

IMAGES OF LUST:
REPRESENTATION AND RECEPTION OF *LUXURIA*
IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

by

LYDIA GRACE MCCOLLUM

JENNIFER M. FELTMAN, COMMITTEE CHAIR
TANJA L. JONES
HEATHER MCPHERSON
JAMES D. MIXSON

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ABSTRACT

In the twelfth century, *Luxuria*, the Vice of Lust, associated with overindulgence in sensual pleasures, was depicted in a variety of ways, from didactic trees to individual personifications. In this thesis, I consider how gender informed two image types, the Trees of Vices and the *femme-aux-serpents*, which address different anticipated audiences and were produced in different contexts and media. In manuscripts, *Luxuria* is presented alongside other Vices in a didactic and devotional image type known as the Tree of Vices. In the encyclopedia known as the *Liber Floridus* (Ghent, Ghent University Library, MS 92) (ca. 1120) *Luxuria* is described in text, in a medallion, rather than represented by a figural personification. This image, created at the collegiate church of Saint-Omer anticipated a male audience. An alternative form of the figure of *Luxuria* appears in another *Tree of Vices* in the *Speculum Virginum* (London, British Library, Ms. Arundel 44) (ca. 1140-1150). Created for the instruction of religious women, this example illustrates *Luxuria* in the form of a bare-breasted woman atop the Tree of Vices. The small-scale, two-dimensional form of *Luxuria* in manuscripts addressed individual users in educational and devotional contexts. Next, in sculpture, I analyze the *femme-aux-serpents* type of *Luxuria* found on the south porch of the Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac (ca. 1115-1131). The sculpture of *Luxuria* at Moissac is represented as a voluptuous woman who is attacked by snakes and toads. As a demon grasps her arm, the woman suffers by the manner in which she committed her sin. The public, nearly life-size sculpture exemplifies the punishments of the Vice of *Luxuria* in the afterlife is part of the larger program of the left-lateral wall, which focuses on the narrative of Lazarus and Dives. The sculpture of *Luxuria* can also be understood

as part of the theme of the Virtues and Vices in the larger porch program at Moissac that culminates in an image of Christ in Majesty.

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INTRODUCTION

Illustrations of the Virtues and Vices in medieval art addressed many audiences, from men and women in religious orders, commonly referred to as monastics, to secular audiences, that is, those whose domain is “*in saeculo*” or “*in the world*,” including cathedral and parish clergy, nobility, royalty, and lay persons.¹ Across these categories, I argue that social constructs of gender played a role in the development of the image of *Luxuria*, commonly known as Lust. This thesis considers the ways in which gender shaped both the image and the reception of *Luxuria* in twelfth-century Europe.

Although the literary tradition of the Virtues and Vices begins with Prudentius’s *Psychomachia* (Soul-Battle) in the early fifth century, the earliest extant illustrations appear in the manuscript currently housed in Leiden, made between 825 and 849, hereafter referred to as the Leiden Prudentius.² In this manuscript, *Luxuria* is depicted at several moments: as a seductive, wanton woman at a sumptuous banquet (fig. 1), when she hears the trumpets of battle (fig. 2), when she rides her chariot into battle (fig. 3), and after her death with *Sobrietas* (Sobriety) (fig. 4 and 5).³ In sculptures of Triumphal Virtues, a type derived from the

¹ Secular clergy describes those of the church who work *in seculo* or “*in the world*.” This includes clergy associated with cathedrals and parish churches. On the other hand, the terms monastic, religious, or regular clergy refers to clergy who follow a monastic rule and live removed from the world in communities.

² Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Burm. Q. 3, ca. 825-849.

³ Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art: From Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 1-5;

Psychomachia, *Luxuria* is trampled under the feet of the Virtue of *Castitas*, or Chastity.⁴ By the twelfth century, the image of *Luxuria* appears in a new tradition of illustrations of diagrammatic trees in the monastic encyclopedia known as the *Liber Floridus* (ca. 1120), hereafter referred to as the Ghent *Liber Floridus* (fig. 6).⁵ In the Tree of Vices in the Ghent *Liber Floridus*, *Luxuria* is the topmost, central fruit in a tree of knowledge. An alternative form of the figure of *Luxuria*, derived from the *Psychomachia*, appears in the manuscript known as the *Speculum Virginum* (ca. 1140-1150) (fig. 7).⁶ Twelfth-century images of *Luxuria* also appear on capitals and on public facing facades of abbey churches, where they might be seen by a wide variety of people. Carved at the south portal of Moissac (ca. 1115-1131), *Luxuria* is depicted as a grotesque nude figure attacked by snakes and toads, a type known as the *femme-aux-serpents* (fig. 8).⁷ As can be seen from these examples, the image of *Luxuria* manifested in a variety of forms in twelfth-century Europe.

In this thesis, I examine the ways in which gender, expressed across religious and secular audiences, affected the representation of *Luxuria* in twelfth-century manuscripts and sculpture. In particular, I focus on the Tree of Vices in the Ghent *Liber Floridus* and the *Speculum Virginum* and the *femme-aux-serpents* type at Saint-Pierre, Moissac because these images are

Joanne S. Norman, *Metamorphosis of an Allegory: The Iconography of the Psychomachia in Medieval Art* (New York: Peter Lang, 1988), 12-27.

⁴An example can be found at Saint-Pierre, Aulnay ca. 1130.

⁵ Ghent, Ghent University Library, Ms. 92, ca. 1120.

⁶ London, British Library, Ms. Arundel 44, 1140-1150; Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of Virtues and Vices*, 73.

⁷ Another example can be found on the façade of the church of Saint-Pierre Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne (ca. 1130-1140) which looks very similar, see fig. 35.

representative of the major Vice image types. The Tree of Vices is one of the most popular Virtue-Vice image types to grow in the twelfth-century manuscripts, as both a didactic and devotional image.⁸ Likewise, *Luxuria* in the *femme-aux-serpents* form like that found at Moissac is a prolific sculptural type, found on capitals and façades.⁹ The physicality and scale of the sculpture at Moissac arouses and evokes visceral responses much more so than images in manuscripts. This is due size and the way in which sculpture physically invades the space of the viewer.¹⁰ On the other hand, manuscript images of *Luxuria* are not as explicit in their rendering of the Vice. According to Kirk Ambrose, the beginning of the twelfth century was a time in which Christian concepts and imagery were understood in increasingly bodily terms.¹¹ Sculpture provided the perfect medium for somatic representations because it was able to capture bodily aspects in the round, rather than as flat, two-dimensional images as in manuscripts. As two-dimensional images of the Tree of Vices within the manuscript, were embedded in their personal contexts where they could be used to educate for spiritual contemplation. The public nature of the sculpture of *Luxuria* at Moissac, however, allowed for multiple audiences, beyond the monks of the Abbey, who could infer many interpretations about the sculpture.

