St. Stephen's and Eschau, as their loose rule made them ideal candidates for it.[301] In 1232, Berthold wrote to Pope Gregory IX (1227–41) for aid in responding to their excessive living.[302] In the same year, Gregory responded to Berthold's plea, by authorising the bishop and Dominicans to respond to the nuns.[303] In this papal bull, the Pope stated that if the women of St. Stephen's were to continue in their actions, they should be placed under the Cistercians, or to follow the order of nuns of St. Sisto in Rome.[304] Shortly after, in 1237, the Pope suggested that the convent should be regulated by the Dominicans.[305] He states that he had previously written to the bishop, prior to the Dominicans, and a canon of the cathedral, Hermann, regarding reforming the "Frauenstift".[306] He also stated that their income was to be dispersed amongst five newly established convents in the environs of Strasbourg.[307] However, it is apparent that these injunctions never came to fruition. A document of 1258 notes that the convent was still a part of the Augustinian order.[308] Metz argued that the

[297] Jean-Jacques Schwien, "La ville de Strasbourg," in *L'Alsace au cœur du moyen-age, de Strasbourg au Rhin supérieur, XI et XII Siècles*, eds. Marie Pottecher, Jean-Jacques Schwein, Jean-Philippe Meyer, Alexandre Freund-Lehmann, (Lyon: Lieux-Dits Éditions, 2015), 46; Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter,* 1493.
[298] Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter,* 1493–94.
[299] "In civitate Argentina miles quidam monialem Sancti Stephani eiusdem civitatis, professam ac deo dedicatam, corruperat diu illam habens et pueros ex ea generans;" Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Die Fragmente der Libri Viii Miraculorum des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, ed. Aloys Meister (Rome: Buchdruckerei der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Heilandes, 1901) 63–65.
[300] Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter*, 1494–95.
[301] Ibid.
[302] Alfred Hessel and Manfred Krebs, eds., *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg: Vom Jahre 1202–1305*, Vol. 2 (Innsbruck: Universitäts-Verlag Wagner, 1928), 59.
[303] In 1232, Gregory IX also authorised an inquisition of the nuns of Eschau Abbey by the bishop and Dominicans; Ibid., 60; Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 177–78.
[304] "ordinem Cisterciensium in ipsum monasterium inducatis vel ipsas victuras de cetero juxta modum monialium sancti Sixti de Urbe faciatis recludi;" Ibid.; As stated by Herbert Grundmann, the nuns of St. Sisto were under the Dominican order, so the document authorises that they could also be placed under the Dominicans; See Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame : University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 102.
[305] Hessel and Krebs, ed., *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg,* 75; Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Nachtrage und Berichtigungen zu Band I—III*, Vol. IV (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1898), 54–55.
[306] Ibid.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Metz, "Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle," 59; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 315.

families of these aristocratic women likely intervened on their behalf.[309] It is possible that the bishop was also involved in this opposition, as the transfer would have led to a loss of control over the community. The bishop never appears to have lost power over the house; various documents from later in the thirteenth century record continued interactions.[310] Thus, the bishop's maintenance of this community and request for aid from the Pope on their behalf, displayed the cathedral's interest in the religious life of women in the "Frauenstift."

St. Stephen's was joined by five new women's convents in the beginning of the thirteenth century, marking an extraordinary expansion of religious opportunities for women in Strasbourg. As previously addressed, the new convents were recorded in 1237, when it is stated that there were approximately three hundred nuns amongst them, dedicated to St. Mark, St. Agnes, St. Catherine, St. Matthew (later known as St. Nicolas-aux-Ondes), and the house of penitents St. Magdalene.[311] Subsequently, a further convent was founded in 1239, dedicated to St. Elisabeth of Marburg.[312] The desire of women in Strasbourg to join religious communities can be observed in this expansion, the great number of women who joined these communities, and the resulting lack of income to provide for these nuns.[313] All of these convents, save for the house of penitents, were put under the Rule of St. Augustine, which again may have been partially due to the influence of Hohenbourg.[314] With the creation of these new communities, non-noble women were able to engage in religious life in a manner that had not been open to them before. Though the bishop did not directly control the new convents, documents show that he was involved in supervising their affairs. For example, Berthold I von Teck oversaw the foundation of the St. Mark convent by the chapter of St. Thomas in 1225, and specified that if they were not able to maintain the convent that the bishop would intervene.[315] This document displays the bishop's interest in these local communities and their expansion.

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[309] Ibid.

[310] Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 287; Hessel and Krebs, ed. *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg,* 83.

[311] "concedi eis prefatum monasterium et redditus ejus inter quinque alia cenobia, que de novo constructa sunt juxta muros civitatis ipsius, in quibus fere usque ad trecentas sorores domino famulantur, licet vix centum ex proventibus eorum sustentari valeant, distribui recompensatione facta ecclesie Argentinensi pro juribus sibi ab eodem monasterio debitis faceremus;" It is likely that three hundred was an exaggeration of the number of nuns, though it is apparent that the amount of women surpassed their resources; Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Nachtrage und Berichtigungen zu Band I—III*, Vol. IV, 53–54; See also Metz, "Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle," 61; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 159–60.

[312] Ibid.

[313] In 1237, Pope Gregory IX forbade the convent of St. Mark from accepting new sisters beyond those which it could supply. Similarly in the aforemenioned document from 1239, Pope Gregory IX stated that if St. Stephen was to be dissolved, its income was to be disbursed amongst the newly founded communities evidencing these convents' lack of resources. Ibid.; Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 197.

[314] Metz, "Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle," 61

[315] Hessel and Krebs, ed., *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg,* 39–40; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 159–60.

The expansion has been partially attributed to the women's religious movement of the thirteenth century.[316] Various factors contributed to this in Strasbourg, including church reforms of the eleventh and twelfth century leading to increased desire to join monastic communities, the approval by Pope Honorius III (1216–27) of Jacques de Vitry's (d. 1240) request in 1216 on behalf of Marie d'Oignes (d. 1213) and the beguines to allow the creation of communities of pious women in Flanders, France and Germany, and the appearance of the mendicant orders in Strasbourg.[317] Fiona Griffiths explored the reform and resulting renaissance of the twelfth century in Alsace, specifically at Hohenbourg Abbey, in her study of the *Hortus deliciarum*.[318]

Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) encouraged the expansion of religious offerings with his authorisation of the foundation of the Franciscan and Dominican orders.[319] Both appeared in the city in the first half of the thirteenth century.[320] As Herbert Grundmann argued in his study on the women's religious movement of the thirteenth century, by 1237 the Dominicans had affected the expansion of female communities in Strasbourg, particularly the convent of St. Mark.[321] They were heavily involved in the affairs of St. Mark from its foundation in 1225.[322] As mentioned, Pope Gregory IX suggested that St. Stephen was to be maintained by the Dominican order in 1237.[323] All of the newly established convents save for that of the penitents were placed under the Dominicans in 1245.[324] I explore this shift and the expanding influence of the Dominicans further in my chapter on the western facade.

The thirteenth century also saw the arrival of the order of beguines in Strasbourg. Though we know that the city was home to beguines shortly after the creation of the order, their numbers appeared to be limited in the first half of the thirteenth century.[325] Primary sources from this period only allow for a vague understanding of their presence.[326] Metz argued that the earliest record is in 1225, when a document refers to a woman called Gerlind

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[316] Anne E. Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women's Religious Movement and Its Reform in Thirteenth-Century Champagne* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 21–28; Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, 75–88.
[317] Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, 75–88.
[318] Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).
[319] Metz, "Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XIIIe Siècle," 61; John B. Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century*, Vol. 86 (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1977), 10–11, 45.
[320] The Dominicans were first recorded in the city in 1224 and the Franciscans were first documented between 1221–23; Ibid.
[321] Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, 101–3.
[322] Ibid.,102.
[323] Hessel and Krebs, ed., *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg,* 75; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Nachtrage und Berichtigungen zu Band I—III*, Vol. IV, 53–54.
[324] Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, 102.
[325] Dayton Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg: A Study of the Social Aspect of Beguine Life* (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, inc., 1941).
[326] Ibid.

as a "famula dei," or servant of God.[327] Bengel argued that the person named on the south transept portal, Savina, was a beguine.[328] She identified her with a Sabina named in a document concerning the parish church of St. Thomas.[329] This records her owning a property in the Stadelgasse, an area later populated by beguines.[330] Dayton Phillips argued that the earliest recorded reference to beguines in the city was in 1244, when three "sorores conversae" leased a house for a hundred years.[331] While it is likely that beguines appeared in Strasbourg not long after their inception, due to the desire of women to join lay communities, the document referenced by Phillips is probably our earliest known definitive evidence of their presence, as the term "sorores conversae" was commonly used for sisters of a lay order. The other documents are more ambiguous. Regardless of the exact date of their appearance, the order had spread to Strasbourg by the mid-thirteenth century.[332] I address the Beguines further in my section on the western facade.

The bishop was not only interested in women's communities in Strasbourg, but also interacted directly with others in the diocese, including Hohenbourg and Schwarzenthann, communities with rich manuscript cultures. As we have seen, by the thirteenth century the cathedral had access to the abbey of Hohenbourg's *Hortus deliciarum* manuscript.[333] This was compiled by the Abbess Herrad von Hohenbourg and produced there in the 1180s. As part of their association, Bishop Konrad II von Hühnenburg (1190–1202) confirmed the statutes and privileges of the abbey at the request of Herrad von Hohenbourg, in a document from c. 1190–96.[334] This source records that the bishop forbade any layperson from building a home, farming, or owning property on Mount Hohenbourg without the express permission of the abbess.[335] Additionally, he allowed the abbess to choose the priest for the local village of Willer, and granted the abbey the tithes relating to the fields around the mountain and Willer.[336]

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[327] Metz, "Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle," 61; Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 160–61.
[328] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster*, 199–204.
[329] Ibid.; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266,* 150–51.
[330] Ibid.
[331] "sororibus conversis scilicet Adelheidi, Mehthildi, et Adelheidi," Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg*, 54; Wiegand, ed., U*rkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 218–19.
[332] Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg*.
[333] Jean-Philppe Meyer, "Les sculptures du transept: thématique et facture," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: choeur et transept: de l'art roman au gothique (vers 1180 – 1240),* eds. Jean-Philippe Meyer and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2010), 190–98; Jean-Philppe Meyer, "Les sculptures du bras sud, le texte de l'*Hortus deliciarum* et la liturgie," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: choeur et transept: de l'art roman au gothique (vers 1180 – 1240),* edited by Jean-Philippe Meyer and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2010), 199–203; Kurmann-Schwarz, "Les vitraux du choeur et du transept," 254–59.
[334] Archives départementales du Bas Rhin, G31
[335] Ibid.
[336] Ibid.

The *Guta-Sintram Codex* was created in 1154 for use in the Alsatian convent of Schwarzenthann.[337] It was generated in a collaborative effort between the canoness Guta of Schwarzenthann and the canon Sintram of Marbach. Both communities, for women and men respectively, were under the Augustinian rule, and they cooperated as a double monastery.[338] They were in close proximity to Strasbourg, and within the confines of the diocese. The bishop of Strasbourg was also involved in the affairs of Marbach Abbey, and the associated women's community of Schwarzenthann Abbey, located south of Colmar. A document from 1212, records that Bishop Heinrich II von Veringen, Bishop Leuthold I von Rotheln of Basel and Provost Heinrich von Lautenbach issued a document regarding the tithes of Schwarzenthann Abbey.[339] This document also marks the end of a prayer community between Lautenbach, Marbach, and Schwarzenthann.[340] Fiona Griffiths has argued for connections between Schwarzenthann and Hohenbourg, because the Abbess Relinde paid a visit to Marbach Abbey, arguing that the abbess may have sought out Marbach due to their expansive care for women.[341] While there is no evidence that the *Guta-Sintram Codex* directly influenced the *Hortus deliciarum*, each was born out of a local convent under the same rule with similar scribal cultures for women.[342] The manuscripts were created within the diocese of Strasbourg in the purview of the bishop who interacted directly with both communities, leading to the use of these texts in the cathedral.

Manuscripts of Rhenish Women's Religious Communities and Veneration of the Virgin

In the representation of Mary at Strasbourg Cathedral, conceptions of devotion that had been held in local women's convents were now applied to educate the laity of the city. To explore this transfer, it is important to consider the Marian imagery of manuscripts created in these communities for the education and private devotion of their nuns. These works allow us to analyse how Mary was worshipped by cloistered women in the Rhineland, and to consider how they relate to the portal. I explore manuscripts crafted in the nearby convents of Schwarzenthann and Hohenbourg, which were created for women, in collaborative efforts between men and women. So, they allow us to see how women portrayed their piety, how

[337] Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights*, 35–37.
[338] Ibid.
[339] Hessel and Krebs, ed. *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg,* 11.
[340] Ibid.
[341] Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights,* 39–40
[342] Ibid.

men desired women to worship, and collaboration between male and female religious communities in the Rhineland.

The *Guta-Sintram Codex* contains an image of the eponymous canoness Guta alongside an enthroned Virgin Mary (Fig 28). Folio 4r of the work commemorates its creators. Guta of Schwarzenthann and Sintram of Marbach are shown alongside the Virgin, each motioning and staring at her in veneration. The Canoness Guta is placed on the left side of Mary, outfitted in a habit with a blue veil. Mary is depicted as the Queen of Heaven, elaborately clothed and enthroned at the center of the page. She holds a banner which reads, "Scriptus. figuris. ope. su[m]ptib[us]. arte figuris. Hoc exornastis. opus ambo. michiq[ue] dicastis. ambos ergo pari faciam requie sociari."[343] So, Mary recognises the joint work of Guta and Sintram, and states that she will intercede on their behalf. The accompanying text, on folio 4r and 4v, is attributed to the hand of Guta herself. It details that she has dedicated the manuscript to the Virgin, in the hope that her name will be found in the Book of Life, expressing her desire for Mary to intercede for her so that she may find a place in heaven.[344] The Virgin stares upward and out at the viewer of the manuscript. As the work was to be used by the nuns of Swartzenthann, many of them would have encountered this image and been forced to meet the gaze of the Virgin as Queen of Heaven. Thomas Lentes has examined ritualistic gazing on holy imagery in the Middle Ages, maintaining that visual piety further sanctified religious imagery and with it the image became a space of extra-liturgical worship.[345] He explored different forms of gazing, identifying one type as the "salvatory gaze," in which the viewer believed in a greater chance of intercession through viewing and worshiping divine imagery. [346] In his explanation of this form, Lentes analysed a woodcut of worship occuring before an image of the Virgin in Regensburg, with pious supplication before a sculpture of the Virgin Mary.[347] Though the example presented was created centuries after the works I am studying, it invites us to think of the Virgin and devotion in a similar manner to the representation of scopic piety in twelfth and thirteenth-century art. Similarly, Madeline H. Caviness argued that gazing upon imagery of the Virgin, and in turn being the

[343] Translation: "Together, you have adorned this work, which you have dedicated to me, with letters and figures achieved with skill. Together I will make you share in the same repose," Ibid., 36–37; Strasbourg, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire de Strasbourg, 37, f. 4r.
[344] Ibid.
[345] Lentes, "'As Far as the Eye Can See…'"
[346] Ibid., 363–64.
[347] Ibid.

object of her gaze, was beneficial to the soul of the viewer.[348] As such, the imagery within this manuscript, and the later examples with women placed in proximity to the Virgin with their eyes fixed upon her, function in an intercessory manner. The nuns using the manuscript could interact with the gaze of the Virgin and position themselves before her, to request intercession from her as Queen of Heaven. Similar conceptions of salvatory or intercessory gazing were considered by the creators of the iconographic scheme of the portal. I explore this further in my chapter on Mary Magdalene, through a study of how the imagery of the south transept guides the viewer to engage with the salvatory gaze of the Virgin.

The *Hortus deliciarum* contains a variety of Marian imagery, which was used to educate the nuns of Hohenbourg Abbey about the Virgin and her worship.[349] Throughout, Herrad repeatedly refers to her fellow nuns as virgins, identifying them with Mary's chastity.[350] The Virgin Mary is presented as an example for the nuns to emulate.[351] Folio 176v (Fig. 29) included an illumination of Mary and St. John the Evangelist enthroned under an arcade, both known for their chastity. Standing under the adjoining arch is a group of virginal nuns, representative of the women of the abbey. The accompanying text identifies Mary as the "contemptrix mundi,*"* a guardian for virgins leading them through their life ultimately towards Christ and heaven.[352] A gloss on this folio states that after Mary's ascension to heaven she wore the nun's habit, as displayed in her representation on the page.[353] In this representation, too, she is positioned as a direct virginal example for the nuns of Hohenbourg to follow.

On Folio 322v (Fig. 30), Herrad has placed St. Odile and the nuns of Hohenbourg directly below the Virgin and Christ, symbolically at their feet. A short text accompanies the image of Mary, "S(an)c(t)a Maria p(er)petua virgo.*"* Here again, Herrad emphasizes the virginity of Mary, which the nuns of Hohenbourg emulated with their own virginity. A poem that was written for the nuns of Hohenbourg, encapsulates the spirit of the imagery of women

[348] Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages*, 2; For further reading on the intercessory gaze in medieval art and theology see, Cynthia Hahn, "Vision," in *A Companion to Medieval Art Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe,* Edition II, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2019), 71–93; Alexa Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Dallas G.Denery II, *Seeing and Being Seen in the Later Medieval World: Optics, Theology and Religious Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[349] As stated in my introduction, the *Hortus deliciarum* was destroyed in 1870 and recontructed by the Warburg Institute in 1979. For more information on the reconstruction, see Michael Evans, "Description of the Manuscript and the Reconstruction," in *Hortus Deliciarum*, eds. Rosalie Green, Michael Evans, Christine Bischoff and Michael Curschmann, Vol. 1 (London: Warburg Institute, 1979), 1-8.
[350] Herrad von Hohenbourg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, eds. Rosalie Green, Michael Evans, Christine Bischoff and Michael Curschmann, Vol. 2, 225–53
[351] Ibid., 206.
[352] Ibid., 63–64, 128
[353] Ibid., 218–19.

depicted standing alongside and interacting with the gaze of the Virgin.[354] It places the women alongside Mary as intercessor in heaven:

Verus sponsus nunc absconsus,
In celi palacio,
Servet, regat, has protegat
Seculorum spacio.
Ut sodales virginales
Vivant sine crimine,
Sub Messya cum Maria,
Virgines cum virgine.[355]

Manuscripts created in women's convents in the Rhineland had a direct impact on the imagery of the south transept. The *Hortus deliciarum* was used to craft the iconography throughout the space, with the most apparent link occuring between the manuscript and the Old and New Covenant windows.[356] They feature the same iconographic scheme and text. Jean-Philippe Meyer concluded that this influence extended to the sculpture of the Pillar of Angels and the south portal, noting similarities in the positioning of figures and dress.[357] Formal similarities between the *Hortus deliciarum* and the south portal sculpture can also be observed in the imagery of the Virgin enthroned, with similar seated configurations in the illumination of Folio 176v (Fig. 29) and the Coronation tympanum (Fig. 16). In each, the Virgin sits on an elongated seat with her hand stretched out in blessing. She is seated across from her respective male compatriot. Both are enclosed under an arch, with the framing of illumination in the *Hortus deliciarum* resembling a dual tympana.

A Female Donor on the Portal

An inscription naming a female donor, Savina, was located directly below the tympanum of the Coronation of the Virgin on the south portal.[358] Sabine Bengel argued that it identified the personal piety of a local woman (Fig. 31).[359] If so, the inscription and its

[354] Ibid., 236–39.
[355] Translation: "May the true bridegroom, who is now hidden in the palace of heaven, preserve, rule, and protect these women in the place of earthly cares so that the virginal companions may live without reproach along with Mary at the foot of the Messiah, Virgins with the Virgin." Ibid.
[356] Meyer, "Les sculptures du transept: thématique et facture," 190–98; Meyer, "Les sculptures du bras sud, le texte de l'*Hortus deliciarum* et la liturgie," 199–203; Kurmann-Schwarz, "Les vitraux du choeur et du transept," 242–70.
[357] Ibid.
[358] Lauren Beck, "Savina of the Strasbourg South Portal: Commemoration, Patronage, and Gender in Thirteenth-Century Strasbourg" (Masters Diss. University of York, 2019).
[359] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster*, 196–204.

placement portray a similar form of female devotion to that observed in the earlier manuscripts.[360] Savina's piety towards the Virgin was displayed by the cathedral through the placement of her inscription below the feet of the Queen of Heaven. The inscription also requested "divine mercy" on behalf of Savina, petitioning for intercession from the Virgin. It reads: "GRATIA DIVINAE PIETATIS ADESTO SAVINAE DE PETRA DURA PER QUAM SUM FACTA FIGURA."[361]

The inscription functions like contemporary donor portraits, that depict donors holding their contribution, often offering it to Christ or the Virgin.[362] An earlier example can be found at Basel Minster in the Galluspforte tympanum (Fig. 32, c.1185–1200), with a donor offering a portal to Christ.[363] At Strasbourg, the inscription attributes the sculpture to the contribution of Savina. This led in the past to the misidentification of Savina as a female sculptor.[364] Instead, the inscription implies that she offered the gift of sculpture in perpetuity to the Virgin, mirroring the Three Magi on the north transept portal.[365] Corine Schlief argued that donor portraits functioned to guide their viewers to prayerful worship, by assuming the position of the donor.[366] At Strasbourg, women and men who entered into the cathedral via the south portal could actively engage with the enthroned Virgin, physically and symbolically placing themselves below Mary, alongside the donor inscription of Savina. Savina continued the tradition of veneration of the Virgin in the manuscripts of women's communities in the region. Thus with this urban depiction of the Virgin enthroned, the Cathedral utilised a representation used by cloistered communities of women to educate the populace on how the Virgin was to be engaged with visually and spatially. I explore this further in my analysis of Mary Magdalene, Ecclesia, and Synagoga.

Conclusion

The imagery of the Assumption in the tympana also appears to have influenced later manuscripts created in local women's communities, further evidencing a reciprocal influence between male and female religious communities in the region. Gérard Cames has observed

[360] Ibid.
[361] Translation: May divine mercy be upon Savina, through whom I am made a form out of hard stone.
[362] Corine Schleif, "Kneeling on the Threshold: Donors Negotiating Realms betwixt and between," in *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces*, eds. Elina Gertsman Gertsman and Jill Stevenson (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012), 201.
[363] Ibid., 206–7.
[364] For more information on the historiography of Savina and her donor inscription, see Beck, "Savina of the Strasbourg South Portal: Commemoration, Patronage, and Gender in Thirteenth-Century Strasbourg," 14–32.
[365] Corine Schleif, "Kneeling on the Threshold," 203; Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster*, 199–204.
[366] Schleif, "Kneeling on the Threshold," 213–14.

similarities between the iconography of the portal and the St. Gallen Cod. Sang. 402 (Fig. 33 & Fig. 34).[367] This was created between 1235–50 in the diocese of Basel, for the education of nuns in an unknown convent in the region.[368] Folio 12v of the manuscript features a representation of the Coronation of the Virgin (Fig. 34), with Mary and Christ seated alongside one another on a throne, in a similar portrayal to the Coronation tympanum on the south portal. A woman is placed below the throne with her hands extended upward toward the enthroned Virgin, mirroring the earlier manuscript examples and the representation of veneration at Strasbourg.

The sculpture at Strasbourg also appears to have successfully shaped the portrayal of male and female worship before the Virgin in the Rhineland, as evidenced in two windows from Cologne (Fig. 35 & Fig. 36, c. 1250–60), now in the Museum Schnütgen. They were likely created for a private chapel, due to their size.[369] The windows feature formal and iconographic similarities to the portal imagery of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin. Above all, the imagery is split into two windows, like the dual tympana of the south transept. The configuration of the Virgin and Christ are inverted in the window. Though more significantly, both feature donors in positions below the Virgin. Each window portrays a male and female donor with arms outstretched up to Mary and Christ. The men are placed on the left and women are on the right. The women gaze up at the Virgin. The inversion of figure results in a placement that allows the women to be in direct view of the Virgin. The position of the donor in supplication before the Virgin follows the textual donorship of Savina and the position of Mary Magdalene before the Virgin at Strasbourg. In the following chapter, I further investigate the image of Mary Magdalene.

[367] Cames, "Qui est la servante de la Dormition au portail sud de la cathédrale de Strasbourg?" 51–56.
[368] Ibid.; Melissa Nieto, "St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 402," E-Codices – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland 2020, Accessed 20 May, 2021, https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/csg/0402/Nieto; "Cod. Sang. 402." *E-Codices – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland*. Accessed 15 March, 2021. https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0402.
[369] Manuela Beer and Moritz Woelk, eds. *Museum Schnütgen: Handbuch zur Sammlung* (Munich: Hirmer, 2019), 96–97; Carola Hagnau, "Marientod und Marienkrönung" in *Himmelslicht: Europäische Glasmalerei im Jahrhundert des Kölner Dombaus (1248–1349)*, eds. Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen, Carola Hagnau, Claudia Schumacher, and Gudrun Sporbeck (Cologne: Museum Schnütgen, 1998), 136–37; Brigitte Lymant, ed. *Die Glasmalereien des Schnütgen-Museums*. Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1982), 11–19.

Chapter 2

Mary Magdalene: Women's Worship, Instructional Penance, and the Magdalene Community

Introduction

In this chapter, the representation of Mary Magdalene in the Dormition tympanum (Fig. 37, c. 1220–25) is analysed to study how manuscripts created by and for women shaped penitential worship at Strasbourg Cathedral. This engages with the arguments presented by Gérard Cames and Sabine Bengel for the identification of the penitent saint.[370] I analyse how Mary Magdalene may have related to penitential practice within the eschatological iconographic scheme of the south portal. On a broader view, the chapter looks at how the representation of penance in the iconography of the south transept may have responded to the evolution of theology on penance after the Fourth Lateran Council. Thus, this research contributes to our understanding of the practice of penance in medieval Strasbourg, as considered previously by Sabine Bengel, Adalbert Erler, and Nina Rowe.[371] We have seen in the previous chapter that the bishop and cathedral chapter were in conversation with religious women's communities. This chapter also explores how the appearance of Mary Magdalene in the tympanum may have related to the emergence of a penitent order in Strasbourg and the Rhineland. In doing so, I expand on research on the Magdalene order in the thirteenth century, as studied previously by Katherine L. Jansen, Lucien Pfleger, and André Simon.[372]

[370] Sabine Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster: Seine Ostteile und die Südquerhauswerkstatt* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2011), 168–71; Gérard Cames, "Qui est la servante de la dormition au portail sud de la cathédrale de Strasbourg?" *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 10 (1972): 51–56.
[371] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster*, 180–2; Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 234–7; Adalbert Erler, *Das Strassburger Münster im Rechtsleben des Mittelalters* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1954), 28–9.
[372] Katherine L. Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 177–80; Katherine L. Jansen, "Mary Magdalen and the Mendicants: The Preaching of Penance in the Late Middle Ages," *Journal of Medieval History* 21, no. 1 (1995): 1–25; Lucien Pfleger, "Geschichte des Reuerinnenklosters St. Magdalena in Strassburg," in *St. Magdalena in Strassburg: Geschichte des Klosters und der Pfarrei*, ed. Eugen Speich (Strassburg: Im Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, 1937), 1–84; André Simon, *L'ordre des penitentes de Ste. Marie Madeleine en Allemagne au XIIIme siècle* (Fribourg: Imprimerie et librairie de l'oeuvre de Saint-Paul, 1918).

Mary Magdalene in the Dormition Tympanum at Strasbourg

In the Dormition of the Virgin Tympanum (Fig. 37), a woman is depicted directly in front of the deathbed of the Virgin at our right.[373] She wears a wrap around her head, though her hair emerges from underneath, falling in soft waves. This woman kneels before the bed staring up at the Virgin with her hands clasped together. This position is often associated in the Middle Ages with the action of penance, an outward representation of the atonement of sin in an effort to prepare one's immortal soul for the Last Judgement.[374] Her brow is knit together and her face is set with anguish, mourning the death of the Virgin occurring before her.

There has been debate on the identity of this figure, with many scholars arguing that she is Mary Magdalene.[375] Gérard Cames based this identification upon similarities between the tympanum and artistic sources, most notably f. 51v of an eleventh-century evangeliary from the monastery at Prüm (BNF Latin 17325, Fig. 38).[376] The woman at the foot of the Virgin is highly likely to be Mary Magdalene, based on the text of the two previous folios that features the narrative of Mary and Martha. He further supported his claim by referencing a sermon which was performed during the feast of the Assumption at Strasbourg Cathedral, according to a thirteenth-century homiliary of the cathedral.[377] It paralleled the Virgin with Mary Magdalene, for chosing "the best part."[378] It also references the narrative of Christ's visit to the home of Mary and Martha, during which he commends Mary for her stillness, which came to be associated with the contemplative life.[379] The formal and theological similarities between the manuscript and the portal tend, therefore, to confirm an identification of the woman as Mary Magdalene.

[373] Jean-Philippe Meyer, "Nouvelles données sur le transept de la cathédrale de Strasbourg et sa datation," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, la révolution gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Giorgia Passaro (Strasbourg: Éditions Musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 80; Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster*, 86-94.
[374] Rob Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 154–5.
[375] Jacqueline E. Jung, *Eloquent Bodies: Movement, Expression, and the Human Figure in Gothic Sculpture* (London: Yale University Press, 2020), 65; Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City*, 234–5.
[376] Cames, "Qui est la servante de la dormition au portail sud de la cathédrale de Strasbourg?" 51–56; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 17325, f. 51v.
[377] Ibid.; Jean-Philippe Meyer, "Architecture: sources et essai d'interprétation," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: chœur et transept: de l'art roman au gothique (vers 1180 – 1240)* (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2010), 214; Bern, Burgerbibliothek Bern, Cod. 114 (A), f. 156r–8r; Cames attributed this sermon to Honorius Augustodunensis. Though it is unclear who wrote the sermon, Honorius did use the narrative of Mary and Martha to preach on the Assumption of the Virgin. The Burgerbibliothek Bern attributes the sermon to St Anselm of Canterbury.
[378] Ibid.
[379] Ibid.; Lk. 10:38–42.

Willibald Sauerländer challenged Cames' identification, however, pointing out that Mary Magdalene does not appear in any Assumption narratives.[380] In these texts, three female attendants were present at the Dormition of the Virgin.[381] This however does not necessitate that one of these women was not equated with Mary Magdalene. More recently, Sabine Bengel supported Cames' argument through an analysis of the position of Mary at the Dormition and the similarity to common representations of the Magdalene at the Anointing of Christ and the Crucifixion.[382] She further substantiated this identification by considering the evidence for penitential ritual before the portal, and the burgeoning cult of Mary Magdalene in the early thirteenth century.[383] Jean-Philippe Meyer argued that she could be Mary Magdalene or one of the three young attendants of the Virgin, mentioned in the Apocrypha of Pseudo-Melito.[384] It is also possible that the three virginal attendants of Mary who prepared her body for burial may have been equated with the three holy women who attended the tomb of Christ to anoint his body.[385] It must be considered that composite identities are a known characteristic of Mary Magdalene, who was an amalgamation of multiple biblical women. The majority of representations of the Dormition which feature women alongside the bedside of Mary include all three attendants. The Dormition Tympanum at Strasbourg is a rare example with a single figure of a woman.[386]

Cames' and Bengel's identification of Mary Magdalene as the woman at the Dormition is persuasive. The woman would have assuredly been equated with Mary Magdalene, through her penitential posture and in relation to the liturgy at the portal. I would also posit that her inclusion may have resonated with an antiphon performed during the celebration of the Feast of the Assumption at the south portal, as recorded in the twelfth-century liturgical *Cantatorium*. It describes the assumed form of the Virgin as "In odore

[380] Willibald Sauerländer, "Strasbourg, cathédrale: Le bras sud du transept: Architecture et sculpture," *Strasbourg et Basse-Alsace: Congrès archéologique de France 162e Session 2004*, 2006, 180.
[381] Ibid.
[382] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster*, 168–71.
[383] Ibid.
[384] Jean-Philippe Meyer, "Les sculptures du transept: thématique et facture," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: chœur et transept: de l'art roman au gothique (vers 1180 – 1240)* (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2010), 141; J. K. Elliott, ed. *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation Based on M. R. James* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 708–14.
[385] Elliott, ed. *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 711; Mk. 16: 1–11; Lk. 24: 1–10.
[386] Mary Magdalene at the Assumption is repeated once more at Strasbourg in the later stained glass, window 12 from c. 1262–75. For more information, see Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Les vitraux de la nef de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: la nef gothique*, eds. Georges Bischoff, Reinhard Köpf, Peter Kurmann, Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, and Bernard Xibaut (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2023), 80–82; Victor Beyer, Christiane Wild-Block, and Fridtjof Zschokke, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Strasbourg*, Corpus Vitrearum France, Vol. XI–1 (Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1986), 172–82, 228–38.

unguentorum."[387] The phrase could reference the contemporary antiphon "In odore unguentorum tuorum currimus," which was often performed on the feast of the Assumption, as well as on the feast of Mary Magdalene.[388] Thus, the chant would immediately bring to mind Mary Magdalene, who anointed the feet of Christ with costly fragrant oil and wiped them clean with her hair and who attended the tomb of Christ to anoint his body.[389] Her attributes are an alabaster ointment pot and her long flowing hair, as can be seen in on f. 96r of the Brandenburg Evangelistary (Fig. 39, c. 1200–20) and sculpture from the penitent convent in Freiburg-im-Breisgau (Fig. 40, c. 1250).

The medieval persona and history of Mary Magdalene amalgamates three separate biblical women in the gospels, Mary Magdalene, Mary of Bethany, and an unnamed penitent woman.[390] This combination is attributed to the sixth-century Homily 33 by Pope Gregory I (c. 540–604).[391] Based on these passages, Gregory identified Mary as a penitent female prostitute who was forgiven by Christ for her actions, an identification that was maintained throughout the Middle Ages.[392] As she was the first to spread the word of the Resurrection of Christ, the medieval church considered Mary Magdalene, to be the Apostle to the Apostles.[393] Drawing upon these biblical texts, Mary Magdalene oscillated between different roles and as such is associated in the Middle Ages with a variety of religious concepts, including penance and contemplation.[394]

Hagiographical accounts of her life were embellished during the Middle Ages in the writing of "vitae*"*.[395] The "vita apostolico-eremitica" chronicled her life, a twelfth-century compilation of an earlier "vita eremitica" (ninth century, Italy) and "vita evangelica*"* (late ninth century or early tenth century, Cluny).[396] In the "vitae,*"* Mary Magdalene became

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[387] Translation: "In fragrant ointment;" André Wilmart , and Joseph Walter, eds., *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg: mss add. 23922 du Musée Britannique. Les processions de la cathédrale au moyen âge* (Colmar: Editions Alsatia, 1928), 76r.
[388] Translation: "We hasten after the fragrance of your ointment;" Sylvia Elizabeth Mullins, "Myroblytes: Miraculous Oil in Medieval Europe," (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2016), 143–44; Debra Lacoste, "In odore unguentorum tuorum currimus," *CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant*, accessed January 1, 2022, https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/chant/285454.
[389] Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen*, 32–33; Lk. 7: 36–50.
[390] Katherine L. Jansen, "Foreword," in *Mary Magdalene in Medieval Culture*, eds. Peter Loewen and Robin Waugh (London: Routledge, 2014), xvi; Mt. 26: 6–13, 28:1–10; Mk. 14:3–9, 16:1–11; Lk. 7:36–50, 8:1–3, 10: 38–42, 24:1–11; Jn. 20: 1–2, 11–18.
[391] Ibid.; Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen*, 32–5.
[392] Ibid.; St. Matthew 26: 6–13, 28: 1–10; Mk. 14: 3–9, 16: 1–11; Lk. 7: 36–50, 8: 1–3, 10: 38–42, 24: 1–11; Jn. 20: 1–2, 11–18.
[393] Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen,* 62–65; Mk. 16: 1–11; Lk. 24: 1–10.
[394] Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen*, 32–35.
[395] Ibid., 36–46.
[396] Ibid., 36–39; Katherine Ludwig Jansen, "Mary Magdalena: Apostolorum Apostola," in *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*, eds. Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2023), 86.

amalgamated with St. Mary of Egypt, another saint who had been a penitent prostitute.[397] The chronicle also tells how the Magdalene came to Provence and preached to the Gauls.[398] She then retreated to live the rest of her life in a cave.[399] She was buried in the church of Saint-Maximin in Provence.[400] The bones of Mary were then taken by a monk, Badilus, in 749 to Burgundy.[401] Her remains were brought to Vézelay where they would be housed in the abbey, positioned later on the pilgrimage route from Germany to Santiago de Compostela, one of the most traveled routes from the twelfth century onwards.[402] A cult dedicated to the Magdalene emerged in the early Middle Ages, as evidenced by the creation of altars, masses and offices in her honour.[403] In the thirteenth century, her identification as a penitential saint resulted in her increased importance and the further spread of her cult after the Fourth Lateran Council.

Art and the Theology of Penance after the Fourth Lateran Council

Penance was a part of Christian life from the early days of the religion.[404] It is the practice for the remission of sins, including confession, prayer, fasting, pilgrimages, and almsgiving. Penitentials were manuals used to order the sacrament of confession, instructing priests on appropriate penance for particular sins. Examples include the "Corrector Burchardi" in the *Decretum* of Burchard von Worms (bishop of Worms, 1000–25) and "Tractatus de penitentia" in the *Decretum* of Gratian (d. prior to 1159) which were widely copied.[405] Sabine Bengel argued that the liturgy of it at Strasbourg is evidenced in the twelfth-century *Cantatorium* of the cathedral, predating the Fourth Lateran Council (1215).[406] Though penance was already an established practice in Christianity, Canon twenty-one or

[397] Ibid., 38.
[398] Ibid., 38–39.
[399] Ibid., 39.
[400] Ibid., 39.
[401] Ibid., 38–39.
[402] Ibid., 35–39; For more information on the twelfth-century pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, see William Melczer, ed., *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela* (New York: Italica Press, 1993).
[403] Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen*, 35–36.
[404] For more information on the early practice of penance, see Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600–1200*.
[405] For more on the "Corrector Burchari" of Burchard von Worms, see Burchard von Worms, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Vol. 1. Patrologia Latina 140 (Paris: Apud Garnier Fratres, 1880). 949–1014; Greta Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000: The Decretum of Burchard of Worms* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009); For more information on the "Tractatus de penitentia," see Gratian, *Gratian's Tractatus de Penitentia: A New Latin Edition with English Translation*, ed. Atria A. Larson (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2016); Atria A. Larson, *Master of Penance: Gratian and the Development of Penitential Thought and Law Development in the Twelfth Century*, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2012).
[406] Bengel, Das Straßburger Münster,179-82; Wilmart and Walter, eds. *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg: manuscrit additionnel 23.922 du Musée Britannique. Les processions de la cathédrale au Moyen Age,* 25v-28v.

Omnis utriusque sexus of the Fourth Lateran Council reframed and introduced penance as an integral part of Christian life.[407] It stated:

> Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata saltem semel in anno fideliter confiteatur proprio sacerdoti; et injunctam sibi poenitentiam pro viribus studeat adimplere, suscipiens reverenter ad minus in Pascha Eucharistiae sacramentum; nisi forte de proprii sacerdotis consilio ob aliquam rationabilem causam, ad tempus ab ejus perceptione duxerit abstinendum; alioquin et vivens ab ingressu ecclesiae arceatur, et moriens Christiana careat sepultura.[408]

It ordained that for Christians to participate in Holy Communion, they must confess their sins annually.[409] At Strasbourg, the penitential ritual described in the *Cantatorium* would have acquired increased significance at exactly the time of the creation of the south portal iconography.

After the Fourth Lateran Council, churches included further references to the shifting theology on penance in their iconographic schemes. Examples include the Confessors Portal on the south transept at Chartres Cathedral with its portrayal of Charlemagne (Fig. 41, c. 1215–20), and the north transept portal at Notre-Dame de Paris with its Theophilus tympanum (Fig. 42, c. 1250–60).[410] The Confessors Portal showed the Mass of St. Giles, in which St. Giles pardoned the sins of a penitent Charlemagne.[411] Jennifer M. Feltman has explored how the iconographic function of this portrayal fitted within the greater eschatological programme of the south transept portals.[412] The Theophilus tympanum at Notre-Dame de Paris displayed a miracle of the Virgin, during which she interceded on behalf of the penitent cleric Theophilus, who had made a pact with the devil. While the legend of Theophilus was depicted in earlier art, it began to appear with greater frequency

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[407] Marshall W. Baldwin, ed. *Christianity Through the Thirteenth Century*, Document History of Western Civilization (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1970), 292–343; For recent research on penance and the Fourth Lateran Council, see Anne E. Lester, "Prayer, Penance, and Pastoral Care. Innocent III and Devotion to the Veronica at the Abbey of Corbie," in *Lateran IV; Theology and Care of Souls*, eds. Clare Monagle and Neslihan Şenocak (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2022), 183–210.

[408] Translation: "All the faithful of both sexes shall after they have reached the age of discretion faithfully confess all their sins at least once a year to their own (parish) priest and perform to the best of their ability the penance imposed, receiving reverently at least at Easter the sacrament of the Eucharist, unless perchance at the advice of their own priest they may for a good reason abstain for a time from its reception; otherwise they shall be cut off from the Church (excommunicated) during life and deprived of Christian burial in death;" Ibid., 317; Mary C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 66.

[409] Ibid., 292–343.

[410] Jennifer M. Feltman, "Charlemagne's Sin, The Last Judgment, and the New Theology of Penance at Chartres," *Studies in Iconography* 35 (2014): 121–64.

[411] Ibid.

[412] Ibid.

after the Fourth Lateran Council had reaffirmed the theology of penance.[413] This is another example of how the new theology on penance shaped church imagery, specifically on the exterior which was often the locus of penitential rituals.

Art and the Theology of Mary Magdalene in the Rhineland

The imagery of Mary Magdalene on the tympanum was influenced by earlier art and theology of the saint. Some of the earliest and most pertinent examples to my study were created around the city of Hildesheim (Lower Saxony). These examples occur in the Gospel Book of Bernward of Hildesheim (Fig. 43, c. 1015), on the bronze doors to Hildesheim Cathedral (Fig. 44 & Fig. 45, c. 1015), the Bernward Column (Fig. 46, c. 1020), a portable altar (Fig. 47, c.1160–70), the Wöltingerode Psalter (Fig. 48, Guelf.521 Helmst., c. 1220), and the font in Hildesheim Cathedral (Fig. 49, c. 1225).[414] In many of them, focus is placed on Mary Magdalene's role as a penitent sinner, kneeling before Christ, either in representations of the Anointing of Christ or "Noli me tangere." The Bernward Doors include a representation of the "Noli me tangere" (Fig.44) with Mary Magdalene positioned on her knees before the risen Christ, with her hands outstretched. Harvey Stahl argued that the penance of Mary Magdalene was symbolic of the reunification of the Church and Christ in the Heavenly Jerusalem.[415] The thirteenth-century Wöltingerode Psalter and font of Hildesheim Cathedral, created after the Fourth Lateran Council, place significant emphasis on her penitent actions and resulting forgiveness for her sins. The psalter was created in the diocese of Hildesheim in the Cistercian convent of Wöltingerode.[416] In the image of the

[413] For earlier examples of the narrative, see the Theophilus relief at Souillac (c.1120–40) and a destroyed wall painting from Brauweiler Abbey (c. 1140–60); C. Ruth Krindle, "The Theophilus Relief at Souillac and the Eleventh-Century Reforms of the Church," *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review* 40, no. 1 (2015): 27–40; Stefanie Waldvogel, "Theophilus der Busser: Ein Lünettenbild im Kapitelsaal der Ehemaligen Benediktinerarbeit zu Brauweiler," in *Per Assiduum Studium Scientiae Adipisci Margaritam: Festgabe für Ursula Nilgen zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Annelies Amberger (St. Ottilien: EOS-Verlag, 1997), 163–83. The legend of Theophilus can be found in the post Fourth Lateran Council stained glass of Laon (w. 1, North East Lancet, c. 1215), Le Mans (w. 6, Lady Chapel, c. 1235; w. 13 and 19, Ambulatory Clerestory, c.1250), Auxerre (w. 2, Lady Chapel, c. 1235–40), Troyes (w. 212, Choir Clerestory, c. 1245), Beauvais (w. 2, Lady Chapel, c. 1245), Saint-Julien-du-Sault (w. 4, Ambulatory Chapel, c. 1250), and Clermont-Ferrand (w. 2, Chapel of St. John, c. 1275–85). For more information on the representation of Theophilus in post Fourth Lateran Council stained glass windows, see Michael W. Cothren, "The Iconography of Theophilus Windows in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum* 59, no. 2 (April 1, 1984): 308–41.

[414] Peter Barnet, Michael Brandt, and Gerhard Lutz, eds., *Medieval Treasures from Hildesheim* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Barbara Baert, "The Embroidered Antependium of Wernigerode, Germany: Mary Magdalene and Female Spirituality in the Thirteenth Century," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 76, no. 3 (2007): 147–48; Harvey Stahl, "Eve's Reach: A Note on Dramatic Elements in the Hildesheim Doors," in *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, eds. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 162–75.

[415] Stahl, "Eve's Reach: A Note on Dramatic Elements in the Hildesheim Doors," 162–75

[416] Baert, "The Embroidered Antependium of Wernigerode, Germany: Mary Magdalene and Female Spirituality in the Thirteenth Century," 147.

Anointing of Christ on folio 54v a phylactery emerges from the outstretched hand of Christ reading "Mulier remittunt(ur) t(ua) peccata" referencing the forgiveness of Mary's sins.[417] Similarly, the font features an image of the Anointing of Christ with the text running from Christ's hand, "Remittuntur ei peccata multa," directly quoting Christ in Luke 7:47.[418] Both of these images were created around the time of the creation of an order in honour of Mary that stressed the importance of penance. It was Rudolph von Worms, a canon at St. Mauritius in Hildesheim, who created the penitent Magdalene order that arrived in Strasbourg in the first half of the thirteenth century. Thus, the founder of this community would have been familiar with the many images in Hildesheim created in Mary's likeness. I return to further discuss the importance of this order in Strasbourg.

Various manuscripts created in the Rhineland, prior to and during the first quarter of the thirteenth century, display regional interest in Mary Magdalene. As noted previously, Cames drew attention to the striking similarities between the tympanum and illuminations in an evangeliary (Fig. 38) created in the monastery of Prüm (Rhineland-Palatinate) during the eleventh century (BNF Latin 17325).[419] Much closer in date to the tympanum, a psalter in the Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Hs. 24 (c. 1200), from Alsace, contains two images of the penitent saint. Folio 14v (Fig. 50) features an image of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, consisting of Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome at the empty tomb being informed of the resurrection by an angel. Additionally, folio 15r (Fig. 51) shows the "Noli me tangere" narrative, with the Magdalene standing alongside Christ, hand outstretched.

By the first quarter of the thirteenth century Speyer Cathedral held at least two manuscripts containing representations of Mary Magdalene, showing the further interest of the Rhenish Church in the saint. The Gospel Book of Heinrich III (Fig. 52, c.1044–46) had been created for Speyer as a gift from Emperor Heinrich III (Holy Roman Emperor, 1046–56, king of Germany, 1028–56, king of Italy, 1039–56).[420] Folio 104r shows Mary Magdalene anointing the feet of Christ. Similarly, the Speyerer Evangelistar (Fig. 53, c. 1220) created concurrently with the creation of the south portal at Strasbourg included a representation of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre on f. 31v. Speyer was involved in the affairs of Strasbourg; as evidenced by a treaty between the citizens of Strasbourg and Speyer over

[417] Translation: "Woman, your sins are forgiven."
[418] Translation: "Her many sins are forgiven;" Lk. 7:47.
[419] Cames, "Qui est la servante de la dormition au portail sud de la cathédrale de Strasbourg?" 52.
[420] Nina Verbanaz, "A 'Necessary Companion': The Salian Consort's Expected Role in Governance," in *Medieval Elite Women and the Exercise of Power, 1100–1400: Moving Beyond the Exceptionalist Debate*, ed. Heather J. Tanner (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 183.

disputes between debtors in 1227, in which the continued close relationship between the cities is referenced.[421] The city would follow Strasbourg in its founding of a Magdalene convent, as I discuss later.

Written thirteenth-century Rhenish sources also display regional interest in the saint. Evidence of the cult can be observed in her inclusion in the *Dialogus miraculorum* by Caesarius von Heisterbach (d. 1240), which gives further insight into how people in the Rhineland were considering Mary Magdalene concurrently with the creation of the south transept.[422] Caesarius likened her to continent widows who had known of sexual pleasure in their earlier lives yet turned away from the sin.[423] Thus, Caesarius may have considered the saint of particular significance for contemporary widows.[424] As we shall see, there is other evidence for the interest of widows in the saint. The *Dialogus miraculorum* also records various miracles attributed to her, including her appearance to Theodoric, the Bishop of Livonia (modern Latvia and Estonia) and two monks on separate occasions, the curing of Arnold, a monk of Villars (Vaud), and the saving of Dom Christian, a monk of Hemmenrode (Rhineland-Palatinate).[425]

Penitential Ritual at Strasbourg Cathedral and the Order of Mary Magdalene

As previously discussed, various scholars have argued that the south portal was the locus of penitential ritual.[426] Adalbert Erler was the first.[427] He contended that as the space in front of it was not consecrated, it was suitable for such a purpose.[428] Sabine Bengel examined the role of penance in the Easter liturgy of the twelfth-century *Cantatorium*, in which penitent sinners were expelled from the Cathedral on Ash Wednesday and rewelcomed into the church on Maundy Thursday.[429] She argued that the south portal was used as the primary entrance into the church from at least the twelfth century until the completion of the western facade, so

[421] Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, Vol. 1 (Strasbourg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1879), 166.
[422] Caesarius von Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles: Caesarius of Heisterbach (1220–1235)*, translated by H. von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland, Vol. 1 (New York: Harcourt. Brace and Company, 1929), vii–xix, 25–26, 63, 84, 472–79; Caesarius von Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles: Caesarius of Heisterbach (1220–1235)*, translated by H. von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland, Vol. 2 (New York: Harcourt. Brace and Company, 1929), 81–83, 160–61, 264.
[423] Caesarius von Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, Vol. 2, 81–82.
[424] Ibid.
[425] Ibid., 82–83; Caesarius von Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles,* Vol. 1, 25–26, 472–74.
[426] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 83–86; Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City,* 234–36, 243–45; Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 180–82; Erler, *Das Strassburger Münster,* 28–29.
[427] Erler, *Das Strassburger Münster,* 28–29.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 180–82; André Wilmart and Joseph Walter, eds., *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg: manuscrit additionnel 23.922 du Musée Britannique. Les processions de la cathédrale au Moyen Age*, 25v–28v.

these rituals must have occurred in the space before the south transept.[430] The *Cantatorium* set out the process for readmitting penitents.[431] A deacon called out to them offering a benediction.[432] He finished with the words, "Venite. Diuerte a malo et fac bonum," referencing the penance of his audience and inviting them back into the church.[433] The deacon then took the communion chalice and said to the people, "Calicem salutaris ac(cipiam)" inviting the penitents to partake in the eucharist. [434] The deacon finished with, "Dominus uobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus. Refecti uitalibus. [...] Benedicamus domino."[435] The Old Covenant window (Fig. 7) featured imagery denoting communion loaves, continuing the theme of imagery reflecting the liturgical uses of the space.

Nina Rowe explored how the rituals may have functioned alongside the iconography of the south portal.[436] She studied the figure of Synagoga, in particular, and briefly addressed penitence as it relates to the representation of Mary Magdalene.[437] Rowe argued that Synagoga represented the fallen sinner, and that penitents engaging in the Easter rituals could identify with her.[438] She presents Mary Magdalene as a penitent Synagoga supplicating herself before the Virgin Mary and Ecclesia.[439] I agree with this interpretation due to the noted similarities between the band around Mary Magdalene's head and Synagoga's blindfold.[440]

I also agree with Bengel that the cathedral intended for penitential practices to be held at the south portal. Although the *Cantatorium* does not specify that the penitential ritual of Maundy Thursday was to be practised there, the liturgy of the Assumption may have been performed there.[441] It states that the laity were to "Surge aquilo."[442] The audience were instructed to approach the church northward, implying that they were to advance towards or through the south transept portal. This instruction aligns with the path from the entry into the interior of the church and choir. The portal's iconography, with the representation of the Death and Assumption of the Virgin in the tympana, would have been heightened by the

[430] Ibid.
[431] Wilmart and Walter, eds., *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg: manuscrit additionnel 23.922 du Musée Britannique. Les processions de la cathédrale au Moyen Age,* 25v–28v.
[432] "Cum penitentes introducuntur. Venite, uenite, uenite filii, audite me, timorem domini docebo uos;" Ibid., 26v.
[433] Translation: "Come! Turn from evil and do good;" Ibid., 27r.
[434] Translation: "I take the cup of salvation," "Sangui vero eadem die penitus consumatur;" Ibid, 28r–v.
[435] Translation: "The Lord be with you, and with your spirit, let us pray, restored to life... Praise the Lord;" Ibid.
[436] Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City,* 234–36, 243–45.
[437] Ibid.
[438] Ibid.
[439] Ibid.
[440] Ibid.
[441] Wilmart and Walter, eds., *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg: manuscrit additionnel 23.922 du Musée Britannique. Les processions de la cathédrale au Moyen Age,* 74v–75v.
[442] Translation: "Rise up to the north;" Ibid.

liturgical use of the space. Worshippers could venerate the Virgin directly, by their position below her. Similarly, the penitential use of the portal may be evidenced by the inclusion of Mary Magdalene, Synagoga, and Solomon. These figures would have invited the audience to identify with them and engage in the practice of penance before entering the church.

The imagery was created around the same time as the foundation of a new tertiary order for women whose focus was penance. As previously mentioned, a penitent order dedicated to Mary Magdalene was created in the first quarter of the thirteenth century by Rudolf von Worms, a canon of the collegiate church of St. Mauritius in Hildesheim.[443] Mary Magdalene was chosen as the dedicatee of this movement due to her status as the ideal penitent sinner. The supposed origins of the order were recorded in the *Annales Colmarienses,* which dates from the end of the thirteenth century and was written by a Dominican friar in a convent in Colmar (Alsace).[444] In this narrative Rudolf was travelling near Worms, in the Rhineland, when he encountered a group of prostitutes.[445] They called out to him saying, "Domine, debiles sumus, aliunde victum habere non possumus; date nobis tantum panem et aquam, et vestram faciemus in omnibus voluntatem."[446] This language likely signified their contrition, as one prescribed form of penance is fasting with bread and water. He then took the women into the city of Worms and secured a home for them. This interaction spurred his interest in creating a penitent community for prostitutes who wished to leave their profession behind and turn to a religious life. Rudolf is said to have traveled spreading the order in various cities.[447] In 1225, he was instructed by the Papal Legate Konrad von Urach (d. 1227) and Archbishop Siegfried II von Eppstein (archbishop of Mainz, 1200–30) to combat the corruption of women in the region of Mainz.[448] In the Rhineland various communities were created in the first half of the thirteenth century.[449] The first was in Worms in 1224.[450] Strasbourg followed shortly after in 1225.[451] A convent was then established in the city of Speyer in 1228.[452] Upon the request of Rudolf von Worms, Gregory

[443] Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen*, 179; Michael Buchberger and Hermann Schaufele, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, eds. Josef Hofer and Karl Rahner, Vol. 6 (Freiburg: Verlag Herder Freiburg, 1961), 1270–71.
[444] Ibid.; "Annales Colmarienses," *Geschichtsquellen des Deutschen Mittelalters*, accessed June 4, 2021, https://www.geschichtsquellen.de/werk/233.
[445] George H. Pertz, ed. "De rebus Alsaticis ineuntis saeculi XIII," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum*, Vol. XVII (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1861), 234.
[446] Translation: "Lord, we are weak, we are not able to find nourishment from anyone else, give us only bread and water, and we will do your will in all things;" Ibid.
[447] Ibid.
[448] Pfleger, "Geschichte des Reuerinnenklosters St. Magdalena in Strassburg," 2.
[449] Buchberger and Schaufele, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Vol. 6, 1270–71.
[450] Ibid.
[451] Ibid.
[452] Ibid.

IX confirmed the order in 1227, alongside his confirmation of other women's communities.[453] Rudolf became the first provost of the order and maintained this position until 1235.[454]

The Strasbourg convent was originally located in Wasenack, to the north of the city walls (Fig. 54).[455] It was filled originally with penitent prostitutes, women who emulated Mary Magdalene in turning to a religious life.[456] In 1227, when Pope Gregory IX took the convent at Strasbourg under his protection and outlined its privileges, he placed the monastery under the Rule of St. Benedict and ordered that it should be maintained by the Cistercians.[457] It is likely that he did this due to the order's particular respect for Mary Magdalene, which is displayed in their liturgy and texts created by members of the order.[458] Famed Cistercian theologian Bernard of Clairvaux (c. 1090–1153) wrote extensively on Mary Magdalene, presenting her as the ideal penitent sinner.[459] As previously discussed, the Cistercian monk, Caesarius von Heisterbach also wrote at length on the saint.[460] While the convent was entrusted to the Cistercians, the penitents would have taken part in the liturgy of the order, which included the Office of Mary Magdalene.[461] In 1232, however, Pope Gregory IX commanded that convents of the order should be transferred to the Augustinian Rule and follow the statutes of the Dominican sisters of St. Sisto.[462] André Simon argued that Pope Gregory IX believed that the convent of St Sisto, in Rome, was the ideal model for new communities.[463] The penitents in Strasbourg endeavoured to be placed under the Dominicans in 1251.[464] In 1281, Bishop Konrad of Lichtenburg (1273–99) ordered that the Dominicans should take immediate control of the Magdalene community, but this initiative was not successful as the community was not placed under the Dominicans until much later.[465]

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[453] Ibid.; Pertz, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* Vol. XVII, 234.
[454] Buchberger and Schaufele, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Vol. 6, 1270–71.
[455] Metz, "Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle," 61.
[456] Ibid.
[457] Strasbourg, Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, 151 Num 319 or H 2971/1.
[458] Bernard of Clairvaux. *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux Collection*, translated by Watkin W. Williams (London: Aeterna Press, 2014), 77–78, 264–66, 2981–83, 2996–97, 3029–30, 3055–59, 3203–6, 3325–29.
[459] Ibid.
[460] Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Dialogue on Miracles*, Vol.1, 25–26, 63, 84, 472–79; Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Dialogue on Miracles*, Vol. 2, 81–83, 160–61, 264.
[461] Alicia Scarcez, "The Proto-Cistercian Office for Mary Magdalene and Its Changes in the Course of the Twelfth Century," in *Mary Magdalene in Medieval Culture*, eds. Peter Loewen and Robin Waugh (London: Routledge, 2014) 51–74.
[462] Alison More, *Fictive Orders and Feminine Religious Identities, 1200–1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 29; Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter*, 1376.
[463] Simon, *L'ordre des Penitentes de Ste. Marie Madeleine en Allemagne au XIIIme siècle*, 31–32.
[464] Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter,* 1377.
[465] Alfred Hessel and Manfred Krebs, eds., *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg: Vom Jahre 1202–1305*, Vol. 2 (Innsbruck: Universitäts-Verlag Wagner, 1928), 312; Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Politische Urkunden von 1266 bis 1332*. Vol. 2 (Strasbourg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1886) 52.