⁸ Jennifer O'Reilly, *Studies in Iconography of the Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages* (New York: Garland, 1988), 325-387; Jennifer O'Reilly, "The Trees of Eden In Medieval Iconography," in *Early Medieval Text and Image 2: The Codex Amiatinus, the Book of Kells and Anglo-Saxon Art*, eds. Carol A. Farr and Elizabeth Mullins (London: Routledge, 2019), 340-369, esp., 356-361.

⁹ Anthony Weir and James Jerman, *Images of Lust: Sexual Carvings on Medieval Churches* (London: Batsford, 1986), 58-79.

¹⁰ Kirk Ambrose, "Male Nudes and Embodied Spirituality in Romanesque Sculpture," in *The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art*, ed. Sherry C.M. Lindquist (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 65.

¹¹ Ambrose, "Male Nudes and Embodied Spirituality," 65.

I argue that both the gender of the makers and the gender of their intended viewers played a role in the formation and interpretation of the image of *Luxuria*, a figure whose Latin name gendered her female from the outset. All of the images of *Luxuria* studied in this thesis were made by men. Some were intended for male viewers, others for female viewers, and others anticipated both male and female viewers. In all cases, as I argue in this thesis, gender plays a role in how the form of *Luxuria* is represented and how she is interpreted by viewers.

State of the Literature

The art historical studies dedicated to *Luxuria* in the twelfth century have been regulated to its singular role in manuscripts or sculpture, but with no studies that cross both media. This has left a lacuna in understanding of how the representation of *Luxuria* were affected by media and the by the audiences for whom they were intended. A small-scale image, intended to be viewed in a manuscript that can be held in one's hands greatly differs from public, large scale sculpture. Furthermore, the role of *Luxuria*, within the Tree of Vices in manuscripts does not receive in depth study. Jennifer O'Reilly is perhaps the best source for discussing these two examples of Tree of Vices. Her two publications, one from 1988 and the other a posthumous publication from 2019, discuss the Ghent *Liber Floridus* and the *Speculum Virginum* in detail, but she does not consider the specific role of the Vice of *Luxuria* within the Trees.¹² Rather, her discussions focus on the overall meaning of the Trees. Studies of *Luxuria* in sculpture are similarly broadly focused. Anthony Weir's and James Jerman's 1986 *Images of Lust* catalogues all manners of sexual representations across Europe by the image type.¹³ This study, which does

¹² O'Reilly, *Studies in Iconography*, 325-387; O'Reilly, "The Trees of Eden In Medieval Iconography," 356-361.

¹³ Weir and Jerman, *Images of Lust*, 58-79.

discuss the *femme-aux-serpents* type at Moissac in detail, only references manuscript images that correspond to the to the image type. It does not consider sculptures of *Luxuria* to other image types in manuscripts the way this thesis does.

The literature on Trees of Vices begins with Léopold M. Delisle (1906), who was the first to publish on the *Liber Floridus*, outlining contents of each copy of the manuscript. Delisle was the first to identify the Ghent *Liber Floridus* as the original autograph copy.¹⁴ Fritz Saxl's 1957 collection of lectures discusses the Ghent *Liber Floridus* as one of the earliest medieval illustrated Christian manuscripts.¹⁵ Even when the Ghent *Liber Floridus* became the subject of many dedicated studies in the later twentieth and twenty-first centuries, none focused specifically on *Luxuria*. In the 1979 dissertation by Virginia Tuttle, the Tree of Vices is analyzed, and the Latin transcribed as part of a thesis to prove the encyclopedia's relation to Beatus of Liébana's (ca. 730-ca. 800) Commentary of the Apocalypse.¹⁶ These Latin transcriptions in the endnotes prove to be the most useful of the document. In his 1939 study, Adolf Katzenellenbogen provides historical background and understanding to the Ghent *Liber Floridus* and its role as a static representation of the Virtues and Vices.¹⁷ A collection of essays published with the 2011 exhibition *Liber Floridus 1121: The World in a Book*, describes the world in which Lambert of Saint-Omer created the Ghent *Liber Floridus*. The essays from the book do not discuss the image

¹⁴ Léopold M. Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits du Liber Floridus* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1906), 577-588.

¹⁵ Fritz Saxl, "Illustrated Mediaeval Encyclopaedias—2. The Christian Transformation," in *Lectures*, 242-254. (London: The Warburg Institute, 1957), 242-244.

¹⁶ Virginia Grace Tuttle, "An Analysis of the Structure of the 'Liber Floridus'" (Ph. D. diss., Ohio State University, 1979), 314-321, 340n40, 341n.42, 342n42.

¹⁷ Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of Virtues and Vices*, 63-70.

of the Tree of Vices but do provide information on the background and conception of the manuscript as well as the maker.¹⁸ Albert Derolez (1998 and 2015) has written two extensive analyses of the Ghent *Liber Floridus* which describe the creation and every folio of the manuscript. The most recent publication in 2015, discusses the Tree of Vices and Tree of Virtues, though briefly, contextualizing the images.¹⁹

The *Speculum Virginum* has been studied extensively, and studies reference its depiction of the Tree of Vices and the Tree of Virtues. Scholars have unfortunately, either neglected to discuss the concept of *Luxuria*, or they ignore her depiction all together. One major issue in the study of the Tree of Vices in the *Speculum Virginum* is that scholars identify the figure of *Luxuria* as *Vetus Adam*, or Old Man. In her 1939 iconographic analysis of the illustrations, Martha Strube identified the image of the figure bursting from the fruit of *Luxuria* as *Vetus Adam*.²⁰ This was based on the *De fructibus carnis et spiritus* treatise and image tradition in which the figure is depicted as a female figure (fig. 9). This has been echoed by scholars in the ninety years since, who have overlooked two features of this figure. First, the nude figure above the fruit of *Luxuria* has high breasts. Second, unlike the figure of *Novus Adam*, who is behind the fruit of *Caritas* (Charity), the figure in the Tree of Vices appears to grow directly from the fruit

¹⁸ Karen De Coene, Martine de Reuet, and Philippe de Maeyer, *Liber Floridus 1121: The World in a Book* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2011).