Not all of the penitents were former prostitutes. A document from 1233 records a donation of Humbert Zidelarius to the institution upon his death.[466] In this, Bishop Berthold von Teck (c. 1200–44) confirmed that Humbert had given the community substantial lands and offered his wife's property after her death.[467] He had previously offered a donation to the community, but they had not accepted it. It is noted that this donation was given with permission of his sister Lady Adelheid von Winestein, his wife Lady Agnes, and the penitents.[468] His continued interest in the community may suggest he knew someone who was a part of the order or desired someone he knew to join. Humbert may have hoped that his wife, Agnes would enter into the convent upon his death and become a "continent widow," in the words of Caesarius von Heisterbach and thus be held in higher regard in heaven.[469] As such she would remain celibate after his death, in the same manner that Mary Magdalene turned from her sexual sin to a religious life. It seems likely that other widows of the region turned to such religious communities after the death of their spouses.

The convent of Mary Magdalene certainly became a place for women from aristocratic families.[470] The exact date of this shift is unknown, but likely began after 1237.[471] In this year, a document issued by Pope Gregory IX declared that the convent of St. Mark was no longer allowed to accept new sisters into the community due to an overabundance of women and a lack of resources.[472] Bernard Metz argued that after this event aristocratic families offered increasingly large dowries to the houses of Strasbourg to accept their daughters.[473] His argument is substantiated by documents that record sizable donations to women's communities in the city, and disputes due to these donations.[474] I would argue that this also occurred after 1245. In that year, a papal bull by Pope Innocent IV stated that indulgences were to be given to those who donated to the penitents in Strasbourg, as they did not have enough supplies to provide for the women there.[475] It may be that the Magdalene house followed the example of other convents in the city in only accepting aristocratic women who could provide substantial contributions to their organisations.

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[466] Strasbourg, Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, 151 Num 119 or H 2996/11; Pfleger, "Geschichte des Reuerinnenklosters St. Magdalena in Strassburg," 5.
[467] Ibid.
[468] Ibid.
[469] Caesar of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles,* Vol. 2, 81–83.
[470] Bernhard Metz, "Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, La révolution gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Passaro Giorgia (Strasbourg: Editions des musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 61.
[471] Ibid.; Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Nachtrage und Berichtigungen zu Band I—III*, Vol. IV (Strasbourg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1898) 53–54.
[472] Ibid.; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 197.
[473] Metz, "Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle," 61.
[474] Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 213–15.
[475] Strasbourg, Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, 151 Num 21 or H 2972/2.

In 1239 Bishop Berthold von Teck confirmed the donation of the knights Gunter and Eberhard von Landsberg of two plots of land along Rue Vlahsgazze in Strasbourg to the penitential convent.[476] Rue Vlahsgazze (now Rue du Dévidoir) was located within the city walls in close proximity to the cathedral complex.[477] The donation was recorded alongside gifts of land on the same street to influential members of the city.[478] This document displays the desire of the laity to contribute to the institution.

Function of the Magdalene Sculpture in Relation to Penitential Ritual and the Emergence of the Magdalene Convent of Penitents

As I have shown, Mary Magdalene was considered an aspirational figure and a symbol of penitence. Thus, her position on the tympanum at the south portal may have served as an instructional model. Jacqueline Jung argued that the portal could perform different functions depending on the angles from which it was approached.[479] As she observed, the perspective of the tympanum is skewed, as the bed of the Virgin appears to tip forward toward the viewer, when regarded from a distance.[480] However it corrects itself when approached frontally by the viewer, either near the entryway or kneeling in the space before the portal, as the bed appears to lift and no longer spills forward.[481] As they approached the south portal from the west after entering the precinct through the portal facing the west end of the cathedral, viewers would have met the gaze of the Virgin as they prepared to enter the transept (Fig. 55).[482] If they were to kneel before the left portal, mimicking the position of Mary Magdalene in the Dormition tympanum, and look up from this position below the Coronation tympanum they would meet the gaze of the Virgin directly. In this position, before Mary in the portal, one could ask for intercession. Evidence of the intentional use of salvatory gazing can be observed with the inclusion and representation of Synagoga, who is depicted blindfold symbolising her blindness to Christianity.[483] With this representation, the portal creators display gaze as an important symbol of religious enlightenment and an

[476] Strasbourg, Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, 151 Num 118 or H 2976/1.
[477] Charles Schmidt, *Strassburger Gassen- und Häuser-Namen im Mittelalter* (Strasbourg: C. F. Schmidt's Buchhandlung, 1871), 65.
[478] Strasbourg, Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, 151 Num 118 or H 2976/1.
[479] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 65–70.
[480] Ibid.
[481] Ibid.
[482] For the importance of considering Gothic sculpture in situ, see Jung, *Eloquent Bodies.*
[483] Hahn, "Vision," 71–72.

identifier of salvation. Consequently, when viewers assume the penitential position of Mary, they engage in the narrative of the portal and the greater history of the Church.

As Grodecki and Recht have argued, the iconographic scheme of the south transept, as a whole, was eschatological.[484] The act of penance was also eschatological in nature, in that it was completed in hope of being found worthy at the Last Judgement. Thus, the choice to include Mary Magdalene in a position of penance ties into the greater eschatological scheme. The inclusion of Mary Magdalene in an eschatological programme is similar to the Bernward Doors (Fig. 44 & Fig. 45) of Hildesheim Cathedral.[485] The doors similarly marked an entryway which Francis Joseph Tschen argued was the locus for the readmission of penitents.[486] In the doors, Mary Magdalene appears in the final panel (Fig.44), in the "Noli me tangere," kneeling with arms outstretched upwards towards Christ. The architectural forms behind Christ are indicative of the Heavenly Jerusalem; at Strasbourg the church itself assumes that role.[487] The penitent Charlemagne on the Confessors Portal at Chartres Cathedral (Fig. 41) appears to have functioned in a similar manner.[488] As Jennifer Feltman has argued, the portrayal of Charlemagne displayed penance as essential in the eschatological iconography of the south transept at Chartres. Both examples were created after the Fourth Lateran Council and functioned within their greater iconographic schemes as responses to this shift in theological emphasis. They conveyed to their audience the importance of completing penance for the preparation of one's soul for the Last Judgment, which was depicted on and in the church. Thus by following the example of Mary Magdalene in the south portal at Strasbourg Cathedral, visitors prepared themselves to enter the church and stand before Christ at the Last Judgement, as displayed within.

Conclusion

I conclude with the sermons of the theologian Peter Comestor (d. 1178) which assist in attaining a greater understanding of the portal iconography. He preached on two manners of achieving salvation, by way of penance or innocence, represented by the Magdalene and

[484] Louis Grodecki and Roland Recht, "Le bras sud du transept de la cathédrale: architecture et sculpture," in *Bulletin de la Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* X (1972):11–32.
[485] Stahl, "Eve's Reach: A Note on Dramatic Elements in the Hildesheim Doors," 162–75.
[486] Francis Joseph Tschan, *Saint Bernward of Hildesheim: His Works and Art*, Vol. 2 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1951), 439–40.
[487] Ibid.; Stahl, "Eve's Reach: A Note on Dramatic Elements in the Hildesheim Doors," 162–75.
[488] Feltman, "Charlemagne's Sin, The Last Judgment, and the New Theology of Penance at Chartres," 121–64.

Virgin Mary respectively.[489] He stated that the sinless way of the Virgin was more difficult, so that the majority would need to obtain salvation through penance emulating Mary Magdalene.[490] As the Virgin's manner of salvation was unattainable, in fact, the viewer of the south portal at Strasbourg was encouraged to engage in penance for their salvation, following the example of the Magdalene. The tympana portrayed both women in the eschatological context of the south transept. I argue that the portal could also be considered a portrayal of the means of preparing one's soul before the Last Judgement to inspire action within its viewers. I argue that the women on the south transept portal function together as a triptych of the process of salvation. Ecclesia and Synagoga represent the saved and the damned respectively. Mary Magdalene and the Virgin Mary present the methods of attaining salvation. Mary Magdalene represents salvation through penance, while the Virgin Mary portrays salvation through innate purity. This reading aligns within the wider eschatological programme of the south transept. Mary Magdalene and the Virgin aid in the preparation of one's soul for the Last Judgement, depicted within the south transept.

[489] Peter Comestor (attributed to Hildebert de Lavardin), *In Festo Sanctae Magdalenae Sermo Unicus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Vol. 171, Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina (Paris: Bibliothecae Cleri Universae, 1854), 677.
[490] "Illa nobis est exemplum pudicitiae, ista poenitentiae. Illa vitae immaculatae, ista post maculam dealbatae. Et licet illa sit luminare maius, et haec minus, tamen (salva pace Virginis loquor) difficilius est exemplum huius, quam illius. Plures enim sunt in Ecclesia qui errata correxerunt, quam qui errare non noverunt: plures, inquam, iustificati quam iusti. Plures ergo proficiunt exemplo huius." Ibid.

Chapter 3

Ecclesia and Synagoga: An Allegory of Jewish Women in Medieval Strasbourg

Introduction

The sculptures and stained glass of the south transept place visual emphasis upon the relationship between Christianity and Judaism, in keeping with regional interest in the topic. The inclusion of Ecclesia and Synagoga, alongside the Old and New Covenant windows, begs the question of why the Cathedral was so concerned with this theme. This chapter will explore the extent that representations of allegorical women like Ecclesia and Synagoga can be used to study their real life counterparts in the city. This builds on the work on contemporary Christian and Jewish women in Strasbourg, by Daisy Delogu and Nina Rowe.[491] As explored by these scholars, the personifications of Christianity and Judaism inform our understanding of contemporary Christian-Jewish relations in the Rhineland. This section expands on studies of these relations in the work of Stefanie Fuchs and Gerd Mentgen.[492] This research also expounds on the studies on inscriptions of Jewish women, as explored by Rainer Joseph Barzen, Elisheva Baumgarten, Marie-Dominique Waton and Robert Weyl.[493]

[491] Daisy Delogu, *Allegorical Bodies: Power and Gender in Late Medieval France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015); Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
[492] Stefanie Fuchs, "'Zwei Säulen und die Wulstförmigen Kapitelle:' Bauornamentik der Christlichen und Jüdischen Gemeindebauten in den SchUM-Städten," in *Zwischen Pogrom und Nachbarschaft : Beziehungen und Gegenseitige Wahrnehmung von Juden und Christen in den SchUM-Städten Während des Mittelalters*, eds. Joachim Glatz, Andreas Lehnardt, and Ralf Rothenbusch (Mainz: Publikationen Bistum Mainz, 2021), 152–91; Gerd Mentgen, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalterlichen Elsass* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1995).
[493] Elisheva Baumgarten, *Biblical Women and Jewish Daily Life in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022), 114–15; Rainer Josef Barzen, "Hebrew Inscriptions in Public Spaces of Medieval Ashkenaz" (paper presented at the 57th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, 12 May 2022); Rainer Josef Barzen, "Personal Grief between Private and Public Space: A Micrographic Inscription as a Historical Source (Ms Vienna Cod. Hebr. 16)," in *Philology and Aesthetics Figurative Masorah in Western European Manuscripts*, ed. Hanna Liss (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2021), 35–57; Robert Weyl and Marie-Dominique Waton. "Découverte de deux inscriptions hébraïques Rue des Juifs à Strasbourg." *Cahiers Alsaciens d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire* 30 (1987): 145–48; Robert Weyl, "L'inscription dédicatoire d'une «Weiberschul» (?) du XIIIe Siècle à Strasbourg," *Revue des etudes juives* 132, no. 4 (1973): 682–86; Robert Weyl, "Les inscriptions hébraïques des musées de Strasbourg," *Cahiers Alsaciens d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire* 17 (1973): 85–92.

The Representation of Ecclesia and Synagoga

The personifications of Ecclesia (Fig. 17) and Synagoga (Fig. 56) once stood atop colonettes flanking the south portal. The current iterations on the cathedral are replicas of the original sculptures, which are now housed in the Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame.[494] Ecclesia is positioned on the left side. She is the personification of the Church and representative of the Bride of Christ.[495] She stands triumphantly. The face of Ecclesia is near identical to Mary's in the Coronation tympanum (Fig. 16), a similarity that is furthered through the portrayal of both as victorious queens.[496] Her hair falls in loose curls. A crown sits atop her head, decorated with foliate details. She wears a mantle clasped with an intricate quatrefoil brooch with further foliate decoration. She holds in her left hand the chalice of the Eucharist. Her other hand, covered by the fabric of her mantle, clasps a cross-topped standard. Ecclesia faces eastward towards her counterpart Synagoga. Jean Delivré examined the extant polychromy on Ecclesia, concluding that the original sculpture would have had blonde hair and blue eyes, similar to many Germanic representations of the Virgin Mary.[497]

Synagoga appears on the right side of the portal. Her facial features and loose hair are similar to those of Ecclesia and the Virgin, though she differs significantly in other aspects. She is blindfolded and her head is bowed. The posture of Synagoga expresses her fallen nature, as she slouches.[498] Her blindfold references the veil of Moses.[499] Her dress is closed with a simple annular brooch. She lacks a mantle. She clasps the tablets of the law in her left hand, a reference to the Old Covenant with Moses. The tablets are tucked behind the figure. Her right hand holds a standard, broken in two places. Her dress appears to curl around her feet.

Ecclesia and Synagoga flank the central figures of Christ and Solomon on the portal. They have been interpreted as the brides of Christ and Solomon, based on this placement and medieval texts.[500] Thus, various scholars have linked the iconographic programme of the

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[494] For more on the removal and replacement of these sculptures, see Sabine Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster: Seine Ostteile und die Südquerhauswerkstatt* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2011), 88-9.
[495] Eph. 5: 22–33, Rev. 3:12.
[496] Jacqueline E. Jung, *Eloquent Bodies: Movement, Expression, and the Human Figure in Gothic Sculpture* (London: Yale University Press, 2020), 70.
[497] Jean Delivré, "Les sculptures du transept sud de la cathédrale de Strasbourg: Une étude matérielle de l'église, de la synagogue et du pilier des anges," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, La révolution gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Giorgia Passaro (Strasbourg: Editions Musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 146–59; Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1963), 203–4.
[498] For more on medieval ideas on morality and body language, see C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 331–48.
[499] Wolfgang S. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages: Two Symbols in Art and Literature*, translated by Lee Chadeayne and Paul Gottwald (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1970), 29–30; II Cor 3: 12–18.
[500] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies,* 75.

south portal to the books of Song of Songs and the Apocalypse, bridging the Old and New Testament.[501] The exterior sculptural representations anticipate the Old and New Covenant Windows and the Pillar of Angels on the south transept interior.

The dual representations of Ecclesia and Synagoga were a well established iconographic combination in the Middle Ages.[502] The subjects had varied permutations based on the medium used for their portrayal, their particular representation, and the period and location in which they were created. Early representations of the figures together can be observed in seven extant ninth-century Carolingian ivories.[503] In these, Ecclesia and Synagoga can be seen standing beside the Crucifixion (Fig. 57 & Fig. 58). Ecclesia is often depicted holding a chalice aloft to collect the blood of Christ, referencing the Eucharist. In these portrayals Synogoga can be seen holding her broken standard, but she lacks her other attribute, the blindfold. The ivories were created in a workshop in Metz under the tutelage of Bishop Drogo (823–55) and his successor Bishop Adventius (858–75) for Emperor Charles the Bald (emperor of the Carolingian Empire and king of Italy, 875–77; king of West Francia, 843–77) .[504]

Manuscripts ressemble the ivories in their depictions of Ecclesia and Synagoga at the Crucifixion. Examples can be found in the *Uta Codex* (Fig. 59, c. 1025), the *Stammheim Missal* (Fig. 60, c. 1170s), and the *Hortus deliciarum* (Fig. 61, c. 1180s).[505] As previously noted, the *Hortus deliciarum* was used directly in the creation of the imagery of the south transept.[506] The dual personifications could be observed attending the Crucifixion on f. 150r.[507] Ecclesia sits astride a tetramorph, referred to as the "quartuor ev(an)geliste animal ecclesie" [sic].[508] She is crowned, and holds a standard and the chalice catching the blood of Christ. Synagoga almost falls from her place on the back of a donkey. Her steed is referred to as a "animal synagoge asin(us) stult(us) et lax(us)."[509] Her headdress obstructs her view,

[501] Jean-Philippe Meyer, "La synagogue, l'église, Salomon et le Christ: Le dialogue strasbourgeois du cantique des cantiques et les sculptures du portail sud," *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 29 (2010): 29–50.
[502] Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City*, 47–78.
[503] Ibid., 51–61; For more information on Ecclesia and Synagoga in Carolingian ivories, see Nancy Bishop, "An Iconographical Study of the Appearance of Synagoga in Carolingian Ivories," in *Jews in Medieval Christendom*, eds. Kristine T. Utterback and Merrall Llewelyn Price (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 7–24.
[504] Robert Melzak, "The Carolingian Ivory Carvings of the Later Metz Group," ed. F. Mutherich. PhD diss., (Columbia University, 1983).
[505] For more information on the *Uta Codex*, see Adam S. Cohen, *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy, and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany* (University Park: Penn State Press, 2000); For more information on the *Stammheim Missal*, see Elizabeth C. Teviotdale, *The Stammheim Missal* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2001).
[506] Victor Beyer, Christiane Wild-Block, and Fridtjof Zschokke, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Strasbourg* (Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1986), 123–27.
[507] This is once again a copy created prior to the destruction of the manuscript in 1870; Herrad von Hohenbourg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, eds. Rosalie Green, Michael Evans, Christine Bischoff and Michael Curschmann, Vol. 2 (London: Warburg Institute, 1979), 173.
[508] Translation: "The four evangelists (are) the animal of the Church;" Ibid.
[509] Translation: "The foolish and lazy donkey, animal of the synagogue;" Ibid., 174.

replacing her usual blindfold. She has dropped her standard. Another text connects Synagoga to the Crucifixion. It reads, "sub arbore crucis corrupta est synagoga quando scribe et Pharisei dixerunt: Sanguis ejus super nos et super filios nostros."[510]

Though the subject at Strasbourg may have been influenced by these antecedents locally, a greater influence was probably earlier depictions in sculpture. Many of these differ from the aforementioned representations, in being separate from any biblical narrative. The figures are typically found in portal sculpture on either side of entryways, often with Ecclesia on the left and Synagoga on the right. This placement allows them to simultaneously stand in opposition and balance each another. Willibald Sauerländer argued that the earliest sculptural examples of the figures together could be found in archivolts from Saint-Ayoul in Provins (Fig. 62 & Fig. 63, after 1157) and on a tympanum from Saint-Bénigne in Dijon (Fig. 64, c.1160s).[511] The figures in the archivolts at Saint-Pierre in Nevers (Fig.65, c. 1200) were created shortly after.[512] The subject became widespread in the thirteenth century in French sculptural programmes. The examples at Strasbourg were created near simultaneously with similar sculptural portrayals of the personifications at Bamberg (Fig. 66 & Fig. 67, c. 1220s), Chartres (c. 1220s), and Reims (Fig. 68 & Fig. 69, c. 1225–35).[513] The close succession of these sculptures led Nina Rowe to research them alongside contemporary Christian-Jewish relations.[514] Closer to Strasbourg, the figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga feature in the sculptural iconographic programmes of churches in the Rhineland. Examples can be observed at the Liebenfraukirche of Trier (Fig.70, c. 1240–50), the Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Westerkappeln (Fig. 71, c. 1240–70), and Minden Cathedral (Fig. 72 & Fig. 73, c. 1260–80). Additionally, Ecclesia and Synagoga feature again at Strasbourg in the late thirteenth-century Passion tympanum of the western facade. I explore this representation in my next section.

The figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga on the south transept differ from the aforementioned examples in their pairing with the Old and New Covenant windows (Fig. 7 & Fig. 8, c. 1230–35), placing even further significance on the relationship between Christianity and Judaism. These windows continued the theme of the portal into the interior of the

[510] Translation: "Under the tree of the crucifixion the synagogue was corrupted, when the scribes and Pharisees said His blood be upon us and our children;" Ibid., 173.
[511] The example at Saint-Bénigne is lost. An engraving completed in 1739 by Urbain Plancher displays the portal prior to its destruction in 1794. Willibald Sauerländer, *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich: 1140 – 1270* (Munich: Hirmer, 1970), 36, 73–75, 86.
[512] The church of Saint-Pierre was destroyed in 1771. A drawing of the portal before its destruction was the basis for a lithograph of the subject in Morellet's *Album pittoresque* in 1838. Ibid., 106.
[513] For a detailed study of the figures at Bamberg and Reims, see Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City,* 86–139; For a study of the lost figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga at Chartres, see Roger J. Adams, "The Column Figures of the Chartres Northern Foreportal and a Monumental Representation of Saint Louis," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 36, no. 2/3 (1973): 159.
[514] Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City.*

transept, being set into the inside wall of the portal. They are based on diagrams from the *Hortus deliciarum,* featuring the same iconographic scheme with minor alterations.[515] The text in the windows is copied directly from the manuscript. The Old Covenant window (Fig. 7, w. 106) represents the covenant that God made with Moses and the Israelites in the Old Testament. It corresponds with Synagoga, who is placed directly below the window on the outside of the south wall. It is based on a diagram from folio 67r of the *Hortus deliciarum* (Fig. 9). A text runs around the rosace reading, "SANGVINE MVNDANDVM DE SANGVINIBVS FORE MVNDVM RITVS LEGALIS DOCVIT SANGVIS PECVALIS."[516] A two-headed prophet sits in the center roundel representing both Moses and Christ.[517] The window features roundels depicting the sacrifices of the Old Covenant, depicted as women holding symbolic sacrificial animals and other material. Each of the sacrificial scenes includes a text tying them to the reason each animal is used as a sacrifice.[518] This imagery differs slightly from the representation in the *Hortus deliciarum* by replacing the men holding the sacrifices with women. It is possible that they altered the gender of these figures as personifications are most often female, and thus more recognisable if portrayed as such. I argue that the portrayal of the sacrifices as men in the *Hortus deliciarum* is likely due to the figures being priests who would slay the animals. Thus, Herrad and the nuns of Hohenbourg would not see these as appropriate positions for women to hold. The window also includes the Old Testament figures, Moses, Abraham, Melchizedek, and Aaron.[519] The uppermost roundel contains a table and twelve loaves of bread with the text "DOCTRINA AP(OSTO)L(I)CA," prefiguring the apostles.[520] The lowest includes a menorah, titled "SEPTIFORMIS SPIRITUS."[521]

The New Covenant window (Fig. 8, w. 108) represents the covenant between God and Christians after the resurrection of Christ. It is based on the diagram representing the same subject on f. 67v of the *Hortus deliciarum* (Fig. 10). The rosace pairs with the figure of

[515] Parello, Daniel. "Une rencontre interculturelle: Les vitraux du transept de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, entre continuité et mutation," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, La révolution gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Giorgia Passaro (Strasbourg: Editions des musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 104.
[516] Translation: "The rite of the Law and the blood of animals teaches us that the world must be purified of its sins;" Beyer, Wild-Block, and Zschokke, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Strasbourg* (Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1986), 125.
[517] Ibid., 125–6.
[518] "IN TURTURE PROPTER CASTITATEM," "IN PASSERIBUS CORPUS ET ANIMAM," "IN DECIMA CONSUMATIONEM BONORUM OPERUM," "IN AGNO PROPTER INNOCENTIAM," "IN HYRCO PROPTER SIMILITUDINEM CARNIS PECCATI," "IN VITULO PROPTER VIRTUTEM," "IN TAURO PROPTER FORTITUDINEM," "IN COLUMBIS PROPTER SIMPLICITATE," "IN SIMILAGINE OLEO ASPERSA PROPTER CARITATEM," "IN ARIETE PROPTER PRINCIPATUM," Ibid., 128–31
[519] Ibid., 130–1.
[520] Translation: "Apostolic doctrine;" Ibid., 130.
[521] Translation: "Sevenfold spirit;" Ibid.

Ecclesia, located below the window and on the outside. Text around the window reads, "REX ET CRVX LVX SVNT BOS ARA FIGVRA FVERVNT CEDAT OVIS CAPRA A SACERDOS FIT VICTIMA VERBOS."[522] At the center is a representation of Melchizedek, the priest king.[523] Roundels feature personifications of the same virtues from the *Hortus deliciarum*, including Charity, Compassion, Sobriety, Penitence, Confession, Obedience, Abstinence, Justice, and Poverty.[524] They wear identical vestments to the women in the sacrifice roundels, the only distinguishable differences being in their attributes and accompanying text. Roundels containing the symbols of the Evangelists are placed in the outer circle. Jacqueline Jung observed that the axis has been shifted from that in the *Hortus deliciarum,* so that the Evangelists occupy the same position in the window as on the nearby Pillar of Angels.[525] Together the uppermost roundel with Christ and the lowest with the Ark of the Covenant symbolise Christ's fulfillment of the Old Covenant.

At Strasbourg, the interior windows and the exterior figures function together to bridge the temporal and theological space between the Old and New Testament. Ecclesia and Christ are contextually and typologically linked with Synagoga and Solomon. The iconography of the sculptures mirrors the windows, expanding upon their relationship and meaning. Additionally the Old Covenant window prefigures the New Covenant. This pairing of exterior and interior imagery raises questions as to why the theme was of such significance to Strasbourg Cathedral throughout the thirteenth century. I begin to address this question in this chapter, and further the argument with discussion of the figures on the west front in the next section.

Church and Synagogue in the Liturgy

As we have seen, the imagery of the south transept may be related to the liturgical uses of the space, with its inclusion of Mary Magdalene on the portal and eucharistic imagery in the Old Covenant window. This invites a closer look at the surviving liturgical sources from the cathedral. The twelfth-century *Cantatorium* included rituals for the feast day of the dedication of the church that may have held particular significance when considered alongside the iconographic programme of the south portal. There is evidence that this liturgy

[522] Translation: "The king and cross are light, but the ox and the altar were symbols, cease sacrificing sheep, goats, and oxen, the priest is the true sacrifice;" Ibid., 126
[523] Ibid., 137.
[524] Ibid., 134–7.
[525] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 128–32.

may have been performed before the south facade. The use of the antiphon, *In domum domini laetantes ibimus* towards the beginning of the liturgy may have indicated that it began outside the cathedral.[526] With this, the clergy sang of their eventual entry into the building.[527] As explored previously, the south portal functioned as the primary entrance during the construction of the nave and west portal.[528] So, it is possible that, like the Easter liturgy, the rituals associated with the dedication of the church occurred there at that time.[529] It appears that some of the liturgy was also performed within the cathedral after processing inside, due to the instructions "AD PROCESSIONEM" followed shortly by "IN CHORO."[530] However, the portal could also be considered in retrospect or upon exit from the building. Therefore, as the liturgy was in use prior to and during the creation of the south transept, it may be considered in relation to the iconographic scheme of the south portal with Ecclesia and Synagoga.

The liturgy for the feast of the dedication of the church at Strasbourg bridges the Old and New Testament. In the proceedings, the building is referred to with Old Testament terminology. It is called the "domum domini," "templum," and "tabernaculum."[531] It also refers to the creation of the church or temple as being divinely inspired, evoking the construction of the temple of Solomon.[532] The correlation is furthered with the inclusion of a responsory, "Benedictus es in templo sancto glorie tuae quod edifficatum [sic] est ad laudem et gloriam nominis tui. domine."[533] Subsequently a Psalm referred to as *Legem* was performed, which seems to refer to Psalm 26:11, "Legem pone mihi, Domine, in via tua, et dirige me in semitam rectam, propter inimicos meos."[534] Together the references to the creation of the temple and to the law may have evoked King Solomon and his temple, which prefigured the Christian Church, in the minds of the clergy. The portrayal of Solomon in sculpture will therefore have been highly resonant with the liturgy for the feast of the dedication.

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[526] Translation: "We will go into the house of the Lord rejoicing;" André Wilmart and Joseph Walter, eds., *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg: manuscrit additionnel 23.922 du Musée Britannique. Les processions de la cathédrale au Moyen Age* (Colmar: Editions Alsatia, 1928), 70–2.
[527] Ibid.
[528] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 83.
[529] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster: Seine Ostteile und die Südquerhauswerkstatt* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2011), 180.
[530] Translation: "To the procession, in the Choir;" Wilmart and Walter, eds., *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg,* 71.
[531] Translation: "House of God, temple, tabernacle;" Ibid., 70–2.
[532] "suisque aptantur locis per manus artificis;" Ibid.; 1 Kgs 6: 1–38.
[533] Translation: "Blessed art thou in the holy temple of thy glory, which was built for the praise and glory of thy name, O Lord;" Wilmart and Walter, eds., *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg,* 71.
[534] Translation: "Set me, O Lord, a law in thy way, and guide me in the right path, because of my enemies;" Ibid.; Ps. 26:11.

Other aspects of the dedication liturgy invite considerations of the figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga more directly. One antiphon is particularly significant to the image of the blinded Synagoga. It reads, "Nisi tu domine servabis nos in vanum vigilat oculi nostri."[535] The liturgy also includes a hymn which included the lines,

> Urbs beata Hierusalem. dicta pacis visio. que construitur in celis vivus ex lapidibus et angelis coornata. ut sponsata comite.
>
> Nova veniens e celo nuptiali thalamo. preparata ut sponsata copuletur domino. plateae et muri eius ex auro purissimo.
>
> Portae nitent margaritis aditis patentibus et virtute meritorum illuc introducitur. omnis qui pro Xpi nomine hic in mundo premitur.
>
> Tunisionibus pressuris expoliti lapides. suisque aptantur locis per manus artificis. disponuntur permansuri sacris aedificiis.
>
> Angulare fundamentum lapis Xpe missus est. qui compage parietum in utroque nectitur quem Syon sancta suscepit. in quo credens permanet.
>
> Omnis illa deo sacra et dilecta civitas plena modulis in laude et canora iubilo trinum deum unicumque cum favore predicat.
>
> Hoc in templum summe deus exoratus adveni. et clementi bonitate precum vota suscipe. largam benedictionem. hic infunde iugiter.
>
> Hic promercanur omnes petita acquirere.et adepta possidere. cum sanctis perenniter. paradisum introire translati in requiem.
>
> Gloria et honor deo usquequo altissimo. una patri. filio que. inclyto paraclyto. cui laus est et potestas per eterna secula. Amen.[536]

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[535] Translation: "Unless you, Lord, will save us, our eyes are awake in vain;" Debra Lacoste, "Nisi tu domine servabis nos," *CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant*, accessed February 22, 2022, https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/chant/285864; Wilmart and Walter, eds. *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg*; Sélestat, Sélestat Bibliothèque Humaniste, MS. 081, Fritsche Closener, *Consuetudines Ecclesiasticae Argentinensis ecclesia (Ordinarium Chori ecclesiae argentinensis),* f. 24v.

[536] Translation: "Bless city of Jerusalem, Called vision of peace, Which is built in heaven, From living stones, crowned by the angels, Like a noble bride. Coming down from heaven for the nuptial bed, Prepared and married, A virgin joined to the Lord, Her streats and walls, Made from the purest gold. Her gates bright with pearls, Her inner places of the temple opened, And by virtue of merits, All are led there, Who in this world suffered, For the name of Christ. The stones are struck, Pressed and Polished, Arranged for their place, By the hands of the crafts man; Designed to remain forever, In the holy buildings. Christ, the cornerstone, Was sent to be the foundation, Which joined, Together the walls, Which holy Zion received, And by which the city of believers abides. The whole city, Sacred to God and beloved by him, Filled with music of praise, And joyful song, Proclaim with fervor God, Three and One. Into this temple, O high God, Come, And in your good mercy, Receive the requests of our prayers; Here ever pour out, Your immense blessing. Here may all be worthy, To receive, And to possess what they ask, And with the saints, Enter paradise, And be taken into eternal rest. Glory and honor to God, Most high, And to the Son equally, and the flaming Spirit: Praise and Power, Through endless ages. Amen;" "Angularis Fundamentum 4, Hymnus of Laudes for Dedicatio Ecclesiae Cathedralis - Sabb, 07-08-2021," accessed 5 September, 2025, https://app.neumz.com/listen/laudes-angularis-fundamentum-4-34184/07-08-2021; "Urbs Jerusalem Beata 4 (Cum Organo), Hymnus of Matutinum for Dedicatio Ecclesiae Cathedralis - Sabb, 07-08-2021," accessed 5 September, 2025, https://app.neumz.com/listen/matutinum-urbs-jerusalem-beata-4-cum-organo/07-08-2021; Wilmart and Walter, eds.,

If the hymn was sung before the south portal, it would have invited consideration of the portal and its sculpture, when referring to the "portae" and "tunisionibus pressuris expoliti lapides."[537] The hymn references both the Song of Songs and the Apocalypse, again bridging the Old and New Testament. It refers directly to Ecclesia. Though Synagoga is not explicitly referenced, the inclusion of the Old Testament text and the reference to the bride of Christ when performed before the portal may have evoked her. It would also likely provoke the viewer to engage with the sculpture of Ecclesia whose gaze is directed at Synagoga, her fallen sister. Such a performance at the portal would bring Ecclesia and Synagoga into the contemporary period, inviting the viewers to bring the narrative to life visually and audibly. Perhaps, the audience could consider their position as part of the Church and reflect upon their relation to their Jewish neighbours. Thus, a knowledgeable audience would have been invited to consider the portal and its sculpture, with the use of architectural language in the liturgy. The physicality of the cathedral becomes symbolic of the Heavenly Jerusalem and the Bride of Christ.

Assessing Ecclesia and Synagoga at Strasbourg

The sculptures of Ecclesia and Synagoga at Strasbourg have been related to medieval writings. In the nineteenth century, Paul Weber argued in favour of an association of the figures with the "Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae" of Pseudo-Augustine and the "Sermo contra Paganos, Judaeos et Arianos" of St. Augustine himself.[538] Otto von Simon presented the widely accepted argument that Ecclesia and Synagoga, alongside the central figures of King Solomon and Christ, function as the two brides referenced in the exegesis of the Song of Songs by Honorius Augustodunensis (d. 1140).[539] More recently scholars have built on the work of Weber and Von Simson to add their own analyses of how these texts may connect to the personifications at Strasbourg, including Sabine Bengel and Jean-Phillipe Meyer.[540] Bernd Nicolai argued that the personifications would have been associated with the good and bad mother in the Judgement of Solomon, which he connected to a gloss on the

L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg, 70–1; Sélestat, Sélestat Bibliothèque Humaniste, MS. 081, Fritsche Closener, *Consuetudines Ecclesiasticae Argentinensis ecclesia (Ordinarium Chori ecclesiae argentinensis),* f. 24v–25r; John Mason Neale trans., *Mediæval Hymns and Sequences* (London: Joseph Masters, 1867), 18–20.

[537] Ibid.

[538] Paul Weber, *Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst in ihrem Verhältnis Erläutert an einer Ikonographie der Kirche und Synagoge: eine Kunsthistorische Studie* (Stuttgart: Ebner und Seubert, 1894).

[539] Otto von Simson, "Le programme sculptural du transept meridional," *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 10 (1972): 33–49.

[540] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster*, 185–86; Meyer, "La synagogue, l'église, Salomon et le Christ," 29–50.

French text of the *Bible moralisée* upon the Judgement.[541] Jacqueline Jung agreed, further referencing St. Augustine's "Sermo X de scripturis" in support.[542]

A number of scholars have contributed recently to the study of Ecclesia and Synagoga within the medieval city. As previously noted, Nina Rowe studied the appearance of the figures at Strasbourg, Reims, and Bamberg Cathedral in relation to their Jewish populations.[543] She argued that the personifications are representative of the Church's authority over the Jews in Christendom, and that the location of the Strasbourg figures was in response to the function of the portal as the locus of municipal justice.[544] She also connected the iconographic scheme of the portal to the penitential rituals that occurred there.[545] I have furthered this argument already in my chapter on Mary Magdalene. I proposed that the portal functioned as a triptych on salvation and penance, responding to its extra-liturgical uses, with the tympana at the centre and Ecclesia and Synagoga on either side. Jacqueline Jung also argued that the figures function together in an interplay that evokes the various uses of the portal.[546] As this chapter shows, I agree that the south transept invites mulivalent readings of the space due to the complexity of its iconographic scheme.

Bernd Nicolai introduced the argument that the presence of Synagoga could be related to Bishop Heinrich II von Veringen's (1202–23) crusade against heretical movements, in 1212, when eighty people were accused of heresy and ten killed.[547] He contended that Jews were not persecuated in early thirteenth-century Strasbourg, as they held important roles in the city at this time.[548] He thus argued that Synagoga must instead reference the bishop's work against heretics; Jews and heretics were often synonymous, so that Synagoga could have represented both groups.[549] It is possible that the bishop considered his role in combating heretics with the creation of this imagery. However, I believe Nicolai's analysis is overcomplicating a simple correlation between the imagery and the Jews. One could counter that the substantial role of Jews in the city may have increased the desire for their conversion, prompting the creation of this imagery. Additionally, the lack of evidence of mistreatment does not mean that religious persecution against Jews was not occuring.

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[541] Bernd Nicolai, "Orders in Stone: Social Reality and Artistic Approach. The Case of the Strasbourg South Portal," *Gestalt Theory* 41, no. 2 (January 1, 2002): 122–23.
[542] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 75.
[543] Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City.*
[544] Ibid., 191–237.
[545] Ibid., 234–36.
[546] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 59–132.
[547] Nicolai states that it is unclear what group he was fighting, the Ortliebians, Waldensians, or Cathars; Nicolai, "Orders in Stone," 111–28.
[548] Ibid., 122.
[549] Ibid., 122–23.

Let us return to the Jews in the city and the relationship between them and these allegorical figures. Allegorical figures are symbols, which restricts our ability to compare them to actual people, as they often lack characteristics of personhood beyond their figural quality. Personifications of the Virtues and Vices, for example, represent abstract ideas and must be analysed as such. They do not often possess characteristics that can be compared to contemporary people. Thus, we can not liken them directly to anyone without ample evidence that this comparison is justified, through possession of distinct contemporary attributes. Whereas others, like Ecclesia and Synagoga, have clear real-life counterparts to consider and may be approached with those groups in mind, in this case Christians and Jews. There are some questions to consider when deciding whether personifications allow such an examination. Are there any primary sources that liken contemporary people to particular allegorical figures? Do the personifications bear attributes of specific groups of people? These questions are explored further in my chapters on the Virtues and Vices and Wise and Foolish Virgins, as they invite comparisons to contemporary counterparts.

Daisy Delogu argued that it is useful to consider allegory, from a gendered perspective.[550] As she points out, allegorical figures are nearly always women, so they can never be fully separated from their gender.[551] Like women, allegorical figures functioned as mediators, often occuping feminine roles to allow men to think of themselves in contrast to these figures.[552] As such, portrayals of women could appeal to men and women alike. Further, she contended that allegorical figures are set outside of temporal bounds and do not conform to any one period.[553] Instead, they can bridge the gap between the past, present, and future in the mind of their audience.[554] As such, the examples of Ecclesia and Synagoga can exist simultaneously as the Bride of Solomon in the Old Testament and the future Bride of Christ at the end of time. They also symbolise the contemporary congregations of Christians and Jews, in their position in the present. The figures function to link the biblical past and future, in an eschatological reading of the space, placing the current residents of the city in the time in between. When encountering these figures, therefore citizens could contemplate their position in the biblical narrative and their own time and place.

Other issues arise when considering whether it is appropriate to study the medieval Jewish population in relation to the representation of Synagoga. Heinz Schrenkenberg argued

[550] Delogu, *Allegorical Bodie*s, 19–24.
[551] Ibid.
[552] Ibid., 27–31.
[553] Ibid., 24–25.
[554] Ibid.

that a study of the portrayal of Jews within medieval Christian art, allows for a deeper understanding of how they were considered in Christendom.[555] He maintained that such representations functioned as "posters" to educate the laity.[556] It is of course impossible to use the representation of Synagoga to study how medieval Jews were considering themselves. However, the dual personifications can be analysed in an effort to understand how the church regarded itself and the Jews. Jacob Lackner argued that medieval sermon exemplars displayed the belief that Jewish women were regarded as easier to convert.[557] Ecclesia and Synagoga could then have been seen as useful tools to appeal particularly to Jewish women.

Nina Rowe successfully showed how the allegorical figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga could be studied in the context of Christians and Jews in thirteenth-century Strasbourg, leading the way for my own study of the subject.[558] However, she did not explore the correlation between women and allegory with these figures, which I endeavour to do. Thus Ecclesia and Synagoga are connected to their contemporary equivalents Christian and Jewish women.

The imagery must also be analysed in the regional social environment that spurred the creation of these figures, as explored by Daisy Delogu and Nina Rowe.[559] The examples at Strasbourg were created during the expansion of the Jewish community, at a time when they coexisted in the city with the Church. I argue not only that allegorical figures can be studied to ascertain contemporary beliefs about the Jewish women, but also that the example of Strasbourg invites this interpretation.

Jewish Proximity and Practices

In the Middle Ages, Jews in the Rhineland suffered various abuses due to their religion and racial identity. The First Crusade brought with it a massacre of the Jewish population in the cities of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz, in 1096.[560] Crusaders on their way to Jerusalem also attacked and forced conversion upon Jews in the Rhineland, which resulted in many Jews sacrificing themselves to preserve their faith.[561] The creation of the south transept

[555] Heinz Schreckenberg, *The Jews in Christian Art: An Illustrated History* (London: SCM Press, 1996), 13–14.
[556] Ibid.
[557] Jacob Lackner, "Violent Men and Malleable Women: Gender and Jewish Conversion to Christianity in Medieval Sermon Exempla," *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues*, no. 30 (2016): 24–47.
[558] Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City,* 191–237.
[559] Delogu, *Allegorical Bodies*; Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City.*
[560] David Nirenberg, "The Rhineland Massacres of Jews in the First Crusade: Memories Medieval and Modern," in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, eds. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Partick J. Geary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 279–309.
[561] Ibid.

occurred around the time of the fourth (1202–4) and fifth Crusade (1217–21), which were unsuccessful attempts to take control of Jerusalem from Muslim rule. Various papal documents addressed to the people of Germany at this time offered a remission of interest on debts held by Jewish debtors to those who contributed to the Crusade efforts.[562] They include documents issued to Ludolf of Koppenstedt (archbishop of Magdeburg, 1192–1205) in 1199 and the Christians of Cologne in 1213.[563] The fifth Crusade also coincided with the Albigensian Crusade (1209–29) against the Cathar heresy in France.[564] The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) issued regulations on the lives of Jews living under Christian rule in western Europe, especially in canons 67–70.[565] In doing so, Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) and the Church emphasised their authority over the Jewish people.[566] Continued abuses against the Jews prompted Emperor Frederick II (Holy Roman Emperor, king of Germany and Italy, 1220–50) to place the Jews under his protection in 1236 as "servi camere nostre."[567]

Gerd Mentgen argued that Strasbourg did not have a substantial Jewish community until the second half of the twelfth century. There is certainly a lack of documentation prior to this point, as opposed to other cities.[568] That is not to say that there was not a Jewish presence, however, simply that it was not large enough to elicit mention. Writing in the 1160s or early 1170s, Benjamin of Tudela, a Jewish traveler, included Strasbourg in his chronicle of cities with flourishing Jewish populations in Germany.[569] He recorded a large population of educated and wealthy Jews.[570] Additionally, many Jews fled to the Rhineland after being expelled from France in 1182 by Phillip II of France.[571] A Hebrew source from 1188 further supports the presence of a Jewish community in Strasbourg.[572] Eleazer ben Jehuda (d. 1238) records that the Jews of Strasbourg fled the city fearing mistreatment during the Crusades.[573] The community had returned before 1214, as they were referenced in the Second Civic Law

[562] Shlomo Simonsohn, ed. *The Apostolic See and the Jews: Documents: 492–1404*, Vol. 94, Studies and Texts (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1991), 78, 97.
[563] Ibid.
[564] For more information of the Albigensian Crusade, see Catherine Léglu, Rebecca Rist, and Claire Taylor, eds., *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2013).
[565] John Tolan, "Introduction," in *Jews and Muslims under the Fourth Lateran Council: Papers Commemorating the Octocentenary of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215)*, eds. Marie Thèrèse Champagne and Irven M. Resnick (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 12–14.
[566] Ibid.
[567] Translation: "servants of the royal chamber;" Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City,* 228–29.
[568] Mentgen, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im mittelalterlichen Elsass*, 30–31, 125–26.
[569] Marcus Nathan Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Critical Text, Translation and Commentary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1907), 80.
[570] Ibid.
[571] Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 173.
[572] Ismar Elbogen, Aron Freimann, and Chaim Tykocinski, eds. *Germania Judaica: Von den Ältesten Zeiten bis 1238*, Vol. 1 (Breslau: Verlag M. & H. Marcus, 1934), 369–71; Mentgen, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im mittelalterlichen Elsass*, 30.
[573] Ibid.

Code.[574] Thus, the community was assuredly present in the city at the time of the creation of the cathedral's south transept.[575]

The Jewish quarter at Strasbourg was just north of the Cathedral district, inside the city walls (Fig. 74). Prior to the pogroms of 1349, many districts were located in immediate proximity to cathedrals. This can also be observed at Cologne, Speyer, and Trier. Barry L. Stiefel argued that this was a deliberate choice to be close to the palace of the bishop, who was the local authority protecting them.[576] In Strasbourg, the sector was located in what is now known as the "rue des Juifs," which housed a synagogue, community bakery, butcher, "mikveh," and "Weiberschul."[577] Archaeological evidence gives insight into the lives of thirteenth-century Jewish women in the city. A "mikveh" was a ritualistic bath used by Jewish women to cleanse themselves after their menses, and during and after pregnancy.[578] In Strasbourg, the "mikveh" and "Weiberschul" were used by them to engage in worship. The "mikveh" has been excavated on the "rue des Juifs," and dated to c. 1200.[579] A "Weiberschul" or "Frauenschul" was a gallery or annex attached to the synagogue for women to worship in.[580] Examples have been identified in Worms (c.1212) and Cologne (c. 1281).[581] In Strasbourg, Weyl's analysis of a fragmentary plaque (Fig. 75 & Fig.76), dated to the mid-thirteenth century, led him to argue for the placement of a "Weiberschul" between the modern day "rue du Faisan" and the "rue des Pucelles".[582] The text of the excavated inscription is incomplete, but Weyl in consultation with Rabbi Schlesinger reconstructed it as reading, "Daughters of Sion, come and see, the house of prayer and its God, the divine presence in his Palace."[583] The inscription references Song of Songs 3:11.[584] Weyl argued that this inscription, referring to a place of worship and addressed to the "Daughters of Sion," must have marked the location of a "Weiberschul."[585]

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[574] Philippe Dollinger, "L'émancipation de la ville et la domination du patriciat," in *Histoire de Strasbourg des origines à nos jours*, ed. Georges Livet (Strasbourg: Éditions des dernières nouvelles de Strasbourg, 1981), 43-5; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 477–81.
[575] Mentgen, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im mittelalterlichen Elsass*, 30–31, 125–26.
[576] Barry L. Stiefel, *Jews and the Renaissance of Synagogue Architecture, 1450–1730* (London: Routledge, 2015), 11.
[577] Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City,* 218–22.
[578] Ibid., 220.
[579] Ibid.
[580] Susan Grossman, *Daughters of the King: Women and the Synagogue*, ed. Rivka Haut (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1992).
[581] Weyl, "L'inscription dédicatoire d'une «Weiberschul» (?) du XIIIe siècle à Strasbourg," 686.
[582] Ibid, 682–86.
[583] "Benoth Tsion Tseénah Oureénah Tsion Veélohéhah Cheh'inah Armonah;" Weyl, "Les inscriptions hébraïques des musées de Strasbourg," 86–88.
[584] Translation: "Go forth, ye daughters of Sion, and see King Solomon in the diadem, wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals, and in the day of the joy of his heart;" Ibid; Cant. 3:11.
[585] Weyl, "L'inscription dédicatoire d'une «Weiberschul» (?) du XIIIe siècle à Strasbourg."

Various memorial plaques have survived from the Jewish quarter, indicating that the population included pious and wealthy women. An early example dated to the late twelfth century (Fig. 77), reads, "May the Lord remember well the honorable Rabbi Mena'hem, son of Rabbi Samuel, as well as his worthy companion, Lady Rachel, a mother in Israel, daughter of Rabbi Jonathan, who offered five Marks for the construction of a House of God. When his soul returns to his Creator, that he wishes to reunite it with the bundle of the living. Amen."[586] Robert Weyl argued that the donor, Rachel, may have contributed to the building of a synagogue.[587] The plaque was found when excavating on the "rue des Juifs" in 1868. Thus, the inscription would have been located just north of the cathedral, predating the donor inscription on the south portal. Another fragmentary inscription dated to the second half of the thirteenth century records the charitable acts of a woman named Rebecca.[588] It noted that her charity was in line with Jewish teachings and the Law.[589] The Jewish donor inscriptions at Strasbourg are roughly contemporary with similar examples at Hagenau, Mainz, Molsheim, and Worms.[590] These epigraphs again reference donations contributing to the creation of places of worship in displays of piety. As Rainer Joseph Barzen argued, they were formatted as prayers to be read aloud by their audience.[591] Elisheva Baumgarten explored the portrayal of female donations in these Rhenish inscriptions.[592] She argued that they display women as active members of Jewish communities.[593]

The plaques make an interesting contemporary comparison to the Savina inscription, studied previously in my chapter on the Virgin Mary. This follows a similar format to the Hebrew donor inscriptions, with reference to the donation contributing to the creation of a place of worship alongside recognition of the donor's piety. Like the Hebrew examples, it too likely had been intended to be read aloud, encouraged by its rhymed structure. The inscription could have worked alongside the performance of hymns at the portal that also rhymed. It was also similarly placed in the entryway of the building and locus of worship. The two inscriptions reveal that the Church and the Jewish community in early thirteeth-century Strasbourg held similar views on reverence and commemoration of pious donations by women.

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[586] Weyl, "Les inscriptions hébraïques des musées de Strasbourg," 85–92.
[587] Ibid.
[588] Weyl and Waton, "Découverte de deux inscriptions hébraïques Rue des Juifs à Strasbourg," 145–48.
[589] Ibid.
[590] Barzen, "Hebrew Inscriptions in Public Spaces of Medieval Ashkenaz" (paper presented at the 57th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, 12 May 2022).
[591] Ibid.
[592] Baumgarten, *Biblical Women and Jewish Daily Life in the Middle Ages,* 114–15.
[593] Ibid.

Medieval churches did not often honor female donors in such a manner. In fact the Savina epigraph may be a unique example. However, this dedication on the cathedral coexisted with Jewish examples inviting comparison on the piety of Christian and Jewish women. The Christian audience would not have understood the content of the Hebrew inscriptions, but they could perhaps have recognised that they recorded donations. The two communities also shared craft workers. Stefanie Fuchs presented the hypothesis that masons may have worked simultaneously on the creation of Christian and Jewish places of worship.[594] She analysed formal similarities between churches, synagogues, and mikves in the Rhenish cities of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz.[595] Similarly, Carol Herselle Krinsky argued that the "bimah" in the synagogue of Cologne (c. 1280s) may have been crafted by cathedral masons, due to similarities between fragments and capitals in the cathedral.[596] While there is no evidence that the same masons worked on the cathedral and Jewish buildings in Strasbourg, construction happened simultaneously at times. According to the Second Civic Law Code of Strasbourg (c. 1214), the Jews were also entrusted with creating the standard of the city.[597] It is unclear whether this indicated crafting or funding it. However, it invites the possibility that Strasbourg Jews were involved in the craft of textiles. Thus, this provides evidence of some degree of collaboration between the Christian and Jewish population of the city. If the Church was aware of regional Jewish displays of female piety, perhaps they chose to adopt this practice with the Savina inscription to display the piety of a Christian woman, usurping Jewish piety with their own Christian example.

Conversion and Jewish Marriage and Motherhood at Strasbourg South Portal

As the cathedral was considering the Jewish population of the city, they may they have used the representation of Ecclesia and Synagoga to convey ideas to Christian and Jewish audiences alike. Medieval theologians, including St. Augustine, compared Ecclesia and Synagoga with the two mothers from the narrative of the Judgement of Solomon.[598] The

[594] Fuchs, "'Zwei Säulen und die Wulstförmigen Kapitelle,'" 152–91.
[595] Ibid.
[596] Carol Herselle Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning* (Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., 1996,) 274.
[597] "Hec sunt claustra, que in exitu civitatis ministrabunt equos ad plaustrum vexilli : Ebersheim, Marpach, Morsmunstre, Nuwilre, Swarzach, Gengenbach, Schutere. ministrabit autem prepositus sancti Arbogasti palafredum unum, quod scultetus cum plaustro equitabit. judei facient vexillum;" Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, Vol. 1 (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1879), 481.
[598] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 75; St. Augustine, "Sermo X de Scripturis," in *Opera Omnia*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Vol. 5 (Paris: Editio novissimo accurante Jacques-Paul Migne, 1863), 91–97.

tale is detailed in both the Vulgate and the Jewish *Tanakh.*[599] Two prostitutes appeared before King Solomon, each claiming to be the mother of a child. One woman told of how the other woman had unintentionally killed her child when she had rolled atop it in her sleep, and then switched the infants. The accused mother responded by claiming the living child as her own. After hearing this, Solomon ordered that the child be cut in half and each mother be given a half. The true mother told Solomon not to kill her child, but to give him to the other woman. As a result, Solomon declared that this woman was the mother.

As Jung and Nicolai have argued, the figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga at Strasbourg may have been equated with these Old Testament women.[600] St. Augustine equated Ecclesia and Synagoga with the good and bad mother respectively in his *Sermo X de scripturis*, identifying the child who died as Christ.[601] He preached that Synagoga and the Jews killed their child, Christ, as a result of not understanding the word of God.[602] Glosses on the Judgement of Solomon in the French *Bible moralisée,* created in the first half of the thirteenth century, equate the figures, and this can also be observed in the illustrations to the copy that is now in Vienna.[603] These sources are evidence of comparisons between the mothers and Ecclesia and Synagoga in the thirteenth century.

Miracle stories give insight into how the Church viewed Jewish parentage at this time, as many featured themes of bad Jewish and ideal Christian parentage. One such miracle is known as the Jew of Bourges.[604] It was first recorded in the sixth century by Gregory of Tours (d. 594), who stated that the miracle occurred in Constantinople, though later medieval sources identified the location as Bourges.[605] The Rhenish Cistercian Caesarius von Heisterbach (d. 1240) included the story in his collection of miracles.[606] Details change from source to source but certain elements remain constant. In this narrative, a Jewish boy converted to Christianity.[607] Upon learning of his conversion, his father became enraged and threw his son into a furnace. The Virgin Mary appeared to the boy, miraculously saving him

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[599] 1 Kgs. 3: 16–28.
[600] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 75; Nicolai, "Orders in Stone," 122–23.
[601] "Mulieres duae coram Salomone litigantes de filio, Synagoga et Ecclesia, Sacramentorum vita, Christus;" Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 75; St. Augustine, "Sermo X de Scripturis," 91–97.
[602] "Et duae quidem feminae Synagoga et Ecclesia in prima facie considerationis occurunt: Synaoga enim filium suum Christum ex Judaeis secundum carnem natem occidisse convincitur dormiens, id est presentis vitae sequendo lucem, manifestationemque veritatis in verbis Domini non intelligens: verunc etiam scriptum est, Surge, qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis, et illuminabit to Christus (Ephes. v, 14);" Ibid.
[603] See Vienna, Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 2554, f. 50r; Nicolai, "Orders in Stone," 123.
[604] Joan Young Gregg, *Devils, Women, and Jews: Reflections of the Other in Medieval Sermon Stories*. SUNY Series in Medieval Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 231–35.
[605] Ibid., 231.
[606] Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Die Fragmente der Libri VIII Miraculorum des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, ed. Aloys Meister (Rome: Buchdruckerei der Gesellschaft des Gottlichen Heilandes, 1901), 147–48.
[607] Ibid.

from the fire. His survival leads to the mass conversion of Jews. In it the Jewish father is portrayed as a bad parent, threatening the life of the child. Whereas, the Virgin Mary presents an image of the perfect Christian parent saving the child from harm. Various later theologians included the miracle in their work, evidencing its widespread popularity. Jacobus de Voragine (Dominican, d. 1298) referenced it in his writings on the Assumption of the Virgin.[608] Though this source postdates the portal, it is possible that the narrative had been associated with the Assumption earlier, as Jacobus de Voragine often referenced preexisting stories. Imagery of the Jew of Bourges appears in window n.II of Lincoln Cathedral (Fig.78, c. 1201–35) and w. 105 of Le Mans Cathedral (Fig. 79, mid-thirteenth century).[609] This miracle story bears similarities to the Old Testament story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.[610] They were Jewish men who were thrown into a furnace, after refusing to worship the Babylonian gods and statue of King Nebuchadnezzar II.[611] The men were miraculously unharmed, saved due to their faith by an angel of the Lord.[612] In the miracle story, the Jewish father stands in for the idolatrous king. The Jewish son's faith protects him like Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. Thus the miracle story was likely considered a useful didactic tool to be employed by the Church to proselytize to Jews.

These ideas were also referenced in relation to actual motherhood in Strasbourg. A papal bull concerning a custody battle alludes to the Church's beliefs regarding Jewish motherhood and conversion. It records the ruling of Pope Gregory IX on a dispute between a Jewish mother and a newly converted father over the guardianship of their infant son.[613] Bishop Berthold von Teck (1223–44) had written to the pope requesting his guidance on the matter. Gregory ruled on behalf of the Christian father, that he should retain custody of the child. In the said document, the mother was deemed an unfit caregiver, as Gregory argued that the child should not remain with anyone who might plot against his life and health.[614] He

[608] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, ed. Eamon Duffy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 473–74.
[609] For more information on the stained glass at Lincoln Cathedral, see Nigel J. Morgan, Jim Cheshire, Tom Kupper, and Carol Bennett, *Stained Glass of Lincoln Cathedral* (London: Scala, 2012); For more information on the stained glass at Le Mans Cathedral, see Louis Grodecki, et al., *Les vitraux du centre et des pays de la Loire,* Corpus Vitrearum France, Série complémentaire: Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France, Vol. 2 (Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981).
[610] Dan. 3:12–97.
[611] Ibid.
[612] Ibid.
[613] Patricia Skinner and Elisabeth van Houts, eds., *Medieval Writings on Secular Women* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2011),192-93; Shlomo Simonsohn, ed., *The Apostolic See and the Jews: Documents: 492–1404*, Vol. 94, Studies and Texts (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1991), 128–29; Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 47.
[614] "Cum vero filius in patris potestate consistat, cuius sequitur familiam, et non matris, et in tali etate quis non debeat apud illas remanere personas de quibus possit esse suspicio, quod saluti vel vite debeant et morari;" Simonsohn, ed. *The Apostolic See and the Jews: Documents: 492–1404*, 129.

further argued that if the child were returned to his mother she could lead him to unbelief.[615] From the second century onward, rabbinic law had specified that in relationships between Jews and Gentiles the racial identity of the mother would dictate that of the child.[616] Thus, if a Jewish mother and a Christian father had a child, it would be considered Jewish.[617] However rabbinic law also dictated that status, kinship, and succession are patrilineal.[618] In adjudicating over this dispute, it appears that Gregory is symbolically reenacting the Judgement of Solomon, presiding over the custody of a child. The Christian father is representative of the good mother, whereas the Jewish mother stands in for the bad mother.