¹⁹ Albert Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus: A Key to the Encyclopedia of Lambert of Saint-Omer, Corpus Christianorum, Autographa Medii Aevi*, 4. (Turnholt: Brepols, 1998); Albert Derolez, *The Making and Meaning of the Liber Floridus: A Study of the Original Manuscript, Ghent, University Library MS 92, Studies in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art History* 76, (London: Harvey Miller, 2015).

²⁰ Martha Strube, *Die Illustrationen des Speculum Virginum* (Dusseldorf: G.H. Nolte, 1937), 15-16.

of *Luxuria*. The labeled fruit is caved in from the torso of the figure, which bursts from the fruit along with the leaf sub-Vices. Therefore, the figure is growing directly from the fruit itself, rather than the Tree as a whole. I suggest that the figure of *Luxuria* in this Tree has been merged with the concept of the Old Adam, and the Tree itself can be understood as a representation of the Vices associated with Old Adam.

Morgan Powell's scholarship of the *Speculum Virginum* is indispensable. In three texts from 1997, 2001, and 2020, Powell has discussed the role of the nuns as viewers rather than readers the *Speculum Virginum* as well as the Tree of Vices.²¹ Additionally, the 2001 collection of essays *Listen Daughter: The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, is essential for its explanation of the text and images. These essays discuss the religious background of the manuscripts, the conception of religious orders, and the piety of women.²²

The sculpture of Moissac has perhaps the most extensive bibliography of the three representations of *Luxuria* studied in this thesis. The role of gender in its interpretation has been addressed by Amanda Luyster (2001) and Thomas Dale (2010).²³ Ernest Rupin first described

²¹ Morgan Powell, *Gender, Reading, and Truth in the Twelfth Century: The Woman in the Mirror* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2020); Morgan Powell, "The *Speculum Virginum* and the Audio-Visual Poetics of Women's Religious Instruction," in *Listen Daughter: The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Constant J. Mews (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 111-136; Morgan Edwin Powell, "The Mirror and the Woman Instruction for Religious Women and the Emergence Vernacular Poetics 1120-1250, Volume I" (Ph. D. diss., Princeton University, 1997).

²² Constant J. Mews, ed. *Listen Daughter: The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

²³ Amanda Luyster, "The *Femme-aux-Serpents* at Moissac: Luxuria (Lust) or a Bad Mother?" in *Between Magic and Religion: Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and Society*, eds. S. Asirvatham, C. O. Pache, and J. Watrous (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2001), 165-91; Thomas Dale, "The Nude at Moissac: Vision, *Phantasia*, and the

the sculpture of *Luxuria* and the south porch in 1897.²⁴ Meyer Schapiro wrote on his dissertation on the sculpture of Moissac, which he later revisited in an article (1931).²⁵ His reading of the sculpture laid the foundation of scholarship, which was later built on by Eleanor Lorraine Scheifele in her 1985 dissertation. In this dissertation, Scheifele examines the Virtue-Vice porch as a path to salvation, with *Luxuria* representing a damned figure.²⁶ Ilene H. Forsyth published two articles on the porch and the sculpture of *Luxuria*. The first (2002), considered the legacy of Schapiro on the sculpture, and the next (2010) reassessed its date.²⁷ Thomas Dale (2010) published a unique reading of the sculpture of *Luxuria* as a way to rewire old sexual memories. By viewing the grotesquely, punished image of *Luxuria*, the erotic power monks' sexual memories could be neutralized.²⁸ While these articles break new ground by applying gender studies to *Luxuria* at Moissac, they do not consider her across media and audience.

Experience of Romanesque Sculpture," in *Current Directions in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, eds. Robert A. Maxwell and Kirk Ambrose (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 61-76.

²⁴ Ernest Rupin, *L'abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac* (Paris: A. Picard, 1897), esp., 335-338.

²⁵ Schapiro articles on Moissac were reprinted in a book as well, which I use as my main reference. See Meyer Schapiro, *The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac* (New York: George Braziller, Inc, 1985); Meyer Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac Part I (2)," *The Art Bulletin* 13, no. 4 (1931): 464-531.

²⁶ Eleanor Lorraine Scheifele, "Path to Salvation: The Iconography of the South Porch of Saint-Pierre-de-Moissac" (Ph. D diss., Washington University, 1985), esp., 41-81.

²⁷ Ilene H. Forsyth, "Narrative at Moissac: Schapiro's Legacy," *Gesta* 41, no. 2 (2002): 71-93; Ilene H. Forsyth, "The Date of the Moissac Portal," in *Current Directions in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, eds. Robert A. Maxwell and Kirk Ambrose (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 77-99.

²⁸ Dale, "The Nude at Moissac," 61-76.

The goal of this thesis is to create a case study using theories of gender and sexuality to examine the representations and interpretations of *Luxuria* across manuscripts and sculpture. *Luxuria* in the Tree of Vices and as the *femme-aux-serpents* type has not been compared nor has a study of the effects of medium been considered in the discussion of *Luxuria*. As two of the most popular representations of their media, these types allow me to demonstrate how the representation and interpretation of *Luxuria* was dependent on the gender of her maker and the intended audience.

Gender and *Luxuria*

My methodology for examining the figure of *Luxuria* is informed by modern theories of gender. As Judith Butler theorized, gender is a constructed identity, usually expressed in culturally predetermined behaviors described as feminine or masculine, rather than the biological terms of male or female.²⁹ As developed by Joan W. Scott, gender is twofold: It is determined by the apparent distinctions between the sexes. It is also the means of conveying the interactions of power.³⁰ Increasingly, gender has been considered as a factor in the development and interpretation of medieval art, as Sherry C. M. Lindquist has summarized.³¹

²⁹ Judith Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory,” *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (1988): 521-522.

³⁰ Joan W. Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1067-68.

³¹ Sherry C. M. Lindquist’s works have been very influential in understanding medieval genders and sexualities, and their relation to medieval art, see Sherry C. M. Lindquist, “Gender.” *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 113-130; Lindquist, “The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art: An Introduction,” in *The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art*, ed. Sherry C.M. Lindquist (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 1-46. Lindquist, “Introduction: Visualizing Female Sexuality in Medieval Cultures,” *Different Visions: A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art* 5 (August 2014): 1-24.