The correlation of the figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga at Strasbourg with the two mothers of the Judgement of Solomon is reinforced by the earlier inclusion of a window depicting the story in the cathedral (Fig. 80, w. 3). It must be noted that due to the interior location of the windows they would not have been visible to a Jewish audience, as Jews were unable to enter the church according to the regulations of the *Sefer Hasidim*.[619] Thus, the more complex theological imagery was intended only for a Christian audience. Whereas, the accessible imagery was placed outside, to be viewed by all. The window dates from c. 1175-85, but its current placement in the north transept is not original.[620] Friedrich Zschokke argued that it was once part of a side window in the choir.[621] The narrative is split into three medallions, which read upwards, though this may not have been the original configuration of the window. The women are differentiated by the colour of their dress. Solomon holds a scroll, in the panel where he enacts his judgement. The portrayal of a written record of a judgement correlates to the medieval issuing of charters and bulls. In the cathedral itself, documents were sometimes issued in the east end, although the window predates the earliest known reference to this practice, from 1188.[622] The document issued here records the judgement of a dispute by Bishop Heinrich I von Hasenburg (1181-90) between the canons of Marbach and the knights of Hattstatt.[623] The divine authority of Solomon is emulated by the Bishop through the enactment of judgement in his decrees.

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[615] "materque pueri, si eum remanere contingeret apud ipsam, facile illum posset adducere ad infidelitatis errorem;" Ibid.
[616] Shayne J. D. Cohen, "The Origins of the Matrilineal Principle in Rabbinic Law," *AJS Review. Association for Jewish Studies* 10, no. 1 (1985): 19–53.
[617] Ibid., 19–20.
[618] Ibid., 19.
[619] Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City,* 32–33.
[620] It was placed in the north transept, as a result of a restructuring of the stained glass in the nineteenth century. The window was removed from its position in the south transept in 1855 by Gustave Klotz and reinstalled before 1862 by Petit-Gérard. The window had been moved to the south transept prior to the fifteenth century; Beyer, Wild-Block and Zschokke, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Strasbourg*, 71.
[621] The window was restored and reformatted in 1862 by Petit-Gérard. Further restoration projects on the window were completed in 1871 by Petit-Gérard and 1956–57 by the studio of the Ott brothers; Ibid.
[622] Archives départementales du Haut Rhin, 13 H 51; Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster,* 309.
[623] Ibid.

Finally, it is important to consider the judicial proceedings at the south portal and east end, in relation to these images of judgement and record making. As we saw earlier, the south portal continues to prefigure the iconography and use of the interior. The presence of this window near the issuing of documents suggests that the regional connection between the known site for ecclesiastical authority and the narrative of the Judgement of Solomon predated the south portal. This further supports the hypothesis put forth by Nina Rowe, that the figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga respond to Church authority over the Jews.[624] However, this was expanded to include authority over the Jewish population of the city with the creation of the sculpture.

Conclusion

I have argued that the cathedral authorities were cognizant of the Jewish population of the city when creating the iconography of the south transept. The imagery of Ecclesia and Synagoga portrayed the Christians as morally superior to their Jewish neighbours. The Church adapted Old Testament stories to appeal to Christian and Jewish audiences alike. The image of the Judgement of Solomon may have been recognisable to Jewish viewers. The basic structure of two women on either side of an enthroned king has a simple message, for whom this episode will have been familiar from the Old Testament. Ecclesia holds a cross, clearly identifying herself as a Christian, while the fallen Synagoga bears the tablets of the law, a symbol of Judaism. The church may have hoped that Jews would see this imagery and equate themselves with her and the bad mother from the Judgement of Solomon. So, in order to be like the good mother they must convert to Christianity. The cathedral authorities may have seen this as more poignant to Jewish mothers, a group viewed by the Church as easier to convert. They adapted the Old Testament story to convey a Christian message towards the conversion of their Jewish neighbours. As we shall see, the cathedral continued the use of Old Testament motifs to urge Jews to conversion in the west facade, as I explore later in an analysis of the "Fevresse."

[624] Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City.*

Section 1

The South Transept: 1200-1240

Conclusion

The women on the south transept display Strasbourg Cathedral's acknowledgement of women's contribution to Christianity and the Church, with special emphasis on regional women. This begins with the focus of the iconographic scheme on the Virgin Mary, the woman who provided the greatest contribution to the Church, her son Jesus Christ. It is through her son and intercession that humanity can be saved. As further testimony to women's contribution, Mary Magdalene is represented in the Dormition tympanum, a narrative in which she is not usually present. She began the spread of the gospel, as the Apostle to the Apostles, but was also the face of penance and the new penitential women's movement. Local women's contributions to theology, religious education and the creation of religious art are a prevalent theme throughout the iconographic scheme. The Marian iconography of the portal was shaped by new theology on the Assumption, with considerations of the visions of Elizabeth von Schönau. Women's aptitude for teaching is acknowledged in the use of manuscripts created by women for the education of nuns, with the most notable being the *Hortus deliciarum* by Herrad von Hohenbourg. The church thus responded to the demands of pious women in the city to pursue a religious life. The *Hortus deliciarum* was used by the cathedral to adapt popular motifs from other church programmes, for the education of the laity. Women's piety and donorship is referenced with the donor inscription of Savina. These references to women in the Church work in direct conversation with the figure of Synagoga on the portal and the piety of Jewish women in the city. Christian women provided an ideal image of devotion that Jewish women must convert to achieve.

Section 2

The West Facade: 1250-1300

Introduction

The west facade at Strasbourg Cathedral (Fig. 81) features a complex iconographic scheme with representations of many women. This invites a study of women, in relation to the history of the church and the city in the second half of the thirteenth century, and a comparison with the south transept which allows analysis of the evolution of representations of women on the cathedral. Scholars have attributed the creation of the facade to various historical figures. This section engages with the ongoing debate about the west facade's possible creators, as explored by Sébastien Milazzo, Bruno Boerner, Benoît van den Bossche, and Simone Schultz.[625] This research expands on studies on the evolution of the "Oeuvre Notre Dame," building on the work of Sabine Bengel, Charlotte Stanford, and Marie-José Nohlen.[626] The work was impacted by the changing landscape of the city at the end of the thirteenth century, in its new status as an imperial free city and with the growing authority of the Dominicans. These changes likely affected the iconographic programme of the west facade. The fabric committee of the cathedral was also changing alongside its urban environment.

Iconography of the West Façade

The many representations of women include a tympanum depicting the Infancy of Christ over the north portal (Fig. 82).[627] It sustained damage in 1793, with the removal of the

[625] Sébastien Milazzo,"Peritissimus architector: l'attribution du programme iconographique de la façade occidentale de la cathédrale de Strasbourg à Albert Le Grand: Entre Legende(s) et Realities," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg en sa ville: le spirituel et le temporel*, ed. Christian Grappe (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2020), 193–223; Bruno Boerner, "Programme sculptés et catéchèse populaire: l'exemple des portails de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 28 (2008): 33–48; Benoît van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux* (Paris: Picard, 2006)*;* Simone Schultz, "Iconographie des portails occidentaux, nouvelle approche," *Bulletin de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* XXII (1996): 107–10.

[626] Sabine Bengel , *Des pierres et des hommes: le chantier de la cathédrale de Strasbourg et la foundation de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame* (Eckbolsheim: Editions du signe, 2020); Charlotte A. Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg: The Cathedral's Book of Donors and its Use (1320–1521)* (London: Routledge, 2016); Marie-José Nohlen, "L'Oeuvre Notre-Dame au moyen âge," in *Bâtisseurs de cathédrales: Strasbourg mille ans des chantiers*, eds. Sabine Bengel, Marie-José Nohlen, Stéphane Potier, and Clément Kelhetter (Strasbourg: Éditions la nuée bleue, 2014), 113–34;

[627] The foundational study for any analysis of the western portals is *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux* by Benoît van den Bossche. In this work, he included an analysis of the iconographic programme. He also catalogued the original sculture and those that were destroyed and subsequently replaced.

heads of the figures and other elements.[628] In spite of the destruction, the iconographic programme was maintained; it was restored between 1817 and 1818 based on a lost seventeenth-century drawing (Fig. 83).[629] The tympanum reads from the bottom upwards, and from left to right. The lower register features the Magi visiting Herrod, the appearance of the star, and the Adoration of the Magi.[630] The middle register depicts the Massacre of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt. The upper register contains the Presentation at the Temple. The sculpture of the archivolts was destroyed in 1793.[631] However, a drawing (Fig. 84) indicates that they contained angels and saints.[632] They were replaced in 1827 with sculptures based on this work. Jamb sculptures of the Virtues and Vices flanked the portal (Fig. 85 & Fig. 86). The figural representations also extend beyond the jambs, with two pairs of figures on either side of the entryway on the outer walls. The Virtues stand triumphantly with crowns and spears, atop the Vices, with their weapons pointed towards them. The Virtues and Vices are original, save for four figures on the outer wall that were replaced with copies.[633] The originals are now in the Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame.

The central portal features a tympanum of the Passion of Christ (Fig. 87). It reads from the bottom up and left to right. Much of the original work survives, but the tympanum was restored between 1817 and 1818.[634] During the work, the Hanging of Judas and Ascension of Christ were replaced entirely.[635] Parts of the Crucifixion and hellmouth were also restored.[636] The lowest register contains the entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper, arrest of Christ, appearance of Christ before Pilate, and Flagellation of Christ. The second register portrays Christ crowned with thorns, Christ carrying the cross, Crucifixion, Deposition, and Three Marys at the empty tomb. The third register portrays the hanging of Judas, descent into Hell, "Noli me tangere," and incredulity of St. Thomas. The uppermost contains the Ascension of Jesus. The current voussoirs were created between 1817 and 1827, but fragments from the original archivolts survive in the Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame.[637] These elements originate from scenes of the creation of the universe, creation of day and night, creation of the birds and fish, creation of quadrupeds, creation of Eve, God talking to

[628] Van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux*, 48–57, 68–75.
[629] Ibid., 43–48, 68–75.
[630] This register contains the same iconography as the Romanesque tympanum of the north transept.
[631] Van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux,* 48.
[632] Ibid., 75–77
[633] Ibid., 41–42, 49, 52.
[634] Ibid., 48–50, 52, 84–86.
[635] Ibid.
[636] Ibid.
[637] Ibid., 48–50, 52, 56, 104–16.

Adam, the Temptation, and God reproaching Adam and Eve.[638] The central trumeau was originally occupied by a sculpture of the Virgin and Child, which was lost in 1793 and replaced by Philippe Grass in 1849.[639] Van den Bossche argued that the original sculpture likely bore some stylistic similarities to the Virgin from the choir screen (Fig 88, c. 1250).[640] However he noted that a crown is not visible on earlier engravings of the central portal (Fig 89, eighteenth century).[641] The jambs and adjacent walls are occupied with representations of twelve Old Testament Prophets (Fig. 90 & Fig. 91). The figures are original, save for one on the far right jamb and the two on the right outer wall. The originals of the three reproductions are housed in the Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame.[642]

The central gable portrays the Virgin Mary on the Throne of Solomon (Fig. 92), which was also heavily damaged in 1793.[643] It was restored in 1816 with a replacement gable.[644] The original gable and surviving sculptures are housed in the Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame. The iconography can be reconstructed securely based on earlier engravings (Fig. 93, eighteenth century). The Seat of Wisdom was portrayed on the uppermost platform. The Virgin was crowned and enthroned with the Christ child on her lap. Above, the hand of God reached down towards her. The summit of the gable contained the head of God the Father. On the pedestal under the Virgin, Solomon sat enthroned as judge holding a phylactery. The gable was also ornamented with lions and musicians, referencing the description of the throne in 1 Kings 7.[645] Additional figures have been identified by scholars as virtues and prophets.[646]

The south portal contained a tympanum of the Last Judgement. It sustained substantial damage in 1793, leading to its replacement in 1817–8, like the tympanum of the north portal.[647] The archivolts were replaced in 1827, and they likely contained representations of angels and saints.[648] Engravings created before the French Revolution (Fig. 94, seventeenth century) contain depictions of how the tympanum and voussoirs originally appeared. The parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins occupied the jambs and adjoining walls of the south portal. The Foolish Virgins, accompanied by the "Fürst der Welt" or

[638] Ibid.
[639] Ibid., 48–50,77–78.
[640] Ibid., 77–78.
[641] Ibid.
[642] Ibid., 49.
[643] Ibid., 48–50, 53, 56,117–23.
[644] Ibid., 48.
[645] "And between the little crowns and the ledges were lions, and oxen, and cherubim: and in the joinings likewise above: and under the lions and oxen, as it were bands of brass hanging down." 1 Kgs 7: 27.
[646] Ibid., 117–23.
[647] Ibid., 48–50, 54.
[648] Ibid.

"Prince of the World" (Fig. 95), stand on the left side of the portal. The right side contains the Wise Virgins and the Bridegroom (Fig. 96). Five of the sculptures are original, the three Foolish Virgins closest to the entryway, the Bridegroom, and the Wise Virgin beside him.[649] Seven others have been placed in the Musée de L'Oeuvre Notre Dame and have been replaced with replicas. These include the two Foolish Virgins on the outer wall, the "Fürst der Welt," and the four Wise Virgins furthest from the entryway.[650] All of the figures from the parable stand atop original reliefs of the Labours of the Months and Zodiac.

This intricate scheme has resulted in various studies on its possible creators and their choices. The programme responds to the evolving structure of the medieval city at the time of its creation. Thus, it is important to consider the contemporary context for its construction.

Creation of the West Facade Programme

The facade was begun shortly after the nave finished construction.[651] It was complete by 1275, as recorded on folio 99v of the lectionary of the grand chapter (Wolfenbuttel Cod. Guelph. 71 Aug. 2).[652] The Romanesque facade was replaced with a temporary wall to support the nave until the new one was finished, as evidenced by the remains of a turret staircase.[653] The nave was ultimately joined to the finished narthex and facade in 1340.[654] In the sixteenth century, Jacob Wimpfeling recorded an inscription on the facade that read, "Anno domini 1277, in die beati Urbani hoc gloriosum opus inchoavit magister Erwinus de Steinbach."[655] Roland Recht and Hans Reinhardt have argued that this was a fabrication by Wimpfeling, as no such inscription is recorded by other chroniclers in the seventeenth or

[649] Ibid.
[650] Ibid.
[651] Sabine Bengel, Stéphane Potier, and Clément Kelhetter, "1015–2015 - Chronique du chantier," in *Bâtisseurs de cathédrales: Strasbourg mille ans des chantiers*, eds. Sabine Bengel, Marie-José Nohlen, Stéphane Potier, and Clément Kelhetter (Strasbourg: Éditions la nuée bleue, 2014), 37–45.
[652] "Anno d(omi)ni M. CC. LXX. V. VII. id(us) se(pte)mb(rium) vig(i)l(i)a nat(ivitatis) b(eate) v(ir)g(inis). completa e(st) struct(ur)a media testudinu(m) sup(er)ior(um) et toci(us) fabrice p(re)t(er) t(ur)res. anterio[res] eccl(es)ie Argent(inensis). Regnante Rudolfo Rom(anorum). Rege, Regni ei(us) anno secundo. qui annus electionis ei(us) secundus est t(er)minat(us) et elapsus feri(a) s(e)c(un)da p(ro)xima post nunc instans festum Michaelis;" Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 71 Aug. 2, f. 99v; This is a later addition written on one of the final pages of lectionary, which has been dated to the eleventh or twelfth century; Georges Bischoff, "Le chantier de la cathédrale dans son environnement (v. 1220–1275)," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: la nef gothique*, eds. Georges Bischoff, Reinhard Köpf, Peter Kurmann, Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, and Bernard Xibaut (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2023), 5; Jean Wirth, "La chronologie de la nef et du jubé de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la cathedrale de Strasbourg* 27 (2006): 129–46; Hans Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Paris: Arthoud, 1972), 249.
[653] Sabine Bengel, Stéphane Potier, and Clément Kelhetter, "1015–2015 - Chronique du chantier," 37.
[654] Ibid.
[655] Translation: "In the year of our Lord 1277, at the feast of Saint Urban this glorious work was begun by Erwin von Steinbach;" Jakob Wimpfeling, *Catalogus episcoporum Argentinensium* (Strasbourg: Johannes Michael Moscherosch, 1651), 41.

eighteenth century.[656] Robert Will has posited that the inscription did exist, but that the name Erwin von Steinbach was a later addition.[657] Either way, Benoît van den Bossche argues that work on the west front began between 1275 and 1277.[658] This is substantiated by indulgences issued by Bishop Konrad von Lichtenberg (1273–99) in 1275.[659]

It is apparent that plans for the facade had already begun in the 1260s, because two architectural drawings survive from this period, displaying the original plans. These are referred to as drawings A (Fig. 97, c. 1260) and B (Fig. 98, c. 1260–70).[660] Drawing B was erroneously attributed to the famed Master Erwin by Goethe.[661] Bork has argued against this, as a document from 1284 provides the earliest certain evidence of Erwin's existence (see below).[662] Paul Williamson argued that Drawing A was inspired by French Rayonnant facade designs, specifically the transepts of Notre Dame in Paris.[663] Whereas, he asserts that Drawing B displays an altered plan specifically suited to Strasbourg Cathedral.[664] The later Drawing D (Fig. 99, end of the thirteenth century) has also been identified as the work of Erwin; this attribution seems more likely as he was a significant member of the fabric by this point (see below).[665] Drawing D was completed mid-construction and displays the interior wall in the narthex.[666]Together these plans display an original French influence that was adapted to a regional design.

It is impossible to discuss the construction of the west facade without addressing the mythos of its supposed architect, Master Erwin. In order to understand his possible role, it is important to analyse the documentary evidence.[667] The earliest reference to Erwin is in a document from 1284, between the hospital and cathedral fabric fund, regarding a house near

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[656] Hans Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Paris: Arthoud, 1972), 20; Roland Recht, "Le mythe romantique d'Erwin de Steinbach," *L'Information d'histoire de l'art* 15 (1970): 38.
[657] Robert Will, "Les inscriptions disparues de la porta sertorum ou Schappeltür de la cathédrale de Strasbourg et le mythe d'Erwin de Steinbach," *Bulletin de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 14 (1980): 13–20.
[658] Van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux,* 26–27.
[659] Ibid.; Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Politische Urkunden von 1266 bis 1332*. Vol. 2 (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1886), 28–29.
[660] For more information on the architectural drawings of the Strasbourg west facade, see Robert Bork, "La géométrie de la façade de Strasbourg et le problème Erwin von Steinbach," *Bulletin de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 31 (2014): 97–128; Alain Villes, "Remarques sur les premiers dessins du massif occidental de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 31 (2014): 285–304; Robert Bork, *The Geometry of Creation: Architectural Drawing and the Dynamics of Gothic Design* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 62–97; Robert Bork, "Plan B and the Geometry of Façade Design at Strasbourg Cathedral, 1250–1350." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 64, no. 4 (2005): 442–73.
[661] Bork, *The Geometry of Creation: Architectural Drawing and the Dynamics of Gothic Design,* 63–64
[662] Ibid.
[663] Paul Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture, 1140–1300* (London: Yale University Press, 1995), 193.
[664] Ibid.
[665] Cécile Dupeux et al, *Dessins: cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg: Éditions des musées de Strasbourg, 2014), 22.
[666] Ibid.
[667] For more on the myth of Erwin von Steinbach, see Marie-Jeanne Geyer, "Le mythe d'Erwin de Steinbach," in *Les bâtisseurs des cathédrales gothiques*, ed. Roland Recht (Strasbourg: Éditions les musées de la ville de Strasbourg, 1989), 322–32; Recht, "Le mythe romantique d'Erwin de Steinbach," 38–45.

the cathedral.[668] It mentions, "meister Erwin der wercmeistere," or "master of the work."[669] Scholars are in general agreement that this is the same as the Master Erwin named in two inscriptions from the cathedral.[670] A now-lost chapel to the Virgin Mary in the nave also referenced him (Fig. 100, c. 1316).[671] A large fragment of the monument containing his name is now housed in the Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame.[672] The original inscription has been reconstructed based on the work of Osée Schad and Philippe André Grandidier.[673] It read, "[MCCCXVI A]EDIFICAV(IT) H(OC) OP(US) MAG(ISTE)R ERWIN EC[CE ANCILLA DOMINI FIAT MIHI SECUNDVM VE]RBUM TU[UM AMEN]."[674] A dedicatory inscription for Erwin and his family (Fig. 101) is located on an external buttress of St. John's Chapel (Fig. 102). It reads, "AN(N)O DO(MINI) MCCCXVI XII K(A)L(ENDAS) AUG(US)TI Ø D(OMI)NA HUSA UXOR MAG(IST)RI ERWINI. ANNO DO(MINI) MCCCXVIII XVI K(A)L(ENDAS) FEBRUARII Ø MAG(ISTE)R ERWIN GUBERNATOR FABRICE ECCL(ES)IE ARGENTI(NENSIS). ANNO D(OMI)NI MCCCXXXVIIII XV K(A)L(ENDAS) APPRILIS Ø MAGISTER JOHANNES FILIUS ERWINI MAG(IST)RI OP(E)RIS [?] ECC(LESI)E."[675] Unsurprisingly, scholars have not come to a consensus on Erwin's role at the cathedral or the works that he contributed to it. For the present purpose, if we are to assume that Erwin was working as "magister operis" from 1284, then he would have assuredly contributed to the creation of the west facade. Also, he assisted in the completion of the chapel to the Virgin Mary in the nave. The epitaph on the buttress may commemorate his role on the fabric of the cathedral.

Scholars have debated the dating of the sculpture. Benoît van den Bossche argued that it could have been created at any time between 1260 and 1300, that is, from the planning

[668] Benoît Jordan and Roger Lehni, "Le massif occidental," in *Strasbourg - La grâce d'une cathédrale*, ed. Joseph Doré (La nuée bleue, 2010), 52; Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Privatrechtliche Urkunden und Amstlisten von 1266 bis 1332*, Vol. 3 (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1881), 57.
[669] Translation: "Master Erwin the master of the work;" Weigand notes that originally only the letter E was used. He argues that this must refer to Erwin as it coincides with the time he is thought to have been the master architect at the cathedral; Ibid.
[670] Ibid.
[671] Florent Ostheimer, "Entablement de la chapelle de la Vierge, fragment," *POP: la plateforme ouverte du patrimoine*, accessed 26 May, 2021, https://www.pop.culture.gouv.fr/notice/joconde/00170002655?mainSearch=%22strasbourg%20erwin%22&last_view=%22list%22&idQuery=%22f8168a5-ff2f-3556-05d-f225350f22e1%22.
[672] Ibid.
[673] Ibid; Philippe-André Grandidier, *Essais historiques et topographiques sur l'église cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Paris, 1782), 48; Oseé Schad, *Summum Argentoratensium Templum* (Strasbourg, 1617), 68.
[674] Translation: In 1316, Master Erwin constructed this edifice. Behold the servant of the Lord. Let it be to me according to your word. Amen; Ibid.
[675] Translation: "In the year of our Lord 1316, 21 July, Lady Husa, wife of Master Erwin. In the year of our Lord 1318, 17 January, Master Erwin, Governor of the Fabric of Strasbourg Cathedral. In the year of our Lord 1339, 18 March, Master Johannes, son of Erwin, master of the work of this church."

stage of the facade, up to the completion of the portals.[676] He maintained that 1300 must mark the end of the creation of these sculptures, as evidenced by stylistic differences with the later tomb sculpture (Fig. 103, 1300–50) of Bishop Konrad von Lichtenburg.[677] Paul Williamson argued that they date to the last two decades of the thirteenth century, though he does not elaborate on this dating.[678] Roland Recht dated the sculpture to between 1275–1300.[679] He also maintained that the sculptures would have been created after sufficient elevation had been achieved to place them.[680] Victor Beyer placed the sculpture in the period between the time of the supposed inscription of the foundation in 1277 and the fire that damaged the nave in 1298.[681] The dating of between 1280 and 1300 is the most plausible, as the sculptures likely began shortly after the letters of indulgence issued in 1275 and a sufficient place had been created to place them.[682] This dating is further substantiated with the increased funding postdating the miracles attributed to a sculpture of the Virgin in 1280.[683]

The complexity of the programme has led some scholars to attribute its conception to Albertus Magnus, the famed Dominican theologian, who spent an extended period of time in Strasbourg. He first visited and taught at the convent at the end of the 1230s, before his appointment as "magister" at the University of Paris in 1245.[684] He returned to teach between 1268 and 1270.[685] Victor Beyer argued that he was the creator of the iconographic scheme.[686] He concluded, with little evidence, that theologians must have created cathedral programmes

[676] Van den Bossche does not explicitly say why he chose this dating, though it appears to have been based on the breadth of dates previously proposed by scholars, including Friedrich Kobler, Louis Grodecki, Victor Beyer, Roger Lehni, and Roland Recht. As such I believe it too broad an approximation; Van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux,* 58–59; Roland Recht, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg: La nuée bleue, 1993), 1; Roger Lehni, *Das Straßburger Münster* (Colmar: Éditions S.A.E.P., 1978), 38; Roland Recht, *L'Alsace gothique de 1300 à 1365. étude d'architecture religieuse* (Colmar: Édition Alsatia, 1974), 35–36; Roland Recht, "La cathédrale de Strasbourg aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles: résumé de la table ronde de l'Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, 2–3 novembre," *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 2 (1974): 40–41; Friedrich Kobler, "Der Jungfrauenzyklus Der Freiburger Münstervorhalle," PhD diss., Universität Berlin, 1970, 67; Hans Haug, Robert Will, Théodore Rieger, Victor Beyer, and Paul Ahnne. *La cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg: Éditions des Dernières Nouvelles, 1957), 9–11; Victor Beyer, *La sculpture strasbourgeoise au XIVe siècle* (Strasbourg and Paris: Compagnie des arts photomécaniques, 1955), 9–11.
[677] Charlotte Stanford differed in her assessment of the sculpture, drawing comparison between the facial features of the"Fürst der Welt"and tomb sculpture. However there are marked differences in the treatment of the clothing. She also draws comparisons in the architectural forms of the west facade and tomb sculpture to date the tomb to c. 1300; Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg*, 79–83; Van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux,* 59.
[678] This is also the dating used by the Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame; Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture, 1140–1300*, 193.
[679] Recht, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg*, 1; Recht, *L'Alsace gothique de 1300 à 1365. étude d'architecture religieuse*, 35–36.
[680] Ibid.
[681] Haug, Will, Rieger, Beyer, and Ahnne, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg: Éditions des Dernières Nouvelles, 1957), 9–11; Beyer, *La sculpture strasbourgeoise au XIVe siècle*, 9–11.
[682] Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture, 1140–1300*, 193.
[683] Georgius Heinricus Pertz, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum,* Vol. XVII (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1861), 114–17.
[684] Milazzo, "Peritissimus architector," 195–96; Sandrine Turck, *Les Dominicains à Strasbourg entre prêche, prière et mendicité (1224–1420)* (Strasbourg: Société savante d'Alsace, 2002), 132.
[685] Ibid.
[686] Beyer, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg*, 83.

and that Albertus Magnus would have been present to fill that role.[687] Simone Schultz explored the presence of Dominican theology in the west facade, connecting it to the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine (d. 1298).[688] Benoît van den Bossche recognised that the programme references some of the work of Albertus Magnus and Dominican thinking, but concluded that it could also have been the work of another theologian.[689] More recently Sébastian Milazzo has related the representation of the Virgin Mary on the Throne of Solomon in the gable of the western facade to Albertus Magnus's "De natura boni" and "Speculum humanae salvationis."[690] Bruno Boerner presented an alternative theory, that the plan was produced by a canon of the cathedral, Marquard von Entringen.[691] He based this argument on Marquard's role at the cathedral from the late 1270s into the 1280s as "rector fabricae ecclesiae" and the theological knowledge he would have possessed as school master of the chapter.[692] Boerner neglects to include reference to any specific documents, but Marquard held various positions at the cathedral. Marquard and Eberhard von Entringen were identified as "rectores fabrice Argentinensis" in 1266 and "provisores et gubernatores fabrice ecclesie Argentinensis" in 1277.[693] Marquard was the "scolasticus" or master of the cathedral school between 1266 and 1281.[694] He acted as a judge for the cathedral, in 1266 and 1269.[695] Later, Marquard von Entringen became dean of the chapter in the 1290s.[696]

It is certain that a well-educated theologian, likely a cleric, who was familiar with the works of the Dominicans and Albertus Magnus, aided in the creation of the facade. I do not believe the scheme was crafted by Albertus Magnus, as he was in the prime of his career at

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[687] Ibid.
[688] Schultz, "Iconographie des portails occidentaux, nouvelle approche," 107–10.
[689] Van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux*, 147–56.
[690] Milazzo, "Peritissimus architector," 193–223.
[691] Boerner, "Programme sculptés et catéchèse populaire: l'exemple des portails de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," 48.
[692] Ibid.; Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, Vol. 1 (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1879), 459–60;
[693] Translation: "rectors of the Strasbourg Cathedral fabric, providers and governors of the Strasbourg Cathedral fabric;" Boerner, "Programme sculptés et catéchèse populaire: l'exemple des portails de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," 48; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 460; Wiegand ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Privatrechtliche Urkunden und Amstlisten von 1266 bis 1332*, 36.
[694] Translation: "scholar;" Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 459–60; Wiegand ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Politische Urkunden von 1266 bis 1332*, 25–27; Wiegand ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Privatrechtliche Urkunden und Amstlisten von 1266 bis 1332*, 36; Johann Friedrich Böhmer, *Acta imperii selecta: Urkunden deutscher Könige und Kaiser mit einem Anhange von Reichssachen* (Innsbruck: Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1870), 335–36.
[695] He is referred to as "judex fabrice ejusdem a reverendo domino nostro Argentinensi episcopo deputatus" and "iudex a domino episcopo deputatus." Both judgements he oversaw concerned women. In the document from 1266, Marquard von Entringen oversaw the donation of a house to the fabric by Heinrich, a carpenter, and Ita, his wife. The document from 1269 recorded his role as a judge in the continued dispute between Heinrich Marsilii, rector of a church in Rottenkirchen, and the Frauenstift of St. Stephen, regarding the payment of tithes; Alfred Hessel and Manfred Krebs, eds., *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg: Vom Jahre 1202–1305*, Vol. 2 (Innsbruck: Universitäts-Verlag Wagner, 1928), 243–44, 260–61; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 459–60; Strasbourg, Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg, H 2679/3.
[696] Hessel and Krebs, eds., *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg: Vom Jahre 1202–1305*, 350–51, 382.

the time of the foundation of the west facade in 1277.[697] Boerner's argument is more persuasive, as Marquard von Entringen is documented to have had a guiding role in the construction of the cathedral, but the extent of his contribution cannot be accurately surmised. We should be hesitant to establish a definitive creator without more evidence. The south transept directly references the *Hortus deliciarum* by Herrad von Hohenbourg, yet no one has identified her as the creator of the transept programme. Benoît van den Bossche argued that the iconographical and theological coherence of the west facade suggests a sole creator.[698] Based on the shifting structure of the "Oeuvre Notre Dame" from the 1260s, I would argue that it may have been created in a collaborative effort between canons and lay members of the fabric, overseen by a well-educated theologian. The facade should thus be considered in the context of the changing structure of the city and "Oeuvre Notre Dame" in the late thirteenth century.

The City of Strasbourg at the End of the Thirteenth Century

The political structure of Strasbourg changed in the second half of the thirteenth century, from a city under episcopal control to an imperial free city. Tensions arose between Bishop Heinrich III von Stahleck (1243–60) and the citizens after the death of Emperor Frederick II (1220–50).[699] The bishop disapproved when his appointed four ministers made decisions without his permission, including the nomination of city councillors, attaching their seal to statutes and taxes, and employing their own banner.[700] In 1259, he responded by revoking the privileges of the "Frühaltar" of the citizens, which had previously been protected from interdict by Cardinal Legate Hugo of Saint-Cher in 1252.[701] That same year, he removed the city's judges.[702] In 1260, Heinrich III died and Bishop Walter von Geroldseck (1260–63) was elected. Shortly afterwards further disputes arose between him and the

[697] Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg*, 92–93.
[698] Van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux*, 147–56.
[699] Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg*, 118–21.
[700] These were the four ministers known as, the "causidicus" or "scultetus," the "burcgravius," the "thelonearius," and the "monetarius" or "magister monetae;" Ibid., 120; Philippe Dollinger, *Pages d'histoire: France et Allemagne médiévales Alsace* (Gap: Imprimerie Louis-Jean, 1977) Association des publications près les Universités de Strasbourg collection de l'Institut des hautes études Alsaciennes XXV, 189-96.
[701] The "Frühaltar" was an altar of particular importance to the citizens, as it was used to grant sanctuary and was protected from interdict. It was founded by a citizen. The altar was located at the centre of the choir screen and the first mass of the day was performed there; Ibid., 120–21; Reinhard Köpf, "Le jubé de la cathédrale de Strasbourg. État de la recherche et nouvelles questions dans le context des jubés érigés au XIIIe siècle en France et dans le Saint-Empire," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: la nef gothique*, eds. Georges Bischoff, Reinhard Köpf, Peter Kurmann, Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, and Bernard Xibaut (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2023), 143–48; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 276.
[702] Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 329.

citizens. Walter gave his first mass on 2 February 1261 attended by Abbot Berthold of St. Gallen and Berthold of Murbach, but immediately afterwards he fled the city to a castle in Dachstein.[703] On 4 June 1261, the Bishop listed his grievances in a letter to the Abbot of Neuburg that he was to give to the city council.[704] These included the increase of taxes on the grinding of grain, extortion of the Jews, restricting entry and use of common spaces, and refusing to provide horses and arms for his invasion into Lorraine.[705] In these grievences, he also noted the oppression of women in the city.[706] He gave the city council until Pentecost to acquiesce to his requests or face consequences.[707] The city council did not comply and instead attacked one of his castles during Pentecost.[708] Walter addressed the people of the city on 25 June 1261 in the vernacular, restating his grievances.[709] He then placed the city under interdict, ordering the clergy to leave it.[710] The citizens responded by hiring priests to hold masses at their "Frühaltar" in the cathedral.[711] The chronicler, Richer of Senones (1218–64) recorded that they enlisted Dominicans and Franciscans to negotiate with the Bishop on their behalf.[712] In the same year, Heinrich III von Neuenburg-Erguel (Bishop of Basel, 1262–74), Count Rudolf von Habsburg (future king of Germany, 1273–91,), Count Konrad von Freiburg (d. 1271), and Count Gottfried I von Habsburg (d. 1271) allied themselves with the city.[713] Strasbourg defeated the bishop at the Battle of Hausbergen on 8 March 1262, though fighting continued on into 1263.[714] On 21 April 1263, a peace treaty was signed bringing an end to the conflict.[715]

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[703] Hessel and Krebs, eds., *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg: Vom Jahre 1202–1305*, 187; Philippe Dollinger, "L'émancipation de la ville et la domination du patriciat," in *Histoire de Strasbourg des origines à nos jours*, ed. Georges Livet, Vol. 2 (Strasbourg: Éditions des dernières nouvelles de Strasbourg, 1981), 47.
[704] Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg,* 121; Dollinger, "L'émancipation de la ville et la domination du patriciat," 49–50; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 351–53.
[705] Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 351-3.
[706] "utpote mulierum oppressores;" Ibid., 352.
[707] Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg,* 121; Dollinger, "L'émancipation de la ville et la domination du patriciat," 49–50; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 351–53.
[708] Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg,* 122; Dollinger, "L'émancipation de la ville et la domination du patriciat," 49–50.
[709] Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 355-58.
[710] Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg,* 122.
[711] Ibid.
[712] "Argentinenses quoque cum hoc audissent, miserunt Predicatores, fratres Minores et alios discretos viros ad episcopum, si forte aliquam formam pacıs ab eo habere valerent, nec obtinere potuerunt;" John B. Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century*, Vol. 86 (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1977), 39; Georg Waitz, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum*, Vol. XXV (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1880), 341.
[713] Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 359–60.
[714] Dollinger, "L'émancipation de la ville et la domination du patriciat," 48–49.
[715] Ibid., 49; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 394–96.

This document lessened episcopal power and with it, Strasbourg became a Free Imperial City.[716] The city council took control of the bishop's palace for use as a city hall, until a new building was constructed in 1321.[717] Various accounts record an equestrian sculpture of Rudolf von Habsburg on the west facade prior to its destruction in 1793.[718] Robert Will argued that it was erected during construction of the facade after the death of Rudolf, likely during the reign of his son, Albrecht von Habsburg (1298–1308).[719] He was depicted with the Merovingian kings, Clovis (c. 509–11) and Dagobert (c. 629–39), each of whom was believed to have contributed to the early church in Strasbourg.[720] The figures had inscriptions that identified them.[721] It is of note that the cathedral elevated Rudolf alongside these kings, as he had opposed the bishop leading to his decreased authority in the city. With the addition of this sculpture, the cathedral reflected Strasbourg's status as an imperial free city.

The laity began to exert partial control over the "Oeuvre Notre Dame" in the second half of the thirteenth century. As established in the previous section, the fabric fund of the cathedral was founded between 1224 and 1228, overseen by the bishop and chapter.[722] Marie-José Nohlen has argued that the earliest recorded instance of a lay administrator dates from 1261, when Conrad Oleyman is referred to as master of the fabric.[723] In 1266, he was named the "appreciator fabrice" or "valuer of the fabric."[724] Charlotte Stanford noted the foundation of an altar to the Blessed Virgin by the burgher Heinrich Wehelin, in her argument on a later foundation of the "Oeuvre Notre Dame" on 13 March 1264.[725] Funds collected there went to the fabric.[726] Later, in the 1280s, Heinrich Wehelin was referred to as an administrator of the

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[716] Ibid.
[717] Dollinger, "L'émancipation de la ville et la domination du patriciat," 80.
[718]Robert Will, "Autour du millénaire de l'Autriche : la statue équestre de Rodolphe de Habsbourg à la façade de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 23 (1998): 25–32.
[719] Ibid, 25.
[720] Jean-Philippe Meyer, "De l'ère pré-romane à la reconstruction du transept du IVe au début du XIIIe siècle," in *Strasbourg - La grâce d'une cathédrale*, ed. Joseph Doré (Strasbourg: La nuée bleue, 2010), 29–30.
[721] Benoît Jordan and Roger Lehni, "Le massif occidental," In *Strasbourg - La grâce d'une cathédrale*, ed. Joseph Doré, (Strasbourg: La nuée bleue, 2010), 189–90.
[722] Sabine Bengel, *Des pierres et des hommes: le chantier de la cathédrale de Strasbourg et la fondation de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame* (Eckbolsheim: Editions du signe, 2020), 113; Sabine Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster: Seine Ostteile und die Südquerhauswerkstatt* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2011), 197, 311; Marie-José Nohlen, "La construction de la cathédrale gothique: XIIIe - XVe siècles," in Strasbourg - La grâce d'une cathédrale, ed. Joseph Doré (Strasbourg: La nuée bleue, 2010), 41–42.
[723] "Cunrado magistro ejusdem fabrice nostre dicto Oleman;" Marie-José Nohlen, "L'Oeuvre Notre-Dame au moyen âge," in *Bâtisseurs de cathédrales: Strasbourg mille ans des chantiers*, eds. Sabine Bengel, Marie-José Nohlen, Stéphane Potier, and Clément Kelhetter (Strasbourg: Éditions La nuée bleue, 2014), 114; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 361.
[724] Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266,* 460.
[725] This is the same altar that Master Erwin created a covering for in 1316; Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg*, 417–18; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 417–18.
[726] Ibid.

fabric.[727] This is evidence of the involvement of the laity with the "Oeuvre Notre Dame" from the 1260s, based on the terminology used to describe the roles of Conrad Oleyman and Heinrich Wehelin.[728] Canons maintained the fabric at this time. The bishop exercised some control, as he appointed Marquard and Eberhard von Entringen to the "Oeuvre Notre Dame" in 1266.[729] It is apparent that lay representation on the fabric expanded after the conflict with Bishop Walter. By the end of the thirteenth century, the city council had become involved in the "Oeuvre Notre Dame." The "Oeuvre Notre Dame" is first referred to in the vernacular as "unser frowenwerk" in 1281.[730] The city took over the management of the fabric at some point between 1282 and 1286.[731] Evidence of this shift can be seen in a letter from 1286, confirming indulgences for those who donated to the fabric by Cardinal Johannes de Tusculum (1285–1309).[732] It addressed the administrators of the fabric, the "Magistrat," and the city council.[733] Nohlen observed that from this point forward documents regarding the fabric follow this pattern.[734] Thus, during the construction of the west facade, the city and chapter shared control of the Oeuvre Notre Dame.[735] They determined the choices for the iconographical scheme, which was sensitive to changing politics in the city.

Dominicans in the City

The Dominican order became a significant presence in the city in the second half of the thirteenth century. The chronicler Ellenhard (d. 1304) recorded that the friars had arrived in Strasbourg in 1224, and begun to build a convent outside the walls shortly after.[736] Their presence grew swiftly. They were given approval to begin construction of a church in 1251,

[727] He is listed alongside Master Erwin as "lonherre" or "master craftsman" in the aforementioned document from 1284; Wiegand ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Privatrechtliche Urkunden und Amstlisten von 1266 bis 1332*, 48, 50–51, 57.
[728] Ibid.; Marie-José Nohlen, "L'Oeuvre Notre-Dame au moyen âge," in *Bâtisseurs de cathédrales: Strasbourg mille ans des chantiers*, eds. Sabine Bengel, Marie-José Nohlen, Stéphane Potier, and Clément Kelhetter (Strasbourg: Éditions La nuée bleue, 2014), 114; *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266,* 361, 417–18, 460.
[729] Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 460.
[730] This is found in a record the sale of a house by a woman named Agnes to the fabric fund, overseen by a member of the city council, Nicolas Zorn; Sabine Bengel, *Des pierres et des hommes: le chantier de la cathédrale de Strasbourg et la foundation de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame* (Eckbolsheim: Editions du signe, 2020), 113; Wiegand ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Privatrechtliche Urkunden und Amstlisten von 1266 bis 1332*, 48.
[731] Nohlen, "L'Oeuvre Notre-Dame au moyen âge," 116; Bengel, *Des pierres et des hommes*, 200.
[732] Nohlen, "L'Oeuvre Notre-Dame au moyen âge," 116; Strasbourg, Archives de la ville et de l'eurométropole de Strasbourg 1 OND 2 f. 217r.
[733] Ibid.
[734] Nohlen, "L'Oeuvre Notre-Dame au moyen âge," 116.
[735] Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg,* 90.
[736] "Anno Domini 1224. venerunt fratres predicatores primo in Argentinam sub domino episcopo Heinrico de Veringen. Anno Domini 1224. circa quadragesimam inchoata est domus fratrum predicatorum in Argentina extra muros;" Bishop Heinrich II von Veringen (1202–1223) may have requested their presence prior to his death in 1223; Pertz, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* Vol. XVII, 101.

as evidenced by documents issuing indulgences to those who gave to the work, and selling Dominican property towards the building, by Cardinal legate Hugo of Saint-Cher.[737] In 1254, Ellenhard records that Bishop Heinrich III von Stahleck (1243–60) laid the foundation stone.[738] It was consecrated in 1260 by the Bishop of Metz, Jacob of Lorraine (1239–60) and the Strasbourg Bishop-elect, Walter von Geroldseck (1260–63).[739] Thus, the creation of the Dominican church coincided with the construction of the nave of the cathedral.

The Dominican church was located north of the cathedral, at the site of Temple Neuf (Fig. 104). It can be ascertained that the scheme bore iconographic similarities to the cathedral's west facade. Part of the surviving glazing from the church dates to the period of construction between 1254 and 1260, and glazing continued between 1307 and 1345.[740] The disruption was due in part to the Dominicans leaving the city alongside the clergy in 1261–65, and their exile in 1287–90.[741] After falling into disrepair, the church was converted into a library in the nineteenth century.[742] Various panels of glass were sold in 1834, which prevented their destruction when the church was destroyed during the bombardment of the city in 1870.[743] In 1833, Félix Fries had created watercolors of the glazing scheme.[744] Additionally, the iconography of the windows was recorded in 1870 in a letter cataloguing which windows were available for sale.[745] Although the extant glass is fragmentary, Victor Beyer reconstructed the scheme based on these primary sources and the extant glass. [746] He argued that it included imagery of the Annunciation, Adoration of the Magi, Throne of Wisdom, and Last Judgement.[747]

The Dominican convent was also the site of the "studium" for the education of the friars, run by a lector, lector of Sentences, and master of students.[748] It was smaller than the

[737] Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 266–68; Pertz, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* Vol. XVII, 102.
[738] "Anno Domini 1254. 6. Kalend. Iulii inchoata est prima fossio fundamenti ecclesie fratrum Predicatorum; postea 6. Kal. Iulii positus est lapis primarius a domino Heinrico episcopo de Stalecke retro maius altare inter cornu dextrum et murum circa pedes 8 subtus terram, et nomen episcopi scriptum est in eodem; et 4. Kal. Iulii inchoatus est murus;" Pertz, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* Vol. XVII, 102.
[739] "Anno Domini 1260. consecrata est ecclesia Predicatorum a domino Iacobo, Metensi episcopo, in capitulo generali sub domino Walthero, electo Argentinensi;" Ibid., 102
[740] Victor Beyer, *Les vitraux de l'ancienne église des dominicains de Strasbourg*, Corpus Vitrearum France, Vol. IX–2 (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2007).
[741] Sandrine Turck, *Les dominicains à Strasbourg entre prêche, prière et mendicité:(1224–1420)* (Strasbourg: Société savante d'Alsace, 2002), 37–38, 43; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Privatrechtliche Urkunden und Amstlisten von 1266 bis 1332,* 78–80
[742] Beyer, *Les vitraux de l'ancienne église des dominicains de Strasbourg*, 13
[743] Ibid., 13–14.
[744] Ibid., 17, 21–28.
[745] Ibid., 18.
[746] Ibid., 29–52.
[747] Ibid.
[748] Turck, *Les dominicains à Strasbourg entre prêche, prière et mendicité (1224–1420)*, 127–28.

"studium generale" of Teutonia in Cologne, but renowned in the region.[749] Two famed Dominican theologians were members of the community in the thirteenth century, Hugh Ripelin (d. c. 1270) and Ulrich Engelbert (d. c.1277). Both also spent time at the "studium generale" in Cologne, where they were educated alongside Albertus Magnus (d.1280) and Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274). The "studium" was responsible for educating the friars who assisted in the spiritual direction of the women of Strasbourg.

The Franciscans occupied a lesser position in the city. Friar Jordan of Giano (d. c. 1262) recorded that the order arrived in Strasbourg by 1221.[750] A convent was created between 1221 and 1223.[751] However, they built a new church in 1230, north of the cathedral (now Place Broglie).[752] Between 1281 and 1282, construction was underway on the choir of the Franciscan church.[753] The church and cloisters were destroyed in 1532.[754] Though the Franciscans were also emissaries in the conflict between the city and the Bishop, they did not achieve the same degree of influence that the Dominicans held in the late thirteenth century.

There was a confrontation between the city council of Strasbourg and the mendicant orders in the 1280s over their accumulation of property in the city.[755] In 1283, the council attempted to restrict the friars' ability to collect inheritances from citizens on their deathbeds and to accept underaged members.[756] The Franciscans complied, but the Dominicans refused, leading the council to forbid citizens from entering the Dominican church in 1286.[757] Armed guards were sent by the council to shut the convent, leading to a dispute between the guards and citizens.[758] As we have seen, the Dominicans left the city the following year.[759] After the intervention of Cardinal Johannes de Tusculum (1285–1309), King Rudolf von Habsburg (1273–91) and Bishop Konrad von Lichtenburg, they returned in 1290.[760] This is evidence of

[749] Ibid.
[750] Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century*, 26–7, 45, 200.
[751] Ibid.
[752] Bernhard Metz, "Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, la révolution gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Passaro Giorgia (Strasbourg: Editions des musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 54–67.
[753] Medard Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter* (Strasbourg: Société d'histoire de l'église d'Alsace, 1960), 1389.
[754] Ibid., 1391.
[755] Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century*, 42–43.
[756] Ibid.
[757] Wiegand, Wilhelm, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Politische Urkunden von 1266 bis 1332*, Vol. 2 (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1886), 60–61; Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century*, 42.
[758] Charlotte A. Stanford, "Architectural Rivalry as Civic Mirror: The Dominican Church and the Cathedral in Fourteenth-Century Strasbourg," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 64, no. 2 (2005): 188–89; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Privatrechtliche Urkunden und Amstlisten von 1266 bis 1332,* 78–80.
[759] Turck, *Les dominicains à Strasbourg entre prêche, prière et mendicité(1224–1420)*, 40–43.
[760] Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century*, 42–3; Phillip Jaffé, ed., *Annales Colmarienses Maiores* (Hanover: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1861) 215.

the significant relationship between the Dominicans and civilians leading up to 1287, as the council identified their influence as a threat.

The Dominicans made a major contribution to the spiritual direction of the city's communities of women. As set out in the previous section, by 1240 Strasbourg contained the convents of St. Mark, St. Agnes, St. Catherine, St. Matthew (later known as St. Nicolas-aux-Ondes), and St. Elisabeth, the "Frauenstift" of St. Stephen, and the penitents of St. Mary Magdalene.[761] The convent of St. Jean-aux-Ondes was founded prior to 1245.[762] The Poor Clares convent was founded within the city wall in 1251 under the Franciscans.[763] The convent of St. Margaret in Eckbolsheim moved to just outside the city walls behind the church of St. Aurelia in 1270.[764]

Dominican intervention began with the convent of St. Mark. At the time of its foundation in 1225, Bishop Berthold I von Teck (1223–44) had specified that if the nuns could not choose a prioress, the prior of the Dominicans and a chosen brother of the chapter of St. Thomas should appoint one for them.[765] Sandrine Turck argues that the choice of the Dominicans indicates that they were already involved in the spiritual direction of the nuns.[766] The friars then became involved with the convents of St. Catherine and St. Agnes. In 1239, Volknand, the prior of the Strasbourg Dominicans, and Conrad, the former provincial prior, wrote a letter regarding the assignment of a sister from St. Catherine's.[767] Friars were also present at donations by Lady Lucgard and her daughter to the convent of St. Agnes in 1237, and by Irmendrud to her daughter Uthica a nun of the same community in 1242.[768] Pope Innocent IV (1243–54) issued bulls clarifying the instruction of the aforementioned women's communities in Strasbourg, incorporating them under the Dominicans. This began in 1245 with St. Agnes, which joined partly at the insistence of Amicie de Montfort (d. 1253),

[761] Metz, "Strasbourg dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle," 61.
[762] Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter*, 1371–73.
[763] Ibid., 1392–93; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 306–7.
[764] Turck, *Les dominicains à Strasbourg entre prêche, prière et mendicité (1224–1420)*, 172; Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter,* 1381–83.
[765] "sororibus vero magistram eligere volentibus, si in aliquam de conventu canonice concordaverint, pro magistra eadem habeatur. si vero concordare nequierint, decanus sancti Thome cum sacerdote concanonico majore in introitu auctoritate nostra precipiat priori fratrum ordinis predicatorum ultra Bruscam, vel qui loco ipsius fuerit, et insuper alii fratri de eadem domo, quem predicti nominaverint, ut secundum deum aliquam de conventu eis denominent in magistram, que ab ipsis sine omni contradictione concorditer eligatur;" Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 159–60; Turck, *Les dominicains à Strasbourg entre prêche, prière et mendicité (1224–1420)*, 173.
[766] Turck, *Les dominicains à Strasbourg entre prêche, prière et mendicité (1224–1420)*, 173.
[767] Ibid.; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 196.
[768] "scilicet fratre Petro suppriore Argentinensi et fratre Conrado de Mollesheim;" "hiis presentibus Walthero et Bernhelmo fratribus predicatoribus;" Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 213.

daughter of Simon de Montfort.[769] Later that year, Pope Innocent IV incorporated the convents of St. Catherine, St. Elisabeth, St. Matthew (St. Nicolas-aux-Ondes), St. Jean-aux-Ondes, and St Mark under the Dominicans.[770] St Margaret followed suit in 1246, prior to its move nearer to the city.[771] As mentioned in the previous section, in 1237, Pope Gregory IX attempted to place the "Frauenstift" of St. Stephen under the Dominicans with their income to be dispersed amongst the other convents.[772] This attempt was unsuccessful and the cathedral maintained control of this community of aristocratic women and its income. The women's communities in Strasbourg changed in the types of women they admitted and in their maintenance by the Dominicans, resulting in a vastly different religious landscape from that at the time of the creation of the south transept. It must be noted that the monastic women would not have been able to see the west facade as they were sequestered. However, the Church's decision to place these women under the mendicant order displayed their acknowledgment of the unique role the friars held in instructing women.

The second half of the thirteenth century also saw the expansion of the beguine population in the city.[773] Beguines were a lay order of women that often did not take formal vows, but observed voluntary poverty and chastity.[774] There is no public record of any women taking formal vows in Strasbourg, though a few examples have been observed in Cologne.[775] No married women or widows were allowed to be referred to as "begina" and they were often unable to join the order.[776] However, one widow was recorded alongside her daughter as a member of a house of beguines in Strasbourg in 1276.[777] Beguines were not sequestered, but lived in houses within city centres. Thus, unlike the formal cloistered communities, they could have seen the west front. Many houses in Strasbourg were donated to them, and donors sometimes dictated stipulations that had to be observed by the women living there.[778] Nineteen houses were recorded in the city prior to 1318.[779] Dayton Phillips

[769] Thomas Ripoll and Antonio Bremond, eds., *Bullarium Ordinis FF. [i.e. Fratrum] Prædicatorum : Sub Auspiciis SS. D.N.D. Benedicti XIII, Pontificis Maximi, Ejusdem Ordinis*, Vol. 1 (Rome: Ex Typographia Hieronymi Mainardi, 1729), 148–49.
[770] Ibid., 150–51
[771] Ibid., 161.
[772] Hessel and Krebs, ed., *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg,* 75; Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Nachtrage und Berichtigungen zu Band I—III*, Vol. IV (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1898), 54–55.
[773] Dayton Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg: A Study of the Social Aspect of Beguine Life* (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1941).
[774] Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, translated by Steven Rowan (Notre Dame : University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 82.
[775] Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg,* 215.
[776] Ibid., 214.
[777] Ibid.; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Privatrechtliche Urkunden und Amstlisten von 1266 bis 1332*, 27.
[778] Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Privatrechtliche Urkunden und Amstlisten von 1266 bis 1332*, 101–3, 108.
[779] Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg,* 161.

distinguishes three types of beguine houses, "prebendary," Dominican, and Franciscan, identified with the groups who oversaw their care.[780] Beguines would have been able to see the sculptures in their daily lives, unlike other religious communities of women who were enclosed. The expansion of these houses evidenced the lively spiritual life of religious women in the second half of the thirteenth century.

At the end of the thirteenth century, the Dominicans were also involved in the spiritual direction of beguines in Strasbourg.[781] The earliest known houses overseen by the order were those of Turm, Innenheim, and Offenburg.[782] These were established before 1276 in close proximity to the Dominican convent.[783] Statutes were outlined in 1276, as we have seen previously.[784] Phillips argued that these statutes indicated that the Dominicans hoped to convert the houses into convents, not least because they were filled with wealthy women who could afford entry. The friars may have managed the spiritual direction of other houses in close proximity to their friary; Phillips argues that the houses of Molsheim and Mullenheim may have followed the same statutes.[785] Various donations by beguines to the Dominicans are recorded in the second half of the thirteenth century.[786] Phillips argues that Dominicans were more involved in the care of beguines from wealthy families.[787] He cites the largest donations from beguines were given to the Dominicans.[788] The order also owned and rented out properties to beguines in the city.[789]

Dominicans also acted as confessors for many lay women in the city, and were often entrusted with the burial of wealthy citizens within their cemetery.[790] A close relationship with the Dominicans is also evidenced anecdotally in a document from 1286, when citizens came to their defense in the previously mentioned dispute.[791] After tension arose between the

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[780] Ibid.
[781] Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg*.
[782] The houses are often named for nearby villages which could be indicative of the individuals who donated them. However the house of Turm does not adhere to this convention, as it was named for its proximity to one of the city towers. Ibid., 165–66.
[783] Ibid.
[784] Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Privatrechtliche Urkunden und Amstlisten von 1266 bis 1332*, 27–29.
[785] Turck, *Les dominicains à Strasbourg entre prêche, prière et mendicité (1224–1420),* 181*;* Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg,* 83–84.
[786] Charlotte A. Stanford, "Architectural Rivalry as Civic Mirror: The Dominican Church and the Cathedral in Fourteenth-Century Strasbourg," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 64, no. 2 (2005), 188; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Privatrechtliche Urkunden und Amstlisten von 1266 bis 1332.*
[787] Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg,* 90.
[788] Ibid.
[789] Ibid.*,* 35–44.
[790] Stanford, "Architectural Rivalry as Civic Mirror: The Dominican Church and the Cathedral in Fourteenth-Century Strasbourg," 186–203; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Privatrechtliche Urkunden und Amstlisten von 1266 bis 1332,* 93, 116.
[791] Stanford, "Architectural Rivalry as Civic Mirror," 188–89; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Privatrechtliche Urkunden und Amstlisten von 1266 bis 1332,* 78–80.

city council and the friars, citizens were forbidden from attending their church.[792] When armed men were sent to shut the convent, however, they were greeted by angry citizens including many women who attacked them with rolling pins and clogs.[793] Ultimately the council was successful in exiling the Dominicans from the city between 1287 and 1290.[794] They returned after the intervention of King Rudolf von Habsburg (1273–91) and Bishop Konrad von Lichtenburg.[795] The convent was inevitably in disarray, due to its sacking and the period that it had been vacant.[796] Shortly afterwards, various donations by laywomen are recorded, possibly to rebuild after their exile.[797]

The conflict with Bishop Walter altered the landscape of the city of Strasbourg. With Strasbourg's status as an imperial free city, the laity took control of the bishop's palace and occupied a place on the "Oeuvre Notre Dame." The Dominicans expanded their control in the city with the support of the laity. As Boerner argued, it is unlikely that the cathedral would turn to the Dominicans to create the iconographic programme of the west facade.[798] However Dominican thinking is present in the scheme, as we shall see. Just like the city council, the cathedral may have seen the order as encroaching on their funding and religious authority in the city. In the following chapters I explore how the cathedral adopted Dominican theology in the programme to appeal to its lay audience.

Structure of Section

As with the first section, this one is split into three chapters that focus on the iconography of the figures. In the first, the Wise and Foolish Virgins on the south portal are analysed. The Virgins were often equated with religious women in contemporary sources.[799] The figures are likely related to groups of religious and quasi-religious women in the city and region. As the cathedral used the *Hortus deliciarum* in the south transept, they may have once

[792] Ibid.
[793] "da liefen unsir vrowen zů und slůgen unsir knechte mit bengeln und mit schufelen, daz einre an den tot geslagen wart, darumbe wurden wir deste zorniger und wolten in ir tor uz dem anger han gehebt, dis han wir iuch geschriben und bitten iuch, swa wir iwers rates und iwer gunst zi dirre sache bedurfen;" Ibid.; Charlotte Stanford translated "mit benglen und mit schufelen" to rolling pins and clogs.
[794] Turck, *Les dominicains à Strasbourg entre prêche, prière et mendicité (1224–1420),* 40–43.
[795] "Rex Rudolphus et episcopus Argentinensis et cives Argentinenses et domini terre in Columbaria pacis foedera juraverunt; insuper inter fratres Predicatores et cives Argentinenses componere voluerunt"; Phillip Jaffé, ed., *Annales Colmarienses Maiores* (Hanover: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1861) 215.
[796] Stanford, "Architectural Rivalry as Civic Mirror," 188–89
[797] Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Privatrechtliche Urkunden und Amstlisten von 1266 bis 1332,* 93, 116.
[798] Boerner, "Programme sculptés et catéchèse populaire: l'exemple des portails de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," 48.
[799] Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 224–25; Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Politische Urkunden von 1266 bis 1332*, 56–57.

again drawn upon teachings for cloistered women in these sculptures to educate the laity. In particular, the inclusion of the "Fürst der Welt" alongside the Foolish Virgins, both at Strasbourg and in the surrounding region, invites consideration. Alexandria Noel Kotoch explored the contemporary literary "Frau Welt" that evolved into the "Fürst der Welt."[800] This chapter explores how the gender shift of the figure in regional imagery of the Wise and Foolish Virgins may relate to the contemporary correlation of women in the parable to religious women. Thus, texts for them on the "contemptus mundi" are consulted including the *Ordo virtutum* and *Scivias* of Hildegard von Bingen and *Hortus deliciarum* of Herrad von Hohenberg.[801] The Wise and Foolish Virgins are thus used to explore continuities of practice in the iconographic programmes of the south transept and the west facade.

The second chapter of this section focuses on the jamb figures of the Virtues and Vices, exploring how these allegorical representations present a commentary on dress, as the Vices are shown in distinctive contemporary clothing. The Vices wear contemporary headdresses, unlike their morally superior counterparts. This analysis rests upon an exploration of how different groups of women dressed in the thirteenth century. Sébastien Milazzo, Benoît van den Bossche, and Simone Schultz have explored the presence of Dominican thinking in the facade programme.[802] Contemporary sources of mendicant thinking on dress that are consulted include the work of Arnold of Liège (d. 1308), Gilles d'Orléans, Johannes Gobi the Younger (d. 1350), and Stephen of Bourbon (d. 1261). [803] This imagery will then be compared to Rhenish Dominican imagery to analyse how their preaching may have impacted it. The figures at Strasbourg also bear similarities to Dominican imagery in the region, in particular, the representation of the Virtues and Vices in the glazing of the Dominican church in nearby Freiburg-im-Breisgau, as studied by Rüdiger

[800] Alexandria Noel Kotoch, "Seeing Is Behaving: Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt, Art and Moral Messages in the Rhineland Ca. 1300," PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2014.
[801] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Latin 946; Hildegard von Bingen, "Ordo Virtutum: The Play of the Virtues," in *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 147–84; Hildegard von Bingen, *Selected Writings*, translated by Mark Atherton (London: Penguin Books, 2001), 53–62; Hildegard von Bingen, *Scivias*, translated by Mother Columba Hart and Jane Bishop (New York: Paulist Press, 1990); Herrad von Hohenbourg, *Hortus deliciarum*, eds. Rosalie Green, Michael Evans, Christine Bischoff and Michael Curschmann, Vol. 1–2 (London: Warburg Institute, 1979).
[802] Milazzo,"Peritissimus architector;" Van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux;* Schultz, "Iconographie des portails occidentaux, nouvelle approche."
[803] E. Jane Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed: Reading Through Clothes in Medieval French Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 147–48; Stephen of Bourbon, *Tractatus de Diversis Materiis Predicabilibus. Prologus. Prima Pars: De Dono Timoris*, eds. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 425–26; Johannes Gobi the Younger, *La scala coeli de Jean Gobi,* ed. Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: Edition du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991), 497, 784; Arnold of Liège, *An Alphabet of Tales: An English 15th Century Translation of the Alphabetum Narrationum of Étienne de Besançon; from Additional MS. 25719 of the British Museum*, ed. Mary Macleod Banks, Vol. 2 (London: Kegan Paul Trench Truebner, 1904), 395; Albert Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au moyen âge: spécialement au XIIIe siècle, d'après les manuscrits contemporains* (Paris: Librarie Renouard, 1886), 405.

Becksmann.[804] Thus, this chapter explores how Dominican theology was adopted by the cathedral to preach and appeal to its lay audience. Jung's methodology is once again applied to explore how the audience encountered the Virtues and Vices upon their entry through the north portal.[805] In this section, I will add to studies on Dominicans, the *Cura monialium,* contemporary women's dress, and imagery of women.

The third chapter features analysis of the representation of Synagoga and the "Fevresse" in the Passion Tympanum of the central portal to explore contemporary conceptions of Jewish women. In this, this research expands on studies of medieval Jewish women, such as those by Elisheva Baumgarten, Sara Lipton, Nina Rowe, Heinz Schreckenberg, and Gert Mentgen.[806] This chapter explores the appearance of the "Fevresse," a figure from French Passion plays, amongst biblical figures. This invites analysis of the imagery in contemporary Passion plays, including the *Passion des Jongleurs, Passion du Palatinus* and *Passion Nostre Seigneur*.[807] The story of the "Fevresse" was created at a time of increased interest in the conversion of Jews during the second half of the thirteenth century. The "Fevresse" also invites comparisons with the figure of Synagoga on the south transept portal. The differing imagery is studied to display the changing perceptions of Judaism and Jewish women. With this chapter, I explore hereto unanswered questions on why the "Fevresse" may have appeared in the west facade, as this appears to be a novel portrayal.

[804] Rüdiger Becksmann, *Die Mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Freiburg im Breisgau*, Corpus Vitrearum Germany, Vol. II–2 (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2010), 526–62.
[805] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies.*
[806] Elisheva Baumgarten, *Biblical Women and Jewish Daily Life in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022); Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography* (New York: Metropolitan, 2014); Elisheva Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013); Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Heinz Schreckenberg, *The Jews in Christian Art: An Illustrated History* (London: SCM Press, 1996); Gerd Mentgen, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im mittelalterlichen Elsass* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1995).
[807] Grace Frank, ed., *La passion du palatinus: Mystère du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Librarie Honore Champion, Editeur, 1992), 31–34; Geufroi de Paris, *La passion des jongleurs: texte établi d'après la bible des sept estaz du monde de Geufroi de Paris*, ed. Anne Joubert Amari Perry (Paris: Beauchesne Editeur, 1981), f. 105v, Lines 1526–65; Graham A. Runnalls, ed., *Le mystère de la passion nostre seigneur du Ms. 1131 de la Bibliothèque Ste-Genevieve* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1974), 196–99.

Chapter 4

The Wise and Foolish Virgins: "Contemptus Mundi" and Crafting Personification

Introduction

The south portal of the western facade at Strasbourg Cathedral features sculptures of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, with the addition of a new figure known as the "Fürst der Welt." The chapter begins with an analysis of the sculptures, their history and religious significance. The sculptures are part of a tradition of portraying the parable on church portals combined with other imagery for lay people to convey moral lessons. Local and regional primary sources give insight into how the cathedral considered the Virgins synonymous with contemporary women, including the twelfth-century "Ordo virginum" from Mainz, *Hortus deliciarum* by Herrad von Hohenbourg, thirteenth-century documents from Strasbourg, *De bono* by Albertus Magnus, and the fourteenth-century *Zehnjungfrauenspiel*.[808] The works of Alison Alstadt, Renate Amstutz, and Anne Bagnall Yardley have engaged with this correlation, and in this chapter I expand on their research.[809] The connection between the allegorical and contemporary women is analysed to explore the sculptural portrayal of the parable on the west facade. This comparison also invites questions on the inclusion of the "Fürst der Welt." Through exploration of the impetus behind his creation and function within the parable, this research engages with arguments made by C. Stephen Jaeger, Alexandria Kotoch, and Helen Sciurie.[810] The study of the "Fürst der Welt" invites analysis of contemporary texts for and by monastic women, including the aforementioned "Ordo

[808] Albertus Magnus, *De Bono*, eds. Heinrich Kühle, Carl Feckes, Bernhard Geyer, and Wilhelm Kübel, Vol. 28 (Opera Omnia. Aschendorff: Monasterii Westfalorum in aedibus, 1951), 158–59, 161–62; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 946; Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, Vol. 1 (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1879), 224–25; Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Politische Urkunden von 1266 bis 1332*. Vol. 2 (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1886), 56; Thomas Ripoll and Antonio Bremond, eds., *Bullarium Ordinis FF. [i.e. Fratrum] Prædicatorum: Sub Auspiciis SS. D.N.D. Benedicti XIII, Pontificis Maximi, Ejusdem Ordinis*, Vol. 1 (Rome: Ex Typographia Hieronymi Mainardi, 1729), 148–51.

[809] Alison Altstadt "The Ordo Virtutum and Benedictine Monasticism," in *The Cambridge Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, ed. Jennifer Bain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 235–56; Anne Bagnall Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 159–77; Renate Amstutz, "The Latin Substratum of the Thuringian' Ludus de Decem Virginibus': Its Liturgical Roots and Its Dramatic Relevance for the Mixed-Language Music Drama," PhD diss. (University of Toronto, 1991), 155–67.

[810] Alexandria Noel Kotoch, "Seeing Is Behaving: Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt, Art and Moral Messages in the Rhineland Ca. 1300," PhD diss. (The University of Texas at Austin, 2014); C. Stephen Jaeger *The Envy of Angels* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 331–48; Helen Sciurie, "Die Frauenfrage und der Stil der Deutschen Plastik Zwischen 1270 und 1350," in *Stil und Gesellschaft: Ein Problemaufriß*, ed. Friedrich Möbius (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1984), 179–80.

virginum" from Mainz, *Hortus deliciarum,* as well as the *Scivias* and *Ordo virtutum* of Hildegard von Bingen.[811] This chapter explores how personification was employed in the creation of the "Fürst der Welt" to expand on the parable and inform the facade's varied audiences, engaging with the work of Katharine Breen on Prudentian allegory.[812] This relates back to ideas on how the portal evoked dramatic interplay in line with the work of Jacqueline E. Jung and Linda Seidel.[813]

The Wise and Foolish Virgins and their Comparisons

Jamb figures of the Wise and Foolish Virgin (Fig. 95 & Fig. 96) flank the south portal of the west facade. They are accompanied by the Last Judgement tympanum and reliefs of the zodiac and labours of the months. The portal is eschatological, so each component alludes to the Last Judgement and the passage of time.[814] These sculptures of the virgins portray a parable in the gospel of Matthew, which describes ten virgins who are waiting for the Bridegroom to arrive for a wedding, with oil lamps.[815] The Wise Virgins brought with them ample oil for their lamps, while the Foolish did not. The Bridegroom's approach was delayed leaving the women to await his arrival. The women went to trim their lamps to anticipate his approach, but the Foolish Virgins found that their lamps had gone out as they had not brought enough oil. They appealed to the others to spare some oil, but they were told to go purchase it. The Bridegroom arrived while the Foolish Virgins were away and consequently they were shut out of the wedding. They called out requesting to be let in, but the Bridegroom replied that he did not know them. So the parable is also eschatological, referring to the second coming of Christ; Christians were instructed to prepare their souls for the Last Judgement, as those who did not will be shut out of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

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[811] Paris, Bibliothéque nationale de France, Ms. Latin 946; Hildegard von Bingen, "Ordo Virtutum: The Play of the Virtues," in *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 147–84; Hildegard von Bingen, *Selected Writings*, translated by Mark Atherton (London: Penguin Books, 2001), 53–62; Hildegard von Bingen, *Scivias*, translated by Mother Columba Hart and Jane Bishop (New York: Paulist Press, 1990); Herrad von Hohenbourg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, eds. Rosalie Green, Michael Evans, Christine Bischoff and Michael Curschmann, Vol. 1–2 (London: Warburg Institute, 1979).
[812] Katharine Breen, *Machines of the Mind: Personification in Medieval Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021), 24–25,35–108.
[813] Jacqueline E. Jung, *Eloquent Bodies: Movement, Expression, and the Human Figure in Gothic Sculpture* (London: Yale University Press, 2020); Jacqueline E. Jung, "Compassion as Moral Virtue: Another Look at the Wise and Foolish Virgins in Gothic Sculpture," in *Faces of Charisma: Image, Text, Object in Byzantium and the Medieval West*, eds. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Martha Dana Rust, 76–127. Leiden: Brill, 2018); Linda Seidel, *Songs of Glory: Romanesque Facades of Aquitaine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 51,106.
[814] Bruno Boerner, "Programme sculptés et catéchèse populaire: l'exemple des portails de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Bulletin de La cathédrale de Strasbourg* 28 (2008): 45.
[815] Mt. 25: 1–13.

The Foolish Virgins stand on the left side of the portal, alongside a male figure known as the "Fürst der Welt." Their lamps are upturned or in one case dropped. Their heads are uncovered, displaying their loose hair. As the figures get closer to the "Fürst der Welt," on the furthest jamb from the entrance, they wear fewer clothes.[816] The closest to the portal wears a mantle which is draped over her form, covering her. The next figure lacks a mantle. The closest to the "Fürst der Welt" has removed her belt and clutches at her clothing as if to remove it further. The "Fürst der Welt" has his hand outstretched holding a fruit aloft. From the front, he appears to be a handsome man in courtly attire. However, his garment is open at the back to reveal his true nature, with a mass of frogs, salamanders and serpents (Fig. 105). The furthest Foolish Virgin on the outer wall is dressed modestly and veiled, only identifiable by her overturned lamp. The one closest to the "Fürst der Welt" on the outer wall, lacks a mantle. She looks solemnly out towards the city, as if aware of her fallen nature. The Wise Virgins are situated on the right side of the portal. The figures stand alongside the Bridegroom from the parable, who is located on the jamb closest to the entrance. Unlike the Foolish Virgins, their heads are covered. They also hold their lamps upright. Most have draped their garments obscuring their bodily form. They bear stylistic similarities to the Virtues from the north portal, displaying identical shoulder adornments and a buttoned mantle. All of the figures stand atop reliefs with the symbols of the zodiac and labours of the months.[817]

From the twelfth century, the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins was frequently portrayed on the exterior sculpture adorning church portals. Linda Seidel argued that the iconography functioned to elevate the church entryway by symbolically equating it with the wedding in the parable, and heaven.[818] This scheme proliferated amongst French sites and can be found amongst Last Judgement portal programmes at St. Denis (Fig. 106, c. 1135–40), Laon (Fig. 107, c. 1180–1210), Paris (Fig. 108, c. 1210–15), Chartres (Fig. 109, 1220), Amiens (Fig. 110, c. 1225–40), and Reims (Fig. 111 & Fig. 112, 1230). In each of these examples, the two groups of women are positioned on either side of the portal with the doorway or trumeau functioning to separate them from one another. On one side, the Wise

[816] For more information on the undressing of the Foolish Virgins, see C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 331–48.
[817] Examples of reliefs of the zodiac alongside eschatological imagery can also be found at Vezélay, Autun, and Chartres. For more information on the symbols of the zodiac in medieval portal programmes, see Shelley Morwenna Williams, "The Zodiac on Church Portals: Astrology and the Medieval Cosmos," *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 7, no. 3 (2021): 59–115; For more information on the zodiac and medieval eschatological theology, see Johannes Fried, "Awaiting the Last Days... Myth and Disenchantment," in *Apocalyptic Time*, ed. Albert I. Baumgarten (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 292–94.
[818] Linda Seidel, *Songs of Glory,* 51,106.

Virgins are portrayed holding their lamps upright and the Foolish Virgins are on the other side with downturned lamps. The iconographic scheme had spread to the Rhineland by the end of the twelfth century. Examples drawing from the French tradition can be found at Basel (Fig. 32, end of the twelfth century) and Eguisheim (Fig. 113, thirteenth century). In these, the Wise and Foolish Virgins are depicted on lintels below tympana of Christ in Majesty.

Many of the French and Rhenish examples elaborated on the parable by using dress to expound on the moral differentiation between the figures.[819] At Laon, Paris, and Amiens, the Wise Virgins wear veils while the Foolish Virgins have either uncovered heads or contemporary headdresses. At Basel, the women are similarly distinguished by their covered and uncovered heads. The Wise Virgins wear loose gowns with wide sleeves, whereas the Foolish Virgins wear dresses that cling to their form with tight sleeves. At Eguisheim, the women wear veils and contemporary headdresses, respectively. The Foolish Virgins also wear elaborate jewellery, displaying their vanity. Thus, many sites employed dress as a moral signifier with the morally superior Wise Virgins outfitted with covered heads and simple dress. While, the inferior Foolish Virgins often wore more elaborate contemporary clothing. Dress as moral signifier on the west facade is explored further in the next chapter on the Virtues and Vices.

Later Rhenish representations of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, from the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth century, similarly use dress as a signifier and build on the earlier examples. The moral distinction between the figures was further amplified with the introduction of the "Fürst der Welt" to the parable. No such figure was a part of the biblical text but is adapted from a figure in lay literature. He has been connected to the earlier figure of "Frau Welt," originating in thirteenth-century courtly literature with the poems of "Frô Welt" by Walther von der Vogelweide and "Der Werlte Lôn" by Konrad von Würzburg .[820] The only known representation of her can be found at the south portal of Worms Cathedral (Fig. 114, c. 1298), contemporary with the Strasbourg sculptures. "Frau Welt" stands crowned with a shield and her gown open at the back to reveal snakes and toads. A knight stares up at her from a kneeling position with his hands outstretched. This representation postdates the creation of imagery of the"Fürst der Welt." Apart from the example at Strasbourg, the "Fürst der Welt" can also be found alongside the portrayal of the narrative at Basel (Fig. 115, c. 1285–1300) and Freiburg-im-Breisgau (Fig. 116 & Fig. 117, c.1285–

[819] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 141–42.
[820] Kotoch, "Seeing Is Behaving," 21–28.

1320).[821] These representations were created in close succession. Walter Lehmann was the first to argue that Strasbourg began the use of the iconography in the region, an identification that is now widely accepted.[822] The integration of the figure into the parable is for the most part specific to iconography in the Rhineland, although one example can be found further afield in Nuremberg (Fig. 118, c. 1330). Every example of the Wise and Foolish Virgins with the "Fürst der Welt" were originally found on the jambs of portals, though some of the sculptures have since been moved for their preservation. Additionally in each case the "Fürst der Welt" is placed furthest from the entryway.

The utilisation of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins to convey a moral message was not novel to Strasbourg Cathedral, but instead was part of a larger tradition. Before the end of the thirteenth-century, the moral distinction between the Virgins was aided by the use of clothing. The inclusion of the "Fürst der Welt" amongst the Foolish Virgins morally distinguished the two groups of women further. Thus, through the portrayal of the parable, churches employed recognisable lay imagery alongside religious imagery to educate a varied audience at the main entrance into the building. The addition of the novel "Fürst der Welt" invites questions on what instruction he was to convey. This has led many scholars to question his significance, but in this chapter I tackle questions that others have yet to fully address through a study of women.[823] For this, it is important first to turn to medieval thinking on the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins as it relates to contemporary women.

The Wise and Foolish Virgins and Contemporary Women

Issues arise when comparing allegorical figures to contemporary people, as not every example invites such a comparison. The women from the parable had been associated with nuns since the fourth century, when the "Ordo virginum" was created.[824] According to this, nuns would take their vows and enter into religious life. The rite mimics a wedding, during which nuns are symbolically wedded to Christ and the Church, evoking the *Song of Songs*,

[821]The example at Basel is thought to have been part of a larger portal programme that was lost in the earthquake of 1356. At Freiburg-im-Breisgau, the Fürst der Welt is not placed beside the Foolish Virgins but awaits their eventual exit from the tower vestibule from his position in the doorway; Paul Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture, 1140–1300* (London: Yale University Press, 1995), 193–95.
[822] Ibid.; Benoît van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: sculpture des portails occidentaux* (Paris: Picard, 2006), 127–29; Walter Lehmann, "Die Parable von den Klugen und Törichten Jungfrauen" (PhD diss., Albert-Ludwigs Universität zu Freiburg, 1916).
[823] Kotoch, "Seeing Is Behaving;" Trokhimenko, *Constructing Virtue and Vice*; Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 331–48; Sciurie, "Die Frauenfrage und der Stil der Deutschen Plastik Zwischen 1270 und 1350," 179–80.
[824] Anne Bagnall Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 162–63.

the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, and the life of St. Agnes.[825] In this ceremony, the bishop would stand in for Christ or the Bridegroom.[826] The liturgy evolved but throughout the Middle Ages it remained a symbolic wedding ceremony.[827] A manuscript, Bibliotheque Nationale de France Latin 946, records the twelfth-century "Ordo virginum" from Mainz. In its performance, the bishop read, "Hec excludant cum stultis sed regalem ianuam cum sapientibus virginibus licent introeant et in agni tui perpetuo conmitatu probabiles mansura castitate permaneant."[828] The nuns are thus counted amongst the Wise Virgins entering into heaven, whereas, the Foolish Virgins are shut out. In another part of the ritual the Bishop read, "ut apertis ianuis ad celestis regis amplexus cum leticia meantur intre per domini."[829] He thus referenced a doorway to heaven through Christ, which evoked the entryway to the wedding or heaven from the parable. This imagery alongside the wedding ceremony would further connect the nuns with the Virgins of the parable.

Throughout the *Hortus deliciarum,* Herrad von Hohenbourg draws comparisons between the nuns of Hohenbourg Abbey and the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. She makes the connection in the opening poem, "Rithmus Herradis abbatisse per quem Hohenburgenses virgunculas amabiliter salutat et ad veri sponsi fidem dilectionemque salubriter invitat."[830] The comparison is furthered by references to a wedding, that reads "Christus parat nupcias miras per delicias, hunc expectes principem te servando virginem."[831] References are also present in imagery of the elect and the damned in the Last Judgement imagery. Women in religious dress are pictured amongst the elect and labeled, "Perpetuae et prudentes virgines."[832] Similarly outfitted women are portrayed amongst the damned, labeled as, "Fatuae virgines."[833] The correlation is also present at the end of the manuscript in a text that accompanies imagery of the nuns of Hohenbourg.[834] It reads, " O nivei flores dantes virtutis odores, Semper divina pausantes in theoria, Pulvere terreno contempto currite celo,

[825] Ibid.
[826] Ibid., 178.
[827] Ibid., 159–77.
[828] Translation: "Let them be excluded with the Foolish,but let them who are Wise Virgins have permission to enter the royal gate, and may they remain pleasing in their chastity, abiding in the perpetual company of Your Lamb;" Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Ms. Latin 946, f. 56v.
[829] Translation: "So that with open doors, they may joyfully proceed to the embraces of the heavenly king, entering through the Lord's path;" Ibid., f. 58v.
[830] Translation: "The rhyme of Abbess Herrad by which she kindly greets the virgins of Hohenbourg and salutarily invites them to the faith and love of the Bridegroom;" Herrad von Hohenbourg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, eds. Rosalie Green, Michael Evans, Christine Bischoff and Michael Curschmann, Vol. 2 (London: Warburg Institute, 1979), 2.
[831] Translation: "Christ prepares a wonderful wedding by means of delights, await this prince by guarding your maidenhood;" Ibid.
[832] Translation: "Perpetual and Wise Virgins;" Ibid., 427.
[833] Translation: Foolish Virgins; Ibid., 434.
[834] Ibid., 346; Herrad von Hohenbourg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, eds. Rosalie Green, Michael Evans, Christine Bischoff and Michael Curschmann, Vol. 1 (London: Warburg Institute, 1979), 227.

celo Que nunc absconsum valeatis cernere sponsum."[835] As we have seen, the *Hortus deliciarum* was well known to the cathedral community at Strasbourg.

The regional connection between religious and quasi-religious women and the Wise and Foolish Virgins is also well documented, as they are equated in other primary sources. In 1245, Pope Innocent IV (1243–54) compared the nuns of Strasbourg to the Wise Virgins, when he placed them under the Dominicans. The document reads: "apostolice sedis benignitas prudentes virgines, que se parant accensis lampadibus obviam sponso ire, tanto propentiori debet studio prosequi caritatis, quanto majori propter fragilitatem sexus indigere suffragio dinoscuntur."[836] In 1281, Bishop Konrad II von Lichtenberg (1273–99) also issued a document connecting the penitents to these allegorical women.[837] It records the bishop admonishing community members who had absconded from the convent with their possessions. In his condemnation of the penitents, he compares them to the Wise and Foolish Virgins, stating,

> sicque factum est, ut parabola impleatur ewangelica, prudentibus videlicet virginibus oleum in vasis suis sumentibus, fatue virgines in sponsi non parentur adventum, sed foris stantes in celestibus nuptiis nesciantur. cum igitur juxta officii nostri censuram omnia de regno dei scandala tollere debeamus, id ipsum, quod vobis vestra precipit regula, injungimus et mandamus : hoc est, ut unanimes habitetis in domo et vobis cor unum et una anima sit in deo. auctoritate quoque presentium firmiter prohibemus, ne sorores illas, que recedentes a vobis vestrum consortium contempserunt, recipiatis de cetero sine nostra licentia speciali nec aliqua bona restituatis, assignetis vel concedatis aliquibus personis, que relicto vestro monasterio ad aliam transire volunt religionem vel in seculo remanere.[838]

[835] Translation: "O snow-flowers yeilding the fragrance of virtue, always resting in divine contemplation, despising earthly dust, run towards heaven, where you may see the Bridegroom. May you be blessed to gaze upon Him;" Ibid.
[836] Translation: "Apostolic blessings to the wise virgins, who are preparing to go to meet the Bridegroom, with lit lamps, should be so much more inclined to pursue charity, as they require greater assistance due to the frailty of their sex;" Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, Vol. 1 (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1879), 224–25; Thomas Ripoll and Antonio Bremond, eds., *Bullarium Ordinis FF. [i.e. Fratrum] Prædicatorum : Sub Auspiciis SS. D.N.D. Benedicti XIII, Pontificis Maximi, Ejusdem Ordinis*, Vol. 1 (Rome: Ex Typographia Hieronymi Mainardi, 1729), 148–51.
[837] Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Politische Urkunden von 1266 bis 1332*, Vol. 2 (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1886), 56.
[838] Translation: "And so it came to pass that the Gospel parable was fulfilled, namely, that the prudent virgins took oil in their vessels, while the foolish virgins were not prepared for the coming of the bridegroom and were not recognized at the heavenly wedding. Therefore, according to the judgment of our office, we must remove all scandals from the kingdom of God. We impose and command you the very thing that your rule prescribes to you: that you may dwell in unity in the house, with one heart and one soul in God. By the authority of these present documents, we firmly prohibit you from receiving those sisters who have abandoned your community, without our special permission, and from restoring any goods to them or assigning them or granting them to any persons who wish to transfer to another religious order or remain in the secular world, having left your monastery;" Ibid.

Konrad was bishop during the creation of the west facade. As such, those working on the cathedral would be aware of contemporary thinking that connected the Wise and Foolish Virgins to religious and quasi-religious women. Thus, the allegorical figures invite analysis in relation to these communities of women in Strasbourg.

Albertus Magnus extended the correlation to include contemporary lay women in his treatise, *De bono*.[839] This work was completed around 1240 during his tenure at the University of Paris, prior to his return to Strasbourg to teach from 1268 to 1270. Albertus Magnus also noted the wide circulation of the *De bono* in his *Summa theologica*.[840] These treatises were intended to instruct the Dominicans on how to educate the laity. Thus, the cathedral school would have likely been aware of this text and his teachings on the subject.[841] In this treatise, he defined four types of virginity, the innate virginity of infants, virginity without religious vows, virginity with vows of chastity, and foolish virginity.[842] He expounded on this definition of foolish virgins as those who sell their virginity under the guise of piety and those who dress like prostitutes. The relevant section in *De bono* reads,

> Est etiam virginitas innata, sed fatua, eo quod semper venalis exhibetur, et haec est duplex. Una, quae est sub specie pietatis venalis, et de hac dicitur in Thren. I (4): 'Virgines eius squalidae' et in Evangelio: 'Sunt quinque fatuae', sensibus hominum venalem exhibentes pietatem virginitatis, et ideo lampades corporum integrorum exstinguuntur. Alia autem virginitas prostituitur in ornatu meretricio cum Thamar sedens in bivio exspectans arrabonem. Et de his dicit Ambrosius in III De virginitate: 'An quidquam est tam pronum ad libidines, quam inconditis motibus ea quae vel natura abscondit vel disciplina velavit, membrorum operta nudare, ludere oculis, rotare cervicem, comam spargere? Merito inde in iniuriam divinitatis proceditur. Quid enim ibi verecundiae potest esse, ubi saltatur, strepitur, concrepatur'? Unde etiam

[839] Albertus Magnus, *De Bono*, 158–59, 161–62.
[840] "De his tamen jamdudum facta est summa que intitulatur *de bono,* in qua disposite de omnibus differentiis bonorum et oppositorum malorum tractatum est: quae multum vulgata est, et communiter habetur: et propter hoc non oportet de talibus hic inquirere;" Albertus Magnus, *Summa Theologiae Sive Scientia de Mirabili Scientia Dei*, ed. Jacques Quétif Auguste Borgnet. Vol. 33, Opera Omnia (Parisiis: Apud Ludovicum Vivès, 1895), 259.
[841] Sébastien Milazzo,"Peritissimus architector: l'attribution du programme iconographique de la façade occidentale de la cathédrale de Strasbourg à Albert Le Grand: entre legende(s) et realities," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg en sa ville: le spirituel et le temporel*, ed. Christian Grappe (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2020), 195–96; Jan Aertsen, *Medieval Philosophy as Transcendental Thought: From Philip the Chancellor (ca. 1225) to Francisco Suárez* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 178; Sandrine Turck, *Les dominicains à Strasbourg entre prêche, prière et mendicité:(1224–1420)* (Strasbourg: Société savante d'Alsace, 2002), 132
[842] Albertus Magnus, *De Bono*, 158–59.

istae virgines significantur per filiam Herodiadis, quae saltando amputavit caput Iohannis Baptistae.[843]

Both of his examples of foolish virginity have fallen for the seductions of the world, either in dress or money. In his classification, Albertus Magnus groups bad religious and lay women together. The first type of foolish virginity may relate to religious women who enter into communities for corrupt reasons. Regarding the second type, we cannot accurately ascertain what dress Albertus Magnus is condemning. However, he would have been familiar with representations of the Foolish Virgins in contemporary dress from Parisian portal sculpture at Notre Dame (Fig. 108, c. 1210–15) and Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois (Fig. 119, c. 1200–24). These may have influenced his thinking. The characteristics of Foolish Virgins outlined by Albertus Magnus also bear similarities to how the women are portrayed on Strasbourg Cathedral. The similarities can be observed in the way the Foolish Virgins are in the process of undressing as they approach the "Fürst der Welt." The virgin closest to him smiles and pulls at her dress. Thus, the Foolish Virgins are engaged in a sort of seductive dance with the "Fürst der Welt," like that described by Albertus Magnus in *De bono*.

Monastic texts related to the Wise and Foolish Virgins were employed to educate lay audiences in Germany into the fourteenth century. The Eisenach *Zehnjungfrauenspiel* was an early fourteenth-century play created for performance before the laity.[844] It was famously performed in 1321 before the margave of Meissen, Friedrich der Freidige (d. 1323).[845] In her study on the play, Renate Amstutz observed that the antiphon "Regnum mundi" is performed when the Wise Virgins enter and after they encounter the Bridegroom.[846] This chant formed a part of the "Ordo virginum," as I explore in more detail later.[847] Amustutz argued that the recitation of this antiphon in the play would result in the audience connecting the women of the play to contemporary nuns.[848]

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[843] Translation: "There is also innate virginity, but it is foolish, because it is always for sale, and this is twofold. One, which is venal under the guise of piety, and of this it is said in Lamentations 1:4: "Her virgins are in affliction," and in the Gospel: "There are five foolish ones," exhibiting piety of virginity for the senses of men, and therefore the lamps of intact bodies are extinguished. The other virginity is prostituted in harlot attire, as Tamar sitting at the crossroads awaiting a pledge. Ambrose also says about these in *De virginitate* III: "Is anything so conducive to lust as with unseemly movements thus to expose in nakedness those parts of the body which either nature has hidden or custom has veiled, to sport the looks, to turn the neck, to loosen the hair? Fitly was the next step an offense against God. For what modesty can there be where there is dancing and noise and clapping of hands?" Therefore, these virgins are also symbolised by the daughter of Herod who, through her dancing, led to the beheading of John the Baptist;" Ibid., 161–62.

[844] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*, 165–66.

[845] Jacqueline Jung, "Dynamic Bodies and the Beholder's Share: The Wise and Foolish Virgins of Magdeburg Cathedral," in *Bild und Körper im Spätmittelalter*, eds. Kristin Marek, Raphaèle Preisinger, Marius Rimmele, and Katrin Kärcher (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2006), 139–40.

[846] Karin Schneider, ed. *Das Eisenacher Zehnjungfrauenspiel*, Vol. 17, Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1964), 14, 27; Amstutz, "The Latin Substratum of the Thuringian' Ludus de Decem Virginibus': Its Liturgical Roots and Its Dramatic Relevance for the Mixed-Language Music Drama," 163–64.

[847] Ibid.

[848] Ibid.

Thus, the Wise and Foolish Virgins were compared in contemporary texts familiar in Strasbourg to religious and lay women, building on a tradition established on church portals. The portrayal of the parable on the west facade was pertinent at a time when women, like the Foolish Virgins, were absconding from their communities and taking their income with them.[849] Alexandria Kotoch also argued that their appearance responded to tensions with the beguines.[850] The correlation between the Wise and Foolish Virgins and religious and quasi-religious women in Strasbourg then invites questions on how the "Fürst der Welt" functioned alongside this iconography. For this purpose, it is important to explore how texts for monastic women informed the creation of the "Fürst der Welt," engaging further with the earlier primary sources.

The Fürst der Welt's Regional Importance for Religious Women and the "Contemptus Mundi"

Strasbourg displays an evolution of the Wise and Foolish Virgin iconography with the inclusion of the "Fürst der Welt," which has been explored by other scholars. C. Stephen Jaeger argued that the Wise and Foolish Virgins embodied Virtue and Vice respectively, amplifying other representations on the west facade.[851] Helen Sciurie argued that the representation of the parable portrayed the two paths available to women who did not enter into family life: religious life or prostitution.[852] I find this argument to be an overly simplified explanation of the complex iconography of the jamb figures. Alexandria Kotoch argued that the moralising qualities of the "Fürst der Welt" iconography lent themselves to the teachings of the mendicant orders.[853] She connected this moralising scheme to their influence. As I have shown, there was a long tradition of using the parable to convey a moral message prior to the foundation of the Dominican order. She also connected the "Fürst der Welt" to the tradition of "Contemptus mundi," citing various contemporary secular texts on the subject.[854] Many of these derive from earlier monastic texts. However, Kotoch does not take this argument to its obvious conclusion, which is that given the connection between the parable and religious women the most apt texts to study are those crafted by and for religious women.

[849] Wilhelm Wiegand, ed. *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Politische Urkunden von 1266 bis 1332*, Vol. 2 (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1886), 56.
[850] Kotoch, "Seeing is Behaving," 174–80.
[851] Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 331–48
[852] Sciurie, "Die Frauenfrage und der Stil der Deutschen Plastik Zwischen 1270 und 1350," 179–80.
[853] Kotoch, "Seeing Is Behaving," 174–80.
[854] Ibid., 169–74.

It is then important to return to many of the sources and authors I have already discussed to explore how they detail the virtue of "Contemptus mundi."

The aforementioned "Ordo virginum' from Mainz refered to "Contemptus mundi" through the performance of the antiphon "Regnum mundi."[855] It reads, "Regnum mundi et omnem ornatem seculi contempti propter amorem domini mei iesu christi, quem vidi, quem amavi, in quem credidi, quem dilexi."[856] After which, the bishop then asks that God impart virtues on the nuns, specifically humility chastity, obedience, charity, and all good works.[857] As stated, Renate Amstutz observed the use of the antiphon in the *Zehnjungfrauenspiel.*[858] In this fourteenth-century play, the antiphon is performed after the Wise Virgins encounter the Bridegroom, singing of their rejection of the world. The play employs liturgical songs to elevate the material for its lay audience.

Pamela Sheingorn argued that Hildegard von Bingen's *Ordo virtutum* would likely have been performed alongside the "Ordo virginum" at Mainz.[859] She based this argument on the focus on virginity in the play and how the play's ending could seamlessly transition into the consecration of virgins.[860] The *Ordo virtutum* records the trials of an errant soul, "Anima".[861] The soul is tempted by the Devil who says, "Fatue, fatue quid prodest tibi laborare? Rescipe mundum et amplectetur te magno honore."[862] Additionally he described his temptation as "leading them out." The Virtues also play a significant role in redeeming and guiding the now penitent soul, one of whom is named as "Contemptus mundi."[863]

The idea of "Contemptus mundi" also permeates the *Hortus deliciarum.* Herrad begins and ends the manuscript with references to it. The introductory poem refers both to the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins and the "Contemptus mundi." One stanza reads, "O multorum speculum sperne, sperne seculum, virtutes accumula, veri sponsi turmula."[864]

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[855] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Latin 946, f. 58r.
[856] Translation: "I despised the kingdom of the world, and all the beauty of the world, for the love of the Lord Jesus Christ, whom I saw, whom I loved, in whom I have believed, in whom I have delighted;" Amstutz, "The Latin Substratum of the Thuringian' Ludus de Decem Virginibus': Its Liturgical Roots and Its Dramatic Relevance for the Mixed-Language Music Drama," 167.
[857] Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Ms. Latin 946, f. 58r.
[858] Amstutz, "The Latin Substratum of the Thuringian' Ludus de Decem Virginibus': Its Liturgical Roots and Its Dramatic Relevance for the Mixed-Language Music Drama," 163–64.
[859] Pamela Sheingorn, "The Virtues of Hildegard's Ordo Virtutum; Or, It Was a Woman's World," in *The Ordo Virtutum of Hildegard of Bingen: Critical Studies*, ed. Audrey Ekdahl Davidson (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), 52–57.
[860] Ibid., 52–53.
[861] Hildegard von Bingen, "Ordo Virtutum: The Play of the Virtues," in *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 147–84.
[862] Translation: "What use to you is toiling foolishly, foolishly? Look to the world: it will embrace you with great honour;" Ibid., 165
[863] Ibid., 169.
[864] Translation: "O mirror of many, spurn spurn the world, accumulate virtues, the troops of the true Bridegroom;" Herrad von Hohenbourg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, eds. Rosalie Green, Michael Evans, Christine Bischoff and Michael Curschmann, Vol. 2 (London: Warburg Institute, 1979), 2

Through this the reader was to accumulate virtues, one of which was assuredly "Contemptus mundi" to prepare their soul for the arrival of the Bridegroom. "Contemptus mundi" texts also accompany references to King Solomon. One such poem "De contemptus mundi" includes the lines, "Me mundus clamat quis nisi stultus amat. Ipse monet quasi voce sonet quam fricola donet. Que non stare queunt sed titubant et eunt."[865] Through this Herrad specifies that the "stultus" or foolish love the world, which could be read as a reference to the Foolish Virgins. The *Hortus deliciarum* mirrors the "Ordo virginum." They both end with a reference to the virtue of "Contemptus mundi." Herrad ends the manuscript with two poems on the "Contemptus mundi," that personify the world. The first poem, "Versus de contemptu mundi"contains the stanza, " Cumque laborum cumque dolorum sit sitibundus, Nos irritans, nos invitans ad mala mundus. Hunc renuentes, hunc fugientes nos animemus Et quasi presto stet, manifesto jurgia demus."[866] The other poem "Hec sunt opprobria mundi" contains the lines,

> Qui renuunt sua dum cupiunt tua gaudia teque Deliciis vincis, viciis quos denique vincis. O lacus aride, sordide, perfide, mortis imago, Fossa patens es, tabe scatens, tenebrosa vorago. Munde fugax, es morte minax, tua sponsio nugax, Federe fallax, perdere verax, prodere sagax. Tu male trux, es ad infera dux, ubi nulla viget lux… Atra lues, immundus ut es, et crimine putens, Fluxa strues, cito munde rues, tecum ruet utens, Sordida tabes, dic quid habes tu quod sit honestum Lubrica labes, quicquid habes, est jures molestum Ergo miliciam que deservit tibi dicam.[867]

In this, the World is personified and described in terminology that could also be used to describe the "Fürst der Welt" at Strasbourg. Herrad describes the world as decaying and unclean, plagued with pestilence.

On this reading, the "Fürst der Welt" on the portal personified the world and functioned as the antithesis to "Contemptus mundi." The cathedral used a combination of lay and monastic thinking to adapt the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins to educate a varied audience. Strasbourg Cathedral continued its use of texts created by and for religious

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[865] Translation: "The world proclaims to me, who but a fool would love it. He himself warns as if with a voice, how worthless things are given. They cannot remain, but waver and depart;" Ibid., 350

[866] Translation: "Verse on the contempt of the world; And as the world, thirsty for labor and sorrow, tempts us, Provoking us, enticing us to evil. Let us resist it, let us flee from it, And let us stand firm, clearly rejecting its disputes;" Ibid., 507.

[867] Translation: "Those who renounce their own joys while desiring your pleasures are conquered by you, by vices that ultimately conquer them. O arid, filthy, treacherous lake, image of death, You are an open pit, teeming with decay, a dark abyss. Fleeting world, threatening with death, your promise is foolish, Deceptive in alliance, truthful in ruin, cunning in betrayal. You are wicked and cruel, a guide to the depths where no light thrives… Black pestilence, as unclean as you are, and conscious of your crimes,
A crumbling heap, you quickly collapse, along with those who use you, Filthy decay, tell me, what honorable thing do you possess? Slippery stain, whatever you have, is a burden of oaths. Therefore, I will tell you about the knighthood that serves you;" Ibid.

women to create their imagery and educate its lay audiences, in the tradition established in the south transept, a point I return to later. However, this invites the question of why they seem to have turned back to these sources for the west facade.

Monastic Ideas on the "Contemptus mundi" and an Urban Audience

Various scholars have explored how medieval audiences may have interpreted the "Fürst der Welt."[868] In this light, it is important to analyse how the members of the fabric and the laity may have considered the portrayal of the parable on the portal. As I have argued, the bishop, cathedral chapter, and members of the city council were involved with the fabric at the time of the creation of the west facade. The Dominicans also influenced the scheme. Their responsibilities would have informed how they conceived of the Wise and Foolish Virgins with the "Fürst der Welt." As bishop, Konrad von Lichtenberg (1273–99) was directly involved in the care of souls and "cura monialium" of the diocese. He would have been responsible for overseeing the "Ordo virginum" for nuns. Thus he would have been familiar with the liturgy which alludes to the parable and the "Contemptus mundi." The care of nuns also appears to have been of personal importance to Konrad. At some point between 1273 and 1277, he oversaw the transfer of his niece from the Klingenthal convent in the diocese of Basel to St. Mark in Strasbourg.[869] In his own letter to the penitents he referred to them as the wayward Foolish Virgins.[870] Through the imagery of the portal, Konrad could thus be reminded of his role with religious women and the laity as a stand-in for Christ to protect those in his care from the world. The cathedral clergy would be prompted to think of their role in the care of souls in their diocese.

The city council of Strasbourg was mostly made up of members of the nobility.[871] As stated previously by 1237 the female religious communities in Strasbourg were also populated by women from noble families.[872] The noble families represented on the fabric fund may have desired an image that reflected their own family members who had entered into religious life. It would then afford comfort to those whose family members had already joined a religious community. The enclosure of those close to them protected them from the

[868] Kotoch, "Seeing Is Behaving"; Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 331–48; Sciurie, "Die Frauenfrage und der Stil der Deutschen Plastik Zwischen 1270 und 1350," 179–80.
[869] Wiegand ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Nachtrage und Berichtigungen zu Band I—III*, Vol. IV, 157–58.
[870] Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Politische Urkunden von 1266 bis 1332*, 56.
[871] Philippe Dollinger, "L'émancipation de la ville et la domination du patriciat," in *Histoire de Strasbourg des origines à nos jours*, ed. Georges Livet (Strasbourg: Éditions des dernières nouvelles de Strasbourg, 1981), 79–80.
[872] Wiegand ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Nachtrage und Berichtigungen zu Band I—III*, Vol. IV, 53–54.

vanity of secular noble life, as exemplified in the "Fürst der Welt." It may have also functioned to guide these families to entrust their relatives to religious life for the betterment of their souls. As Kotoch and Sciurie argued, the portrayal of the parable may have been critical of beguines.[873] If so, it could have served to dissuade noble families from entrusting their daughters to the communities of beguines or Poor Clares. Rather, it could encourage them to place their family members in formal religious communities, symbolically joining the Wise Virgins.

Members of the mendicant orders may also have been reminded of their duty in caring for the laity and religious women when considering these figures. This may have prompted the Dominicans to think of the contemporary foolish virgins as outlined by Albertus Magnus in *De bono*.[874] They could then think of how the parable could be utilised to educate their lay audience. The Dominicans would have also been reminded of the bulls issued by Pope Innocent IV that entrusted the "prudentes virgines" of the various communities in Strasbourg into their care.[875] They could have reflected on their role in assuring that the women of the convents did not fall to the vices of the world. The departure of women from religious and quasi-religious communities appears to have been a problem at the end of the thirteenth century. This is evidenced in the document from the penitents who absconded and the regulations of entrants into the beguinages only being allowed to leave prior to a year with their income.

While members of the aforementioned groups would have understood the reference to nuns and "Contemptus mundi," the general laity would not necessarily have understood this connection. I thus refer again to the work of Hildegard von Bingen to explore how the portal functioned to prompt its viewers to embody the virtue of "Contemptus mundi." The "Fürst der Welt" amongst the Wise and Foolish Virgins seems to mirror Hildegard's vision of the Devil in the *Scivias,* who offers worldly delights with a market at his side.[876] This was made physical at Strasbourg, where medieval markets were held in close proximity to the west facade. Hildegard then described the devout as accumulating Virtues and passing by the

[873] Kotoch, "Seeing Is Behaving," 178–79; Sciurie, "Die Frauenfrage und der Stil der Deutschen Plastik Zwischen 1270 und 1350," 179–80.
[874] Albertus Magnus, *De Bono*, 158–59, 161–62.
[875] Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Urkunden und Stadtrechte bis zum Jahr 1266*, 224–25; Ripoll and Bremond, eds., *Bullarium Ordinis FF. [i.e. Fratrum] Prædicatorum: Sub Auspiciis SS. D.N.D. Benedicti XIII, Pontificis Maximi, Ejusdem Ordinis*, 148–51.
[876] James Ginther argued that the *Scivias* was written for women under the Rule of St Benedict, however by the end of the twelfth century it was widely circulated; James Ginther, "Hildegard of Bingen's Theology," in *The Cambridge Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, ed. Jennifer Bain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 88; Christopher D. Fletcher, "Reading Hildegard of Bingen's Letters," in *The Cambridge Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, ed. Jennifer Bain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 105; Hildegard von Bingen, *Scivias*, 293–303.

temptation of the Devil; at Strasbourg this was the act of entering into the cathedral thus embodying the virtue of "Contemptus mundi."[877] She follows this with descriptions of the Devil using imagery of worms, serpents and frogs, which can be accounted for on the back of the "Fürst der Welt."[878] The Devil sends out a flame to deceive secular people during which many succumb to his temptation embracing the world.[879] Some of the laity then beg the saved saying, " O you faithful give us help."[880] This would evoke the Foolish Virgins entreating the Wise Virgins to give them oil for their lamps. However, within the *Scivias,* the laity reject their sinful ways and are able to redeem themselves.[881] Hildegard then wrote that the Devil deceives the foolish by presenting them with a false image.[882] This directly correlates to the portrayal of the "Fürst der Welt" at Strasbourg, who appears from one angle as a handsome nobleman, deceiving the Foolish Virgins and viewers who cannot see his whole form. However, the Wise Virgins and viewers approaching the cathedral see his true nature are aware of his deceit, not succumbing to the temptation of his false image.

The cathedral thus crafted the "Fürst der Welt" to make the importance of the virtue "Contemptus mundi" easily understandable to an uneducated laity by employing the Prudentian model of allegory. As Katherine Breen argued, Prudentian allegory is not derived from the Bible but inferred by religious practices.[883] The "Fürst der Welt" adheres to this classification through its possible references to texts on "Contemptus mundi" for religious women. Breen also argued that Prudentian allegory functioned to prompt viewers to place themselves amongst the good or evil, effectively becoming allegorical figures themselves.[884] Thus, as Jacqueline Jung and Linda Seidel have argued, those entering and leaving the cathedral became players in the parable on the portal.[885] Upon entry the viewer turned away from vice and entered into the embrace of the Bridegroom and heaven. They joined the Wise Virgins and embodied the virtue of "Contemptus mundi." Whereas upon exit from the cathedral, the viewer returned to the world and was open to its deception and the "Fürst der Welt,"as his decayed form once again become visible. Those outside of the cathedral were counted amongst the Foolish Virgins seduced by the world. The laity was reminded to avoid the temptation and find salvation within the cathedral. By engaging with the portal, they were

[877] Hildegard von Bingen, *Scivias*, 295.
[878] Ibid., 296–301.
[879] Ibid., 299.
[880] Ibid.
[881] Ibid.
[882] Ibid., 301.
[883] Breen, *Machines of the Mind: Personification in Medieval Literature*, 25.
[884] Ibid.
[885] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies,* 165–66, 171, 180–81; Seidel, *Songs of Glory*, 51,106.

able to engage with monastic ideas on protection afforded by enclosure within the safety of the church.

Conclusion

As I have shown throughout this chapter, the cathedral turned to sources for and by Rhenish religious women to create the "Fürst der Welt," who makes his first appearance on their west facade. Analysis of these texts alongside the sculpture gives greater insight into what the cathedral may have intended to evoke in its viewers. Thus, we see the cathedral once again acknowledged the potential of monastic sources to educate the laity and adapted them to suit this purpose. In this, the Cathedral continued the tradition established at the beginning of the thirteenth century in the south transept. Bruno Boerner has argued that the north portal on the west facade correlates to the north transept portal, with each referencing the Infancy of Christ and the Virtues.[886] I would argue that the south portal with the Wise and Foolish Virgins parable engages in a similar way with the south transept, through employing monastic sources for and by religious women and their shared eschatological iconography.

[886] Boerner, "Programme sculptés et catéchèse populaire: l'exemple des portails de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," 33–37.

Chapter 5

The Virtues and Vices: Church Art, Dominican Preaching, and Women

Introduction

The north portal of the western facade contains allegorical sculptures of women, representing the Virtues and Vices, which invite study of perceptions of women at the end of the thirteenth century in Strasbourg. In particular, this chapter explores how the appearance of the Vices may have functioned alongside late thirteenth-century ideas on women's dress. It includes an exploration of possible influences for these women on the west facade, expanding on the work of Émilie Cornu.[887] Arguments presented by Marina Warner, Louise J. Wilkinson, and Adolf Katzenallenbogen on the significance of the clothing of the figures are questioned .[888] This research expands on the research of Benoît van den Bossche on the iconographic significance of the representation at Strasbourg.[889] I also explore the position of the Dominicans in the city of Strasbourg, returning to the question of their influence upon the west facade programme, and expanding on the work of Sébastien Milazzo, Benoît Van den Bossche, Victor Beyer, and Simone Schultz.[890] It is then important to analyse mendicant preaching on dress to explore how the order may have educated the women in their care. The formal similarities between the jamb sculptures at Strasbourg and the stained glass windows at the Dominican church in Freiburg-im-Breisgau invite consideration of a reciprocal relationship between church art and architecture and Dominican preaching in the Rhineland. This responds to questions raised about imagery in the stained glass of Dominican churches by Rüdiger Becksmann.[891]

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[887] Émilie Cornu, "Le vitrail de la Psychomachie (vers 1310): résurgence d'un thème à la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 29 (2010): 93–114.

[888] Louise J. Wilkinson, "The Chivalric Woman," in *Knighthood and Society in the High Middle Ages*, eds. David Crouch and Jeroen Deploige, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2020), 203; Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1939), 19–20.

[889] Benoît van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux* (Paris: Picard, 2006).

[890] Sébastien Milazzo, "*Peritissimus architector*: l'attribution du programme iconographique de la façade occidentale de la cathédrale de Strasbourg à Albert Le Grand: entre légende(s) et réaltié(s)," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg en sa ville: le spirituel et le temporel*, ed. Christian Grappe (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2020), 193–223; Van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux*, 149–56; Simone Schultz, "Iconographie des portails occidentaux, nouvelle approche," *Bulletin de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* XXII (1996): 107–10; Victor Beyer, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Paris: La Bibliothèque des Arts, 1957), 83.

[891] Rüdiger Becksmann, *Die Mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Freiburg im Breisgau*, Corpus Vitrearum Germany, Vol. II–2 (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2010), 526–62.

Allegorical Figures on the Strasbourg West Façade

The Virtues and Vices (Fig. 85 & Fig. 86) appear below the Infancy of Christ tympanum. Benoit van den Bossche has shown convincingly that all the figures are original with minor alterations.[892] They are engaged in combat. The Virtues stand triumphantly atop the Vices, pointing spears down towards their opponents. The adversarial relationship between the figures is based on the *Psychomachia*, an early fifth-century poem by Prudentius about a war between the personifications.[893] Four stand on either side of the portal in the jambs, and the scheme is extended outward with two more on each side of the west-facing wall. Each holds a phylactery, which likely originally identified them with a painted inscription. All of the Virtues are depicted as women crowned and dressed in queenly garb. Their gowns differ slightly, making them distinguishable from one another. Some have loose hair and others have head coverings with hair emerging from within. A few are outfitted with mantles. Many of them wear jewellery, including ornate brooches and shoulder adornments. The inclusion of crowns on all of the figures alludes to the *Psychomachia* in which they are referred to as queens.[894]

The Virtues are stylistically similar to the figure of Ecclesia in the tympanum (Fig.120) and the Virgin Mary from the earlier choir screen (Fig. 88, c. 1250).[895] The visual similarity between the figures emphasizes their moral superiority over their opponents. The Vices crouch below the Virtues, who appear to crush them underfoot, so that they act as bases for their adversaries. The figures are all women save for one man on the left side. The bodies of the figures are contorted into impossible positions obscuring the majority of their forms. The dress of the women seems to identify them with contemporary women of means, like burghers' wives or noble women. They wear varied headdresses, including "gebende" (filet with barbette) with and without frills and hair nets, veils with and without wimples, and a turban.[896] Two of the women have loose flowing hair that appears to whip wildly around them.

Benoît van den Bossche argued that the figures of the theological virtues of "Fides," "Spes," and "Caritas," and "Humilitas" and "Superbia" and "Castitas" and "Luxuria" were

[892] Van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux*, 34–57.
[893] Prudentius, *The Psychomachia of Prudentius: text, commentary, and glossary*, ed. Aaron Pelttari (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019).
[894] Ibid., 45, 50, 52, 67, 71.
[895] For more information on the choir screen at Strasbourg, see Jacqueline E. Jung, *The Gothic Screen: Space, Sculpture, and Community in the Cathedrals of France and Germany, Ca.1200-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
[896] For more information on thirteenth-century fashion, see Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane. *Dress in the Middle Ages*. (Paris: Yale University Press, 2000); Margaret Scott, *Medieval Dress & Fashion* (London: British Library, 2009).

assuredly amongst the jamb figures.[897] He substantiated this claim by noting their continued appearance in similar iconographic programmes as seen in the cathedral portal sculpture at Paris and Amiens, and the glazing schemes of Naumburg, Esslingen, Neiderhaslach, and Strasbourg.[898] He allows the possibility, however, that the cardinal virtues may have not been present, as they were not consistently included in other programmes.[899] With this, he questioned the eighteenth-century identification of the figures by François Joseph Böhm, Georg Heinrich Behr, and Joseph Schweigheuser, who had noted that the phylacteries were then illegible.[900] I argue that the identification of the embattled virtues on the facade may correlate to those found in Window 213 in the cathedral, due to their proximity to one another, near simultaneous creation date, and the shared number of adversarial couples.

Representations of the Virtues and Vices are found throughout medieval art.[901] Reliefs of these subjects can be found on cathedral portals at Paris (c. 1220), Amiens (c. 1230), and Chartres (c. 1230–40). Various Romanesque iterations of the embattled personifications also appear in manuscripts and sculptures.[902] The examples at Strasbourg bear some formal similarities to sculptures from Romanesque sites in western France where the Virtues trample the Vices who appear to function as pedestals, such as those at Notre-Dame-de-la-Couldre (Fig. 121, twelfth century) and St. Nicolas in Civray (Fig. 122, twelfth century). Similar examples appear at the beginning of the thirteenth century in portal sculpture at Laon (Fig. 123, c. 1180–1210) and Chartres (Fig. 109, c. 1220). The depiction of the vices in contemporary dress was not novel either, though often the figures were both men and women. The vices of "luxuria" and "ingratitudo", as can be seen at Amiens (Fig. 124 & Fig. 125, c. 1220–35) were often depicted as contemporary women. Thus, the cathedral appears to have looked toward representations of the motif in French churches to craft their depictions of the *Psychomachia*.

Emilie Cornu argued that the figures on the Strasbourg portal were influenced by the illustrations of the Virtues and Vices in the *Hortus deliciarum* (Fig. 126, c.1180s) and Bern Codex 264 of the *Psychomachia* (Fig. 127, tenth century).[903] She reasoned that these were

[897] Benoît van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux* (Paris: Picard, 2006), 63–64.
[898] Ibid.
[899] Ibid.
[900] Ibid; Joseph Schweigheuser, *Description nouvelle de la cathédrale de Strasbourg et de sa fameuse tour* (Strasbourg: Imprimerie de Simon Kürsner, 1770), 45–46; Georg Heinrich Behr, *Strasburger Münster- und Thurn-Büchlein oder Kurtzer Begriff der Merkwürdigsten Sachen, so im Münster und Dasigem Thurn zu Finden* (Strasbourg: Simon Kürsner, Cankl Buchor, 1746), 44–45; François Joseph Böhm, *Description nouvelle de la cathédrale de Strasbourg et de sa fameuse tour* (Strasbourg: Chez Simon Kürsner Imprimeur de la Chancellerie, 1743), 35–36.
[901] Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1939).
[902] Ibid., 14–21.
[903] Cornu, "Le vitrail de la psychomachie (vers 1310): résurgence d'un thème à la cathédrale de Strasbourg."

sources of influence due to their stylistic similarities and the cathedral's continued access to them.[904] As we have seen, the cathedral had regarded the *Hortus deliciarum* as an apt source to imitate in the beginning of the thirteenth century, when it was used to craft the imagery of the Old and New Covenant windows.[905] Additionally, the cathedral had a close relationship with Hohenbourg Abbey and Herrad von Hohenburg.[906] I agree with her analysis on the basis of the choice to depict nearly all of the allegorical figures at Strasbourg and in the *Hortus deliciarum* as women.[907] This differs from most other medieval depictions of the iconographic motif in which the Virtues are all women but the Vices vary in gender.[908] In the *Hortus*, the gender of all the figures is apparent, as their gowns can be seen flowing past the end of their armour. Additionally, on the portal, the vices with wild loose hair bear some similarities to their representation in the *Hortus deliciarum* (Fig. 128).