In addition to gender, the concept of sexuality, or erotic experience, orientation, and desire in medieval culture has also been examined by Pierre J. Payer, Ruth Mazo Karras, James A. Brundage, Sherry C.M. Lindquist, and Sarah Salih.³² Inspired by Butler, Scott, and Lindquist, I examine the intersection of gender and sexuality (sexual desire) as they play out in the perceived binary oppositions of male and female set forth in the Middle Ages. I focus on sexuality as the erotic experience and the desire of an individual to have sexual experiences or to not. According to Ruth Mazo Karras, medieval erotic desire was strongly associated with gender, and it was associated with gender/sexual strength and weakness. I consider how female sexuality is regulated through either non-figural (i.e., textual) descriptions or through the representations of the female body, which are themselves sexualized.³³

Strictly binary concepts of masculinity and femininity do not completely correspond to constructions of gender in the Middle Ages. According to Caroline Walker Bynum, images of Christ in the thirteenth century could be understood in feminized terms. The bleeding side wound of Christ was associated with childbirth and reproduction, and both male and female viewers responded to these representations of Christ.³⁴ As such, I recognize that gendered images can be

³² Pierre J. Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials: The Development of a Sexual Code, 550-1150* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); James A. Brundage, “Sex and Canon Law,” in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, eds. Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 33-50; Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others* (New York: Routledge, 2005), esp., 5-6; Sarah Salih, “The Trouble with ‘Female Sexuality,’” *Different Visions: A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art* 5 (August 2014): 1-22; Lindquist, “Introduction: Visualizing Female Sexuality in Medieval Cultures,” 1-24.

³³ Salih, “The Trouble with ‘Female Sexuality,’” 6.

³⁴ Caroline Walker Bynum, “The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg,” in *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Art* (New York: The MIT Press, 1991), 79-117, esp., 85-102.

read in nuanced ways. However, some contemporary concepts of gender-related power dynamics and misogynist views of women can be traced to the Middle Ages. This includes a misogynistic bias against female sexuality, which is expressed in the medieval representations of *Luxuria*.

Ruth Mazo Karras asserts that the body, sexual desires, and gender were all blurred together in the Middle Ages.³⁵ Monks associated their masculinity with self-control over their erotic desires, whereas women were thought to be unable to control themselves and prone to lust. These power dynamics of gender were influential in the representation of *Luxuria* and especially influenced its reception.³⁶

Misogyny, or the bias against women, and repressive attitudes towards sexuality deepened in the fourth century with the Desert Fathers, who went into the Egyptian desert in solitude, seeking to lead an ascetic life. These men, and some women, lived in extreme poverty, barely eating or even sleeping. They experienced vivid temptations by the devil, testing their *Castitas* (or Chastity).³⁷ According to Karras, their temptations and penances became popular in the European west as tales of heroic monks fighting temptation for sexual thoughts.³⁸ In one tale, the devil uses a woman to seduce the heroic monks. She claims to have lost her way and then feigns fear of the night and wild beasts, with the only solution for her to stay in the small cell with the monk. The monk burns himself as penance, burning the temptation from his flesh.³⁹ In

³⁵ Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 6.

³⁶ Ibid., 4-6.

³⁷ Ibid., 38-39.

³⁸ Ibid., 1, 38-39.

³⁹ *Henri d'Arci's Vita Patrum: A Thirteenth-Century Anglo-Norman Rimed Translation of the Verba Seniorum*, ed. Basilides Andreas O'Connor (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 1949), 40 as quoted in Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 1.

some texts, sexual temptation is associated with demonic possession, the fear of which fueled misogynistic views of women, who were presented as the temptresses and vehicles for potential demonic possession.⁴⁰

In the medieval understanding that was informed by the Desert Fathers, women were thought to be more sinful and corrupting than men whose sexuality was seen as obeying the tenets set by nature.⁴¹ Thus, female sexuality was feared and imbued with negative aspects. Women were expected to stay within their gendered roles, to be chaste virgins, chaste wives, or chaste nuns.⁴² In the Middle Ages, Chastity was defined as sexual abstinence, but it could also mean abstaining from illicit sexual activity. Chastity was a moral concept, hence its association as a Virtue. Sexual intercourse was only supposed to happen in marriage, and only for procreative purposes. Therefore, women and men could remain chaste and still engage in sexual activity. Celibacy was abstinence from marriage.⁴³

From her inception, *Luxuria* stood for the negative qualities that were associated with the female sex: the abject disregard for rules and a care only for self-pleasure. As was noted earlier, the earliest extant illustrations of *Luxuria* are in the Leiden Prudentius.⁴⁴ On the other hand, Virtue and Vice literature and imagery did present a positive image of the female sex in the figure of the Virgin Mary. In her perpetual virginity, she embodied sexual purity and *Castitas*

⁴⁰ Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 2-4.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., 28-29.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ I have searched the Index of Medieval Art for earlier representations of *Luxuria*, and the earliest representations in their catalogue are the images within the Leiden Prudentius.

along with bodily integrity—that is, she has not been penetrated through sexual intercourse. True Purity of the body was thought in terms of impenetrability. Peter Damian argued in the eleventh century that since Christ was spiritually conceived, the Virgin remained unpenetrated, and thus her body was never compromised, even after the birth of Christ.⁴⁵ The Virgin Mary alone was able to remain chaste and also create life, thus fulfilling both ideals set forth for women.⁴⁶ The Virgin Mary, and the concept of virginity, or physical purity, became the ideal form that women could emulate. But due to their circumstances, not every woman could, and instead these widows or chaste wives became “honorary virgins.”⁴⁷ These women would lead a pious life within their homes and by praying and seeking penance, spiritually reconstructing their physical virginity.⁴⁸

Before *Luxuria* was pictured, she was conceptualized in lists of Vices compiled by John Cassian (ca. 360-435) and in poetry of Prudentius (348-405) via a Latin word with a feminine ending. The Latin language itself is, therefore, fundamental to the gendered conception of *Luxuria*. This is because both Virtues and Vices were allegorized in language. In the original Latin, *Luxuria* is defined as the concept of luxury, excess, and even repulsiveness. The verb *luxurio* (*luxurior*), which extends from the noun, means to indulge in excess and wantonness.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Ibid., 34-35.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 35.

⁴⁷ Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 49.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 49.

⁴⁹ Charlton Thomas Lewis, William Freund, and Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary* (New York: American Book Company 1907), 1088.