The cathedral contains other representations of the allegorical figures in the glazing scheme. As discussed in the previous section, the earlier New Covenant window (Fig.82, c. 1230–35) of the south transept contains roundels depicting ten virtues. They are labeled "Castitas," "Conpassio," "Sobrietas," "Largitas," "Penitencia," "Confessio," "Obedencia," "Abstincia," "Iusticia," and "Paupertas."[909] They are not juxtaposed with their typical adversaries but instead with representations of the sacrifices of the Old Testament in the Old Covenant window. As explored previously, these representations certainly reference diagrams from the *Hortus deliciarum*.[910] Elsewhere, Window 213 (Fig. 129, late 13th century) in the nave clerestory depicts the conflict between the Virtues and Vices from the *Psychomachia*.[911] It was created around the same time as the sculptures on the west facade, and the depiction in the lancet window bears formal similarities to the representations there. Fridtjof Zschokke argued that the windows were originally placed in two eastern bays of the side aisles, that were later destroyed.[912] Their current position was achieved in either 1384 or 1489, when work was completed on the organ.[913] The window is split into twelve panels each

[904] Ibid.
[905] Daniel Parello, "Une rencontre interculturelle: les vitraux du transept de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, entre continuité et mutation," in *Strasbourg 1200–1230, la révolution gothique*, eds. Lize Braat and Giorgia Passaro (Strasbourg: Editions des musées de Strasbourg, 2015), 104.
[906] Strasbourg, Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, 151 Num 28.
[907] Cornu, "Le vitrail de la Psychomachie (vers 1310): résurgence d'un thème à la cathédrale de Strasbourg."
[908] Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*.
[909] Victor Beyer, Christiane Wild-Block, and Fridtjof Zschokke, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Strasbourg*, Corpus Vitrearum France, Vol. XI–1 (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1986), 134–37.
[910] Parello, "Une rencontre interculturelle: les vitraux du transept de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, entre continuité et mutation," 104.
[911] Cornu, "Le vitrail de la Psychomachie (vers 1310): résurgence d'un thème à la cathédrale de Strasbourg," 93–114.
[912] Beyer, Wild-Block, and Zschokke, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Strasbourg*, 462.
[913] Ibid.

containing a Virtue and Vice, all of whom are women. The Virtues are seated with bidents piercing the Vices who appear to be in the process of falling. Some of the Virtues have pressed their feet down on their adversaries. Banderoles are held by each of the figures identifying them. They label the women as "Sapientia" and "Stultitia," "Caritas" and "Invidia," "Justicia" and "Iniquitas," "Largitas" and "Avaritia," "Temperancia" and "Gula," "Castitas" and "Luxuria," "Simplicitas" and "Fraus," "Concordia" and "Discordia," "Fides" and "Idolatria," "Fortitudo" and "Accidia," "Humilitas" and "Superbia," and "Spes" and "Desperancia." [914] The painted banderoles are no longer legible on the portal, but the figures of the west facade may be identified as the same twelve present in the contemporaneous window. Above the twelve embattled figures is a quatrefoil window containing four virtues, "Virginitas," "Humilitas," "Sollicitudo," and "Veregundia."[915] In a half roundel above is a representation of the Throne of Wisdom with the Virgin Mary and Christ child. A figure stands beside the throne who is identified in the border as "Caritas."[916] The window thus bears iconographic similarities to the west facade programme. It is then possible the Virtues and Vices are the same in both instances.

Strasbourg had used the *Hortus deliciarum* as a source for their imagery in the first half of the thirteenth century, as evidenced by the direct reference to the manuscript in the Old and New Covenant windows. There is some stylistic evidence that the *Hortus deliciarum* was still being used by the cathedral at the end of the thirteenth century, with the portrayal of the Virtues and Vices. However, the allegorical women on the west facade and in Window 213 seem to have drawn larger inspiration from French portal sculpture. Thus, the cathedral appears to have looked to other secular institutions as well as local sources for the creation of their new facade.

Allegorical Figures and Late Thirteenth-century Women and Dress

The allegorical figures on the western facade display characteristics that invite comparison with contemporary women, through their dress. Marina Warner and Adolf Katzenellenbogen argued that the Virtues are dressed as contemporary noblewomen, but that the Vices appear as burghers' wives.[917] This argument was perhaps a product of the scholarly

[914] Ibid., 465–66.
[915] Ibid., 470.
[916] Ibid., 467.
[917] Warner, *Monuments and Maidens,* 152; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*, 19–20.

exploration of class struggle at the time, but neither of these authors explains why they identify the vices as such.[918] Louise J. Wilkinson expanded on their work, using their arguments to support her claim that nobility was regarded as virtuous.[919] She argued that the placement of noble women as Virtues atop burghers as Vices portrayed contemporary class tension.[920] Her argument is reliant on the unsubstantiated identification of the figures as members of different social classes by Warner and Katzenellenbogen. There are problems, however, with their arguments. The noble women in late thirteenth-century tomb effigies (Fig. 130, c. 1280) and seals (Fig. 131, c. 1270s) are depicted with similar headdresses to the Vices at Strasbourg. So the dress of both the Virtues and Vices could be associated with noble women. I would also argue that the Virtues may have more in common with the sculptural forms of Ecclesia and the Virgin Mary, as displayed in the similarities in their dress. The fact that the holiest women wear similar dress enforces the connection between dress as a signifier of morality.

Nevertheless, there is a significant difference between the dress of the Virtues and Vices. As the bodies of the Vices are obscured due to their crouched position, the emphasis is upon their headdress or lack thereof. The thirteenth century saw increased interest in the clothes that women wore, with preaching on excessive dress and the introduction of sumptuary laws in Europe.[921] Issues surrounding dress also affected communities of religious women, who were expected to wear habits appropriate to their order. A thirteenth-century synod in Trier addressed the wearing of secular dress in convents and regulated what nuns were allowed to wear.[922] It includes a useful list of the items at issue:

> Item praecipimus districte, ut Abbates & Monachi, Abbatissae & Moniales, nec mantella, nec surchotos portent de caetero, nec habeant pannos de nigra bruneta, nec de moreto, fed quanto possit haberi melioris pretii, prout regula praecipit; cacullas autem habeant cum amplis capuciis & latis, & quando equitant, cappis utantur nigris & clausis non clamidibus, Item statuimus, ut habeant Abbatisse & Moniales habitum decentem & Religiosum , sorchotas autem laucas & tunicas nullo modo habeant; item ut dictum est, mantella de Bruneta, nigra, sive mureta & pellicea de vario, & alias exquisitas & sumptuosas pelles districte omnibus inhibemus; item non habeant

[918] Ibid.
[919] Louise J. Wilkinson, "The Chivalric Woman," in *Knighthood and Society in the High Middle Ages*, eds. David Crouch and Jeroen Deploige (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2020), 203.
[920] Ibid.
[921] Ulinka Rublack, "The Right to Dress: Sartorial Politics in Germany, c. 1300–1750." in *Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, C. 1200–1800*, eds. Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 44.
[922] Johann Friedrich Schannat and Joseph Hartzheim, eds., *Concilia Germaniae*, Vol. 3 (1760–61), 534–35.

> moniales manicas strictas vel consuricias, nec habeant monilia , nec fibulas, nec annulos aureos vel argenteos, nec aurifrigia, nec cingulos fericos, nec aliquem secularem ornatum ; item Abbatisse & Moniales, quando eas egredi contingit, non utantur habitu saeculari, nec habeant ...sellas deauratas aut phaleratas, aut frena deaurata, sed modeste incedant & religiose ; item superpellicia habeant & religiose formata, non crispata nec nimis longa.[923]

A significant portion of the text is dedicated to the regulation of women's dress. The document lists different forms of female dress in the thirteenth century, with stipulations on colour for religious communities. Some excesses of secular dress were not appropriate for women in religious communities. Adornment was also forbidden, including any form of jewellery or golden embroidery. Though this regulated what religious women were allowed to wear, it also gives insight into how the church and religious orders were responding to certain types of secular dress.

The lay order of Beguines did not have strict rules regarding the dress of their members, but Dayton Phillips argues that the assumption of religious attire was implicit.[924] The statutes of the Dominican Beguinages of Turm, Innenheim, and Offenburg appear to regulate the dress of their members, as the document begins by referring to the women joining with "quod quecunque ad nos habitum nostrum susceptura venerit et permansura."[925] Additionally, it specifies that if any one chooses to leave the beguinage within a year of entry they must refund the cost of clothing given to them by the community.[926] These documents do not necessarily mean that the women within the houses assumed specific religious attire, but rather that it was the hope of the Dominican brothers who oversaw the creation of the statutes. In 1317, Bishop Johann I von Dürbheim (1307–28) noted the dress of beguines in

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[923] Translation: "Likewise we strictly command the abbots and monks, abbesses and nuns, to not wear mantels, nor surcotes or others, nor have garments of dark brown, nor of purple, however they can have that of a better price, as the rule orders; on the other hand they must wear large and wide hoods, and when they ride they must wear black capes and not close them with cloaks, likewise as we have established, abbesses and nuns should wear appropriate and pious dress, but they may in no way wear lay surcotes or tunics; Also as we have said we curb the cloth of dark brown or purple and various skins and other exquisite and sumptuous pelts which distract all men; likewise nuns are not to wear tight or constricting sleeves, nor wear necklaces, nor brooches, nor rings of gold or silver, nor golden embroidery, nor leather belts, nor any worldly adornment; likewise when it happens that abbesses and nuns go out they are not to enjoy secular dress, nor have ….. gilded or ornamented saddles or gilded harnesses but they should modestly and piously advance; likewise they may wear a reverently fashioned overcoat that is not rippled nor exceedingly long." Though the source was copied with the date of 1227, there are various arguments that it could have originated from 1277. Regardless, the synod records regional fears regarding the use of secular dress in women's religious communities; see Paul B. Pixton, *The German Episcopacy 1215–1245 and the Transmission of the Fourth Lateran Decrees* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 356–57; Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, translated by Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 153; Johann Friedrich Schannat and Joseph Hartzheim, eds., *Concilia Germaniae*, Vol. 3 (1760–61), 534–35.

[924] Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg,* 215.

[925] Translation: "Any who come and take up our habit will be accepted and endure;" Ibid., 166; Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Privatrechtliche Urkunden und Amstlisten von 1266 bis 1332*, Vol. 3 (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1881), 27–29.

[926] "insuper si in vestibus vel pro aliis necessitatibus suis aliquid accepit a sororibus, refundet;" Ibid.

his list of grievances against members of the order.[927] It states that the beguines were imitating nuns when begging, by wearing veils under hoods.[928]

Though laywomen had no set dress regulations, sumptuary laws began in the late thirteenth century.[929] They were created to curb excess in dress and to distinguish nobles from the newly established burghers as it had become increasingly difficult to identify members of different social classes.[930] Medieval head coverings were indicative of the marital or religious status of women. While, unmarried women wore their heads uncovered to demonstrate their maidenhood, married women wore a variety of different types of headdress. Some popular styles can be observed on the west facade at Strasbourg, such as the "gebende" (Fig. 132), hood (Fig. 133), veil (Fig. 134), and turban (Fig.135). The "gebende" is characterised by the combination of a fillet and barbette.[931] The fillet is a stiffened band of fabric worn atop the head. A barbette is a strip of fabric worn under the chin to hold one's headdress in place. As shown previously, this was a popular headdress amongst noble women as evidenced by their depictions in tomb effigies and seals. A veil is a draped head covering that was worn by both religious and married lay women alike.[932] This form of headdress was sometimes accompanied by a wimple that covered the neck.[933]

Many lay women could identify with the vices on the portal due to their contemporary dress. As I established, the differing headdresses of the Virtues and Vices were likely not indicative of class tension between the nobility and bourgeois. However, the queenly garb of the Virtues, with their crowns and mantles, separated them visually and morally from the Vices and by extension the laity. I argue that this differentiation assuredly functioned to convey a moral lesson on women's vanity to those who could encounter the facade. This

[927] This occurs after the Council of Vienna in 1311–12 when Pope Clement V issued the decrees "Cum de quibusdam" and "Ad nostrum qui." These decrees condemned the beguines as heretics; For more information on the Council of Vienna and the Beguines, see Tanya Stabler Miller, *The Beguines of Medieval Paris: Gender, Patronage, and Spiritual Authority* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 154–58; Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg,* 210–11, 216.
[928] "ad hec eadem sententia sive pena, qua supra, perstringimus et scripto presenti innodamus omes swestrones, que in singularitate quadam reproba pallium plicant super caput et, dum petunt elemosynam, brod durch got clamitant in plateis, nisi infra triduum post publicationem presentium singularitatem hujusmodi deferant et se cum aliis vestibus et in petendo elemosynam aliis christianis conforment;" Wilhelm Wiegand, ed., *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg: Politische Urkunden von 1266 bis 1332*, Vol. 2 (Strasbourg: Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1886), 309–13; Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg,* 210–11, 216.
[929] For more information on sumptuary laws in German, see Rublack, "The Right to Dress: Sartorial Politics in Germany, C.1300–1750;" Jan Keupp, *Die Wahl des Gewandes: Mode, Macht und Möglichkeitssinn in Gesellschaft und Politik des Mittelalters*, Vol. 33, Mittelalter-Forschungen (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2010).
[930] Ibid.
[931] Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, 151–52.
[932] Madeline H. Caviness, "Hats and Veils: There's No Such Thing as Freedom of Choice, and It's a Good Thing Too," in *Founding Feminisms in Medieval Studies Essays in Honor of E. Jane Burns*, eds. Laine E. Doggett and E. Jane Burns (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2016), 73–95.
[933] Ibid., 88.

would have worked alongside the contemporary preaching of the secular clergy and mendicant orders.

Mendicant Preaching and Dress

To understand thirteenth-century conceptions of women's dress we must look to those who were partially responsible for preaching in this region to women, namely the Dominicans. As established previously, the Dominicans appear to have influenced the iconographic scheme of the western facade at Strasbourg. The Church recognised the ability of the Dominicans to lead women and thus placed the women's communities under them. The cathedral also recognised the authority of the friars in women's spiritual direction, as the order had proven their ability in this respect. Thus, they may have turned to works by the Dominicans as ideal preaching material to curb the excess of women in the city. They may have used these sources to craft the Virtues and Vices, appealing to the contemporary lay women who encountered them. As such, the sculptures functioned alongside mendicant thinking that the women of the city may have recognised from the preaching of their confessors.

As the Dominicans were often involved in the spiritual direction of women, it is important to analyse texts produced and disseminated by the order to understand how they may have preached to the women in their care. These sources often included issues regarding excess in women's dress. In 1273 the Dominican theologian Gilles d'Orléans condemned the clothing of women in Paris.[934] He singled out wigs, comparing them to horns.[935] He also compared them to armour with which he states that women fight against God. Through this comparison of headdress to armour, Gilles accuses the women of acting like men. He also argues that this dress would lead to the damnation of their souls. Similarly, the Franciscan theologian Berthold von Regensburg (d. 1272) preached against women who wore yellow wimples, writing, "Thus the ladies with the yellow wimple have more trouble than those who modestly wear a white one, since many of them spend half a year fussing with the wimple

[934] E. Jane Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed: Reading Through Clothes in Medieval French Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 147–48; Albert Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au moyen âge: spécialement au XIIIe siècle, d'après les manuscrits contemporains* (Paris: Librarie Renouard, 1886), 405.
[935] Ibid.

and the veil."[936] He also lectured on the inappropriate importance that women placed on their clothing.[937]

Thirteenth-century and early fourteenth-century sermon exemplars also give insight into how the Dominicans may have been preaching to their female audiences, religious and lay alike. Some later Dominican theologians were influenced by the earlier Cistercian *Dialogus miraculorum* of Caesar of Heisterbach, such as Arnold of Liége (d. 1308) and Johannes Gobi the Younger (d. 1350).[938] As discussed in the previous chapter, the *Dialogus miraculorum* (c. 1220–35) had been created in the Rhineland and detailed miracles that were said to have occurred there within a wider moralising framework. It is possible that the Dominicans in Strasbourg were not only aware of this work, but also utilised it in their own preaching. Perhaps, the creator of the western facade iconographic scheme also knew the source. A few exemplars in the *Dialogus miraculorum* address women's dress. A miracle involving Matilda, the abbess of Fusinnich, commends women for turning away from secular clothing.[939] Matilda was a noblewoman who, upon telling her parents of her intent to join a convent, was forced into an elaborate purple gown. She replied, "Etiamsi feceritis me auream, non poteritis mutare propositum meum."[940] Caesar also commended the modest dress adopted by religious women. In another miracle Christ appeared as a baby with the Virgin and Joseph to a nun in the convent of St. Walburgis.[941] The Christ-child was swaddled in white wool and grey bindings resembling the robes of the order. Caesar notes that Christ chose to appear in such a way that the nun might rejoice in the habit she had assumed. Another miracle occurred in the nearby city of Mainz.[942] It tells of a priest who encountered a matron at the door of his church wearing elaborate clothing, upon which he saw a multitude of small demons. It states, "for in truth feminine extravagance is a net of the devil."[943] The priest stopped her from

[936] "Sô habent die frouwen met dem gelwen gebende groezer arbeit, denne diu diemüteteclîch ein wîzez treit, wan ir etelîche legent daz jâr wol halbez dar an, niur an daz gebende, niur an sleir;" Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 154; Berthold von Regensburg, *Vollständige Ausgabe seiner Predigten mit anmerkungen und Wörterbuch*, ed. Franz Pfeiffer, Vol. 2 (Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1862), 242–43.
[937] Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 154.
[938] Elisa Brili, "The Making of a New Auctoritas: The Dialogus Miraculorum Read and Rewritten by the Dominican Arnold of Liège," in *The Art of Cistercian Persuasion in the Middle Ages and Beyond*, eds. Victoria Smirnova, Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, and Jacques Berlioz (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 161–82; Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, "Dialogus Miraculorum: The Initial Source of Inspiration for Johannes Gobi the Younger's Scala Coeli?," in *The Art of Cistercian Persuasion in the Middle Ages and Beyond*, eds. Victoria Smirnova, Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, and Jacques Berlioz (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 183–212.
[939] Caesar of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles: Caesarius of Heisterbach (1220–1235)*, translated by H. Von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland, Vol. 1 (New York: Harcourt. Brace and Company, 1929), 58.
[940] Translation: "Even if you were to dress me all in gold, you would not make me change my mind;" Caesar of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. Joseph Strange, Vol. 1–2 (Cologne: Sumptibus J. M. Heberle, 1851), 53–54.
[941] Caesar of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles: Caesarius of Heisterbach (1220–1235)*, Translated by H. Von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland, Vol. 2 (New York: Harcourt. Brace and Company, 1929), 4.
[942] Caesar of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles: Caesarius of Heisterbach (1220–1235),* Vol. 1, 327
[943] Ibid.

entering into the church and prayed that the congregation should be able to see his vision. Miraculously, they were able to see the demons. When the woman became aware that her dress had led to demons mocking her, she reflected on its extravagance. Caesar states that this is an example not only for the matron but for all women. Arnold of Liège in the *Alphabetum narrationum* cites this exemplar, further evidencing the use of its moral messages on dress within late thirteenth-century Dominican instruction.[944] The exemplars in the *Dialogus miraculorum* praise the humility of the religious habit and warn of the excess of secular dress for laywomen.

Exemplars written and disseminated by Dominican theologians prior to and shortly after the creation of the west facade also address morality and women's dress. Stephen of Bourbon (d. 1261) was a French Dominican, inquisitor, and author of the text containing sermon exemplars, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus* (c. 1250–61).[945] He describes the vision of Alpaïs de Cudot.[946] She saw the soul of a countess being dragged to hell by demons. The countess cried out that she had been chaste and merciful in life, but was damned for her love of elaborate clothing. Another example tells of a priest whose mother appeared to him during mass burning and plagued by demons.[947] She told him that he should not pray for her: it would not affect her damned state, as she told her son that she had not finished her penance before her demise. Stephen identifies her sin as inciting lust due to adorning her head and accepting jewellery.

Shortly after the creation of the facade, Johannes Gobi the Younger warned of excess in women's dress in his *Scala coeli* (1327–30).[948] Though this text was not widely circulated, it may give insight into Dominican ideas coming out of the thirteenth century. One exemplar advises that vain adornment could lead others to sin.[949] A saint had a vision of heaven, but demons appeared blocking the entrance with a net. An angel then identified the net with the vain adornment of women; the reference to a net would likely bring to mind the cauls worn by women over their hair. Johannes concluded that the seduction and adornment of women had led to the damnation of many. He also appears to reiterate and elaborate on the

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[944] Arnold of Liège, *An Alphabet of Tales: An English 15th Century Translation of the Alphabetum Narrationum of Étienne de Besançon; from Additional MS. 25719 of the British Museum*, ed. Mary Macleod Banks, Vol. 2 (London: Kegan Paul Trench Truebner, 1904), 395.
[945] Lucy J. Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 60
[946] Stephen of Bourbon, *Tractatus de Diversis Materiis Predicabilibus. Prologus. Prima Pars: De Dono Timoris*, eds. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 425–26.
[947] Ibid., 426–27.
[948] Johannes Gobi the Younger, *La scala coeli de Jean Gobi,* ed. Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: Edition du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991).
[949] Ibid., 497.

aforementioned miracle of Alpaïs de Cudot, demonstrating the recycling of such stories in collections of this kind.[950] The exemplar is altered slightly: a lady asked God what he hated most in women, after which she was given the vision of the damned countess. The text further expounds that, as the serpent in the Garden of Eden took the guise of a woman to deceive, he also used contemporary women's dress to lead to eternal damnation.[951] The vision ends with demons piercing the condemned countess with lances of fire, in a similar manner to the imagery of the Virtues piercing the Vices.

These exemplars give insight into how the Dominicans may have preached to the women in their care. The mendicants drew from an earlier tradition concerning women's vanity, as evidenced by their reuse of earlier sources, which were presumably circulating in the region. The fear around dress was that it could lead women into sin and that men could be incited to lust. Therefore the fear around women's dress applied to women and men alike. The allegorical figures of the Vices on the west facade would therefore be apt examples for the Dominicans to use within their preaching as all could relate to them. The portal functioned as a sermon crafted by the secular institution using popular contemporary sources to preach to their lay audience.[952]

Vices as Contemporary Women in Secular and Mendicant Imagery

We have seen that the western facade of Strasbourg Cathedral may have been influenced by Dominican theology. Dominican churches in Strasbourg and Freiburg contain iconographic programmes that may in turn to have been influenced by the west facade of Strasbourg Cathedral. The imagery of the Vices in contemporary headdresses can be found in the glazing of the Dominican church in Freiburg-im-Breisgau (Fig. 136 & Fig.137, c. 1280–85).[953] This example is particularly pertinent to consider due to its stylistic similarities, and the close proximity of the cities. Four roundels of the Virtues and Vices remain from the original glazing scheme. The Virtues stand with spears pointed down towards the fallen Vices, who wear differing forms of contemporary headdress including the "gebende" and "caul" (hair net). The Vices are depicted as women in all remaining roundels. The windows

[950] Ibid., 784.
[951] "Tunc illa que hoc videbat dixit ei: 'Ergo vanus ornatus est quod plus displicet Deo in muliere.' Cui damnata: 'Vanus ornatus est follex inflammans omnem ignem peccati, est proditor vendens et tradens castra Dei demoni, est ymago damnationis. Unde sicut pulcritudo mulieris fuit assumpta a serpente in nova inceptione peccati, sic nunc ornamentis mulierum ad procurationem damnationis eterne summe utitur;'" Ibid.
[952] For more on facade programs as sermons, see Stephan Murray, *A Gothic Sermon: Making a Contract with the Mother of God, Saint Mary of Amiens* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).
[953] Becksmann, *Die Mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Freiburg im Breisgau*, 525–42.

were removed from the church in 1795, after the closure of the convent the previous year.[954] They were subsequently placed in the Minster and the Augustinermuseum.[955] Two of the four roundels were placed in a lancet alongside eight of the Labours of the Month from the Dominican church by Fritz Geiges between 1922 and 1923.[956] The roundels were originally part of the scheme in the southern chancel of the Dominican church; this also included the Labours of the Month and hagiographical windows.[957] Rüdiger Becksmann argued that this scheme may have also included the Wise and Foolish Virgins based on facade programmes that were in progress at the time, including the west facade at Strasbourg and west porch of Freiburg Minster.[958] I agree that the Strasbourg iconographic programme may have impacted the Dominican church. In particular, I would draw attention to the vice who wears the "gebende" in the stained glass who appears nearly identical to one of the vices at Strasbourg in their facial expression and the contortion of their neck up towards their assailant. He also argued that the windows were located in the choir, as the nave would not have accommodated their size.[959]

The Freiburg windows would have been visible only to the friars in this position.[960] Becksmann questioned why the didactic imagery in the church in Freiburg was placed in a location available only to the community itself.[961] Thus, the glazing may have functioned as a pastoral guide for the friars, alongside many of the texts used by the order. The Dominican audience in Freiburg were well-educated. The prominent theologian Dietrich of Freiburg (d. 1310) began his education at the convent there. The imagery of the Virtues and Vices could have been used to remind the men of their role in the spiritual direction of the women and men in their care. Thus, the monks could compare the imagery in their convent to the texts that they were studying. They may have also used the imagery to inform their preaching. With the inclusion of this motif in the chancel, the friars could be educated on how to preach to the laity using popular imagery that would be familiar and thus easily understood.

The Dominican church in Strasbourg seems to have similarly been influenced by the west facade at Strasbourg. Most of the glazing has been lost due to the destruction of the church during the bombardment of the city in 1870.[962] Some fragments have survived,

[954] Ibid., 529.
[955] Ibid., 525–42.
[956] Ibid., 529.
[957] Ibid., 532
[958] Ibid., 533.
[959] Ibid., 530–3.
[960] Ibid.
[961] Ibid., 533.
[962] Victor Beyer, *Les vitraux de l'ancienne église des Dominicains de Strasbourg*, Corpus Vitrearum France, Vol. IX–2 (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2007), 13–14.

however, due to their sale in 1834.[963] Part of the surviving glazing from the church dates to the period of construction between 1254–60, and some to a new campaign between 1307 and 1345.[964] Victor Beyer reconstructed the scheme based on the extant glass and documentary sources. [965] In 1833, Félix Fries created watercolors of the glazing scheme.[966] Additionally, the iconography of the windows was recorded in 1870 in a letter cataloguing which windows were available for sale.[967] Victor Beyer argued that the windows, created between 1307–45, included imagery of the Annunciation, Adoration of the Magi, Throne of Wisdom, and Last Judgement.[968] The embattled Virtues and Vices from the *Psychomachia* do not seem to have appeared in the glazing.[969] Though, virtues would have appeared beside the Virgin and the Throne of Wisdom.[970] This iteration may have drawn inspiration from the roundel in Window 213 of the cathedral.

Conclusion

The Virtues and Vices on the facade and in the glazing from the Dominican church in Freiburg-im-Breisgau show how contemporary dress could be used as a tool to inform their respective audiences. The western facade may be interpreted as a public display of themes in Dominican preaching and women's dress, as part of a wider theological and moral programme. Thus, it is important to consider how the public might have interacted with and interpreted it. To do so, in line with the methodology of Jung, it is necessary to consider how the figures functioned spatially.[971] As visitors approached the north portal, the Virtues looked down upon the entering laity from their elevated position. As the laity crossed through, they were closest to the Vices. Thus, the medieval audience could consider dress as it relates to sin, reflecting on the eternal status of their soul. Women could identify themselves with the fallen figures and reflect on their own choice of dress. Men could consider how women's dress could lead them to sin.

These figures may have assumed a greater meaning when considered alongside women in contemporary dress in the Passion tympanum (Fig. 87), to be considered in the

[963] Ibid.
[964] For more information on the glazing of the Dominican church at Strasbourg, see Beyer, *Les vitraux de l'ancienne église des Dominicains de Strasbourg*.
[965] Ibid., 29–52.
[966] Ibid., 17, 21–28.
[967] Ibid., 18.
[968] Ibid., 29–52.
[969] Ibid.
[970] Ibid.
[971] Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*.

next chapter. Mary Magdalene is depicted in a veil and wimple. This example may have functioned as an example of how one could turn away from the vice of excessive dress, as she turned from her life of prostitution. Thus, the figures in contemporary dress could have acted as didactic tools for their audience to consider their spiritual state alongside the modern preaching of the mendicants. The Dominicans could then use the imagery as a tool in their preaching to the laity as displayed in their continued use of similar motifs in the glazing of their churches in Freiburg-im-Breisgau and Strasbourg. Therefore, a reciprocal relationship can be observed between the cathedral and the Dominicans in the development of their teaching, preaching, and imagery into the fourteenth century.

Chapter 6

"Fevresse" and Synagoga: Changing Allegories of Jewish Women

Introduction

The Passion Tympanum (Fig. 87) of the central portal on the west facade contains various representations of Judaism and Jewish women indicative of changing beliefs about the Jews at the end of the thirteenth century. These portrayals differ significantly from the earlier examples on the south transept facade of Synagoga and Solomon (Fig. 1 & Fig. 2) and in the Old Covenant window (Fig. 7). This chapter thus explores this difference by analysing the imagery of the Passion Tympanum, engaging with the work of Paul Ahnne, Bruno Boerner, Benoît van den Bossche, Irven Resnick, and Nina Rowe.[972] Shifting Christian-Jewish relations likely contributed to the change in Jewish imagery at Strasbourg Cathedral. This is analysed through study of the increased efforts at the end of the thirteenth century to convert Jews and prevent them from reverting. Works on antisemitism and Christian-Jewish relations in medieval Germany by Anna Sapir Abulafia, Jeremy Cohen, and Irven M. Resnick are particularly useful.[973] In the tympanum, a Jewish woman stands beside Christ holding the three nails of the Crucifixion, known as the "Fevresse."[974]This chapter explores the significance of her inclusion and function in the programme of the west facade. Paul Ahnne, Bruno Boerner, Sara Lipton, and Gary D. Schmidt have briefly studied her representation.[975]

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[972] Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Nina Rowe, "Rethinking Ecclesia and Synagoga in the Thirteenth Century," in *Gothic: Art and Thought in the Later Medieval Period-Essays in Honor of Willibald Sauerländer*, ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2011), 265–91; Jacqueline Jung, "Passion, the Jews, and the Crisis of the Individual on the Naumburg West Choir Screen," in *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Mitchell B. Merback, 37, Brill's Series in Jewish Studies (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 145–78; Bruno Boerner, *Bildwirkungen: Die kommunikative Funktion mittelalterlicher Skulpturen* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 2008), 146–69; Benoît van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux* (Paris: Picard, 2006); Paul Ahnne, "La 'Fevresse' Hédroit au portail de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 2, no. 5 (1939): 63–71.

[973] Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christian Jewish Relations 1000–1300: Jews in the Service of Medieval Christendom* (Milton Park: Routledge, 2014), Irven M. Resnick "Albert the Great on the Talmud and the Jews," in *Philosemitism, Antisemitism and "the Jews" Perspectives from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, eds. Tony Kushner and Nadia Valman (Milton Park: Routledge, 2004), 132–54.

[974] Gary D. Schmidt, "'A Fell Woman and Full of Strife': The Legend of Hédroit, the Smith's Wife," *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 11 (1985): 47–61

[975] Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2014), 221–23; Boerner, *Bildwirkungen: Die kommunikative Funktion mittelalterlicher Skulpturen,* 163–65; Schmidt, "'A Fell Woman and Full of Strife': The Legend of Hédroit, the Smith's Wife," 47–61; Ahnne, "La 'Fevresse' Hédroit au portail de la cathédrale de Strasbourg."

Representations of Jewish Women in the Passion Tympanum

The central tympanum depicts the Passion of Christ (Fig. 87, c.1280–1300), the events leading up to the death of Jesus, also including scenes which took place after his Resurrection leading to his Ascension. It is presented in four registers reading from left to right, working upward to its culmination at the apex. The scenes of the narrative are framed by architectural features and trees, separating the imagery into clear tableaus. The bottom register features scenes of the entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper, Arrest of Christ, Christ presented to Caiaphas, and Flagellation of Christ. The second register includes representations of the crowning of Christ with thorns, the carrying of the cross, the Crucifixion, the descent from the cross, and the three Marys at the empty tomb. The third register includes images of the hanged Judas, Harrowing of Hell, "Noli me tangere," and Christ appearing to the disciples.

There are various representations of Jewish people in the second register, in particular. To begin, a Jewish man is depicted alongside Christ crowning him with thorns (Fig. 138). Christ stands centrally being crowned following the biblical narrative.[976] The crown of thorns is being placed by two men who flank Jesus. The man on the left is missing his leg which is supported by a crutch and the man on the right is wearing a conical hat which identifies him as a Jew.[977] Two further Jewish figures appear beside Christ carrying the cross (Fig. 139). Christ is depicted centrally supporting the cross on his shoulder with three figures accompanying him. On the left is a man with his back turned to the viewer assisting in carrying the cross, who has been identified as Simon of Cyrene.[978] On the right are a man and woman who each wear conical head adornments, signifying their status as Jews. Both stand on the opposite side of the cross from Christ, so that it functions as a barrier between the two. The man looks outward and away from Christ. The woman has her arm placed in front of the cross and in her hand are the three nails which later affix Jesus to the cross. She is wearing the contemporary dress of a tunic and scapular. Paul Ahnne identifies this woman as the "Fevresse," a figure who is not found within the biblical narrative, but appears in earlier

[976] Mt. 27: 29, Mk. 15: 17, Jn. 19: 2, 5.
[977] Van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux,* 91–92. For more on Jewish dress in the thirteenth century, see Irven Resnick, "The Jews' Badge," in *Jews and Muslims under the Fourth Lateran Council: Papers Commemorating the Octocentenary of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215)*, eds. Marie-Thérèse Champagne and Irven M. Resnick (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2018), 65–79.
[978] Van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux,* 92–93, 177.

French Passion plays.[979] The final representation is of Synagoga at the Crucifixion itself (Fig. 140). In this scene, Christ is positioned as the central focal point. The cross stands atop the horizontal grave of Adam from which it emerges as the Tree of Life.[980] Beside Christ are the figures of the Virgin Mary to the left and St. John to the right, both mourning. At the foot of the cross on each side are familiar female personifications. Pictured to the left is Ecclesia, the personification of the Church, crowned, and with a banner and chalice, which collects the blood of Christ. Standing opposite is the personification of Synagoga, holding a broken banner and tablets of the law. Her eyes are covered by a small dragon, wrapped around her head in place of a blindfold. She is turned away from Christ on the cross with her head down. This iteration of the Crucifixion is similar to a representation in the *Hortus deliciarum* (Fig. 61, c. 1180s) The presence of Ecclesia and Synagoga at the foot of the cross is also the theme of the thirteenth-century Latin play, *Disputatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae,* in which these personifications debate the teachings of Christianity there.[981]

All of these portrayals appear in the second register of the tympanum, specifically at the torture and crucifixion of Christ. The Jews are represented as active participants in his murder reflecting contemporary beliefs that the Jews were responsible for Christ's death.[982] Two of the figures are directly associated with the "Arma Christi," the crown of thorns and the nails. As Stefan Rohrbacher shows in his study of anti-Jewish representations of deicide, there is a tradition of depicting Jews with nails.[983] Examples include the Baptismal Font in Bochum Germany (Fig. 141, c. 1165–85) and the Psalter of Belmont created around Basel (Fig. 142, c. 1260). The Italian Dominican Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1230–98) also associated Jews with some of the "Arma Christi," namely the nails and sponge with gall, in his sermons.[984] Though the representation of Jews participating in the Passion of Christ is not novel, the portrayal at Strasbourg coincided with regulations on the Jewish communities during Holy Week, requiring them to stay indoors with their windows closed.[985] In a charter

[979] This identification has been widely accepted by scholars: Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 221–23; Schmidt, "'A Fell Woman and Full of Strife': The Legend of Hédroit, the Smith's Wife," 47–61; Ahnne, "La 'Fevresse' Hédroit au portail de la cathédrale de Strasbourg."
[980] Van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux,* 94–95, 176–77.
[981] Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral, and the City*, 239–40; Gillieberto, "Disputatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae," in *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, eds. Edmund Martène and Ursin Durand, 5 (Paris: Sumptibus F. Delaulne, etc., 1717), 1497–1506.
[982] For more on contemporary beliefs on Jewish deicide, see Jeremy Cohen, "The Jews as the Killers of Christ in the Latin Tradition, from Augustine to the Friars," *Traditio* 39 (1983): 1–27.
[983] Stefan Rohrbacher, "The Charge of Deicide: An Anti-Jewish Motif in Medieval Christian Art," *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991): 297–321.
[984] In one passage, while preaching on love, Jacobus de Voragine describes Christ with our names written on his hand. In this, he states that the Jews used nails and Christ's blood to write them. Also, while preaching on the Crucifixion, he states that it was Jewish custom to give those dying good wine but to increase Christ's suffering they gave him wine mixed with myrrh; Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones Aurei*, ed. P. Adel. Figarol (Toulouse: Ex Typis Orphanarum, 1874), 435, 518.
[985] Norman Roth, *Medieval Jewish Civilization: An Encyclopedia* (Milton Park: Routledge, 2014), 156.

of 1281, Rudolf von Habsburg (1273–91), king of Germany, confirmed that Jews in Germany were to adhere to ecclesiastical regulations during Holy Week.[986]

On the west front, the portrayal of Judaism is different from the depiction of Synagoga on the south transept. I have argued that, there, she was blindfolded but sympathetic, presenting a hopeful view of the conversion of the Jews. Whereas, on the west facade, Synagoga is blinded by a dragon. Dragons in the Middle Ages were associated with the Devil, so her blindness is no longer passive but malicious. As the personification of Judaism, Synagoga frames the audience's understanding of the Jewish figures on the tympanum who fall under her purview. The Jews are portrayed as intentionally blind, conscious of their actions. This is consistent with contemporary Dominican preaching on Jewish guilt over the Crucifixion. It aligns with aspects of the work of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas on the subject, as explored by Irven Resnick.[987] Thomas Aquinas claimed that the Jewish leaders were aware of Christ's messianic identity but refused to acknowledge his divinity.[988] He argued that the Jewish people were also guilty as they should have been aware of who Jesus was, due to their knowledge of the Old Testament.[989] Albertus Magnus preached on the culpability of the Jews in the death of Christ due to malicious ignorance.[990] Bruno Boerner noted that all of the Jews in the Passion tympanum conveyed contemporary beliefs on the Jewish contribution to the suffering of Jesus.[991] Thus, the evolution of imagery invites questions on what was occurring to prompt it and why it may have been seen as necessary.

Christian-Jewish Relations in Thirteenth-Century Christendom

As the thirteenth century progressed tensions between Christians and Jews had grown, informed by shifting municipal, imperial, and papal authority and the growth of the mendicant orders.[992] The Church attempted to delegitimise the Talmud, in the hope of forcing

[986] Abulafia, *Christian Jewish Relations 1000-1300: Jews in the Service of Medieval Christendom*, 54.
[987] Irven Resnick, "Albert the Great on the Talmud and the Jews," in *Philosemitism, Antisemitism and "the Jews" Perspectives from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, eds. Tony Kushner and Nadia Valman (Milton Park: Routledge, 2004), 150–54.
[988] Ibid., 149–50.
[989] Ibid.
[990] Ibid., 150–53.
[991] Boerner, *Bildwirkungen: Die kommunikative Funktion mittelalterlicher Skulpturen*, 163–65.
[992] Abulafia, *Christian Jewish Relations 1000–1300: Jews in the Service of Medieval Christendom*; Resnick "Albert the Great on the Talmud and the Jews," in *Philosemitism, Antisemitism and "the Jews" Perspectives from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, eds. Tony Kushner and Nadia Valman (Milton Park: Routledge, 2004), 132–54.

the Jews to turn to the Old Testament and thus be easier to convert.[993] In 1236, Nicholas Donin, a Franciscan who had converted from Judaism, approached Pope Gregory IX (1227–41) with 35 charges against the Talmud.[994] He claimed that it contained sacrilegious material against Christ and the Virgin Mary.[995] He also argued that it contained attacks on the Church and Christianity.[996] In 1239, the pope wrote to various European leaders to confiscate all copies of the Talmud, and to give them over to the Dominicans and Franciscans.[997] The subsequent year King Louis IX (king of France, 1226–70) called prominent Jewish scholars to his court to defend the Talmud against the claims of Nicolas Donin.[998] This led to mass burnings of copies of it in Paris in 1242.[999] Pope Innocent IV (1243–54) continued his predecessor's attacks with a call to continue burnings of the text in 1244.[1000] In 1247, he issued a bull to Louis IX for further investigation of the Talmud.[1001] The same year, another commission to investigate the text was instigated by Odo of Châteauroux (d. 1273), papal legate in Paris.[1002] Various scholars and theologians at the University of Paris took part.[1003] Odo issued a letter with the findings of the commission stating:

> Quia eos invenimus errores innumerabiles, abusiones, et nefaria continere que pudori referentibus et audientibus sunt horrori, in tantum quod predicti libri secundum Deum sine fidei Christiane injuria tolerare non possunt; de consilio bonorum quos ad hoc specialiter duximus evocandos, pronuntiamus predictos libros tolerandos non esse, nec magistris Judeorum restituti debere, et ipsos sententialiter condemnamus.[1004]

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[993] Hyam Maccoby, *Judaism on Trial: Jewish-Christian Disputations in the Middle Ages* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1984), 24.
[994] Leonard B. Glick, *Abraham's Heirs: Jews and Christians in Medieval Europe* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 193–96
[995] Ibid., 194; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Ms. Lat. 16558, f. 211r–214v. For a transcription and translation of the 35 articles, see Isidore Loeb, "La controverse de 1240 sur le Talmud (suite)," *Revue des études juives* 2, no. 4 (1881): 248–70; Isidore Loeb, "La controverse de 1240 sur Le Talmud (fin)," *Revue des études juives* 3, no. 5 (1881): 39–57.
[996] Ibid.

[997] Glick, *Abraham's Heirs*, 197; Solomon Grayzel, ed., *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century: A Study of Their Relations during the Years 1198–1254, Based on the Papal Letters and the Conciliar Decrees of the Period* (New York: Hermon Press, 1966), 241–42.
[998] For more on the Paris Disputation, see Maccoby, *Judaism on Trial*, 19–38.
[999] Glick, *Abraham's Heirs,* 200.
[1000] Ibid., 201.
[1001] Ibid.; Grayzel, ed., *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century,* 274–79.
[1002] Resnick, "Albert the Great on the Talmud and the Jews," 135–36.
[1003] Ibid.
[1004] Translation: Whereas we found that these books were full of innumerable errors, abuses, blasphemies and wickedness such as arouse shame in those who speak of them and horrify the hearer, to such an extent that these books cannot be tolerated in the name of God without injury to the Christian Faith, therefore, with the advice of those pious men whom we caused to be gathered especially for that purpose, we pronounced that the said books are unworthy of tolerance, and that they are not to be restored to the Jewish masters, and we decisively condemn them; Grayzel, ed., *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century,* 278–79.

This document included the names of 44 theologians who were present, including Albertus Magnus.[1005]

Jews relied on various forms of protection by civic, imperial, papal, and episcopal authority, which was often paired with steep taxes.[1006] Papal protection was given via the *Sicut Iudeis*, papal bulls that placed the Jews in Christendom under the protection of the pope.[1007] The first was issued in 1120 by Calixtus II and it was reissued by subsequent popes.[1008] In Germany, King Rudolf von Habsburg (king of Germany, 1273–91) placed the Jews under his protection, confirming Innocent IV's bull protecting the Jews against blood libel accusations and Pope Gregory X's (1271–76) reissue of the *Sicut Iudeis*.[1009] Jews began to flee Germany, however, due to increased taxation.[1010] Subsequently, in 1286, Rudolf confiscated goods that had been left behind by those who fled, declaring the Jews as "servi camerae regis."[1011] The same year he imprisoned Rabbi Meir ben Barukh, the contemporary leader of German Jewry as he was trying to leave the kingdom with fellow German Jews.[1012] He remained in prison until his death in 1293.[1013]

The mendicants were also entrusted with proselytizing Jews and leading inquisitions against those who attempted to revert. In 1278, Pope Nicolas III (1277–80) issued the bull, *Vineam Soreth,* in which the mendicants were ordered to preach to the Jews.[1014] Between 1245 and 1247, Pope Innocent IV issued a mandate that relapsing Jews, who had previously willingly converted, were to be punished by Canon Law.[1015] The mendicants became inquisitors over reverting Jews. Clement IV (1265–68) issued the *Turbato corde* in 1267 over fears that Jews were attempting to convert Christians to Judaism.[1016] The imagery on the west facade thus coincided not only with the increased influence of the Dominicans in Strasbourg, but also with the order's increasing interactions with Jews. The portrayal would also remind the Bishop, nobles, and city council of their authority over contemporary Jews, who were subservient due in part to their ancient actions against Christ at the Crucifixion.

[1005] Ibid.; Resnick, "Albert the Great on the Talmud and the Jews," 135–36.
[1006] Abulafia, *Christian Jewish Relations 1000–1300*, 55.
[1007] Glick, *Abraham's Heirs,* 120.
[1008] Maccoby, *Judaism on Trial: Jewish-Christian Disputations in the Middle Ages*.
[1009] Abulafia, *Christian Jewish Relations 1000–1300,* 52.
[1010] Ibid., 52–53.
[1011] Ibid.
[1012] Ibid., 56–57.
[1013] Ibid.
[1014] Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 82–84; Simonsohn, ed., *The Apostolic See and the Jews,* 249–52.
[1015] Simonsohn ed., *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, 182.
[1016] Ibid., 236–37.

The Rhetorical Function of the "Fevresse"

The "Fevresse" invites further exploration of how the evolving imagery of the cathedral may relate to ongoing efforts at Jewish conversion. As shown in the second register (Fig. 139), she is outfitted in contemporary dress, with a tunic, scapular, and the small conical bonnet of a Jewish woman.[1017] She stands in front of her husband, the blacksmith, who similarly dons a conical hat identifying him as a Jewish man.[1018] Her gaze is directed downward and out, away from the figure of Christ carrying the cross and the Crucifixion itself. Her expression is neutral, filled with neither ire nor joy. Her hand is draped over the cross brandishing the three nails of the Passion, which she is said to have forged. This representation of the blacksmith's wife is the only extant monumental sculpture of the subject. Portrayals of the "Fevresse" are rare, especially from this period, but she begins to appear within manuscripts in the fourteenth century. Sara Lipton argued that imagery of the "Fevresse" marked the beginning of the antisemitic Jewess trope in art.[1019] In this, she compared the representation in the *Queen Mary Psalter* to the hooked nose image in the *Holkham Bible Picture Book*, to which I shall return.[1020] Lipton addressed the change of her imagery to include defamatory sterotypical Jewish features, before seen on representations of Jewish men. At Strasbourg, the "Fevresse" does not possess distinguishing facial features, but she is identified as a Jewish woman by her dress.[1021]

Though its origins are unknown, the first known evidence of the "Fevresse's" inclusion within a Passion narrative can be found in the vernacular French poem, the *Passion des Jongleurs,* created at the end of the twelfth century or beginning of the thirteenth century.[1022] While there are differing textual versions of the *Passion des Jongleurs*, Anne Joubert Amari Perry argued that this legend can be found in multiple iterations of the text.[1023] For the present study, I have utilized BNF Fr. 1526, as Perry has argued this manuscript presents an earlier iteration of the play than other manuscripts.[1024] It was completed by Geufroi de Paris and dated 1243.[1025] Lines 1526–65 of the *Passion des Jongleurs* are

[1017] Van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux,* 92–93, 177.
[1018] Ibid.
[1019] Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2014), 221–23.
[1020] Ibid.
[1021] Van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux,* 92–93, 177.
[1022] Geufroi de Paris, *La passion des jongleurs: texte établi d'après la bible des sept estaz du monde de Geufroi de Paris*, ed. Anne Joubert Amari Perry (Paris: Beauchesne Editeur, 1981, 17–19.
[1023] Ibid., 41.
[1024] Ibid., 30–31.
[1025] Ibid., 19.

dedicated to the myth of the "Fevresse" and the creation of the nails used to crucify Christ.[1026] In this telling of the legend, the Jews approach Israel, the blacksmith, as they had no nails to use in the Crucifixion.[1027] Israel places his hands out of sight and claims that they have sustained an injury in the fire so that he is unable to smith the nails.[1028] He is then questioned by the Jews about his injury and they threaten his life if he is lying to them.[1029] After which, he displays his hands which have been miraculously struck with leprosy.[1030] The "Fevresse" is then introduced and described as "Sa male fame o le cuer faux" or "his evil wife with the false heart."[1031] The "Fevresse" then addresses her husband berating him for his actions saying,

> Li dist: "Tost vous est pris cest maus,
> N'a encor se petit non
> Qu'entre moi et vous forgïon.
> Ne remaindra pour ton dehet
> Que li .iii. clous ne soient fet.[1032]

She then takes up the tools of the forge and creates the three nails of the Passion, which she delivers to the Jews.[1033] This iteration of the legend is brief, with just ten lines dedicated to the "Fevresse." While she is described as being evil and demeaning to her husband, she does not create the nails for the cross out of malice towards Christ. Within this manuscript of the *Passion des Jongleurs*, there is also no mention of the appearance of the "Fevresse," leaving those reading to infer her appearance based on her character traits, and status as a Jewish woman.

There is other literary evidence for the popularity of the "Fevresse." Approximately contemporary with the creation of the Strasbourg Passion tympanum is the French vernacular play, the *Passion du Palatinus* or Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal.lat.1969, parts of which date from the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century.[1034] The creation of the three nails of the Passion and the "Fevresse" appears in lines 781 to 865.[1035] The blacksmith's wife speaks for 33 lines, so her role has been expanded

[1026] Ibid., f. 105v, Lines 1526–65.
[1027] Ibid., f. 105v, Line 1535.
[1028] Ibid., f. 105v, Line 1544–49.
[1029] Ibid., f. 105v, Lines 1548–51.
[1030] Ibid., f. 105v, Lines 1552–53.
[1031] Ibid., f. 105v, Line 1554.
[1032] Translation: "She said: "This injury has come upon quickly, but it is still small, between you and I we can forge them. This will not stop because of your ailment. that these three nails will not be made;" Ibid., f. 105v, Lines 1555–59.
[1033] Ibid., Lines 1560–64.
[1034] Grace Frank, ed., *La passion du palatinus: Mystère du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Librarie Honore Champion, Editeur, 1992), x.
[1035] Ibid., 31–34.

significantly from the *Passion des Jongleurs.* To begin, Herod Antipas orders the Marquis, a Jewish man, to visit the blacksmith to have the nails created for the Crucifixion of Christ.[1036] The Marquis then goes to the blacksmith and commands him to create three nails.[1037] The blacksmith tells him that he cannot create the nails, due to sustaining an injury.[1038] Then, the Marquis threatens the blacksmith and accuses him of lying.[1039] The blacksmith responds by showing his hands which have been miraculously wounded.[1040] The Marquis is about to leave in search of another blacksmith when the "Fevresse" speaks up (lines 817–34):

> Pour le grant Dieu, que dites vous?
> Nous forgions ïer, moy et vous,
> Et chacun jour ceste semeine
> Et si aviés les mains si saines.
> Or sont si forment despeciees
> Et getees et escrevees.
> Du maufé vient tel maladie
> Qui si tost vous a asallie.
> Mais ja pour mal que vous aiez
> Ne s'en ira desconseilliés,
> Car je bien le conseillerai
> Que je meïsmes forgerai
> Les trois clos touz de fin acier.
> Bien en porra on cloficher
> Jhesucrist, le fel peneant,
> L'ipocrite mauvais tirant,
> Que se fait Diex. On vera on
> Se il eschapera ou non.[1041]

[1036] Ibid., 31.
[1037] Ibid., 31–32.
[1038] Ibid., 32.
[1039] Ibid., 32–33.
[1040] Ibid.
[1041] Translation: "For the great God, what are you saying?
We were forging yesterday, you and I,
And every day this week,
And your hands were so healthy.
Now they are so badly cut up,
And tossed about and scratched.
Such an illness comes from evil,
Which has befallen you so quickly.
But no matter how ill you may be,

So, she tells the Marquis that she and her husband had forged shackles and coins only the day before.[1042] She then berates her husband for his injury and confirms that she will instead create the three nails.[1043] After which, she talks of her distaste for Christ, even going so far as to call him an evil hypocritical tyrant. The Marquis responds by blessing her and offering to pay her well.[1044] She responds with another speech (lines 841–57) :

N'en pallez plus, ne n'en doutez
Que ja denier ne m'en donrrez;
Et sachiez touz trois les ferai,
Que ja denier ne recevrai,
Se mon mari l'avoit juré,
Qui si tost a le male trové
A ses mains, que mal feu li arde!
Ja de forgier ne serai couarde
Pour le faus truant cloficher,
Cui le grant Dieu puet mesainnier.
Marques, tenez, biax douz amis,
Et sachiez bien que Jhesucrist
Sera mout fort si se deserre.
N'a si fors clos en ceste terre
Com sil sont. Or les en portez,
Et guardez bien soit encloez…
Qui ver nos Juïs est si maus.[1045]

You will not go unaided,
For I will advise well
That I will forge them myself
The three nails all of fine steel.
Good to nail them to
Jesus Christ, the bitter felon,
The hypocrite, the wicked deceiver,
Who pretends to be God. We shall see
If he escapes or not;" Ibid., 32–33.

[1042] Ibid.

[1043] Ibid.

[1044] Ibid.

[1045] Translation: "Speak of it no more, and do not doubt
That you will not give me any money;
And know that I will make all three of them,
And I will not receive any money,
If my husband had not sworn it,
Who has so quickly been hurt
On his hands, that they burn with malady!
I will not be a coward in forging,

The blacksmith's wife informs him that she will make the nails of the Passion and that no payment is required for her service.[1046] Within this narrative, the "Fevresse's" hatred for Christ fuels her creation of the three nails, differing from the *Passion des Jongleurs*. The appearance of the blacksmith's wife is not noted, though her Jewishness may have invited imaginings of contemporary stereotypes, in physical features and dress.

Postdating the "Fevresse" in the Strasbourg tympanum is the *Passion Nostre Seigneur*, Manuscript 1131 from the Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève in Paris, dating from the mid-fourteenth century.[1047] This displays how the myth of the blacksmith's wife evolved. Within this play the creation of the three nails of the Passion occurs in lines 2369 to 2444.[1048] Of the seventy-five lines which make up the narrative, the "Fevresse" speaks for thirty of them, whereas her husband is only given fourteen lines, increasing her role even further.[1049] Contemporary interest in the blacksmith's wife appears to have resulted in her role expanding over time, as she occupies an increasingly large role in the Passion narrative.[1050] The beginning of the play mirrors that of the previous example with the Marquis visiting the blacksmith, who states that he has sustained a hand injury preventing him from creating the nails.[1051] The "Fevresse" then interjects that her husband had been smithing just the day before, accusing him of lying.[1052] After which, the blacksmith states that his wife is deceitful and displays his hands to the Marquis.[1053] Thus, the "Fevresse" engages in a long exchange with the Marquis in which she tells him that she will create the nails.[1054] She states that the points of the nails will be anointed with the blood of Christ: "A ce clou ci feré la pointe, Qui du sang Jhesu sera oingte."[1055] After their conversation she demands payment of four deniers for her service, no longer simply smithing the nails simply out of hatred for Christ.[1056] The

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To nail the false deceiver,
Whom the great God may damn.
Mark, take them, dear friend,
And know well that Jesus Christ
Will be very strong if he escapes.
There is no stronger lock on this earth
Than they are. Now carry them away,
And make sure they are securely enclosed...
Whoever does harm to our Jews is wicked;" Ibid., 33–34.

[1046] Ibid.

[1047] Graham A. Runnalls, ed., *Le mystère de la passion nostre seigneur du Ms. 1131 de la Bibliothèque Ste-Genevieve* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1974), 24.

[1048] Ibid., 196–99.

[1049] Ibid.

[1050] Schmidt, "A Fell Woman and Full of Strife: The Legend of Hédroit, the Smith's Wife," 7–61.

[1051] Graham A. Runnalls, ed., *Le mystère de la passion nostre seigneur,* 196–97.

[1052] Ibid., 197.

[1053] Ibid.

[1054] Ibid., 198–99.

[1055] Translation: "On the point of this nail that will be anointed with the blood of Jesus;" Ibid., 198.

[1056] Ibid., 199.

narrative continued to grow throughout the Middle Ages appearing in later passion plays and manuscripts into the fifteenth century.[1057]

The legend of the blacksmith and his wife could have spread through various means. One may have been through travelling jongleurs who had integrated the *Passion des Jongleurs* into their repertoire, as possibly displayed in the widespread transcription of the play and the increased integration of her legend over time within Passion plays in various regions.[1058] Another manner of transmission may have been through the mendicant orders. Various Dominicans, including Albertus Magnus, who taught in Strasbourg had also spent time at the University of Paris and thus would have been familiar with Passion plays being performed in France. However knowledge of the "Fevresse" spread, it is apparent that it had reached Strasbourg from France, by the end of the thirteenth century.

The representation of the "Fevresse" in the Passion Tympanum appears to be an amalgamation of different aspects of the narratives in the *Passion des Jongleurs* and the *Passion du Palatinus.* Her attributes in these sources are her status as a Jewish woman, as the wife of a blacksmith, capable of using a blacksmith's tools, and manufacturing the three nails of the Crucifixion. Within these narratives, the "Fevresse" is associated with the forge but the image within the central tympanum of Strasbourg Cathedral is different. She stands beside Christ carrying the cross. The tympanum includes the "Fevresse," her husband the blacksmith, and the three nails of the Passion, simplifying the tale down to its basic elements. The blacksmith's wife is not outwardly evil in her appearance, as she would become in later iterations; she is a Jewish woman who is responsible for the death of Christ through her creation of the three nails which are clutched within her hand. She and her husband are placed on the opposite side of the cross from Christ. The cross is therefore symbolically separating Christ from the Jews. She also stands in front of her husband, displaying her usurption of his authority as head of the household. She holds the nails that she forged when she seized control of her husband's business and craft.

The "Fevresse" began to appear in manuscript illuminations in the fourteenth century. In England, she can be found in the *Queen Mary Psalter* or Royal MS 2 BVII which was created for a woman, possibly Queen Isabella of France, Queen of England (d. 1358), at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[1059] It contains numerous images of women in the various

[1057] Schmidt, "A Fell Woman and Full of Strife: The Legend of Hédroit, the Smith's Wife," 54–57.
[1058] Geufroi de Paris, *La passion des jongleurs,* 17–19.
[1059] Anne Rudloff Stanton, *The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2001), 1, 9–10.

stages of life, female biblical figures and saints, and cautionary examples of women.[1060] The example of the "Fevresse" can be found on f. 252v (Fig. 143) forging the nails of the Crucifixion. Alongside her depiction are other images corresponding to the Passion. Beneath them is written Psalm 118: 129, which reads "Mirabilia testimonia tua, Ideo scrutata est ea anima mea."[1061] Gary Schmidt argues that this text is ironic, as it is accompanied by the images of figures inflicting harm on Christ, actively working against the laws of God.[1062] The *Queen Mary Psalter* was intended for private devotional use, whereas the Passion tympanum at Strasbourg was a public display which any member of the laity could observe, including women of varying social standings.

There is some evidence of Dominican interest in the figure of the "Fevresse." Although she does not explicitly appear in Dominican exempla and treatises, Jacobus de Voragine associated the Jews with the nails of the Crucifixion in his sermon collection, as previously stated.[1063] He compared Jews to scribes who used nails as pens.[1064] There are also Dominican exempla which tell cautionary tales of indignant wives who usurp the authority of their husbands or lead them astray, which are similar in their moral allegory. A representation and corresponding description of the blacksmith's wife can be found in the *Holkham Bible Picture Book* on f.31r (Fig. 144).[1065] The *Holkham Bible Picture Book* was created in the early fourteenth century in London. The manuscript opens with an image of a Dominican friar on the first page, f. 1r (Fig. 145), who is instructing a scribe on the creation of the manuscript stating that it will be seen by important people, as displayed on a phylactery.[1066] This has been widely accepted as evidence that the book was commissioned by a Dominican friar. Michelle Brown presented an alternative theory that the *Holkham Bible Picture Book* was made for personal use by its artist, but inspired by Dominican preaching, as it is missing other materials often used in Dominican Bibles.[1067] This seems needlessly complex, when the prefatory image clearly displays a Dominican in the donor position.

The representation of the creation of the three nails of the Passion occupies the bottom of the folio and follows the narrative that is presented in the aforementioned Passion plays.

[1060] Ibid., 85–146.
[1061] Translation: "Thy testimonies are wonderful: therefore my soul hath sought them;" Schmidt, "A Fell Woman and Full of Strife," 54–55; Ps. 118: 129.
[1062] Schmidt, "A Fell Woman and Full of Strife," 54–55.
[1063] "Et illa scriptura non fuit facta cum calamo, vel atramento, vel in pergameno; sed calami fuerunt acutissimi clavi, atramentum ejus sanguis pretiosus, scriptores Judaei perversi, pergamenum caro manuum Christi;" Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones Aurei*, 435.
[1064] Ibid.
[1065] Michelle P. Brown, *The Holkham Bible Picture Book: A Facsimile* (London: British Library, 2007), 75–76.
[1066] Ibid., 1–4
[1067] Ibid., 1–24.