In medieval Latin, *Luxuria* was defined as lack of moral restraint, wantonness, licentiousness.⁵⁰

By the time of Gregory the Great (d. 604) developed his list of sins, *Luxuria* was associated with licentiousness and sexual indulgence.⁵¹ When *Luxuria* was first illustrated in the ninth century, these ideas informed that illustration, and like all Virtues and Vices, she takes the form of a woman because of the feminine endings associated with her name. However, she is not simply shown as a woman. In keeping with descriptions of the Vice of *Luxuria*, she typically appears as a temptress, signified by long hair, exposed breasts, and/or seductive attire and is traditionally associated with overindulgent women.⁵²

In Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, the internal Christian spiritual conflict is depicted as a literal battle, narrated by an epic poem, a literary form, that was popular with laity and religious alike. Prudentius describes the Virtues allegorically, as female figures who engage in seven violent confrontations with Vices, who are also allegorical female figures. Prudentius drew upon Late Roman battle scenes to picture the female figures as they fight for the good of man's soul.⁵³ In the Leiden Prudentius, seven main pairs of Virtues and Vices face off in violent confrontations on the battlefield of the soul: *Fides* (Faith) battles against *Cultura Deorum* (Old Gods), *Pudicitia*

⁵⁰ The digital version of the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* was referenced, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, s.v. “luxuria,” accessed March 15, 2021, <http://www.brepolis.net>.

⁵¹ Claire Catalini, “*Luxuria* and Its Branches” in *Sex, Love and Marriage in Medieval Literature and Reality: Thematische Beiträge im Rahmen des 31th International Congress on Medieval Studies an der Western Michigan University (Kalamazoo-USA)* (1996), eds. Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok (Greifswald: Reineke-Verlag, 1996), 14.

⁵² Robert Mills, *Seeing Sodomy in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 194-196.

⁵³ Norman, *Metamorphosis of an Allegory*, 12.

(Chastity) against *Libido* (Lust), *Patientia* (Long-Suffering) against *Ira* (Wrath), *Spes* (Hope)—assisted by *Mens Humilis* (Humility) against *Superbia* (Pride), *Sobrietas* (Sobriety) against *Luxuria* (translated as Indulgence),⁵⁴ *Operatio* (Good Works) against *Avaritia* (Greed), and *Fides* against *Discordia/Heresis* (Discord/Heresy).⁵⁵

In this epic battle for the good of Man's Soul, the Virtues and Vices battle in Roman gear with weapons. But *Luxuria*, for her part, does not don the vestments of battle in the *Psychomachia*. Rather, she is depicted as a seductive woman (fig. 1).⁵⁶ Here, *Luxuria* is understood as indulgence in sensual pleasures, a concept that is related to the Vice of *Gula* (Gluttony). According to Joanne S. Norman, the manifestation of *Luxuria* in the *Psychomachia* stems from the biblical idea of the sins of the flesh, which encompasses all aspects of Gluttony.⁵⁷ The Vice of Lust is represented by *Libido*, which also bears the feminine ending, who Prudentius describes as armed with a flaming torch.⁵⁸ In the Leiden Prudentius, *Libido* is depicted with a torch, loose hair, and wearing a flowing skirt that mimics the flames of fire (fig. 10). She is slayed by the sword wielding *Pudicitia* (Chastity) (fig. 11). *Luxuria* does not battle like the other Vices, who use weapons or run headlong into the Virtues. Instead, she seduces all the Virtues,

⁵⁴ H. J. Thomson translates *Luxuria* as Indulgence in his translation of the *Psychomachia*, see Prudentius, *Preface. Daily Round. Divinity of Christ. Origin of Sin. Fight for Mansoul. Against Symmachus 1*, trans. by H. J. Thomson, Loeb Classical Library 387 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), 274-344.

⁵⁵ Norman, *Metamorphosis of an Allegory*, 12-27; Prudentius, *Preface. Daily Round. Divinity of Christ. Origin of Sin. Fight for Mansoul. Against Symmachus 1*, 274-344.

⁵⁶ O'Reilly, *Studies in Iconography*, 22.

⁵⁷ Norman, *Metamorphosis of an Allegory*, 19.

⁵⁸ Prudentius, *Preface. Daily Round. Divinity of Christ. Origin of Sin. Fight for Mansoul. Against Symmachus 1*, 274-344.

except for *Sobrietas*, by throwing flowers from her chariot.⁵⁹ *Sobrietas* then scares the horses, causing *Luxuria* to fall under their hooves, where she is dealt a deathblow by *Sobrietas*.⁶⁰ In the illustrations of the Leiden Prudentius, *Luxuria* is depicted as an overindulgent and seductive woman. In the first scene, *Luxuria* is depicted reclining on a couch at an extravagant banquet with her followers (fig. 1). In the following scene she is standing and wears a dress, which hugs her curves (fig. 2). The illustrations in the Leiden Prudentius demonstrate *Luxuria*'s sexuality through a visualization of her body more so than the other Vices, even that of *Libido*, the figure associated with Lust.⁶¹

In Early Medieval concepts, there was a significant interest in the carnal Vices of *Luxuria* (Lust), *Avaritia* (Greed), and *Gula* (Gluttony). Cassian's lists became the basis for lists of sins in penitential handbooks.⁶² *Luxuria* was placed with the carnal sins of *Avaritia* and *Gula*. *Superbia* (Pride) took the premier spot as chief sin, but the dangers of these carnal sins were emphasized, especially within monastic contexts. Gregory the Great popularized the concepts of Cassian but placed the Vices in a new order, with *Superbia* as the queen Vice from whom all the other Vice sprang.⁶³ Although *Luxuria* appears in different places within each list, she was understood in

⁵⁹ *Luxuria*'s flower throwing could be a sign of her sexual availability or the act of virginity being taken away. Thanks to Dr. Feltman for pointing this out.

⁶⁰ Prudentius, *Preface. Daily Round. Divinity of Christ. Origin of Sin. Fight for Mansoul. Against Symmachus* 1, 274-344.

⁶¹ *Libido*, by the twelfth century, becomes ensconced in the Vice of *Luxuria*, as can be seen in the sub-Vice fruits of *Luxuria* in the *Speculum Virginum*.

⁶² Shawn R. Tucker, *The Virtues and Vices in the Arts: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2015), 57.