The Marquis is outfitted in a conical hat with a club over his shoulder, and appears to be in discussion with the blacksmith. He has a hooked nose and extends a finger toward the blacksmith, in speech. The blacksmith motions to his hand which appears swollen with red splotches, representing his miraculous injury. The "Fevresse*"* is outfitted in contemporary dress with a tunic covered by a blacksmith's apron and a headdress featuring a strap under her chin and across her forehead, not dissimilar to her appearance at Strasbourg. Her features are exaggerated with a pronounced brow and hooked nose. She is in the process of creating the nails for the Crucifixion, lifting the hammer to strike the iron which she holds in place with a pair of tongs, on a tree trunk. A medieval forge is represented behind the blacksmith's wife, with bellows to heat the fire. A description of the scene is given above in Norman French reading,

> Coment l'en perceoyt la croyz u Ihesus estoyt cloué. E coment un iuyf allat [-fere] forger les cloues dunt Ihesus [e]serroyt [/ne] cloué, et ne pout fevere trover que les vousiit forger; ysi yl trovat un fevere, et luy disoyt que yl allat forger les cloues por atacher Ihesus a la croyz. Et yl disoyt que y[l] les ne pout forger et que sa meyn estoyt [male>malade] [/malade] que fu tute seyne. E le iuyf le fesoyt mustrer, et de miracle fu malade et arere seyne. E sa femme saliit avant et diit: 'Por ceo e faudra que i[l] ne ines serrunt forgez.' et les alat forger.[1068]

This is a very brief description of the events of the legend as detailed within the Passion plays, including the miraculous injury of the blacksmith and the creation of the nails by his wife. This manuscript could display Dominican interest in the subject of the "Fevresse" or in vernacular Passion plays.

The images at Strasbourg, in the *Queen Mary Psalter*, and the *Holkham Bible Picture Book* utilise the imagery of the "Fevresse" to educate their varied audiences on contemporary Jewish women. Each portrays the scene in a manner indicative of their respective viewer. The *Queen Mary Psalter* could have reminded Queen Isabella why the Jews were exiled from England. The image could also have functioned to instruct her on being subservient to the authority of her husband, the king. The examples at Strasbourg and in the *Holkham Bible Picture Book* both feature Dominican thinking and may have been used by the order as

[1068] Translation: "How is to be seen herein the Crosss to which Jesus was nails. And how a Jew went to forge the nails with which Jesus would be pinned, but could not find a forge; eventually finding a smith he told him to make the nails to pin Jesus to the Cross, but he pleaded that a hand injury prevented him. The Jew demanded to see the hand which was miraculously made visibly injured. And his wife stpped forward and said: "it is needful that they be forged," and she went to forge them herself;" Ibid., 75–76.

preaching aids. The image in the *Holkham Bible Picture Book* may have functioned to remind its Dominican owner of the mission of the order. As Brown argued, the portrayal of Jews may have responded to Dominican interest in debating Jews.[1069] However, the west facade at Strasbourg overlooks a public space. Although this differs from the more private manuscript examples, the "Fevresse" likely functioned in a similar manner. Visitors to the cathedral would immediately be reminded of the contemporary Jews in the city by the choice of dress. The imagery communicated to its audience that the contemporary Jews were responsible for the death of Christ, thus vilifying them to the general public. Christian women could be instructed to not be like their domineering Jewish counterparts. Christian men would be reminded of their authority over their wives, in the household and in business. The Cathedral also sent a message to Jews that this was why they were subordinate to Christians.

Conclusion

Other legendary women appear in Passion play narratives, begging the question of why the "Fevresse" was chosen to be included in the tympanum at Strasbourg. I propose that she filled a rhetorical gap. Paul Binski has argued on the use of "synkresis*"* within Gothic sculpture, including at Strasbourg Cathedral.[1070] The western facade is filled with sculptures of women who exemplify the rhetorical concept of "synkresis*,"* contrasting exemplary women with cautionary women. The south portal of the facade shows the Wise and Foolish Virgins on the jambs facing each other across the divide of the doorway. The north portal jambs include personifications of the triumphant Virtues trampling their adversaries underfoot. The Passion tympanum is filled with women, including the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, the "Fevresse," Eve, Synagoga, and Ecclesia. As usual, the Virgin Mary is the antithesis of Eve, as she is the second Eve who redeemed all of mankind. Gary Schmidt argued that the "Fevresse" also functioned as the antithesis of the Virgin Mary.[1071] Ecclesia, the personification of the church or new covenant, finds her foil in Synagoga, the personification of the Synagogue or the old covenant. Bruno Boerner furthered Schmidt's correlation, arguing that the"Fevresse" and Synagoga work together, in direct contrast with the Virgin Mary and Ecclesia.[1072] However, Mary Magdalene (Fig. 146) is noticeably missing

[1069] Ibid., 2.
[1070] Paul Binski, *Gothic Sculpture* (London: Yale University Press, 2019), 44–45, 63–65.
[1071] Schmidt, "A Fell Woman and Full of Strife: The Legend of Hédroit, the Smith's Wife," 55–56.
[1072] Boerner, *Bildwirkungen: Die kommunikative Funktion mittelalterlicher Skulpturen*, 163–65.

a counterpart. As such, I would present an alternative theory, that on the Strasbourg Passion tympanum, she finds her antithesis in the blacksmith's wife.

Both the "Fevresse" and Mary Magdalene are shown in contemporary fashion, resulting in a visual similarity which invites comparison. The choice of dress referenced women who were found in the medieval city. Mary Magdalene is dressed elegantly in costly elaborate clothing, whereas the "Fevresse" is wearing a simple tunic and scapular apron with a conical headdress.[1073] Through this dress, they could be an example of contrasting social classes. They also represented antithetical ideas: the married Jewish woman who disobeys her husband, as opposed to the penitent wealthy woman, who may be representative of the celibate penitents within the city. The contrast is accentuated by the objects they carry. Mary Magdalene carries a vessel containing ointment to anoint the body of Christ, mirroring her moment of penitence at the Last Supper in which she anointed the feet of Jesus with expensive perfume. In contrast, the "Fevresse" holds the instruments of torture, which she forged to inflict pain and kill Christ.

Nina Rowe made a similar argument that Mary Magdalene appears as the redeemed Synagoga on the south transept.[1074] It could follow that the cathedral continued the portrayal of the conversion of the Jews on the west facade, adapting it to show the acceptance and rejection of conversion by the two disparate women. The "Fevresse" obstinately rejected conversion, even when her husband miraculously saw the error of his ways. Whereas, Mary Magdalene presents the ideal convert in her penitence. Additionally, one impetus behind her appearance is that the figure could be interpreted by both Christians and Jews. By choosing to portray a Jewish woman holding nails, Jewish audiences would simultaneously be reminded of themselves and Jael the Old Testament figure associated with nails. In Judges 4, Jael saves the Israelites by killing Sisara, the commander of an opposing army, with a tent peg.[1075] Through this image, the cathedral endeavoured to inform the Jewish population that the same instrument that Jael used to save the Israelites has damned contemporary Jews. The portrayal of the "Fevresse" may thus present an image of the necessity of Jewish conversion that could simultaneously be interpreted by Christians and Jews alike. If so, the tympanum functioned like the south transept portal programme before it with imagery that may have been understood by its Jewish audience, using Old Testament imagery for a Christian message of conversion.

[1073] Benoit van den Bossche identified her garb as a type of scapular; Van den Bossche, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: Sculpture des portails occidentaux,* 176.
[1074] Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral, and the Medieval City,* 234–35.
[1075] Judg. 4: 17–21.

Section 2

The West Facade of Strasbourg Cathedral: 1250-1300

Conclusion

The cautionary and exemplary women of the west facade display how the cathedral combined popular church motifs, contemporary mendicant preaching and previously used sources to create imagery of women as teaching tools. The sculptural women are representative of salvation and damnation, through the use of *synkresis*. The Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, the Wise Virgins and Virtues represent exemplary women. The work of women of the past, Herrad von Hohenbourg and Hildegard von Bingen was used to craft the imagery of good Christian women to exemplify them, with the Wise Virgins and Virtues. They also function as symbols of ideal religious women. The ideal women are crowned and wear mantles. Only Mary Magdalene was in distinctive contemporary dress. However, sources about women created by men were used to craft the imagery of the cautionary women, including sermon exemplars and mendicant thinking. These women are dressed in distinguishing contemporary fashion, separating them from the ideal women of the past and likening them to current worldly women. As established, the Foolish Virgins are symbolic of wayward religious and quasi-religious women. The Vices are shown as lay women. The Fevresse is representative of unrepentant Jewish women. Like Eve, women can persuade men to sin leading them to damnation. Thus, women are used as tools to guide towards salvation and warn away from damnation. Lay women are warned of how they should act and present themselves. Whereas lay men are reminded that the wiles of women can lead them to sin.

Thesis Conclusion

This project is the first large scale study of cathedral portal sculpture as a way to investigate medieval attitudes to women. An analysis of the portal sculpture at Strasbourg revealed how the cathedral was responding to the religious and lay women of both city and diocese, through engagement with monastic and mendicant sources for women, and with laywomen as its patrons and audience. I have also presented sculptures of women as a useful lens through which to explore larger ideas around the cathedral as part of its wider urban landscape, the Church's response to contemporary women through art, and the function of portal sculpture. Strasbourg Cathedral provided an ideal case study with well preserved schemes of sculpture, and with ample primary sources to aid such research. Other sites assuredly present characteristics that would allow them to be studied through application of the methodology I crafted in this thesis.

This research has contributed to studies of how cathedrals functioned in the context of their changing medieval urban environment by considering the portal sculpture that stood on the threshold between church and city.[1076] As I have shown, major political events directly impacted the structure and imagery of Strasbourg Cathedral. At the start of the thirteenth century, the bishop oversaw the city through four ministers who he appointed.[1077] The Battle of Hausbergen (8 March 1262) marked the loss of episcopal control in the city, after which it became an imperial free city. King Rudolf von Habsburg (king of Germany, 1273-91) played a significant role in this evolving political structure.[1078] His contribution is honoured with an equestrian sculpture on the cathedral.[1079] Similar explorations of the portrayal of royal authority can be explored at Basel Cathedral. The tomb of the first wife of Rudolf, Anna von Hohenberg (d. 1281), is located there.[1080] This and the sculptures of King Heinrich II and Queen Kunigunde on the Gallusptorte (1290) present an interesting case study for royal

[1076] Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *The Cathedral: The Social and Architectural Dynamics of Construction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
[1077] Philippe Dollinger, *Pages d'histoire: France et Allemagne médiévales Alsace* (Gap: Imprimerie Louis-Jean, 1977) Association des publications près les Universités de Strasbourg collection de l'Institut des hautes études Alsaciennes XXV, 189–96.
[1078] Philippe Dollinger, "L'émancipation de la ville et la domination du patriciat," in *Histoire de Strasbourg des origines à nos jours*, ed. Georges Livet, Vol. 2 (Strasbourg: Éditions des dernières nouvelles de Strasbourg, 1981), 47-9.
[1079] Robert Will, "Autour du millénaire de l'Autriche : la statue équestre de Rodolphe de Habsbourg à la façade de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 23 (1998): 25–32.
[1080] Martina Stercken, "Shaping a Dominion: Habsburg Beginnings," in *The Origins of the German Principalities, 1100–1350: Essays by German Historians*, eds. Graham A. Loud and Jochen Schenk (Milton Park: Routledge, 2017), 343-4; Timothy Husband and Julien Chapuis. *Treasury of Basel Cathedral*. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 125.

connections and the portrayal of queenship.[1081] Returning to Strasbourg, the bishop and the cathedral chapter oversaw cathedral construction in the first half of the thirteenth century, but later the fabric committee was maintained by the chapter and members of the laity. Other cathedrals that experienced changes in the management of their fabric committees could also be studied in how the imagery of the cathedral changed. The Dominicans came to Strasbourg in the thirteenth century, gaining power and authority. As explored, their theology is woven into the west facade scheme, particularly in the use of women's contemporary clothing as moral signifiers. Other cities had well-established Dominican communities, for example Paris with its university and Cologne with the "studium generale." Art from churches in these cities deserves similar examination for its engagement with Dominican theology and attitudes to women.

As I have shown, the correlation between a changing city and its cathedral can be studied on its two great portals. More specifically, changing beliefs about the role of women in society and within the Church in the thirteenth century are mapped onto the ways they are portrayed. The *Hortus deliciarum* and other sources created by monastic women for the education of nuns are interwoven into the south transept scheme, shaping its iconography and how the imagery was to be interacted with. The sculptural portrayals coincided with increased regional interest in women pursuing religious life. The period was marked by the rapid expansion of female communities in and around the city. Additionally, the tertiary orders of the penitents emerged during this time. In this, Strasbourg is typical of many cities in the Rhineland and the Low Countries.[1082] In response, the cathedral acknowledged women's piety and recognised the ability of sources generated in women's communities to educate their own lay audience, including both women and men. The Savina inscription, requesting divine mercy for the devotion of a female donor, is testimony to the active engagement of contemporary women with the creation of the portal, and with the cathedral community. In naming her, the cathedral used contemporary women to exemplify the piety that the cathedral wished the laity to emulate.

The *Hortus deliciarum* and other Rhenish sources created by women continued to be used to inspire the representation of exemplary women on the west facade at the end of the century. As we have seen, these sculptures were created after the Dominicans had taken over

[1081] Timothy Husband and Julien Chapuis. *Treasury of Basel Cathedral*. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 39.
[1082] Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 179; Michael Buchberger and Hermann Schaufele, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, eds. Josef Hofer and Karl Rahner, Vol. 6 (Freiburg: Verlag Herder Freiburg, 1961), 1270–71.

control of the women's religious communities in the city, and the emergence of the beguines as a phenomenon in the region. Sources written by men about women, including sermon exemplars and mendicant writings, were employed to create sets of cautionary women. The evil women took the form of contemporary women, with distinct types of headdress. They are visually distinguished in their dress, as the good women are adorned with crowns and mantles. The sculptures displayed beliefs that contemporary women could lead others to damnation. They warn men that they can be seduced by women's wiles. Conversely, Mary Magdalene is the sole ideal woman who is outfitted in a different form of contemporary dress.

Changing beliefs about women can be observed in the evolution of the portrayal of Mary Magdalene across the two portals. On the south transept, she takes her usual form with loose hair (Fig. 37, c. 1220-5). As we have seen, she functioned as an instructional model of ideal penance, with reference to sources by women including the *Hortus deliciarum* and the *Guta-Sintram Codex*. She represents an attainable model to be emulated by men and women alike. Two windows in the nave bridge the gap between the south transept and the west facade, representing Mary Magdalene at the Dormition (Fig. 147 & Fig. 148, w. 12, c. 1262-75) and delivering the news of the Resurrection to the Disciples (Fig.149, w.11, c. 1262-75).[1083] The Dormition window directly references the south transept portal, with Mary Magdalene kneeling at the bedside of the Virgin.[1084] Her representation in window 11 has led to questions about her identity, as she is dressed as a nun, veiled with a wimple.[1085] In the Passion tympanum of the west facade (Fig. 146, c. 1280-1300), by contrast, Mary Magdalene is in sumptuous contemporary dress, with ample sleeves and an elaborate headdress. In this, she stands apart from the other exemplary women. Her garb places her at the intersection between the saved and damned women, maintaining her status as the ideal penitent. The Magdalene is far removed from the earlier imagery on the south transept with uncovered hair and simple dress, befitting her earlier status as a prostitute. This is further elevated in her correlation with the "Fevresse" (Fig. 139, c. 1280-1300), who is portrayed as a Jewish tradeswomen.

[1083] Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Les vitraux de la nef de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: la nef gothique*, eds. Georges Bischoff, Reinhard Köpf, Peter Kurmann, Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, and Bernard Xibaut (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2023), 80-2; Victor Beyer, Christiane Wild-Block, and Fridtjof Zschokke, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Strasbourg*, Corpus Vitrearum France-Vol. XI-1 (Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1986), 172-82, 228-38.
[1084] Ibid.
[1085] Beyer, Wild-Block, and Zschokke, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Strasbourg*, 175, 180-1.

Changes in the portrayal of Judaism display changing attitudes to Jews in the thirteenth-century city. [1086] In the south transept, Jewish women were represented through allegorical representations, with Synagoga (Fig. 56, c. 1220-5) and the Sacrifices of the Old Covenant window (Fig. 7, w. 106, c. 1230-5). The west facade includes another portrayal of Synagoga in the Passion tympanum (Fig. 140, c. 1280-1300). The allegorical woman was joined in the tympanum by the representation of a contemporary Jewish woman, the "Fevresse" (Fig. 139, 1280). These changing portrayals of Judaism present useful ways to study the medieval relationship between the Church and Jews. The facade programmes continued the use of stories that bear similarities to those in the Old Testament, employing images recognisable to Jews in an attempt to convert them. This is further emphasised with the introduction of the unrepentant "Fevresse" and her converted husband.

The exploration of gender imagery also contibutes to an overall understanding of the function of medieval church sculpture, building on the theories of "ductus" by Mary Carruthers and Paul Crossley and explorations of spatiality by Jacqueline E. Jung.[1087] The sculpture of the great facade programmes prefigured the imagery inside the cathedral. As established, the sculpture of the south transept was interwoven with the liturgy, guiding the laity in worship and leading them into the cathedral. At the south transept, the exterior imagery was simplified for a mixed audience; whereas the interior imagery was more complex for the learned clergy. Ecclesia and Synagoga (Fig. 17 & Fig. 56, c. 1220-5) on the portal prefigure the complex diagrammatic windows, the Old Covenant (Fig. 7, w. 106, c. 1230-5) and New Covenant windows (Fig. 8, w. 108, c. 1230-5). The theme of the Judgement of Solomon was present in the portal scheme (Fig. 2, c. 1220-5) and a stained glass window from the choir (Fig. 80, c. 1175-96), reflecting the uses of both spaces. Outside his monumental imagery appeared over a site of public judgement. Inside, for the clergy, the subject is part of a more complex theological narrative.

The west facade featured a more complex iconographic programme. Here, the imagery could be explained to the laity by the cathedral clergy, or the mendicant orders, using it as a preaching tool. The Virgin in the Throne of Wisdom gable (Fig. 93, c. 1280-

[1086] Nina Rowe, *The Jew, The Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

[1087] Jacqueline E. Jung, *Eloquent Bodies: Movement, Expression, and the Human Figure in Gothic Sculpture* (London: Yale University Press, 2020); Mary Carruthers, "The Concept of Ductus, or Journeying through a Work of Art," in *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers, 78, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 190-213; Paul Crossley, "Ductus and Memoria: Chartres Cathedral and the Workings of Rhetoric," in *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers, 78, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 214–49.

1300), as well as the trumeau and tympana, prefigure her worship inside, including at an altar dedicated to her on the choir screen that housed the sculpture associated with miracles in 1280.[1088] As we have seen, the Virtues and Vices are also depicted both on the west facade (Fig. 85 & Fig. 86, c. 1280-1300) and in the stained glass of the cathedral (Fig. 129, w. 213, late thirteenth century).[1089] They are similarly depicted actively fighting, with the Virtues trampling the Vices. In each case, these subjects would have been relatively accessible to the laity.

The clerestory and south nave aisle stained glass displays how the choice to use women to educate the laity continued into the fourteenth century. The Judgement of Solomon with the good and bad mother is again depicted in the nave clerestory (Fig. 150 & Fig. 151, w. 212, mid-fourteenth century).[1090] The portrayal of Solomon correlates to the exterior Throne of Wisdom (Fig. 93, c. 1280–1300). The women in the window correlate to the portrayal of Christian and Jewish women in the Passion tympanum, with Ecclesia and Synagoga, and Mary Magdalene and the "Fevresse." Contemporary women were used as rhetorical devices once again in the south nave aisle stained glass, employing methods previously used in the iconography of the exterior. They are interspersed throughout the windows portraying the life of the Virgin, life of Christ, and the Last Judgement. They have been dated to 1335-45.[1091] The women are part of the biblical narrative, with their dress and actions informing the viewer of their inner moral state. These examples include the adulterous woman (Fig. 152, w. 10, c. 1335–-40), Samaritan woman (Fig. 153, w. 10, c. 1335–40), and a woman beside Christ and the two thieves (Fig. 154, w. 12, c. 1340). Thus, the use of women as pictorial teaching tools continued inside the cathedral.

With this thesis, I have built a methodology to study medieval women, thorough the portrayal of women on medieval churches. Through this interdisciplinary approach of studying sculptures of women, this thesis has demonstrated the wider value of medieval portal sculpture. Portrayals of women on medieval churches allow for examinations of contemporary ideas surrounding women. As this research has shown, close analysis of these exterior church sculptures and women serves to facilitate wider studies on urban, ecclesiastical, Jewish, women's social history. I have displayed the viability of my

[1088] Georgius Heinricus Pertz, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum,* Vol. XVII (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1861), 114–17.
[1089] Émilie Cornu, "Le Vitrail de La Psychomachie (Vers 1310): Résurgence d'un Thème à La Cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 29 (2010): 93–114; Beyer, Wild-Block, and Zschokke, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Strasbourg*, 462–70
[1090] Beyer, Wild-Block, and Zschokke, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Strasbourg*, 378–86.
[1091] Beyer, Wild-Block, and Zschokke, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Strasbourg*, 208–56.

methodology with the case study of Strasbourg Cathedral, with this fruitful research prompting the application of this theoretical framework to other sites. One such example where this methodology could be applied further is at Freiburg-im-Breisgau. The sculpture of the entrance hall bears striking iconographic and formal similarities to those on the west façade at Strasbourg.[1092] The scheme includes numerous women including the Virgin Mary, Eve, Mary Magdalene, Ecclesia and Synagoga, the Wise and Foolish Virgins, Luxuria, and the Liberal Arts (c.1285-1320).[1093] The contemporary city also bears similarities to Strasbourg with its communities of mendicants and Jews. Women were active members of the community. Various primary sources record women in the city. For example, the "Schwesternbuch" (c. 1310-20) of Anna von Munzingen (prioress, d. after 1327) chronicles the lives of the nuns in "Adelhausen," a women's community overseen by the Dominicans.[1094] A comparative example to the sculpture at Freiburg-im-Breisgau can also be found in the portrayal of women in the "Malterer teppich" (c.1310-20), a tapestry created by the nuns in "Adelhausen."[1095] Both examples feature depictions of cautionary and exemplary women. Thus, the theoretical approach applied in this thesis has broader applications for further studies on other cathedral programmes and contemporary women.

[1092] Guido Linke, *Freiburger Münster: Gotische Skulpturen der Turmvorhalle* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Rombach Druck- und Verlagshaus, 2011), 67–68.
[1093] Ibid., 17–62, 69–79.
[1094] Gertrud Jaron Lewis, *By Women, for Women, about Women. The Sister-Books of Fourteenth Century Germany* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1996), 286.
[1095] Jutta Eissengarthen, *Mittelalterliche Textilien aus Kloster Adelhausen im Augustinermuseum Freiburg* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Adelhausenstiftung, 1985), 23-30.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Section 1: The South Transept: 1200-1240

Introduction

Fig. 1
South Portal, c. 1215-30s, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

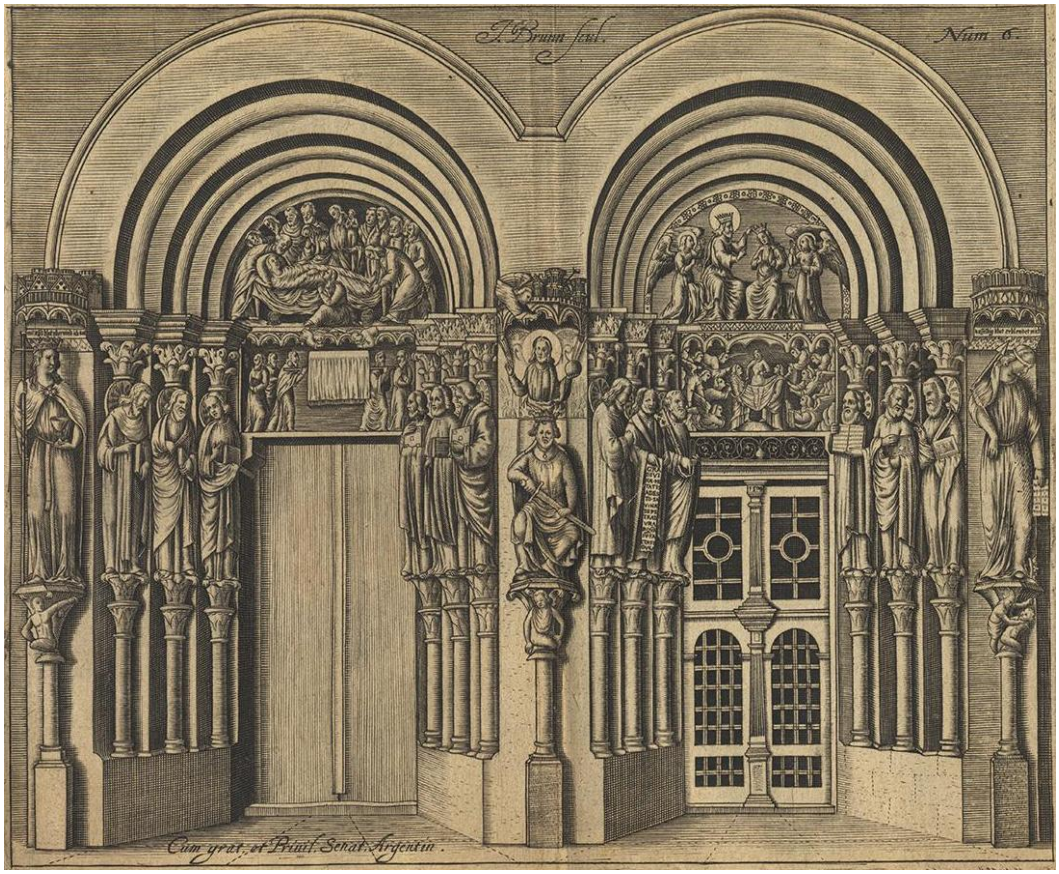

Fig. 2
South Portal of Strasbourg Cathedral, Isaac Brunn, engraving, 1617.

Fig. 3
Four heads of apostles, c. 1220-5, Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame, Strasbourg.

Fig. 4
Ecclesia and Synagoga, c. 1220-5, Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame, Strasbourg.

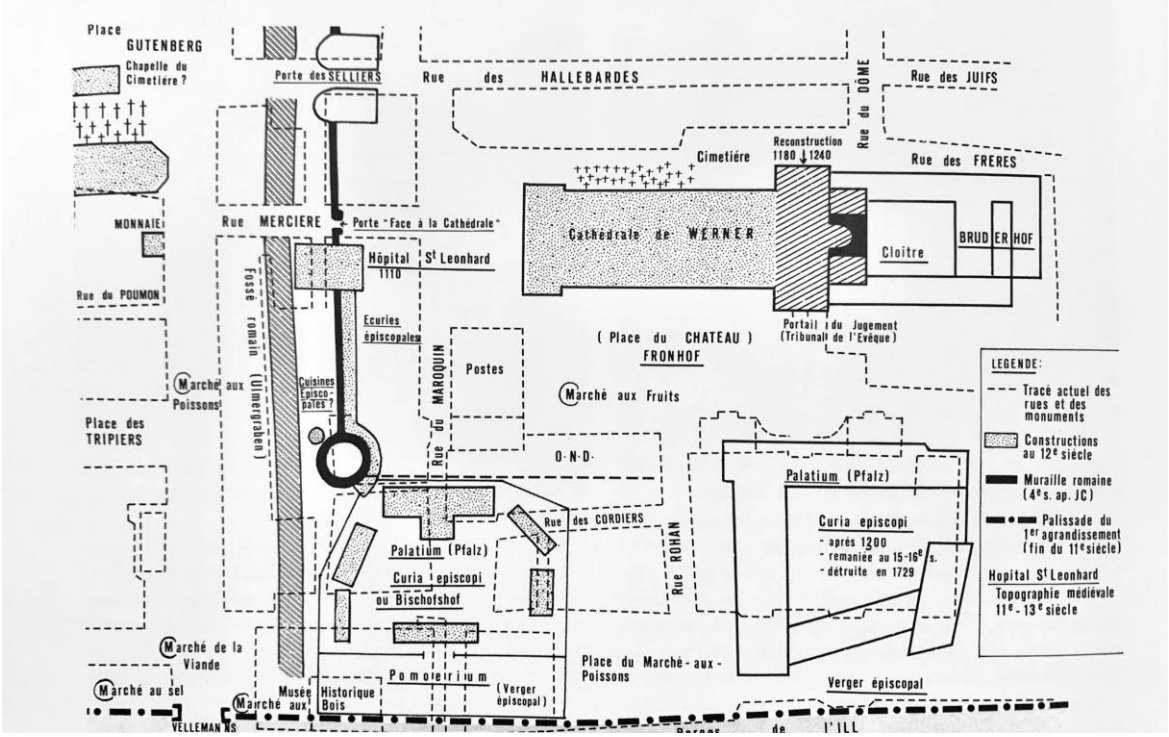

Fig.5
Topography of Strasbourg Cathedral Precinct from the tenth to fifteenth century.

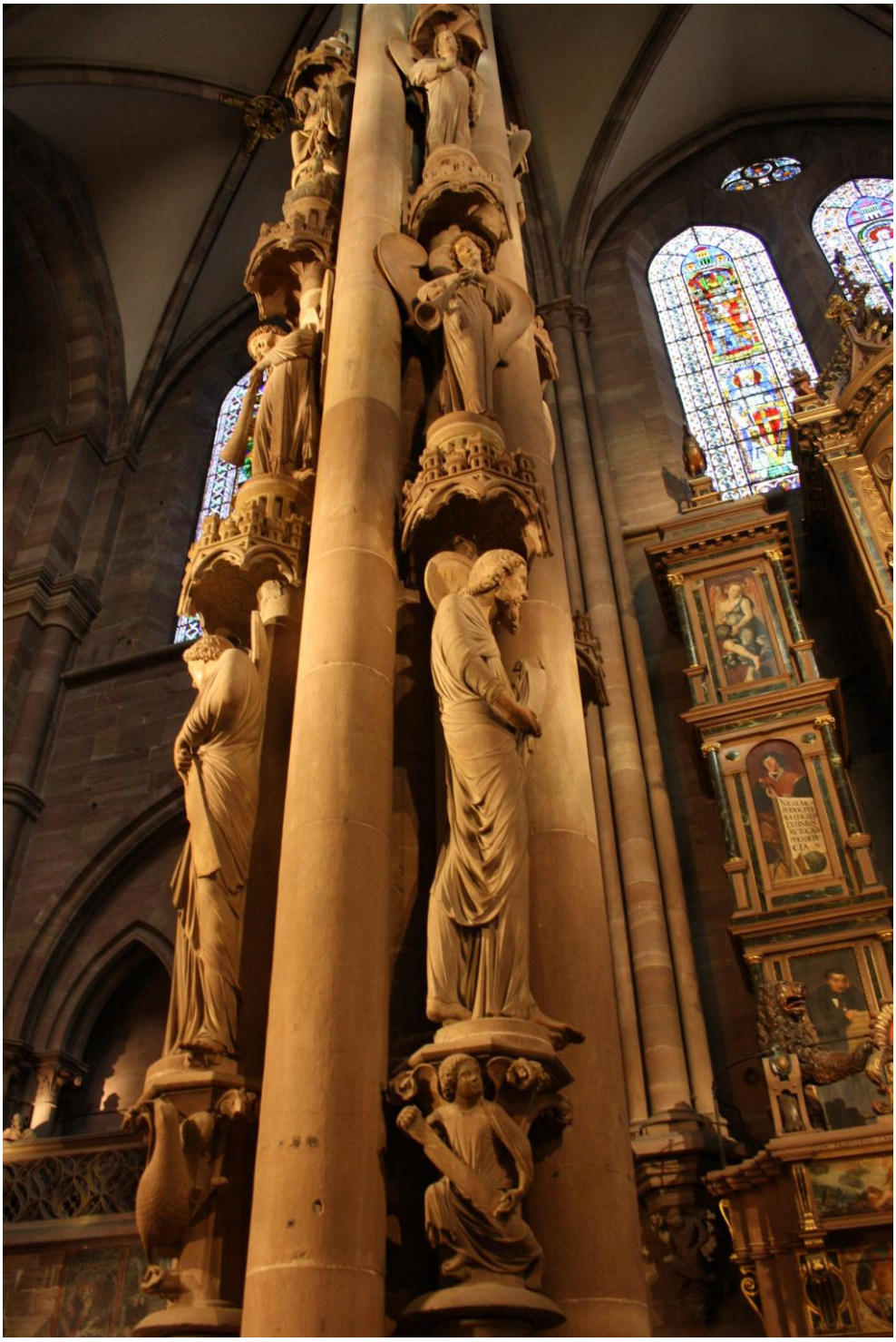

Fig. 6
Pillar of Angels, c. 1230-40, South Transept, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

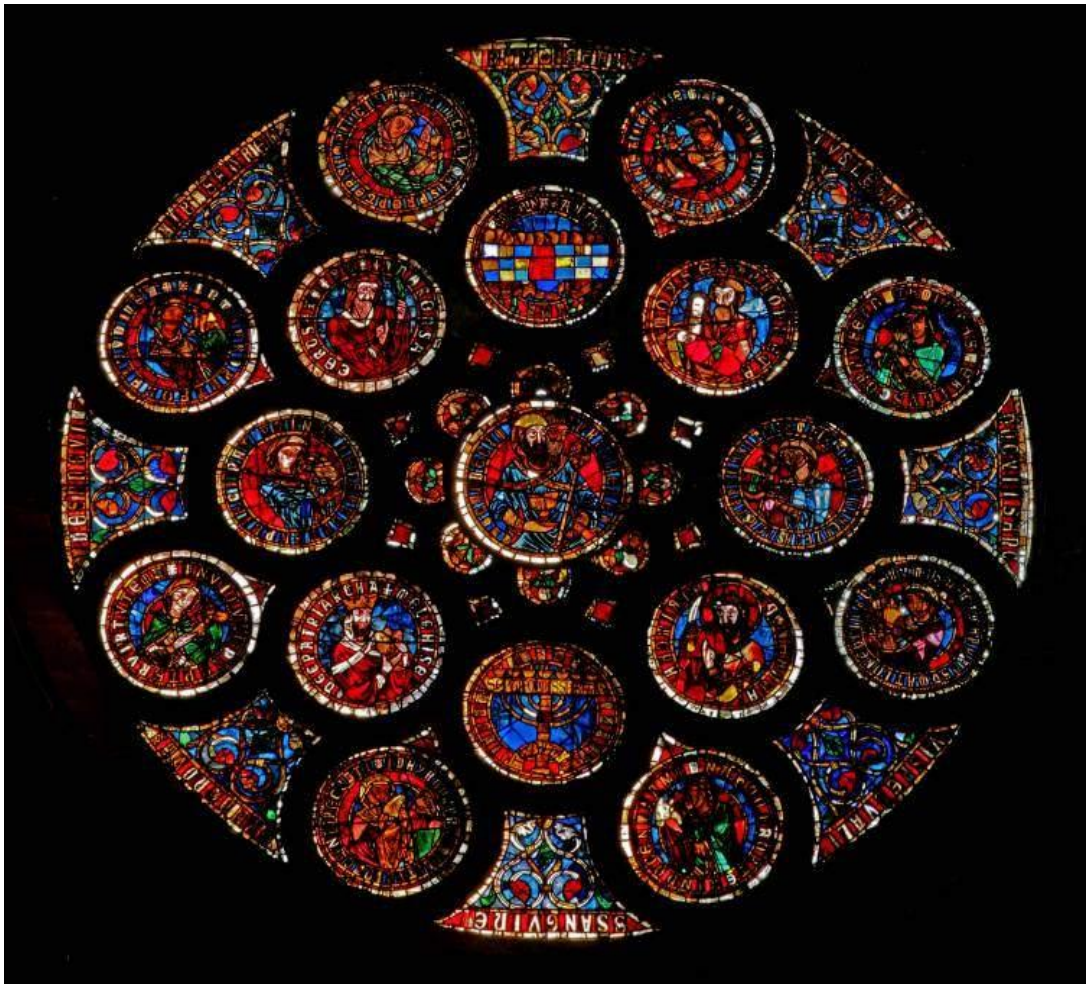

Fig. 7
Old Covenant Window, w. 106, c. 1230-5, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

Fig. 8
New Covenant Window, w. 108, c. 1230-5, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

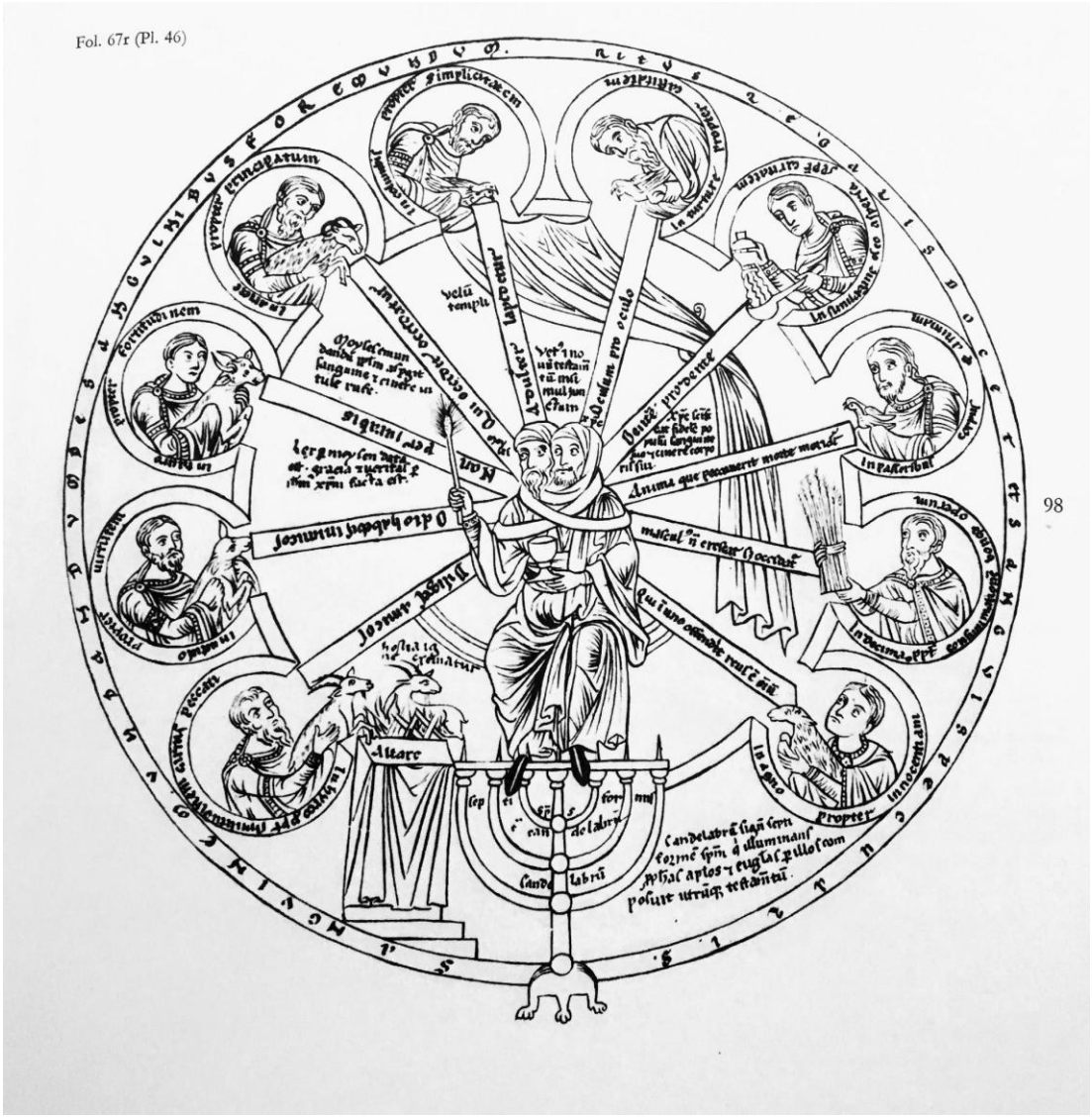

Fig.9
Sacrifices of the Old Covenant, folio 67r, *Hortus deliciarum*, c.1180s, Herrad von Hohenbourg.

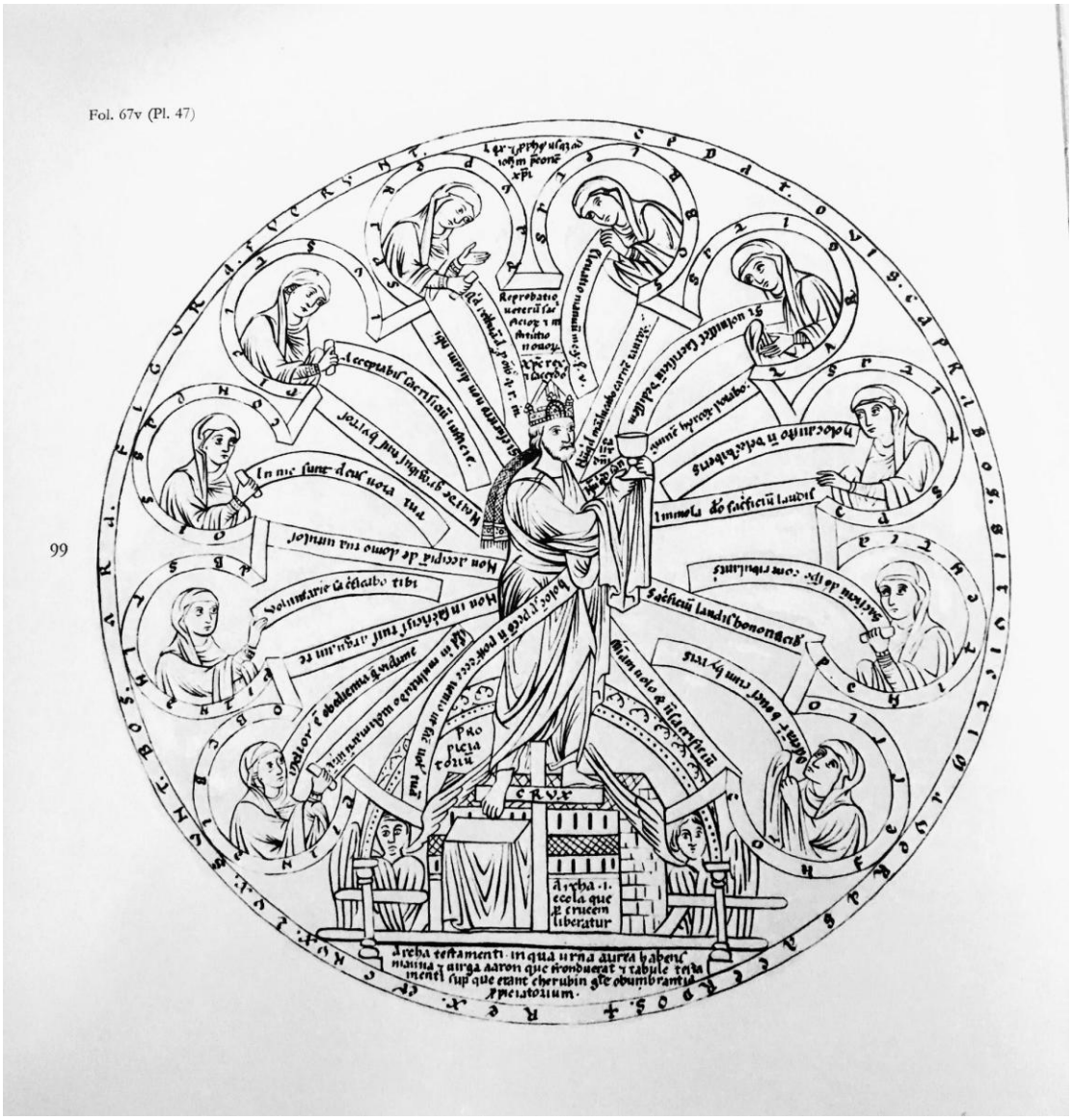

Fig. 10
Sacrifices of the New Covenant, folio 67v, *Hortus deliciarum*, c. 1180s, Herrad von Hohenbourg.

Fig. 11
Petit Ecclesia or Queen of Sheba, c. 1225-40, Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame, Strasbourg.

Chapter 1

The Virgin Mary: Veneration in the Cathedral and Collaboration between Religious Communities

Fig. 12
Map of Rhineland in the region surrounding Strasbourg.

Fig. 13
Death of the Virgin Tympanum, c.1220-5, South Portal, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

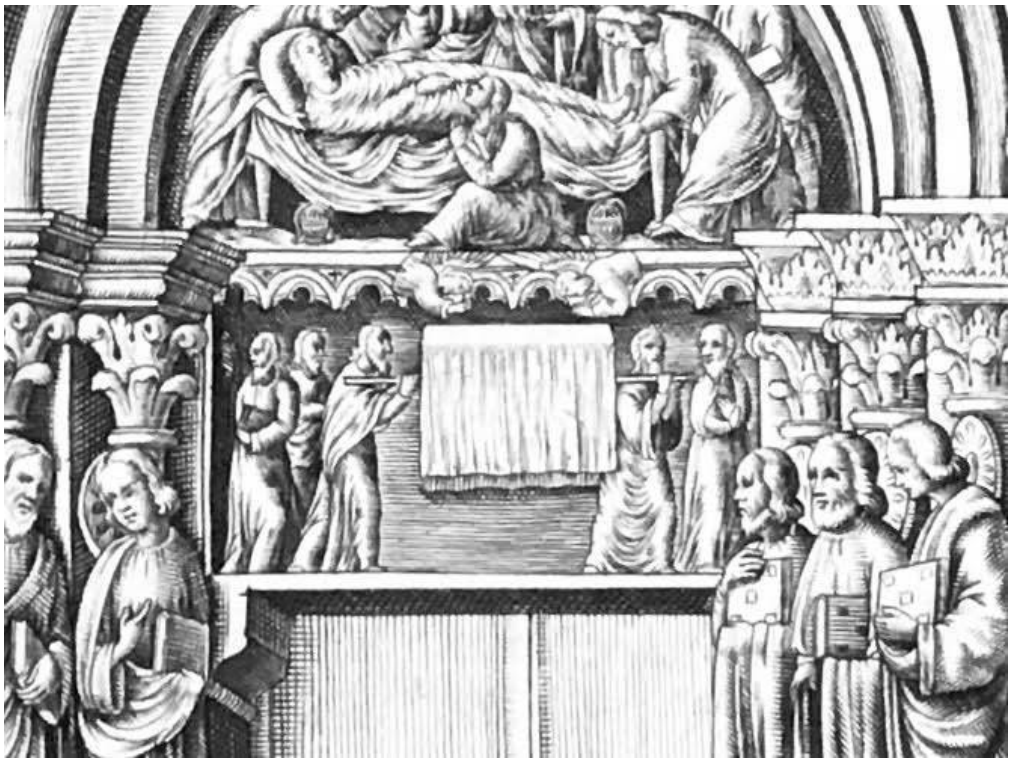

Fig.14
Funerary Procession of the Virgin Lintel, Issac Brunn, engraving, 1617.

Fig. 15
Assumption of the Virgin Lintel, Isaac Brunn, engraving, 1617.

Fig. 16
Coronation of the Virgin Tympanum, c. 1220-5, South Portal, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

Fig. 17
Ecclesia, c. 1220-5, South Portal, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

Fig. 18
Adoration of the Magi Tympanum, late twelfth century, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

Fig. 19
Official seal of the city of Strasbourg, c.1201.

Fig. 20
Official seal of Worms, c. 1190.

Fig. 21
Seal of the Strasbourg Cathedral Chapter, c. 1201-47.

Fig. 22
Virgin and Child, c. 1250, Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame, Strasbourg.

Fig. 23
Coronation of the Virgin Tympanum, c. 1170, Western Facade, Senlis Cathedral, Senlis.

Fig. 24
Coronation of the Virgin Tympanum, c. 1180-1210, Western Facade, Central Portal, Laon Cathedral, Laon.

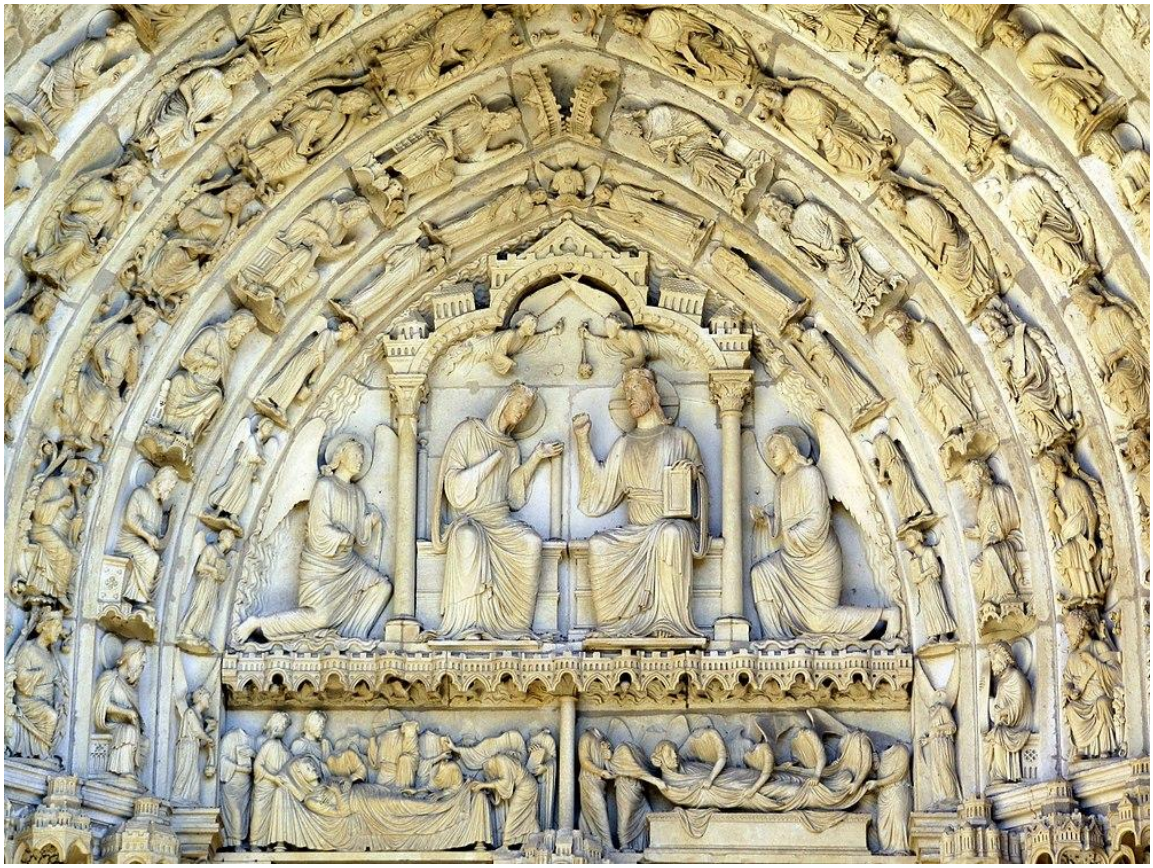

Fig. 25
Coronation of the Virgin Tympanum, c. 1205-10, North Transept, Central Portal, Chartres Cathedral, Chartres.

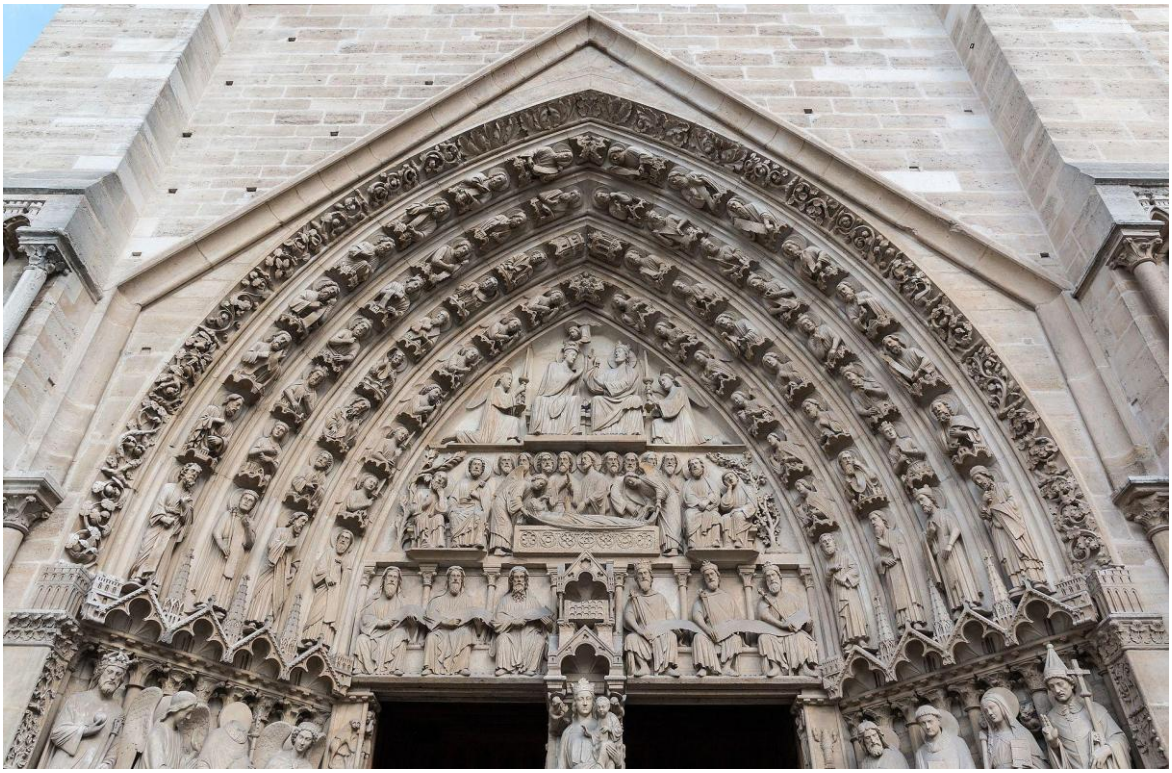

Fig. 26
Coronation of the Virgin Tympanum, c. 1210-20, Western Facade, North Portal, Notre Dame de Paris, Paris.

Fig. 27
Coronation of the Virgin Tympanum, c. 1220-30, Western Facade, South Portal, Amiens Cathedral, Amiens.

Fig. 28
Folio 4v, *Guta-Sintram Codex*, Strasbourg, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire de Strasbourg, 37, 1154.

Fig. 29
F. 176v, *Hortus deliciarum*, c. 1180s, Herrad von Hohenbourg.

Fig. 30
Folio 322v, *Hortus deliciarum*, c. 1180s, Herrad von Hohenbourg.

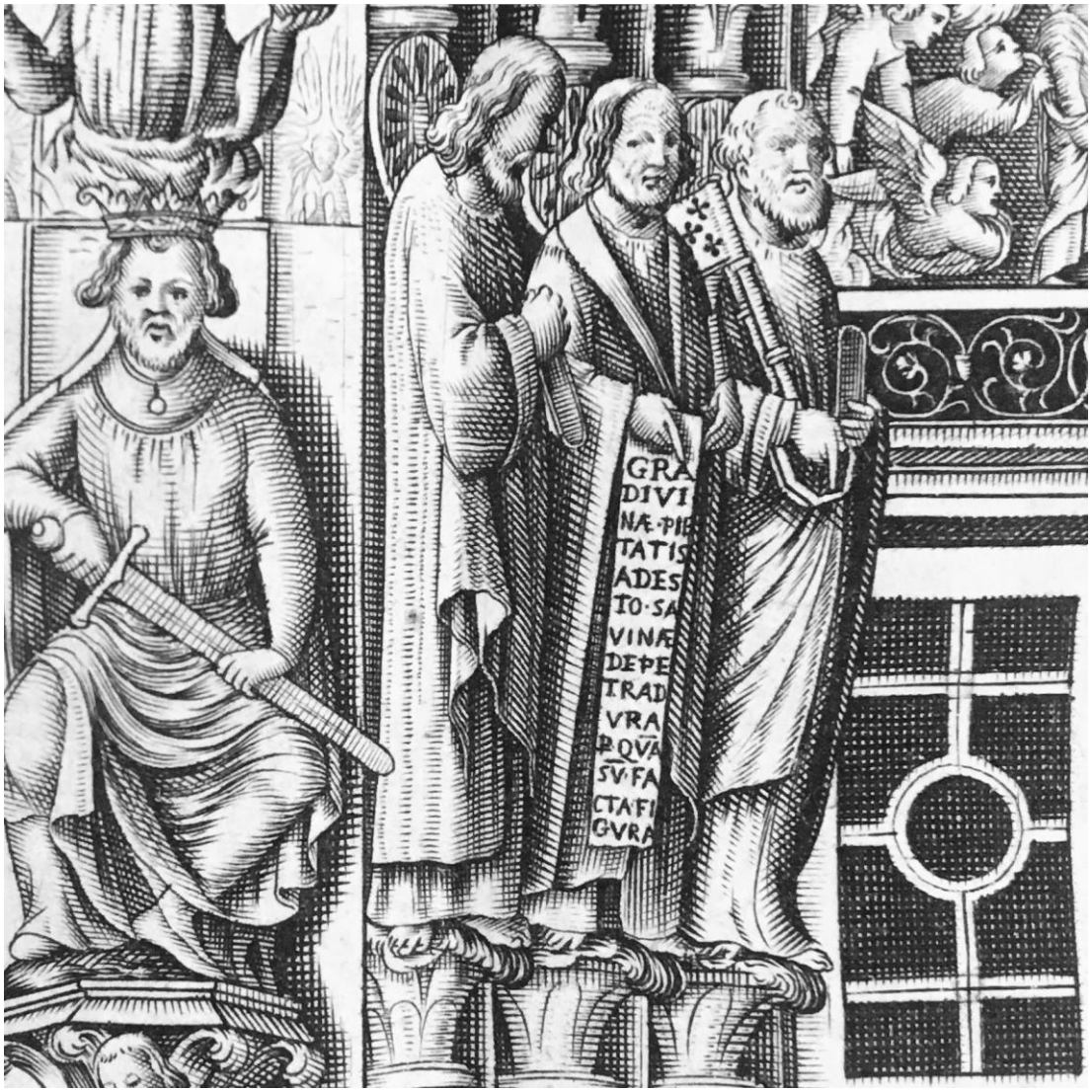

Fig. 31
The inscription of Savina detail, Isaac Brunn, engraving, 1617.

Fig. 32
Tympanum, c. 1185-1200, Galluspforte, Basel Minster, Basel.

Fig. 33
Folio 11v, St Gallen, St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 402, c. 1235-50.

Fig. 34
Folio 12v, St. Gallen, St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 402, c. 1235-50.

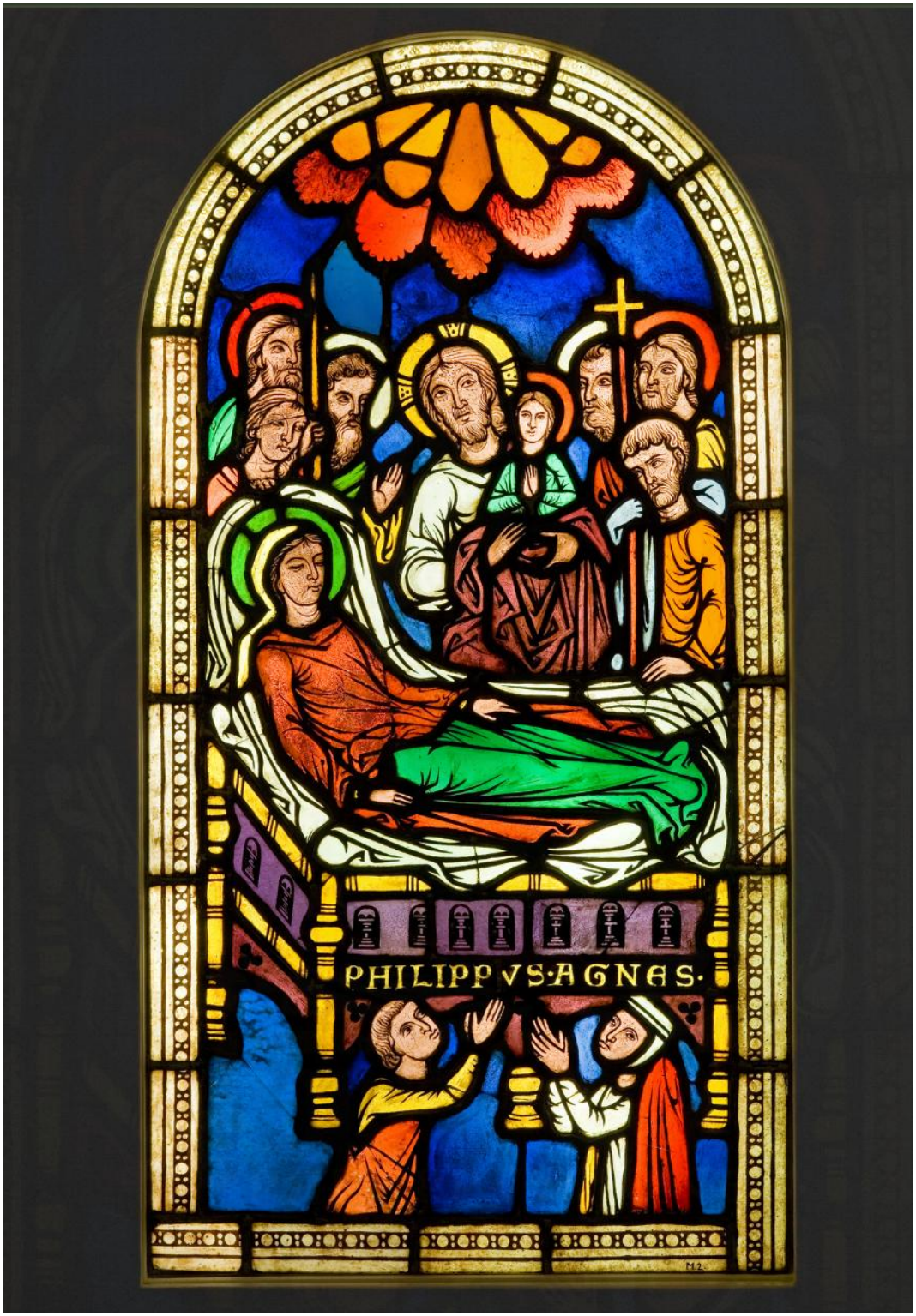

Fig. 35
Dormition of the Virgin Window, c. 1250-60, Museum Schnütgen, Cologne.

Fig. 36
Coronation of the Virgin Window, c. 1250-60, Museum Schnütgen, Cologne.

Chapter 2

Mary Magdalene: Women's Worship, Instructional Penance, and the Magdalene Community

Fig. 37
Mary Magdalene at the Dormition of the Virgin, c.1220-5, South Portal, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

Fig. 38
Dormition of Mary detail, f. 51v, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Latin 17325, c. 1001-1100.

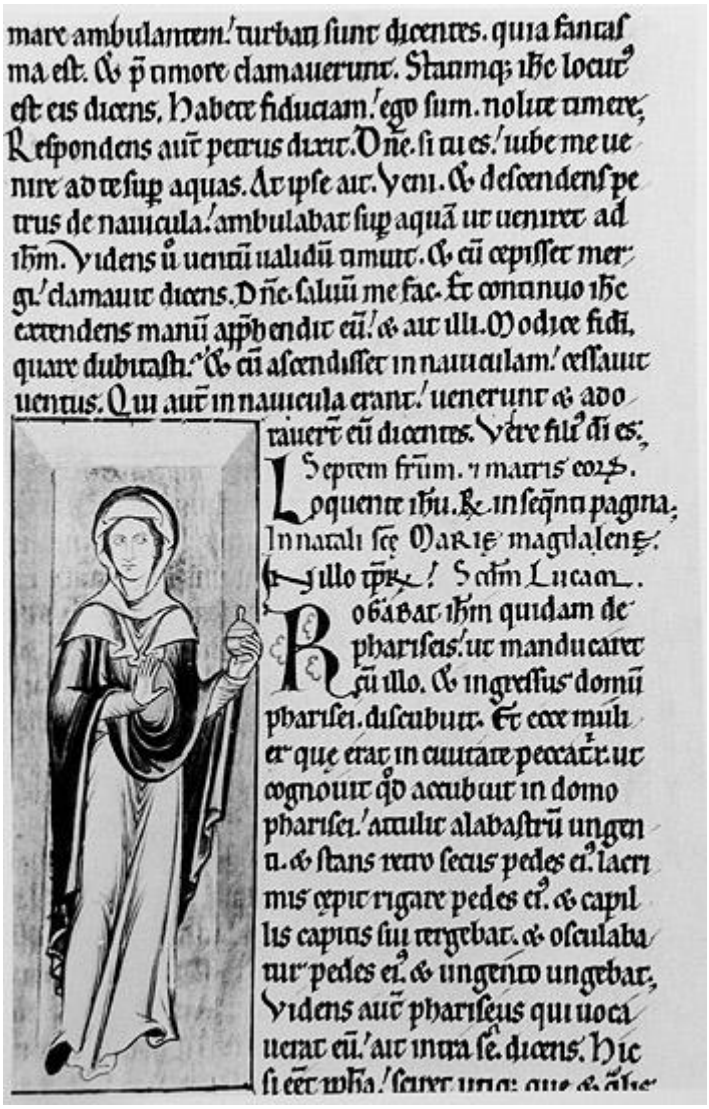

Fig. 39
Folio 96r, *Brandenburg Evangelistary*, Brandenburg Cathedral, Brandenburg, c. 1200-20.

Fig. 40
Mary Magdalene, c. 1250, Augustinermuseum, Freiburg-im-Breisgau.

Fig. 41
Mass of St. Giles detail, Confessor's Portal, c. 1215-20, South Porch, Right Bay, Chartres Cathedral, Chartres.

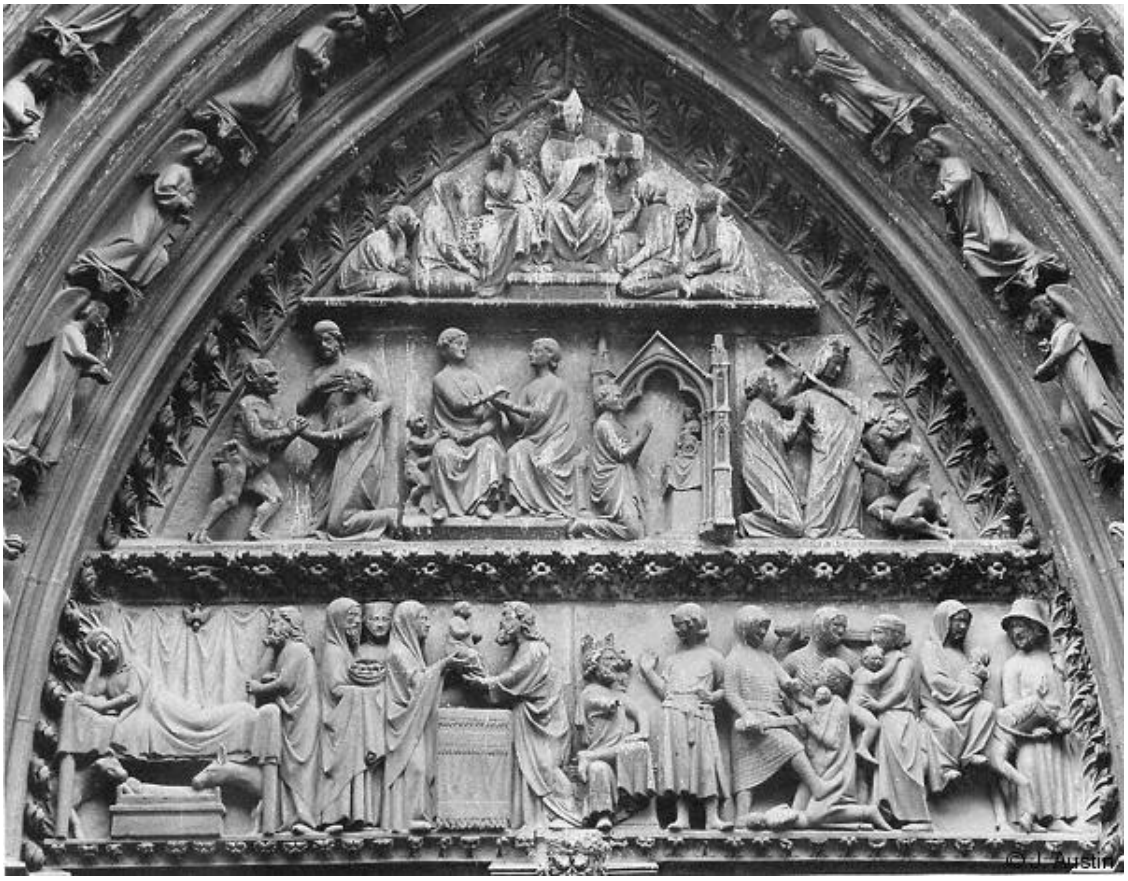

Fig. 42
North Transept Portal, c. 1250-60, Notre-Dame de Paris, Paris.

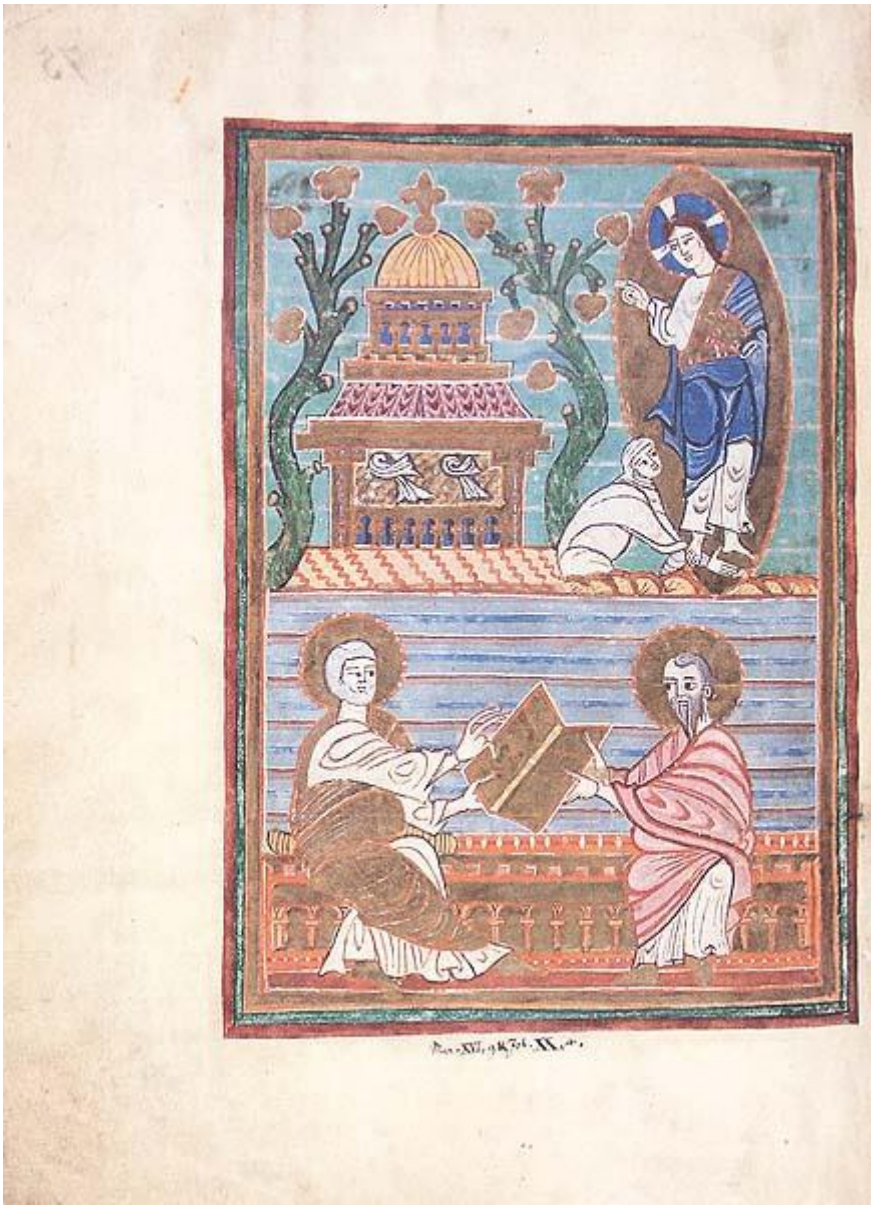

Fig. 43
Noli me tangere, f. 75v, *Gospel Book of Bernward of Hildesheim*, Dommuseum Hildesheim, Hildesheim, c.1015.

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Noli me tangere panel, Bernward Doors, c.1015, Hildesheim Cathedral, Hildesheim.

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Bernward Doors, c. 1015, Hildesheim Cathedral, Hildesheim.

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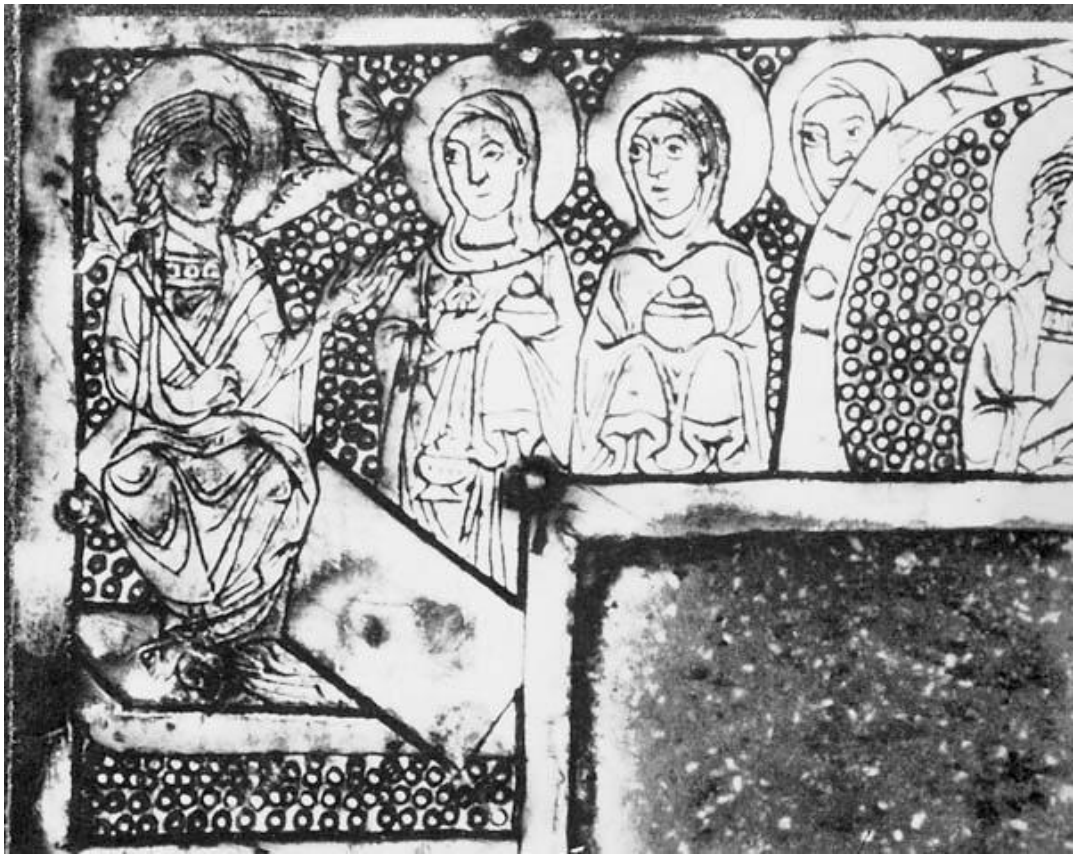

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Noli me tangere, folio 15r, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Hs. 24, c. 1200.

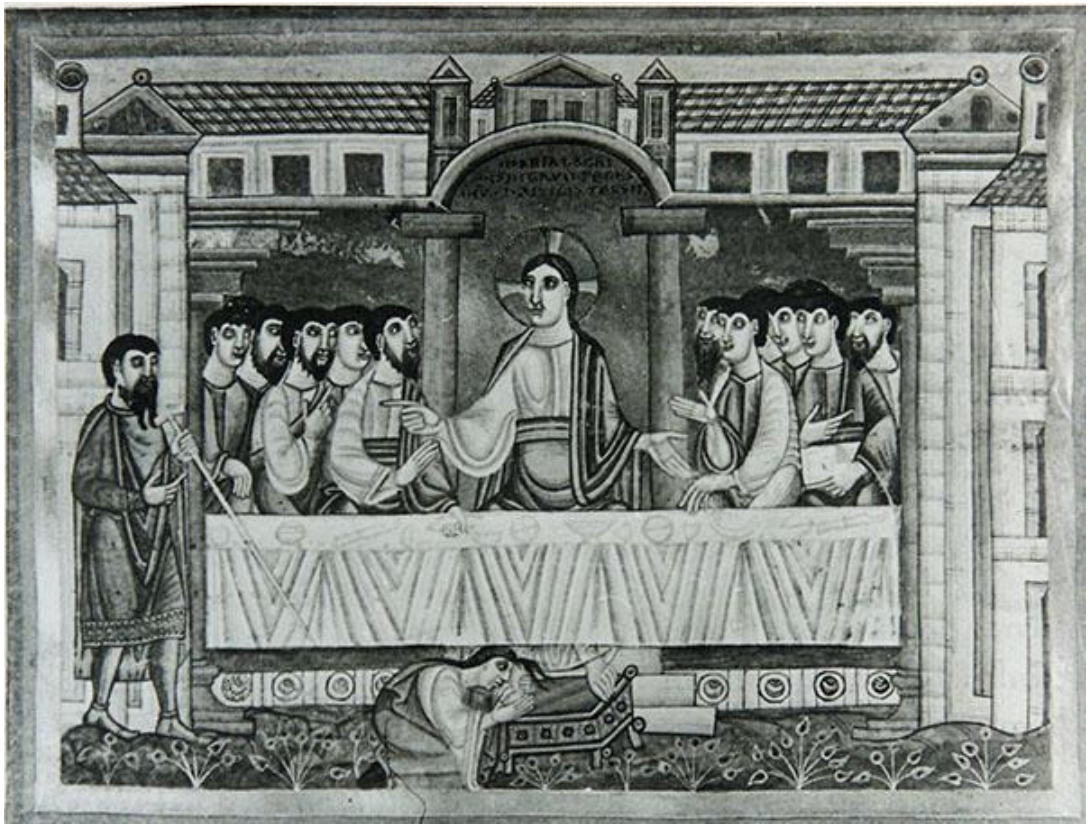


Fig. 52
The Anointing of Christ, folio 104r, *Gospel Book of Heinrich III*, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Cod. Vitrinas 17, c.1044-6.

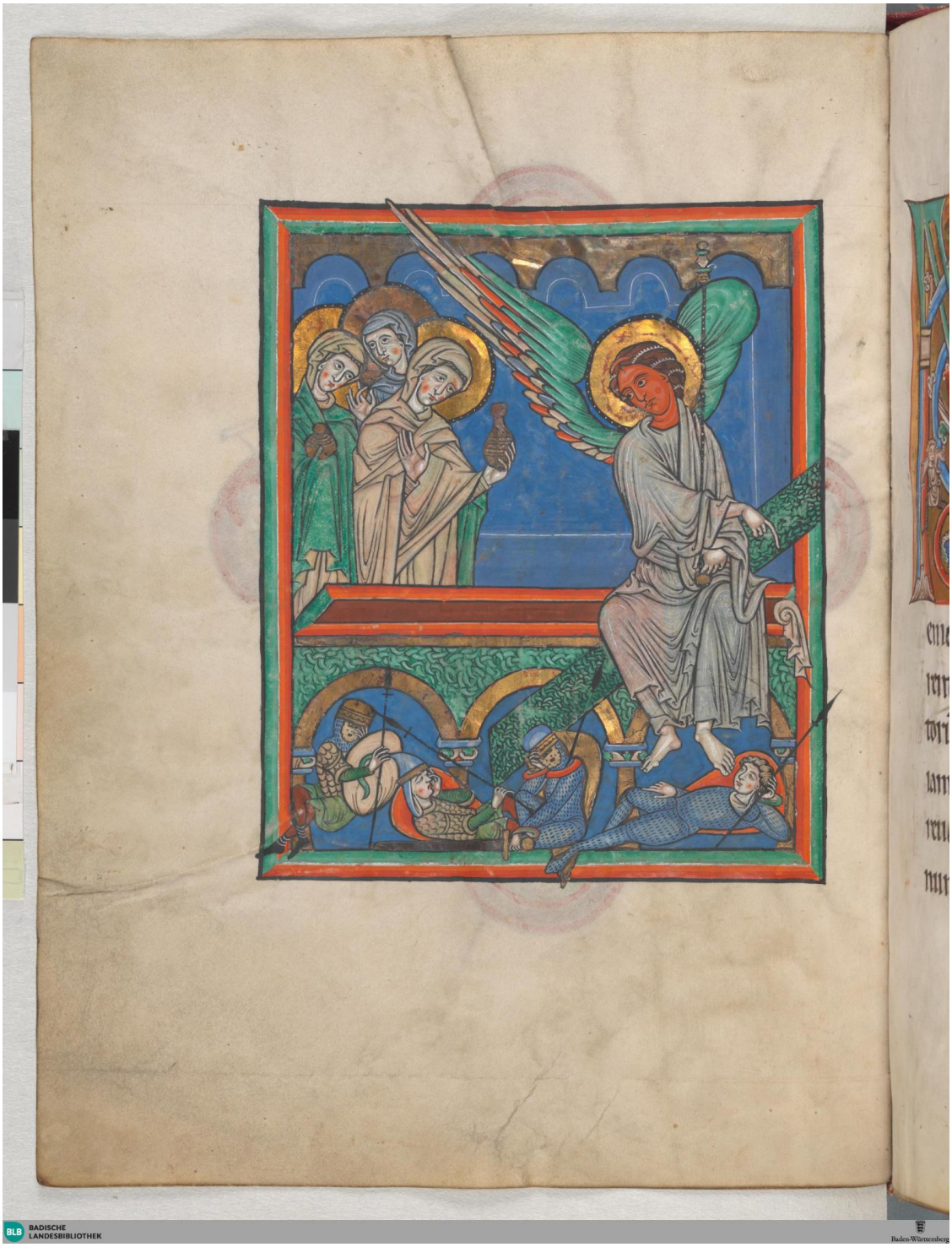
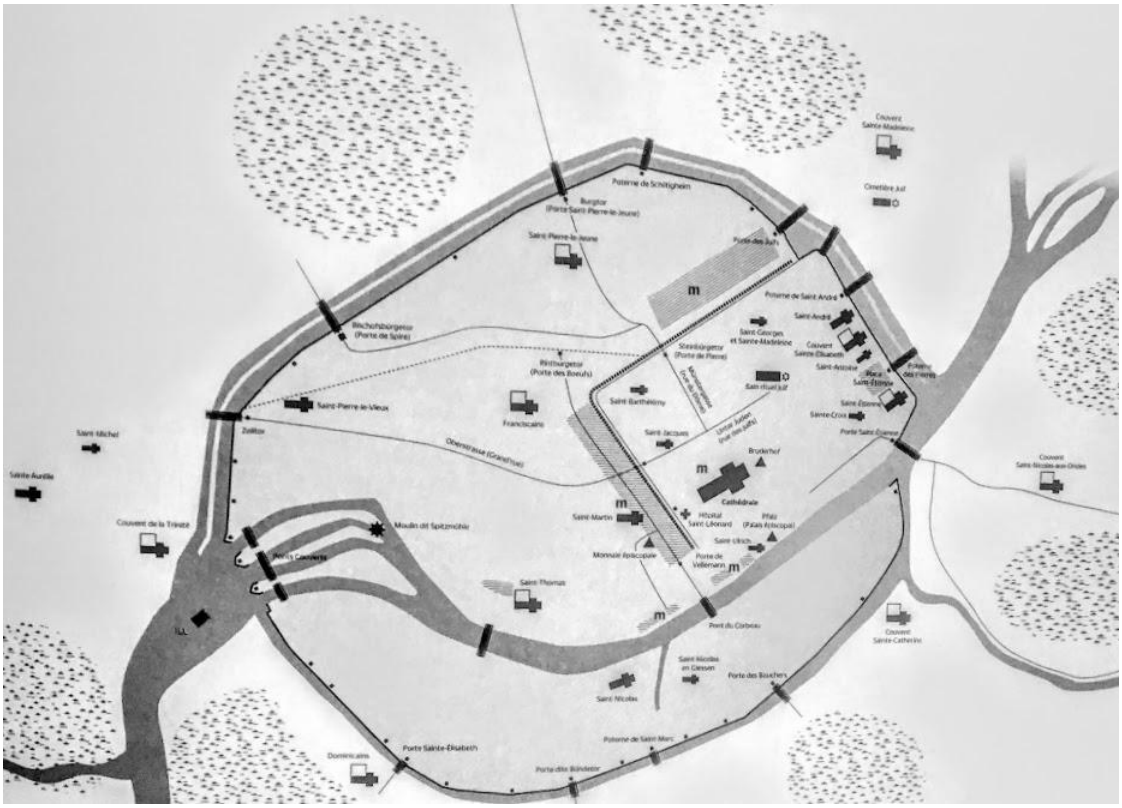


Fig. 53
Holy Women at the Sepulchre, folio 31v, *Speyerer Evangelistar*, Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe, Cod. Bruchsal 1, c. 1220.



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Chapter 3

Ecclesia and Synagoga: An Allegory of Jewish Women in Medieval Strasbourg

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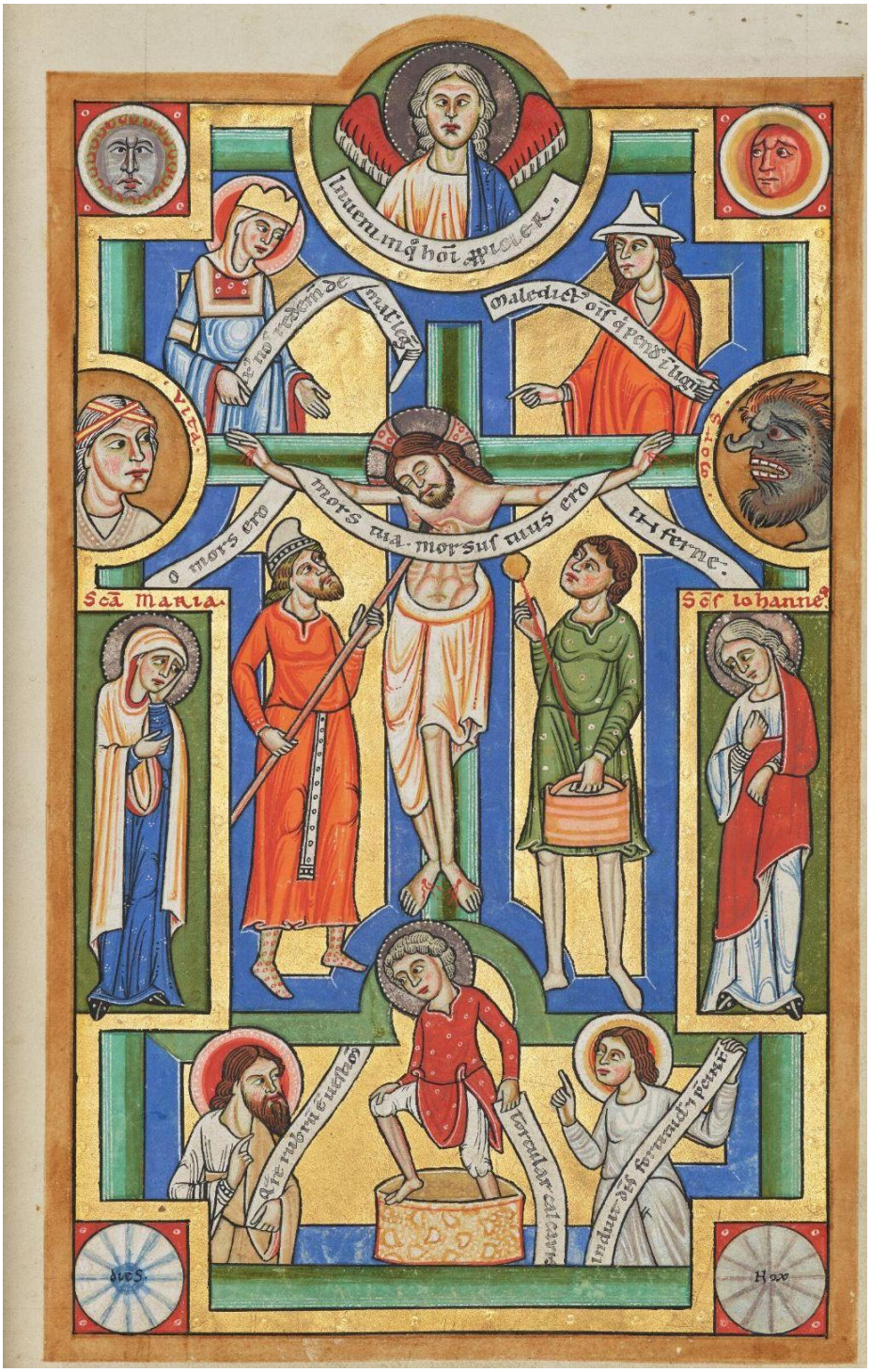
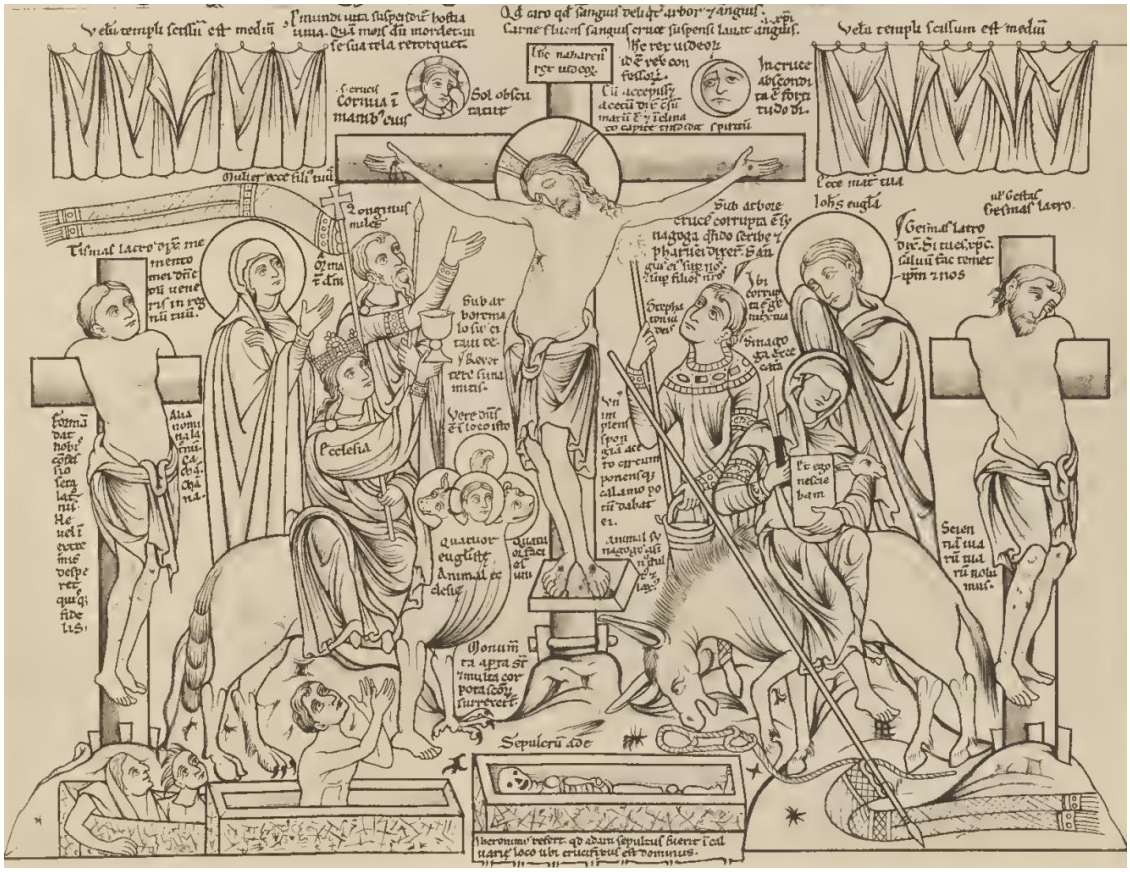


Fig. 60
The Crucifixion, folio 86r, *Stammheim Missal*, c. 1170s, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.



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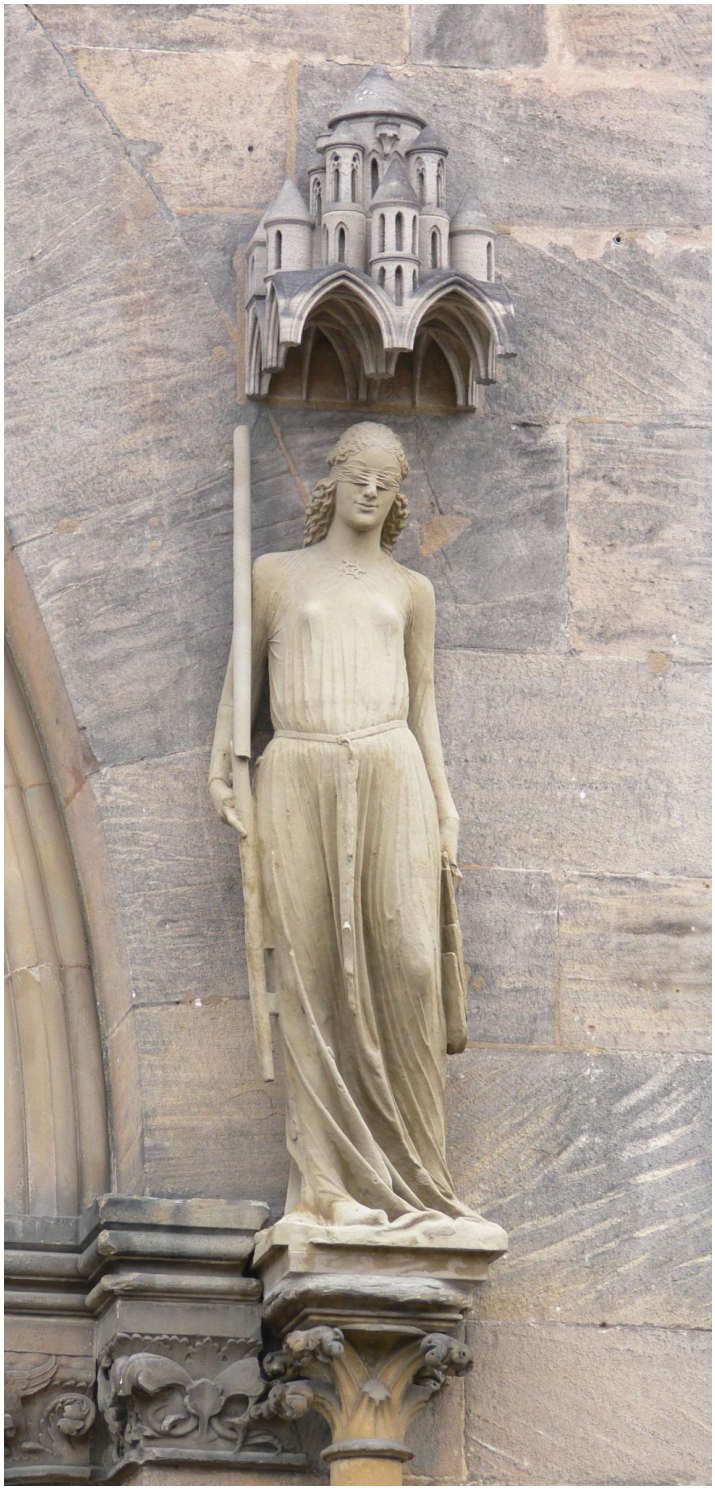

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Fig. 69
Synagoga, c. 1225-35, Reims Cathedral, Reims.

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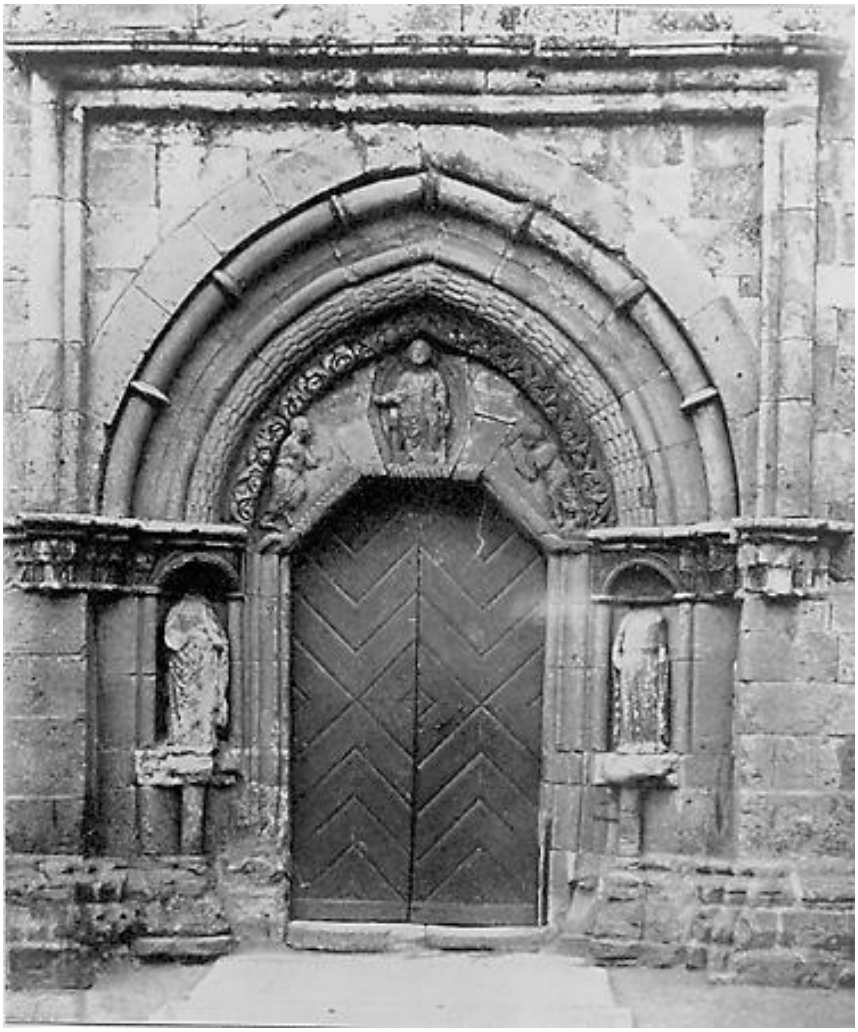

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Ecclesia, c. 1260-80, West Portal, Minden Cathedral, Minden.

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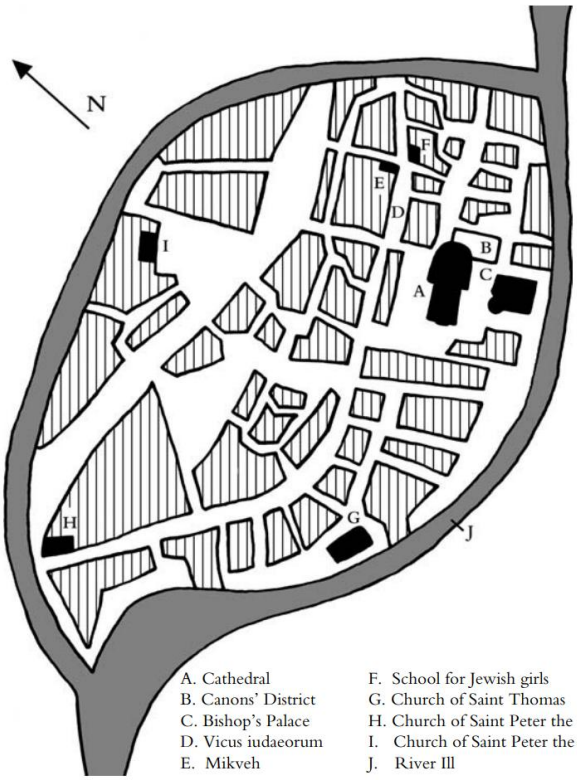

150. Plan of city of Strasbourg. (After Speklin's map of 1577, reproduced in K. Achtnich, *Der Bürgerstand in Straßburg bis zur mitte des XIII. Jahrhunderts* [Leipzig, 1910])

A. Cathedral
B. Canons' District
C. Bishop's Palace
D. Vicus iudaeorum
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Section 2: The West Facade: 1240-1300

Introduction

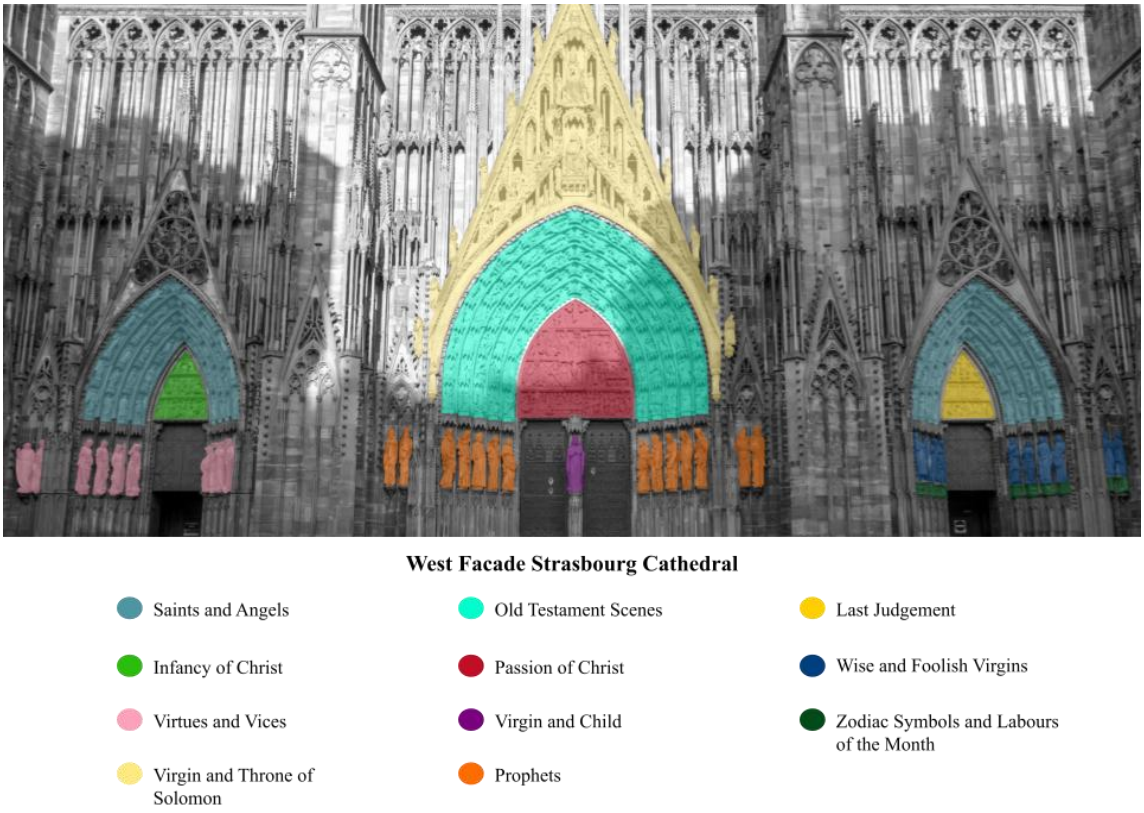

Fig. 81
Diagram of the West Facade, Strasbourg Cathedral, c.1280-1300.

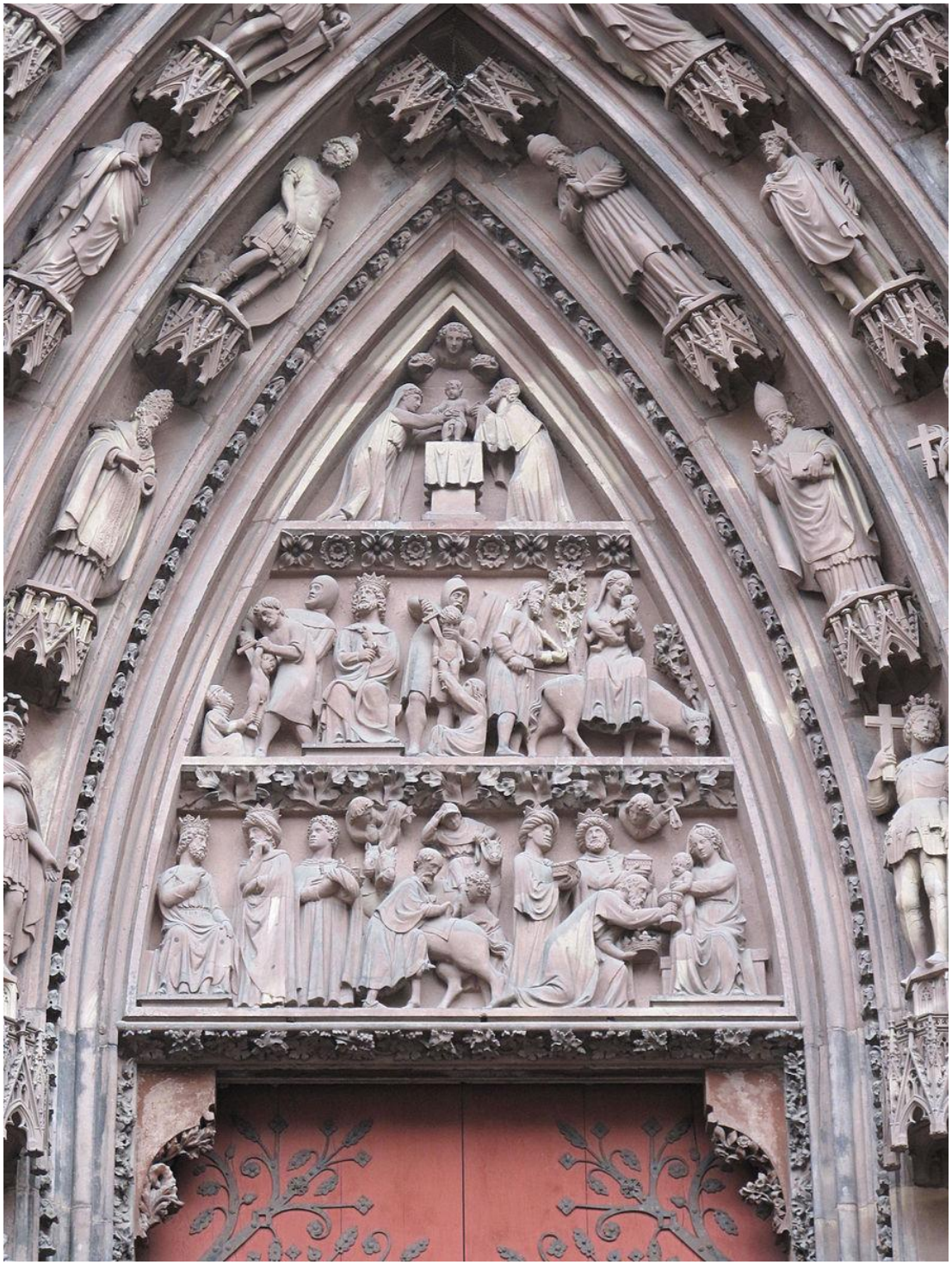

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Fig. 83
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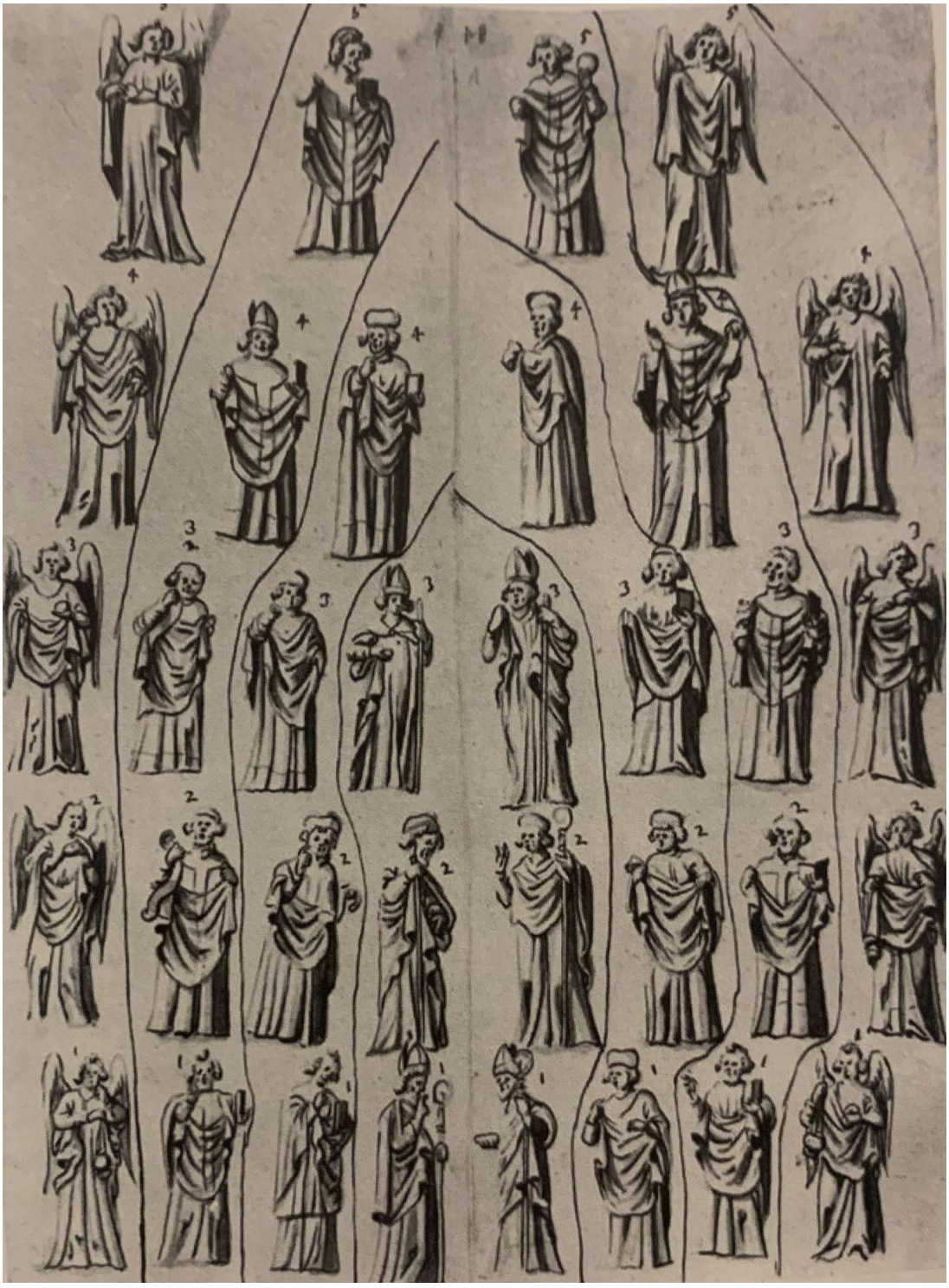

Fig. 84
Drawing of the North Portal Archivolts, seventeenth century, previously in the Elsass-Lothringen-Institut, Frankfurt.

Fig. 85
Virtues and Vices (Left Side), c. 1280-1300, North Portal, West Facade, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

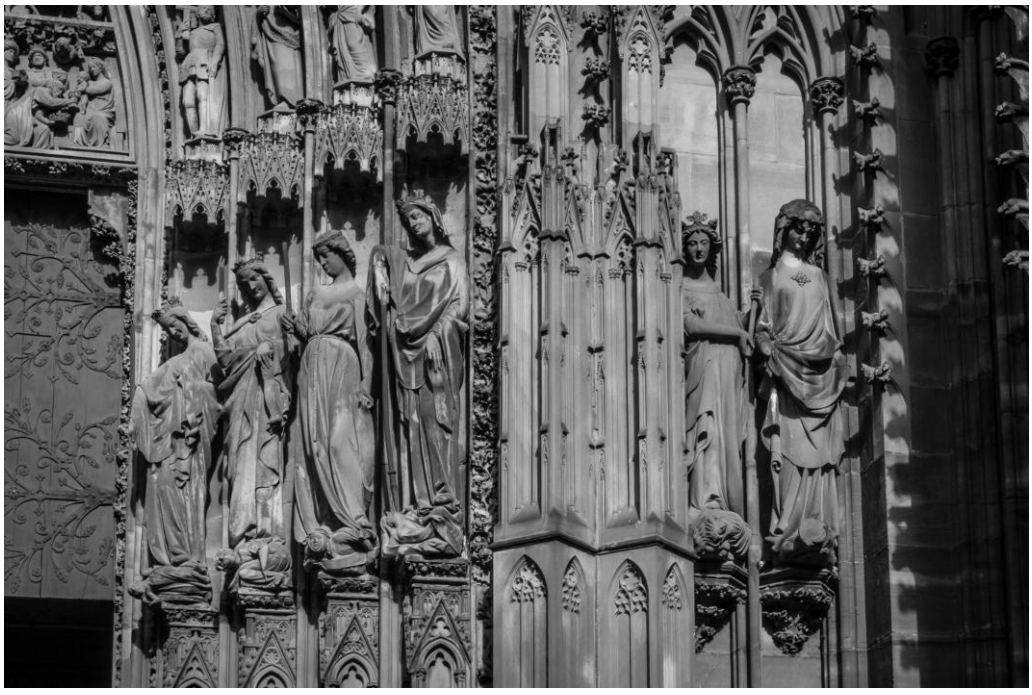

Fig. 86
Virtues and Vices (Right Side), c. 1280-1300, North Portal, West Facade, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

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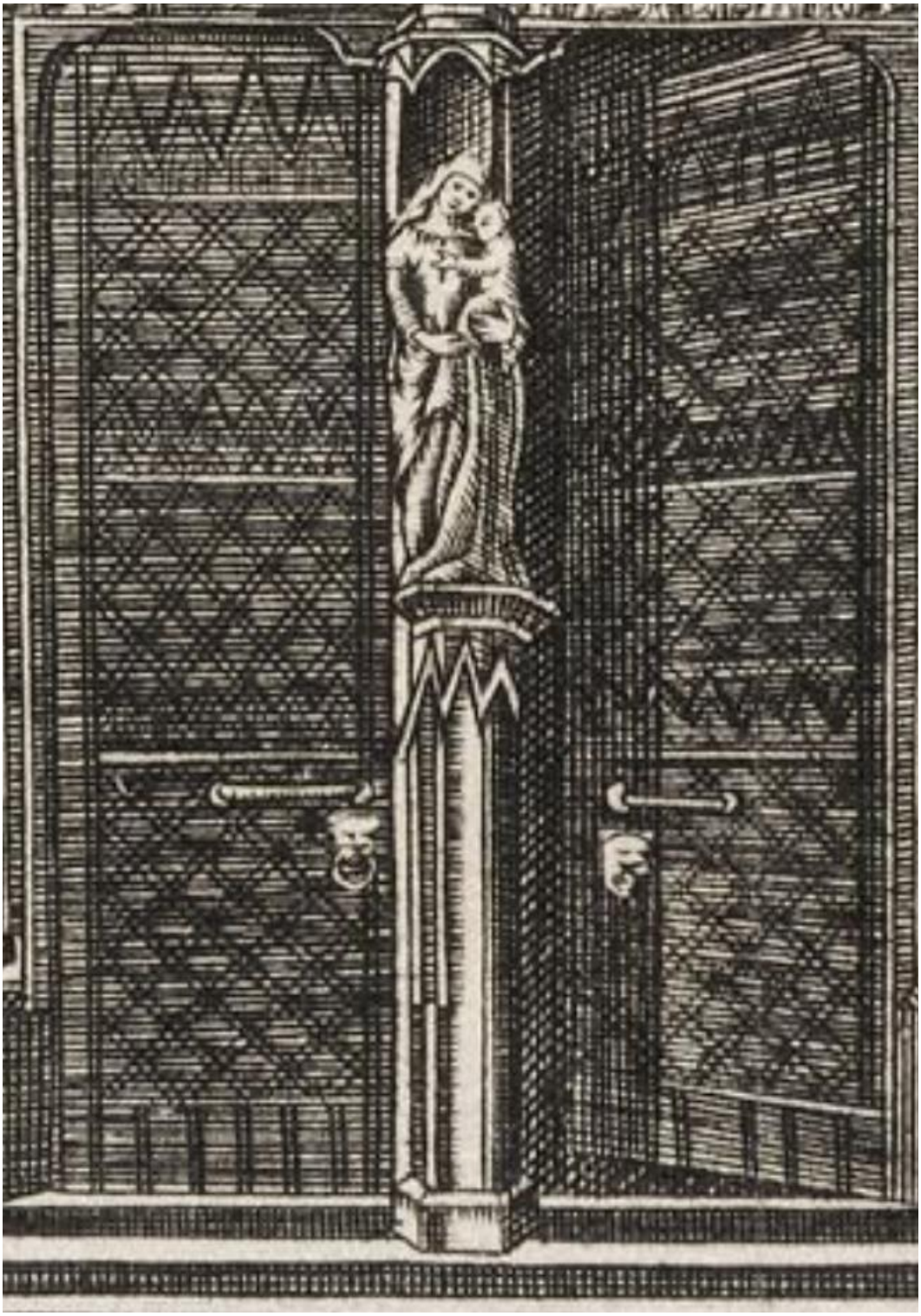

Fig. 89
Virgin on the West Facade detail, engraving, eighteenth century, Cabinet des Estampes et des Dessins, Strasbourg.