⁶³ Morton W. Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (Michigan: The Michigan State

each case as a major impediment to the growth of Virtue. *Luxuria* was thought by Gregory the Great to be the most degenerate of the Vices and the final estrangement from God's grace. This is why she is placed at the bottom of his list. To Gregory, *Luxuria* is the outer expression of the interior Vice of *Superbia*, and thus Pride places love of self before all else.⁶⁴

Overview of Chapters

The two body chapters of this thesis focus on twelfth-century manuscripts and sculptures, respectively. Chapter 1 addresses images of *Luxuria* within the diagrammatic Trees of Vices, beginning with the non-figural (i.e., textual description) of *Luxuria* a fruit of the Tree of Vices in the encyclopedia the Ghent *Liber Floridus*, compiled and illuminated by Lambert (d. ca. 1121), a secular canon of Saint-Omer.⁶⁵ This representation of *Luxuria* is in the form of a medallion on a branch that is devoid of any figural representation or added decoration. Instead of an image, a textual description is given. As just a withered fruit of the tree, Lambert imposes no feminine traits onto the Vice other than in name. This, rather, allows the viewer to receive the image as part of the whole—*Luxuria* is not one separate thing to consider, but part of a living (or rather, dying) tree that, with all its Vices, must be chopped down. Reception is considered in the context of *Luxuria* as a crowning Vice by the clergy of Saint-Omer in the years after the death of

College Press, 1952), 71-73; Linda Seidel, *Songs of Glory: The Romanesque Facades of Aquitaine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 1981), 56-57.

⁶⁴ Carole Straw, “Gregory, Cassian and the Cardinal Vices” in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture of the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser (Ontario: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2005), 51.

⁶⁵ For an overview of the *Liber Floridus* and its copies see Delisle, *Notice sur les Manuscrits*; Derolez, *The Making and Meaning of the Liber Floridus*; Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*.

Lambert and after the mandatory clerical celibacy by the First and Second Lateran Councils.⁶⁶

The context of the Tree of Vices within the entirety of the manuscript, focused on integrating knowledge and devotion, alters its meaning. Male viewers could respond to this work by understanding that the Tree of Vices is not fruitful and will lead to moral decay. Next, I consider the representation of *Luxuria* in the Tree of Vices in the *Speculum Virginum*, an extended dialogue written as a monastic guide for women in religious orders. In this manuscript, *Luxuria* is depicted as a bare-breasted woman atop the Tree of Vices, from whom sub-Vices grow. The imaged *Luxuria* is imbued with femininity and sexuality and plays an extended role in the instruction of religious women. Here, reception is considered in the male monastics who may have viewed the guide intended for women. As also a guide for how male religious should interact with religious women, the image of *Luxuria* in the contemplative tree work similarly for religious men but could also reveal information about the relationships between men and women in religious orders.⁶⁷

In Chapter 2, abject female sexuality and its imposed negative associations will be considered in the representations of *Luxuria* at the Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre in Moissac (ca. 1115-1131). *Luxuria* at Moissac is represented on the left lateral wall of the south porch as a naked woman who is attacked by snakes and a toad who attach themselves to her breasts and

⁶⁶ Brundage, “Sex and Canon Law,” 36; C. 21 *Sac Conc 21* as in Jo Ann McNamara, “Chaste Marriage and Celibate Clergy,” *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, eds. Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Book, 1982), 32, 235 fn. 93.

⁶⁷ Julie Hotchin, “Female Religious Life and the Cura Monialium in Hirsau Monasticism, 1080 to 1150,” in *Listen Daughter: The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Constant J. Mews (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 66-72; Constant J. Mews, “Virginity, Theology, and Pedagogy in the Speculum Virginum,” in *Listen Daughter: The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Constant J. Mews (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 21-34;

genitals, respectively. A bloated, demonic figure grabs her by the arms as she tries to escape. This is the iconographic type of sculpture known as the *femme-aux-serpents*. The sculpture of Moissac is considered in the context of its broader role in the Virtue and Vice theme of the porch and also in the context of its role as a public sculpture. Additionally, I discuss the relationship of the Moissac image of *Luxuria* and other female figures associated with sin, including the figure of Eve at Autun (ca. 1130) (fig. 12) and the *Woman with the Skull* at Santiago de Compostela (ca. 1117) (fig. 13).

In the Conclusion, I discuss how the representation and reception of *Luxuria* allow a modern viewer to better understand the medieval conceptions of gender and sexuality, specifically the biases against female sexuality. Importantly, one can see the value placed on sexuality across media and context, as the form *Luxuria* takes in manuscripts varies from that the Vice takes on public sculptures.

CHAPTER 1

LUXURIA IN TWELFTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPTS

In the twelfth century, *Luxuria* took on a new form in the didactic images known as *Arbores*, which visually express the interrelationship of the Virtues and Vices using diagrammatic trees.¹ As with other diagrammatic representations in manuscripts, the *Arbores* visually organize information to aid in learning.² This new form provided an alternative to the *Psychomachian* tradition of battling Virtues and Vices.³ The present chapter will focus on the educational context of the images of *Luxuria*, which differed dramatically from that of the *Psychomachia*, which expresses the spiritual struggle between Virtue and Vice in an epic poem about allegorical figures who battle with one another. I argue that these different contexts affected whether or not the sexually-charged aspects of *Luxuria* were shown.

In the *Psychomachia*, *Luxuria* is depicted as a luxurious woman who seduces the Virtues and is connected to the concepts of luxury, excess, and even repulsiveness (fig. 1). This representation would have spoken to the spiritual struggle of the male monastic whose *Castitas*,

¹ *Arbores* also provided an amenable link between the didactic and devotional. See Pippa Salonius and Andrea Worm, “Introduction,” *The Tree: Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 5.

² Jennifer M. Feltman, “Inscribing Order: The Didactic Function of The Walters Art Museum MS 73,” *Athanor* 24 (2007): 7-15.

³ Jennifer O'Reilly, *Studies in Iconography of the Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages* (New York: Garland, 1988), 325.

or Chastity, was threatened by the sight of a seductive woman, a concept that was informed by the misogynistic views of women that can be traced back to the Desert Fathers of the fourth century, as was discussed in the Introduction. The Tree of Vices, in contrast, presented at least two new forms for the representation of *Luxuria*, both of which were informed by the desire to organize knowledge.⁴

In this chapter I examine the representations of *Luxuria* in two twelfth century tree diagrams produced in manuscripts. These two tree images have important differences despite both being Trees of Vices. The first, in the *Liber Floridus* (c. 1120) (fig. 6), is a horizontal, non-figural diagrammatic tree in which the Vices are expressed in nominal form, meaning that they are listed only by their Latin names and descriptions rather than being personified by women.⁵ In comparison, the adjoining Tree of Virtues depicts the Virtues as half-length portraits in medallions.⁶ As an encyclopedia, the Ghent *Liber Floridus* acts to show the interrelationship of the Vices, as well as the moral pathways associated with each Virtue and Vice.⁷ Therefore, it

⁴ Trees of Virtues and Trees of Vices were pulled from the *Arbores* used to present the books of the Bible, theological concepts, or family lineages. This representation worked well for the Virtues and Vices by presenting the correct and incorrect spiritual paths, see Francis T. Marchese, “Virtues and Vices: Examples of Medieval Knowledge Visualization,” in *17th International Conference on Information Visualization, London, 2013* (London: IEEE Computer Society), 363.

⁵ Ghent, Ghent University Library, MS 92, circa 1120; The opposing Tree of Virtues are personified in half-length portraits of women.

⁶ The Vices from top to bottom are: *Cupiditas, Homocidium, Rixa, Ira, Desperatio, Dissensio, Emulatio, Inuidia, Fornicatio, Contentio, Inmunditia, Luxuria, Inimiticia*. See Virginia Grace Tuttle, “An Analysis of the Structure of the ‘Liber Floridus’” (Ph. D. diss., Ohio State University, 1979), 315-21.

⁷ For an overview of the *Liber Floridus* and its copies, see Leopold M. Delisle, *Notice sur les Manuscrits du Liber Floridus de Lambert, Chanoine de SaintOmer. Tiré des Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres Bibliothèques*, Vol. XXXVIII. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1906), 577-588; Albert Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber*

seems, as with all the Vices, that the emphasis was placed on the textual and conceptual ideas of *Luxuria* rather than her physical manifestation. Additionally, this image was created in the context of collegiate church by a secular canon, who was unbound by vows of Chastity or celibacy. The second Tree of Vices, in the *Speculum Virginum* (ca. 1140-1150) (fig. 7), follows a different Tree format. In this vertical representation of the Tree of Vices, two Vices appear as female figures, who are represented from the waist up.⁸ *Superbia* (Pride) is shown clothed in rich garments at the root of the tree, and at its apex, the nude figure of *Luxuria* is shown.⁹ The rest of the Vices appear as fruits from which leaves of sub-Vices grow. The adjoining image of the Tree of Virtues mirrors the Tree of Vices, depicting the root of *Humilitas* (Humility) and crowned in a male figure. This Tree of Vice image was created for female monastics as an instructional dialogue. In both non-figural (or nominal) and figural representation, *Luxuria*'s meaning was shaped by its intended audience and context, and as I discuss below, those contexts were gendered.

Luxuria* in the Ghent *Liber Floridus

The Ghent *Liber Floridus* was compiled and illuminated by Lambert, a canon of Saint-Omer (d. ca. 1121).¹⁰ *Luxuria* is situated in the central medallion at the top of the Tree of Vices,

Floridus: A Key to the Encyclopedia of Lambert of Saint-Omer. Corpus Christianorum, Autographa Medii Aevi, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998); Albert Derolez, *The Making and Meaning of the Liber Floridus: A Study of the Original Manuscript, Ghent, University Library MS 92. Studies in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art History* 76 (London: Harvey Miller, 2015).

⁸ London, British Library, Ms. Arundel 44, ca. 1140-1150.

⁹ In the *Speculum Virginum*, The Tree of Vices illustrates the main Vices of *Luxuria*, *Ventrismus*, *Gluttire*, *Avaritia*, *Tristitia*, *Inuidia*, *Ira*, *Vana Gloria* rooted in *Superbia*. The Tree of Virtues illustrates *Caritas*, *Fidelis*, *Spes*, *Temperantia*, *Fortitudo*, *Justicia*, *Prudentia*, rooted in *Humilitas*.

¹⁰ Little is known about the life of Lambert of Saint-Omer that does not come from the *Liber Floridus*. Lambert is often confused with Lambert (Lantbert) of Saint Bertin Abbey, a

described with her descendant sins as “*Luxuria, inde cecitas mentis, inconsideratio, inconstantia, precipitatio, odium Dei, amor sui, affectus presentis seculi oriuntur* (*Luxuria* gives rise to blindness of mind, inconsideration of others, inconstancy, hatred of God, love of self, and love of this world).”¹¹ The Tree of Virtues and the Tree of Vices are depicted horizontally, mirroring one another from the root on the gutters of two facing folios (fig. 14).¹² Their roots meet in the valley of the folios as their branches meander and wrap upwards with the Virtues and Vices in medallions. On the right folio, the Tree of Vices, labeled in Latin as *Arbor Mala, Synagoga* or *Bad Tree, Synagogue* is depicted as a barren tree. Located in the root medallion is the description of *Cupiditas* (Carnal Greed for Possessions) and its subsequent Vices.¹³ Growing upwards and outwards on the barren tree, twelve more Vices are described in medallions with their principle and related Vices. From each branch of Vices sprouts a *ficulnea*, a leaf of the barren fig tree. The trunk of the tree is *Desperatio* (Desperation). On either side of *Luxuria*, at the top of the tree, is *Inmunditia* (Filth) and *Inimiticia* (Hostility). These Vices stem from the roots and trunk on the

Benedictine monk. The *Ghent Liber Floridus* is his only known work. See Karen De Coene, Martine de Reu, and Philippe de Maeyer, “The World in a Book,” in *Liber Floridus, 1121: The World in a Book*, eds. Karen De Coene, and Martine de Reuet, Philippe de Maeyer (Tielt: Lannoo 2011), 15.

¹¹ For the Latin, see Virginia Grace Tuttle, “An Analysis of the Structure of the ‘Liber Floridus’” (Ph. D. diss., Ohio State University, 1979), 342, n. 42; Thank you to Jennifer M. Feltman for assistance with the translation to English.

¹² The Trees of Virtues and Vices begin chapter CLXII in the *Liber Floridus*; Tuttle, “An Analysis of the Structure of the ‘Liber Floridus,’” 314.