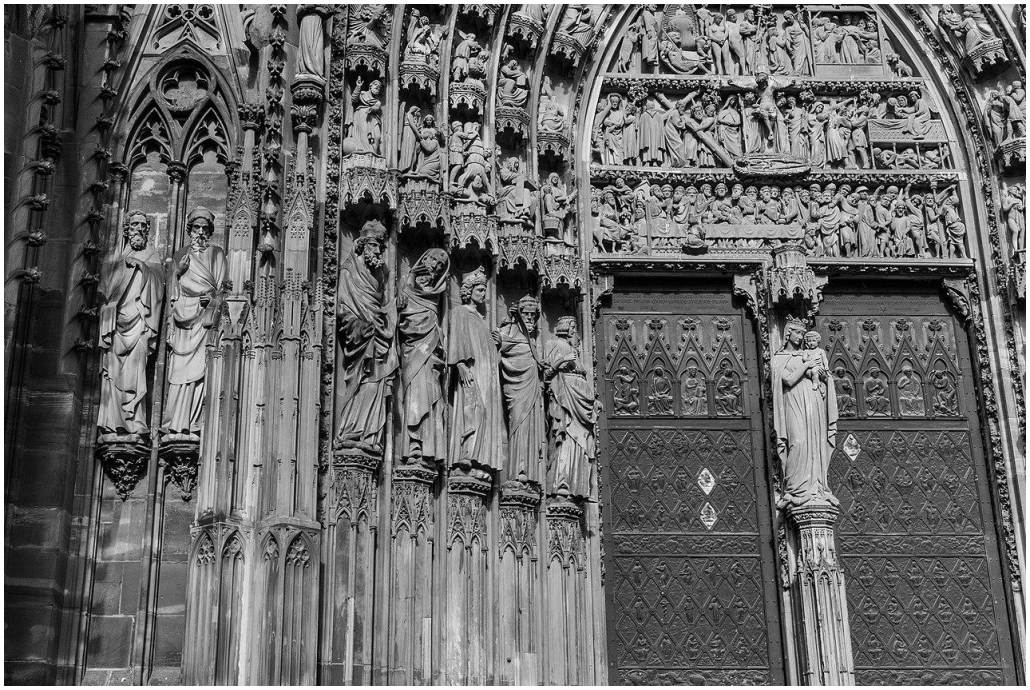

Fig. 90
Prophets (Left Side), c. 1280-1300, Central Portal, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

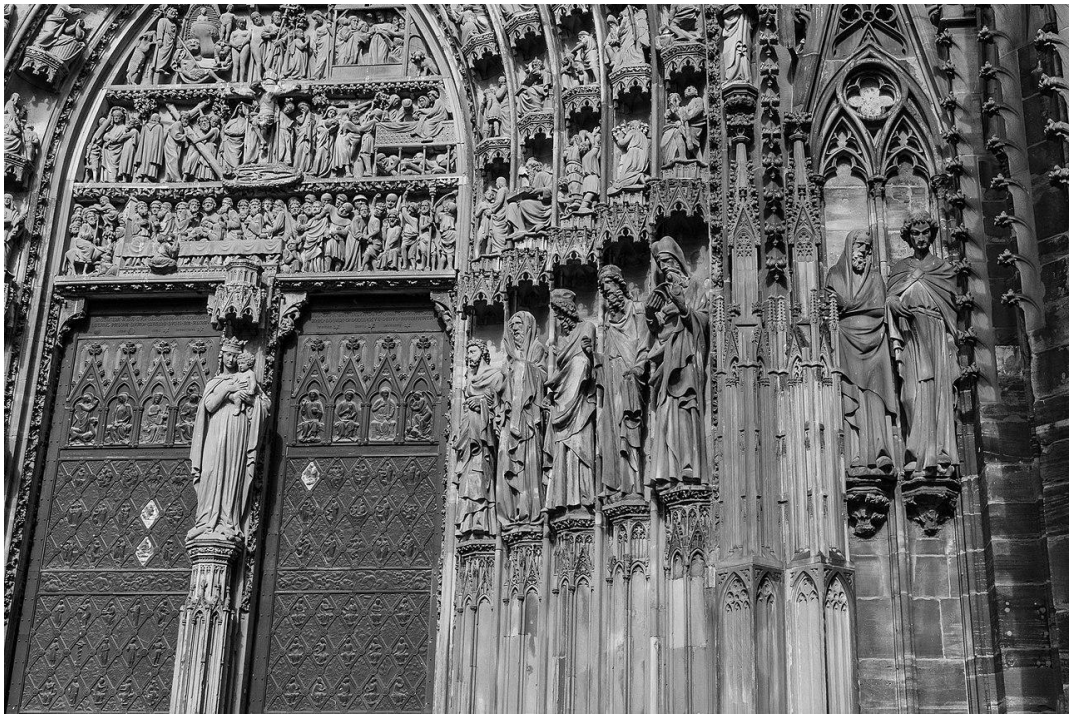

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Fig. 92
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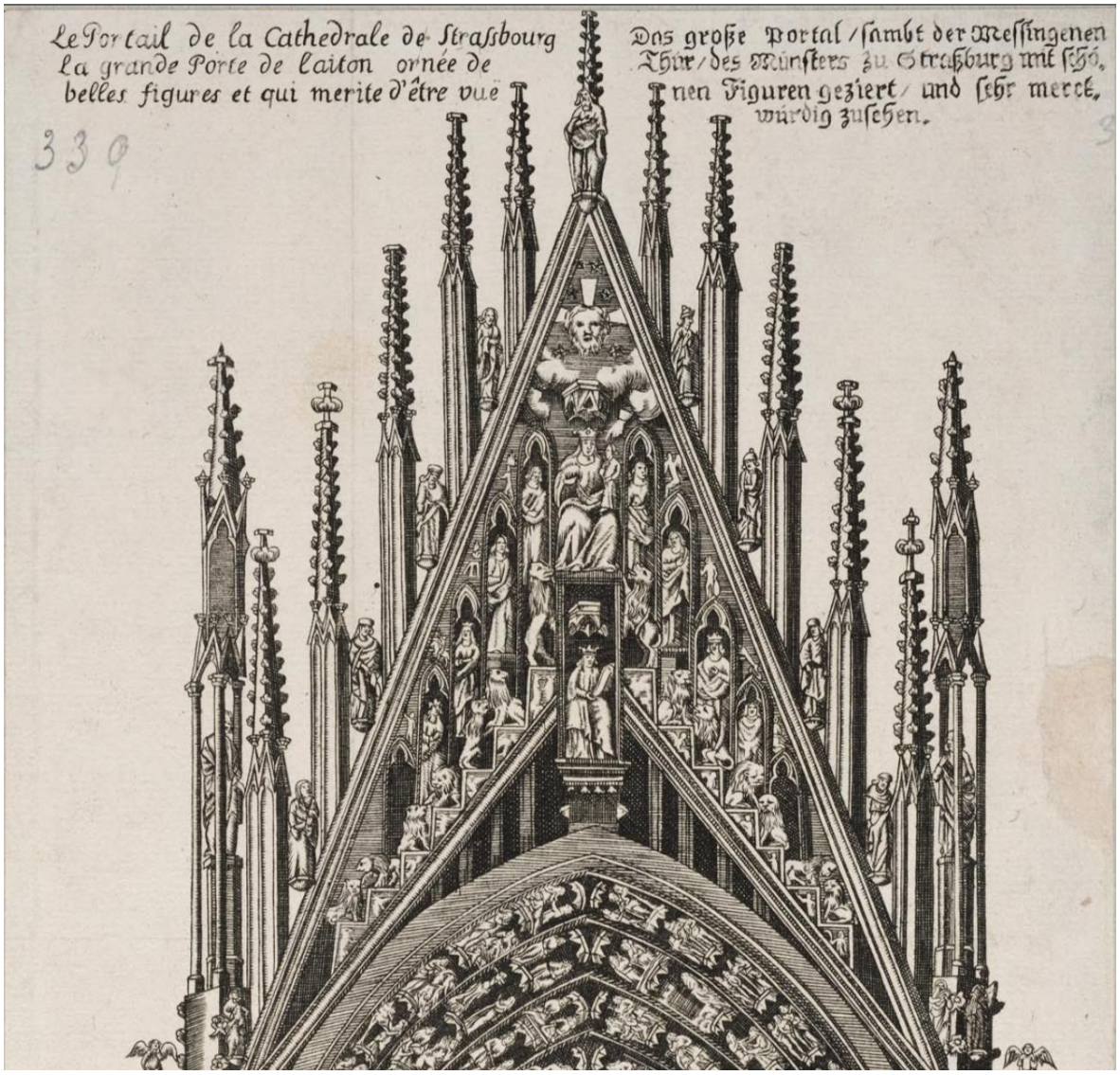
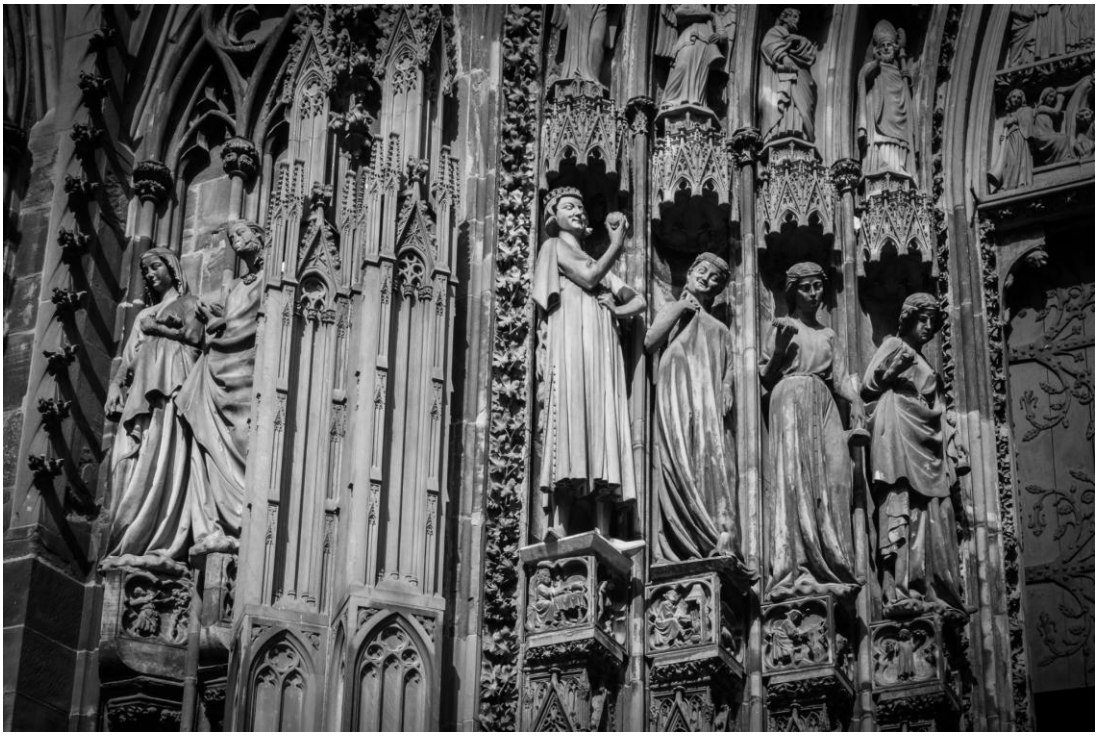


Fig. 93
Gable detail, engraving, eighteenth century, Cabinet des Estampes et des Dessins, Strasbourg.

Fig. 94
South Portal of the West Facade, engraving, seventeenth century, Cabinet des Estampes et des Dessins, Strasbourg.



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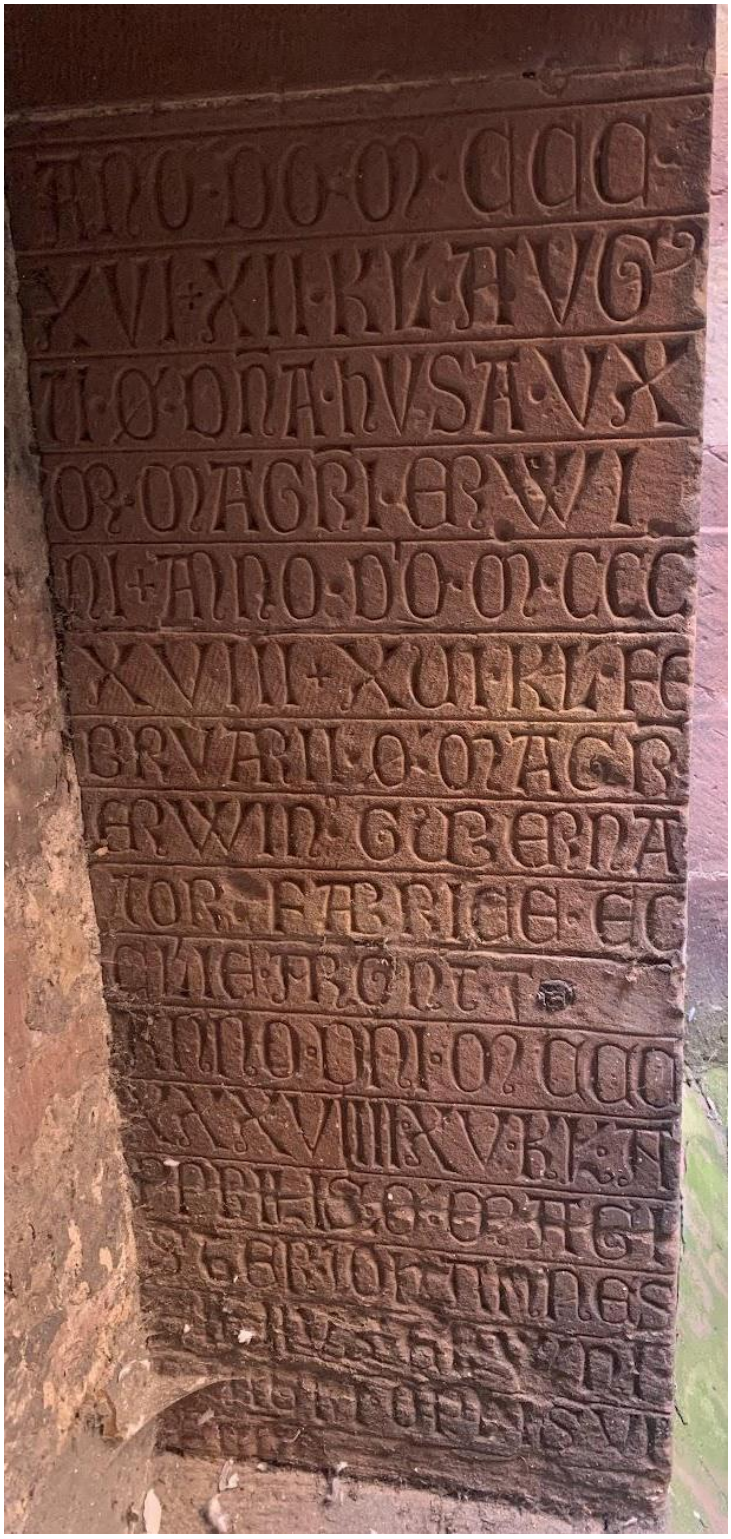

Fig. 101
Epitaph of Master Erwin and his family, first quarter of the fourteenth century, Courtyard, North Side, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

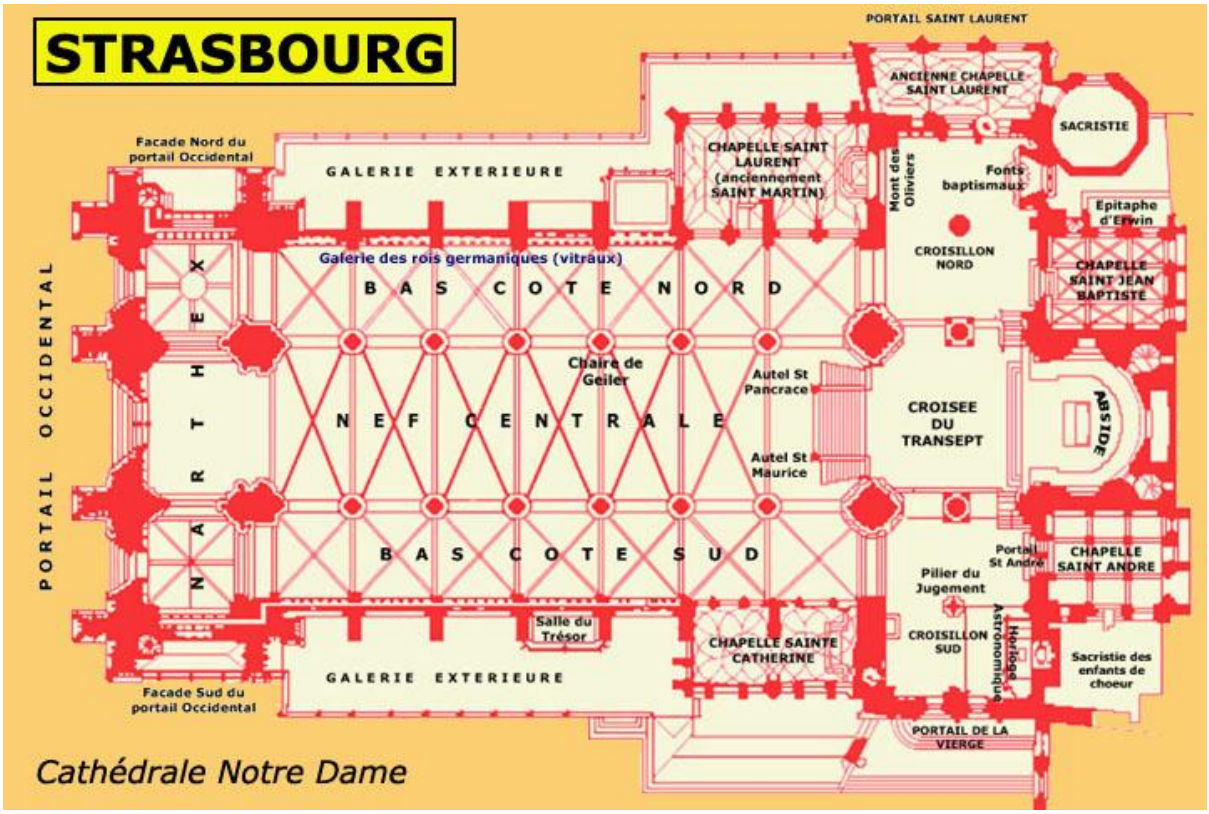

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Fig. 103
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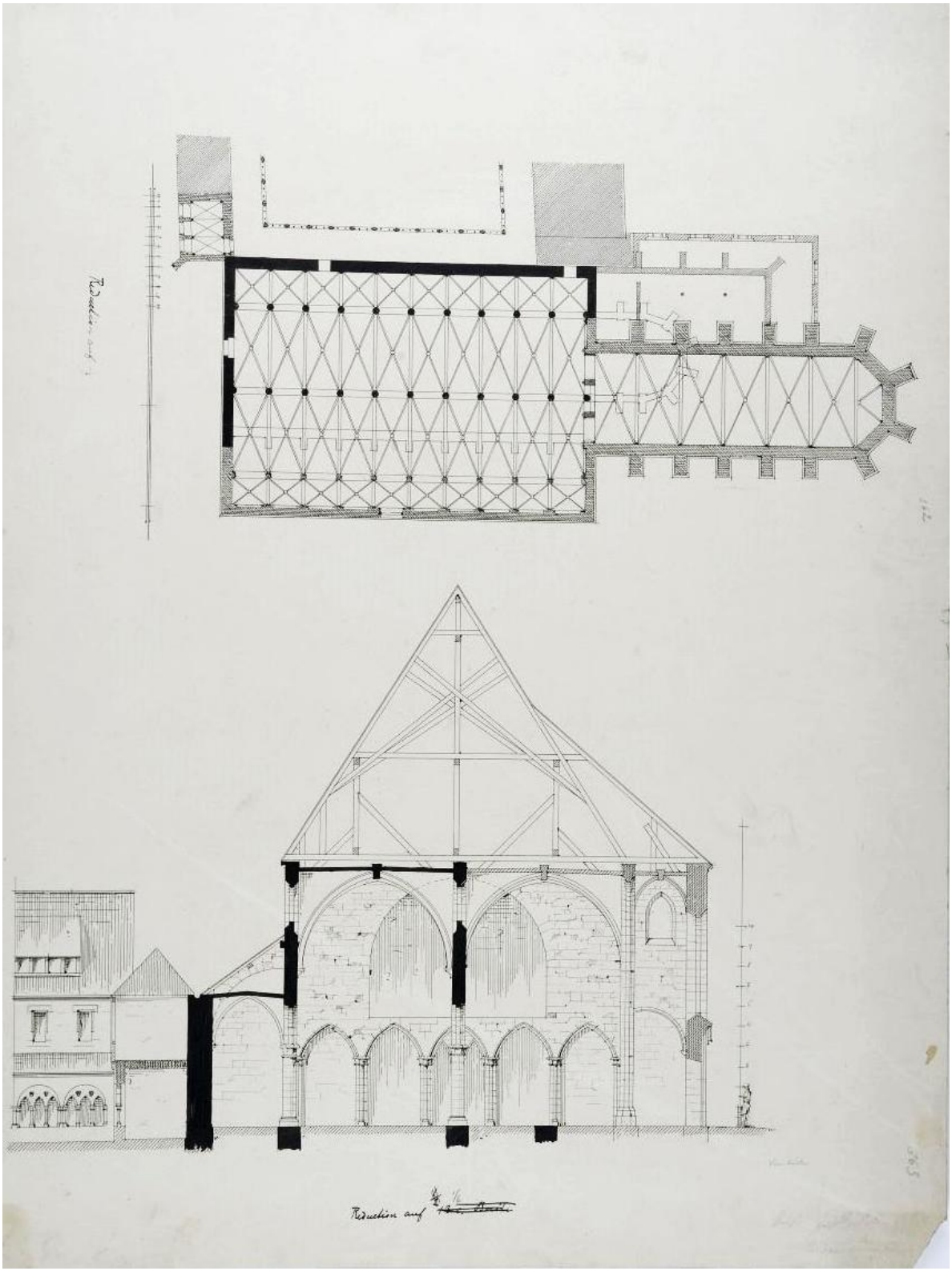

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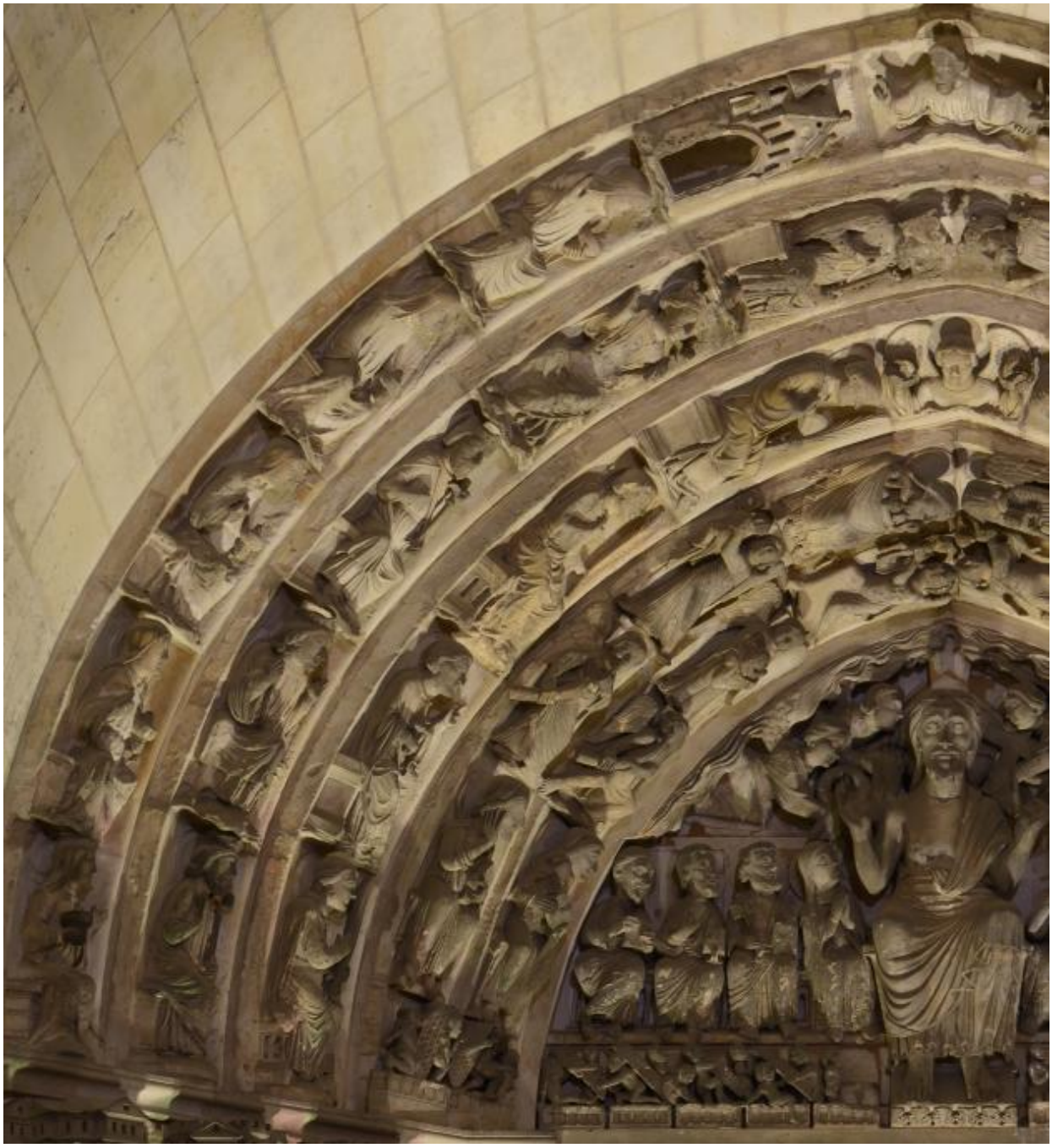

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Fig. 108
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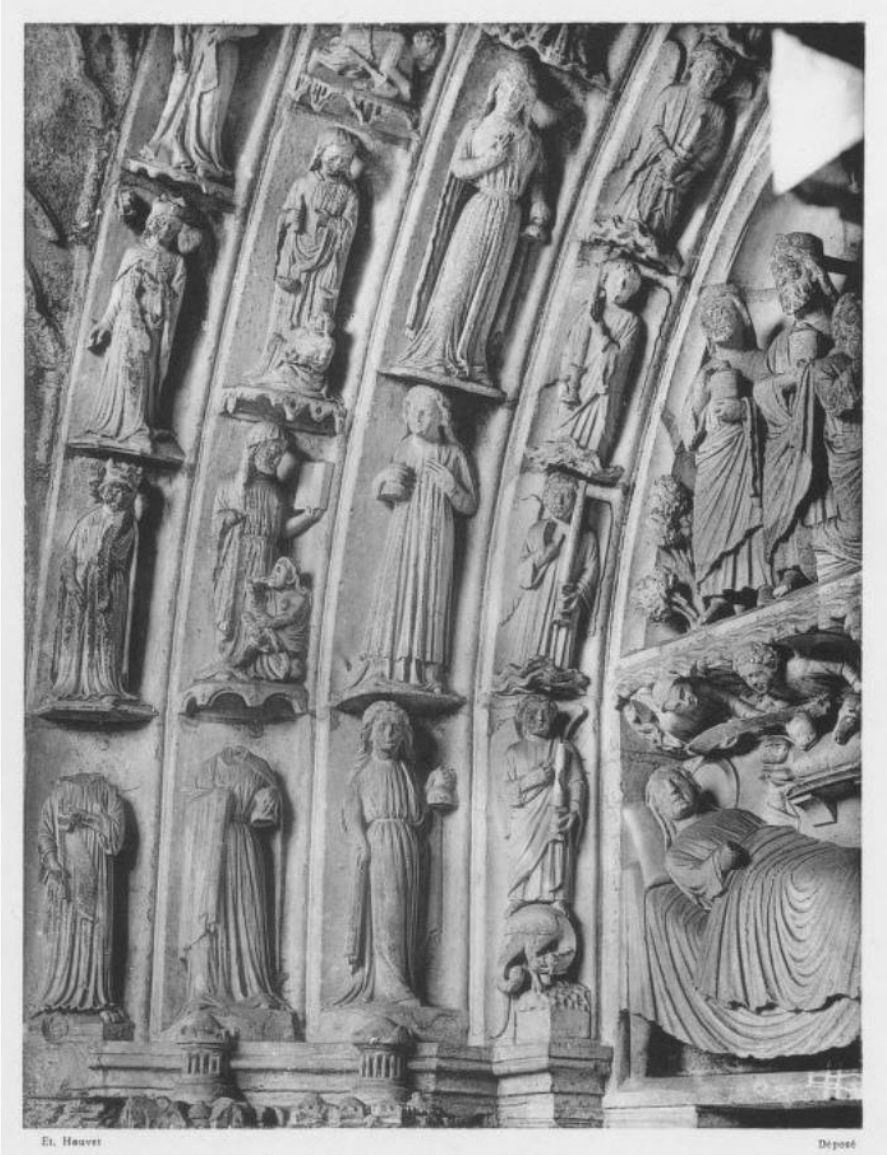

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Fig. 110
Last Judgement Portal with Wise and Foolish Virgin Lintels, c. 1225-40, Central Portal, West Facade, Amiens Cathedral, Amiens.

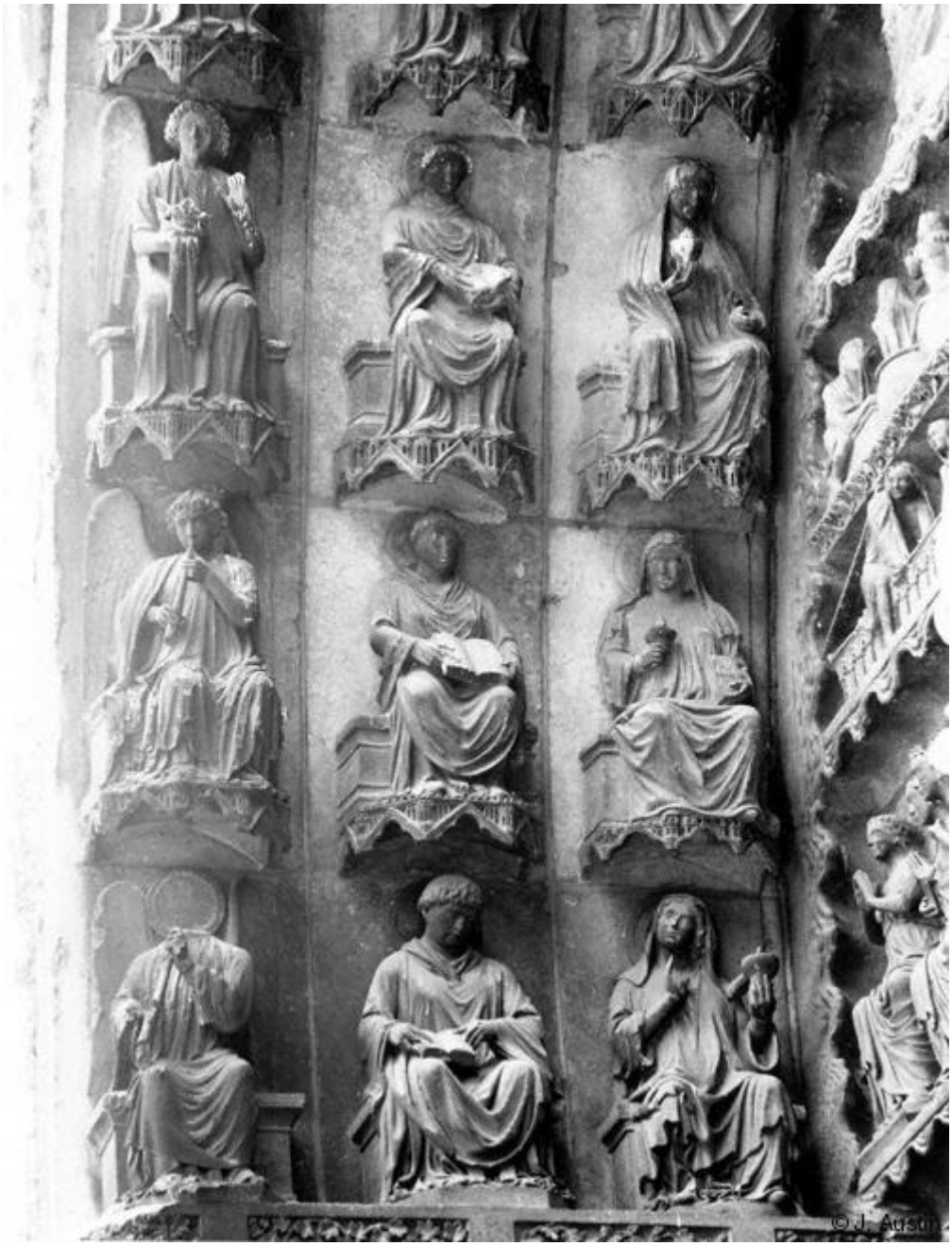
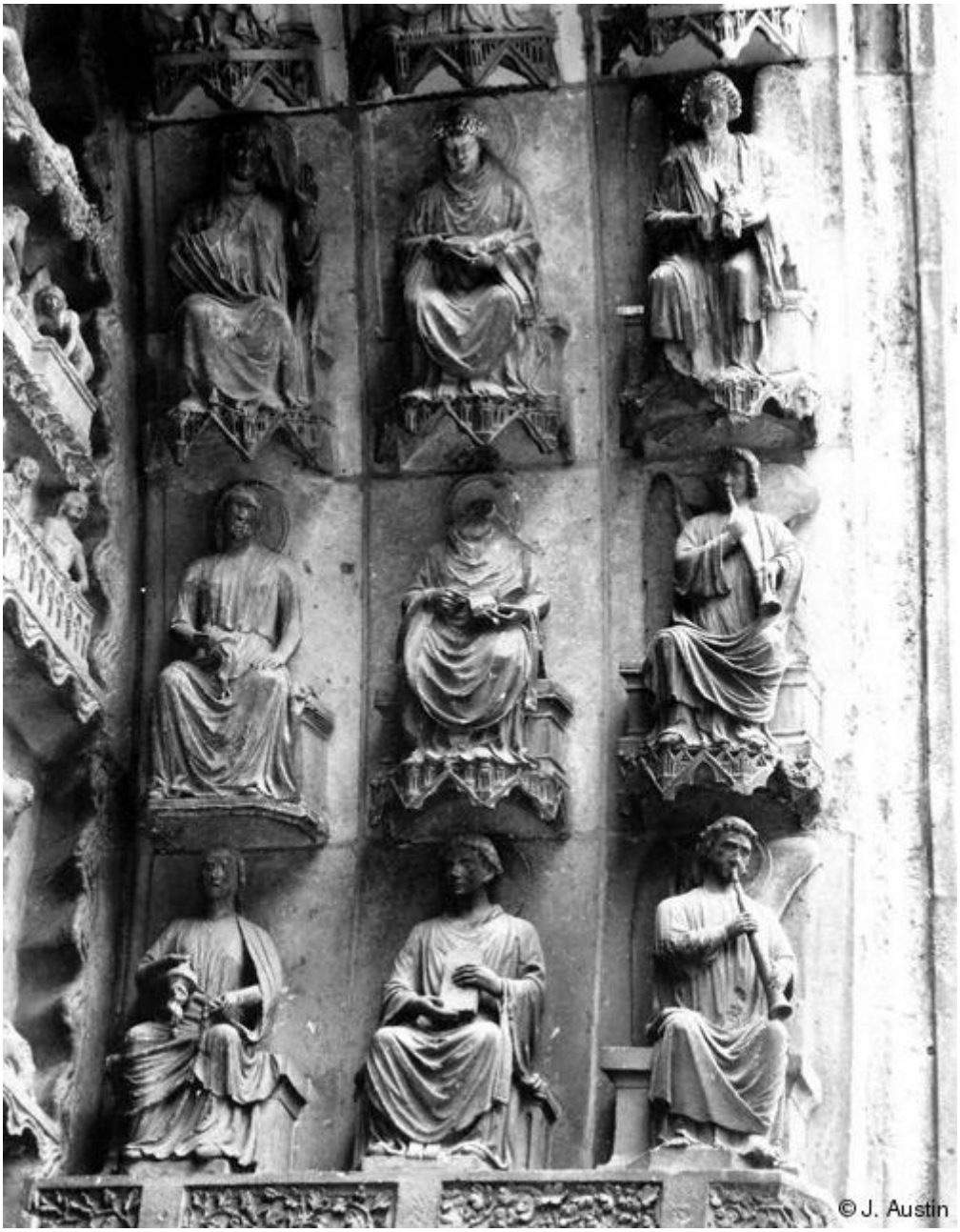


Fig. 111
Left Side Archivolts, c. 1230, North Portal, Reims Cathedral, Reims.



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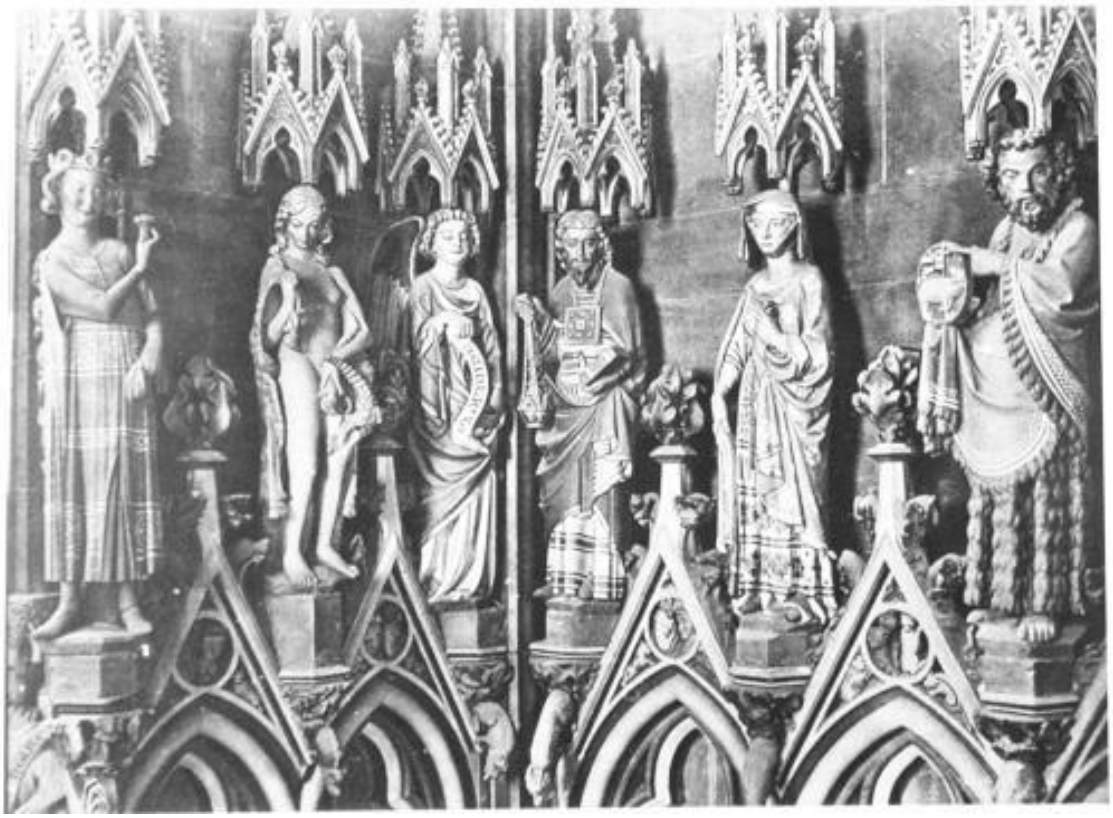

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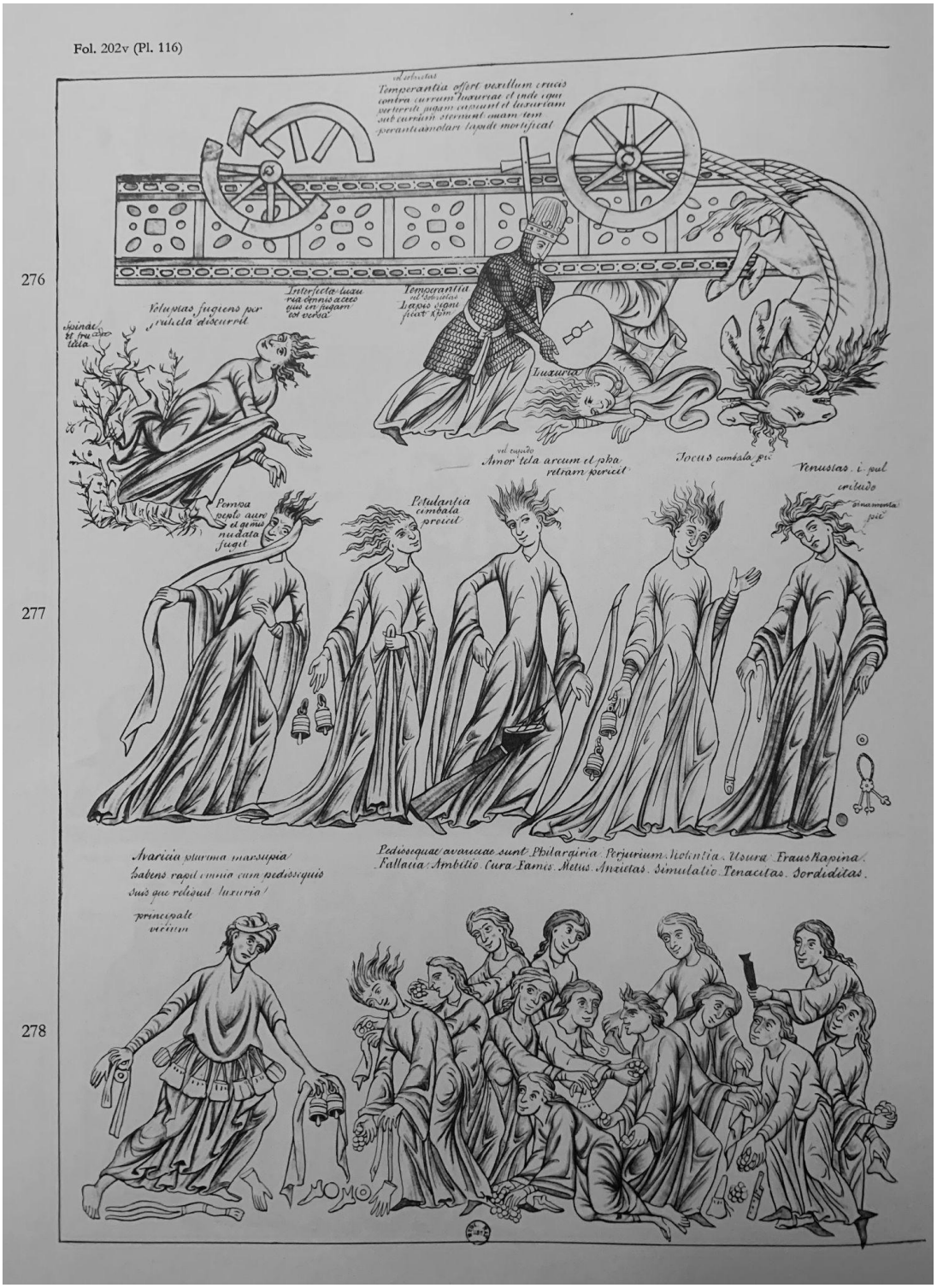

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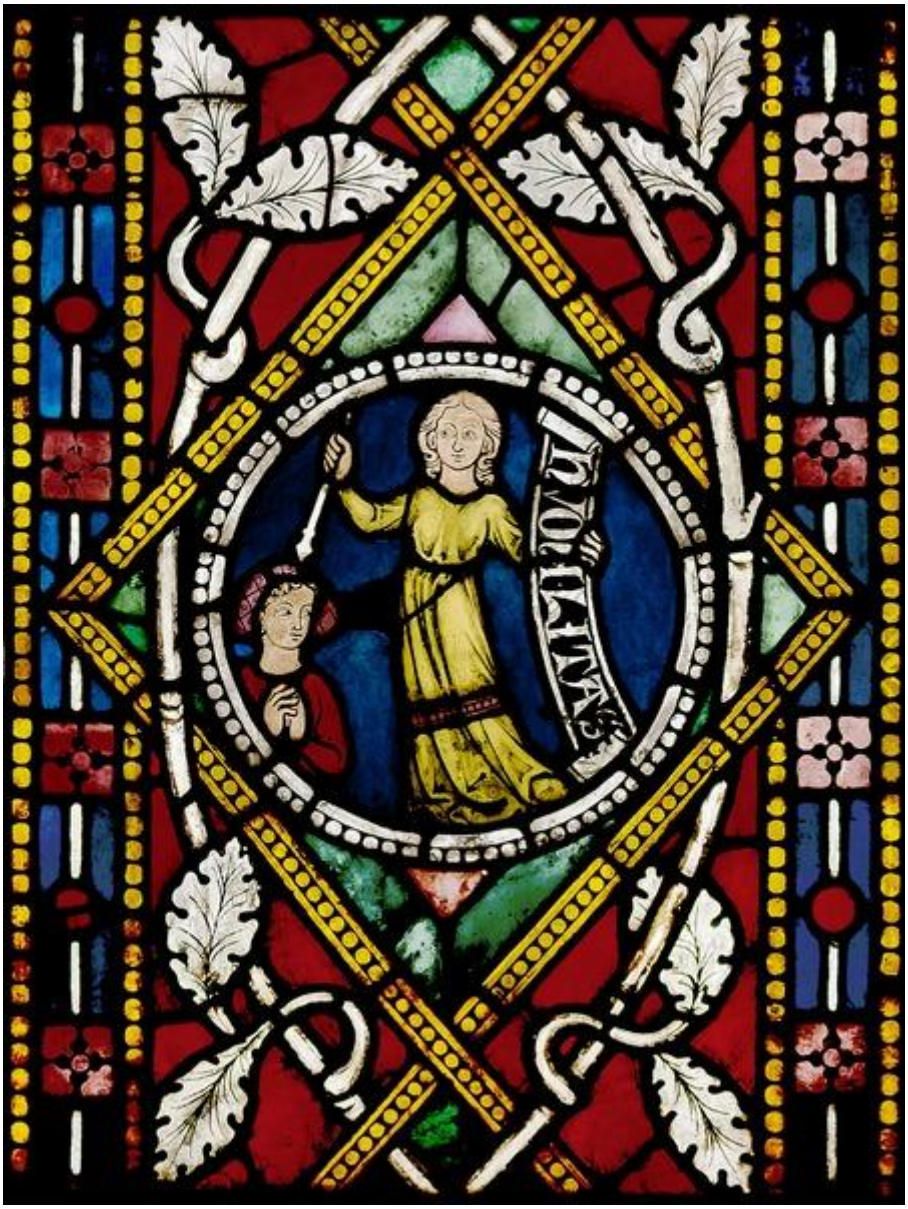
Fig. 135
Vice with Turban detail, c. 1280-1300, North Portal, West Facade, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.



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Chapter 6

“Fevresse” and Synagoga: Changing Allegories of Jewish Women

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Fig.139
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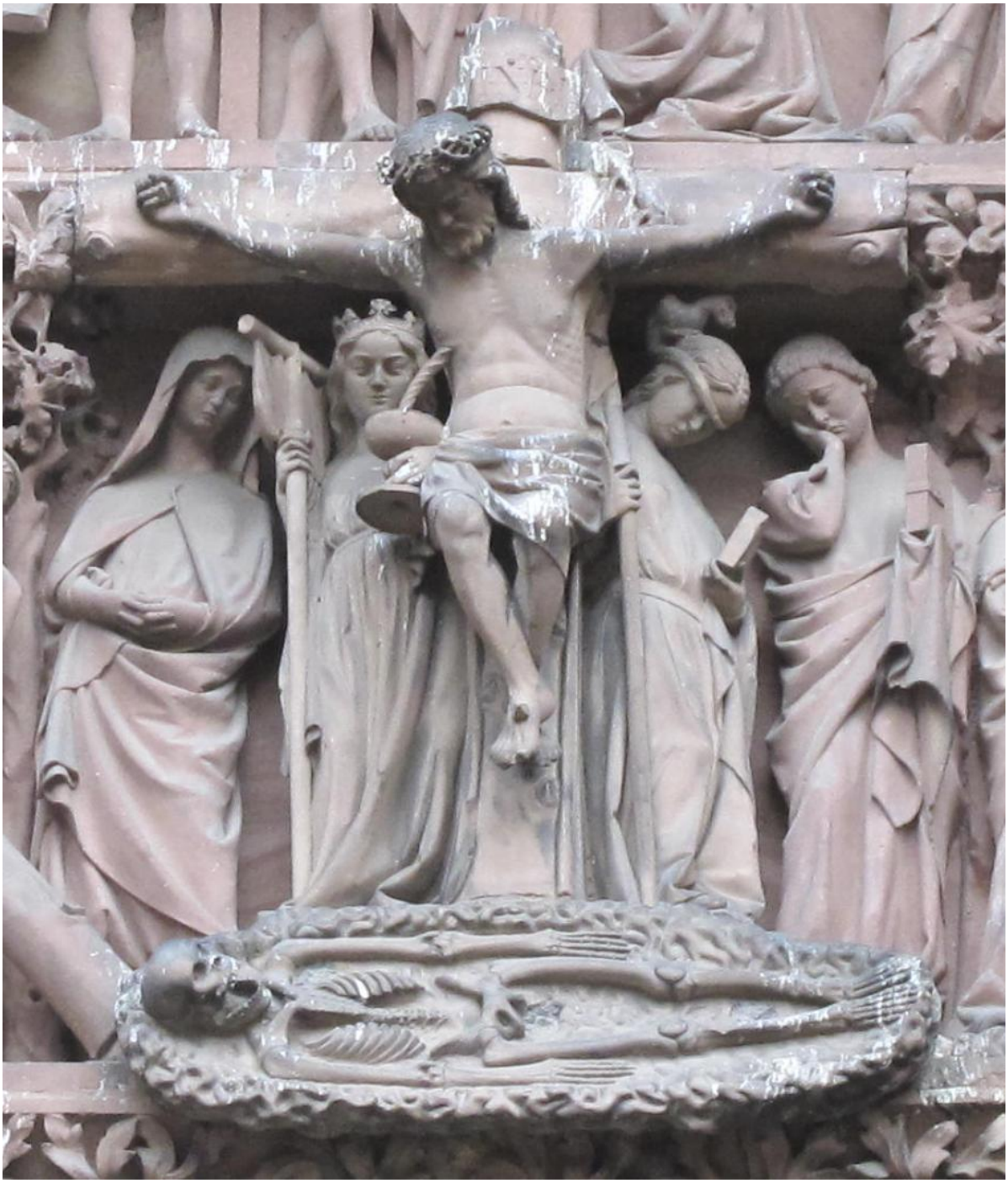

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Nailing to the Cross, c. 1165-85, baptismal font, Provost Church of St. Peter and Paul, Bochum.

Fig. 142
Christ Before the Crucifixion detail, folio 14v, *Psalter of Bonmont*, Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon MS. 54, c. 1260.

Fig. 143
The Creation of the Nails of the Passion, folio 252v, *Queen Mary Psalter*, London, British Library Royal MS 2 B.vii, c. 1310-20.

Fig. 144
The Creation of the Nails of the Passion, folio 31r, *Holkham Bible Picture Book,* London, British Library, Additional MS 47682, c. 1327-35.

Fig. 145
Dominican Monk Giving Manuscript Instruction, folio 1r, *Holkham Bible Picture Book*, London, British Library, Additional MS 47682, c. 1327-35.

Fig. 146
"Noli Me Tangere" detail, c. 1280-1300, Passion Tympanum, West Facade, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

Conclusion

Fig. 147
Dormition of the Virgin, c. 1262-75, w. 12, South Nave Aisle, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

Fig. 148
Mary Magdalene at the Dormition of the Virgin detail, c. 1340, w. 12, South Nave Aisle, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

Fig. 149
The News of the Resurrection, w. 11, c. 1262-75, North Nave Aisle, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

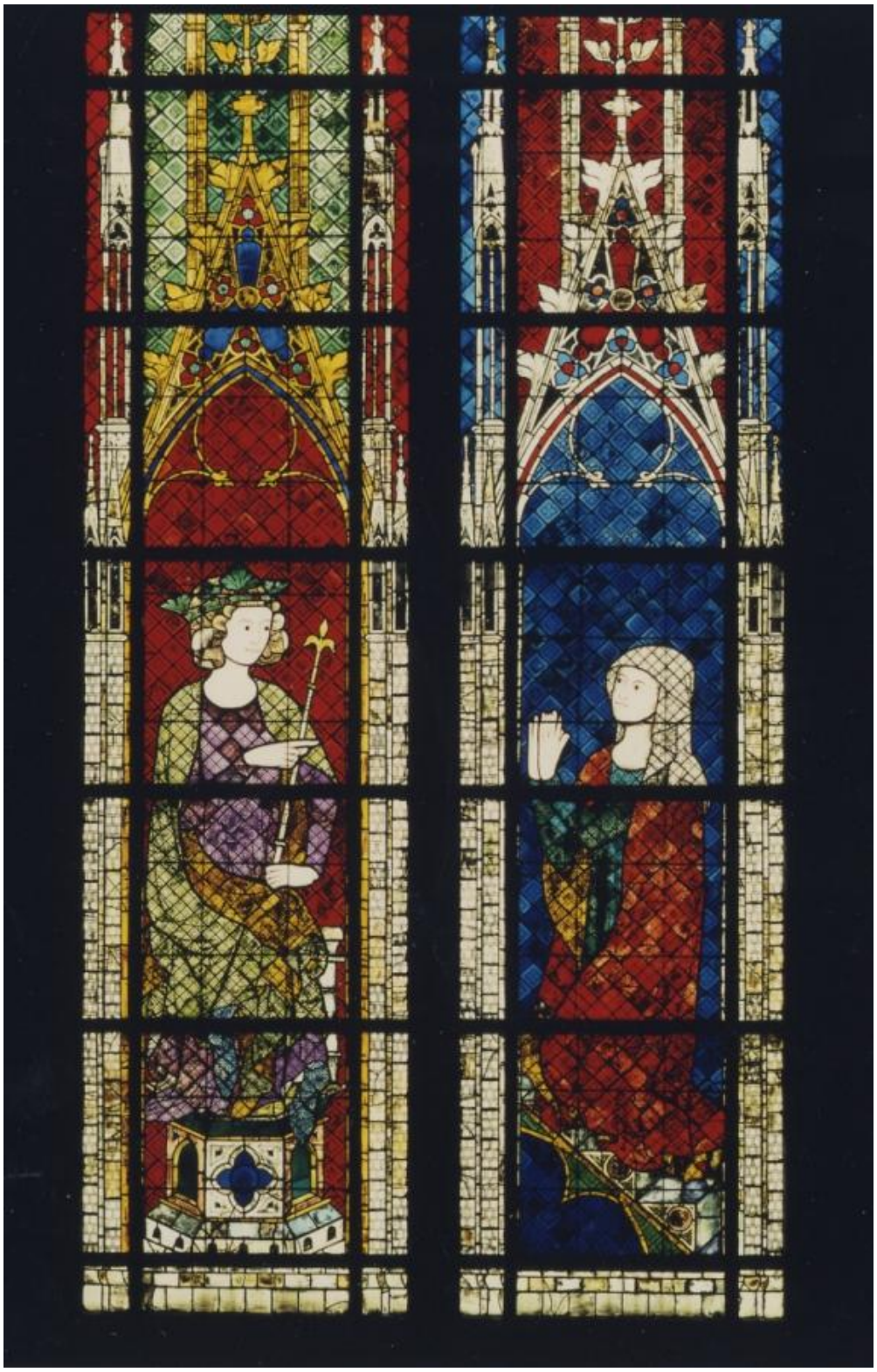

Fig. 150
Solomon and the Good Mother at the Judgement of Solomon, w. 212, mid-fourteenth century, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

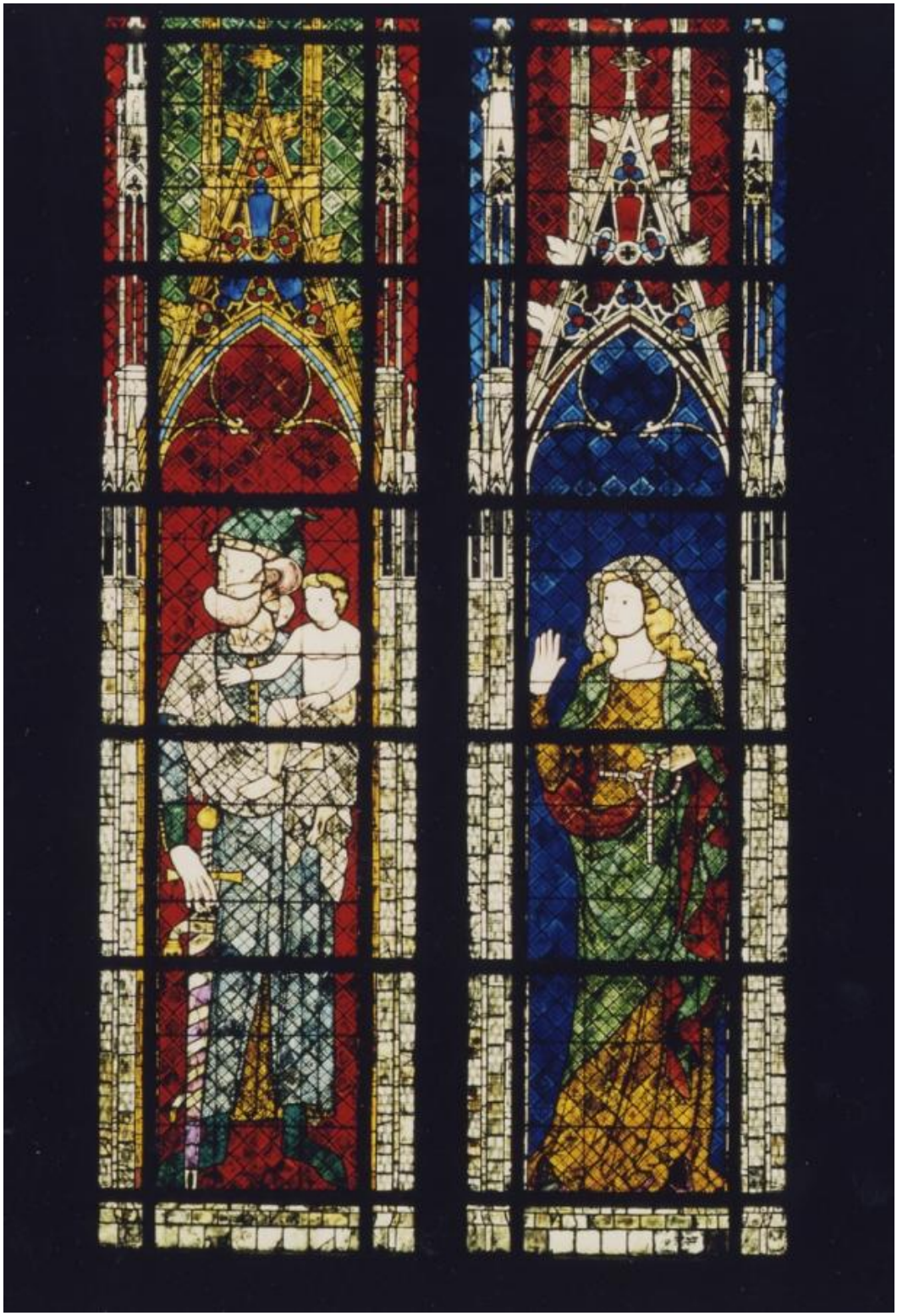

Fig. 151
Soldier and Bad Mother at the Judgement of Solomon, w. 212, mid-fourteenth century, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

Fig. 152
Jesus and the Adulterous Woman, c. 1335-40, Panel 13a, w. 10, South Nave Aisle, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

Fig. 153
Jesus with the Samaritan Woman, c. 1335-40, Panel 10a, w. 10, South Nave Aisle, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

Fig. 154
Christ and the Two Thieves, c. 1340, Panel 10d, w. 12, South Nave Aisle, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg.

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