¹³ The Latin transcription is *Cupiditas, id est auritia, inde proditio, fraus, fallacia, periuria, inquietudo, uiolentia oriuntur*, see Tuttle, “An Analysis of the Structure of the ‘Liber Floridus,’” 341, n. 41; Derolez translates the description of *Cupiditas* to “Cupidity is avarice. It originates from treachery, fraud, deceit, perjury, restlessness, violence,” see Derolez, *Making and Meaning*, 155.

same central branch.¹⁴ At the base of the tree, on both sides, are two axes, which Jennifer O'Reilly suggests is a reference to a dying tree in Matthew 3:10 that needs to be chopped down. In the sermon by John the Baptist on repentance, John warns that fire and an axe wait for every tree that does not bear good fruit.¹⁵

As a dying tree, the *Arbor Mala* perversely mirrors the *Arbor Bona*, to the left, the *Arbor Mala* is fruitless, arid, and barren, indicative of spiritual death that follows from a life of sin.¹⁶ The Tree of Virtues, labeled *Arbor Bona, Ecclesia fidelis*, is the *Good Tree, Faithful Church* and full of life (fig. 15). It mirrors the Tree of Vices, but in place of the strictly nominal medallions, the Tree of Virtues is alive with blue and gold half-length female portraits, personifying the Virtues. Opposing the root of *Cupiditas* is the Virtue *Karitas*, or Charity, and the trunk is made up of *Spes*, or Hope.¹⁷ From each of the twelve Virtues grows a miniature tree opposing the fruitless fig leaf of the Tree of Vices.¹⁸ Another inverse of the Tree of Vices is that three pairs of flowers grow from the trunk, opposing the two axes that are at the base of the Tree of Vices.

¹⁴ The Vices from left to right, top to bottom: *Cupiditas, Homocidium, Rixa, Ira, Desperatio, Dissensio, Emulatio, Inuidia, Fornicatio, Contentio, Inmunditia, Luxuria, Inimiticia*; see Tuttle, “An Analysis of the Structure of the ‘Liber Floridus,’” 320-21.

¹⁵ Jennifer O'Reilly connects Matthew 3:10, Matthew 7:16-20, and Matthew 21:19 to iconography of the axes and the withered form of the Tree of Vices, see O'Reilly, “The Trees of Eden In Medieval Iconography,” 357.

¹⁶ Derolez, *Making and Meaning*, 155; Jennifer O'Reilly suggests the orientation of the Trees reflects that of crucifixion imagery, with *Ecclesia* to Christ's right and *Synagoga* to Christ's right. See O'Reilly, “The Trees of Eden In Medieval Iconography,” 357.

¹⁷ In the Tree of Virtues of the Ghent *Liber Floridus*, the Virtue is labeled as *Karitas*, whereas in the *Speculum Virginum*, it is referred to as *Caritas*.

¹⁸ The Virtues are from left to right, top to bottom: *Karitas, Contentia, Modestia, Mansuetudo, Spes, Sobrietas, Fide, Bonitas, Longanimitas, Pax, Patientia, Castitas, Gaudium*.

Lambert of Saint-Omer's Trees shows the differences between the Virtue and Vice-led life: the Tree of Virtues flourishes, while the Tree of Vices withers and must be chopped down. This arboreal representation demonstrates the organic interrelationship of the Virtues and Vices by presenting how one might cultivate another.¹⁹

The non-figural representation of *Luxuria* in the Tree of Vices allows, I suggest, the conceptualization of the Vice in more intellectualized terms rather than pictured. The lack of the female form in the representation of *Luxuria* removes misogynistic overtones that associate Lust as a temptress seducing man.²⁰ Rather, the non-figural Vice on the diagrammatic tree emphasized the systematization of the knowledge tree meant for the education of the male monastics. The absence of figural representation of the Tree of Vices, combined with the barren *ficulnea*, emphasizes the role of the tree as a dead or dying tree. In comparison, the Tree of Virtues is alive with the figures of the Virtues and the plants. The Virtues face in different directions, giving the Tree a sense of movement.

The Tree of Vices was created near the end stages of the compilation of the manuscript, after Lambert had compiled many topics on the dangers of *Cupiditas*. Lambert was a secular canon, who followed the traditional path of canons and clergy. During the time of its creation, secular clergy were not required to take vows of celibacy or chastity. Located in Flanders and named for Saint Audomar (d. ca. 670), the collegiate church maintained a close relationship with

¹⁹ Marchese, "Virtues and Vices," 363.

²⁰ This is not to say that there are no overtones of misogyny in the manuscript connected to sexuality. For example, Petrus Pictor's description of Vices in his poem of the bad woman, or *De male muliere*, which viewed woman as the other source of evil, see Derolez, *Autograph Copy*, 134.

the count of Flanders.²¹ Lambert's book of knowledge, which he calls his book of flowers, summarized Christian authors and was meant to provide small, enticing bits of knowledge about the Creation.²² According to Albert Derolez, Lambert used the *Arbores* to demonstrate a link between the didactic and devotional function of the Virtues and Vices, creating a moralistic image.²³ I propose that the inclusion of *Luxuria* in the moralistic Tree of Vices underscored the deadliness of Cupidity and Greed in the world. Throughout the *Liber Floridus*, Lambert shares concerns for the Vice of *Cupiditas*, and even roots his Tree of Vices in it. *Luxuria* is the Lust of the flesh, which has sexual connotations, but can also refer to a general appetite for overindulgence and a lack of restraint.²⁴ Therefore, *Luxuria* tops Lambert's Tree of Vices and is the most direct branch from the root of *Cupiditas*. The tree diagram visually underscores their relationship.

In the Ghent *Liber Floridus* Tree, *Luxuria* is a medallion, reminding the viewer of the ultimate fruit that grows from the root Vice of *Cupiditas*. *Cupiditas* differs from *Avaritia*, the

²¹ Lambert's father before him, Onulph (d. 1077) was also canon of Saint-Omer, see De Coene, et al., "The World in a Book," 15; Jeroen Deploige and Helena Vanommeslaeghe. "Lambert's World: Saint-Omer until the Early Twelfth Century," in *Liber Floridus, 1121: The World in a Book*, eds. Karen De Coene, and Martine de Reuet, Philippe de Maeyer (Tielt: Lannoo, 2011), 35.

²² Saxl, "The Christian Transformation," 242-243; De Coene, et al., "The World in a Book," 15.

²³ Pippa Salonius and Andrea Worm, "Introduction," *The Tree: Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 5; Even though the Vice is part of an encyclopedia, *Luxuria* and the Trees of Virtues and Trees of Vices are associated with Lambert's concerns for cosmological and eschatological interests and are considered by Albert Derolez as two of his most moralistic images, see Albert Derolez, *The Making and Meaning*, 155.

²⁴ The digital version of the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* was referenced, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, s.v. "luxuria," accessed March 15, 2021, <http://www.brepolis.net>.

capital Vice of Greed. *Cupiditas* is defined as the desire for possessions that one does not yet have, while *Avaritia* is the desire to continue to possess or control what one already has.²⁵ *Cupiditas* was also connected with sensual desire for material possessions, and thus is connected to *Luxuria*.²⁶ The Ghent *Liber Floridus* Tree of Vices excerpts its descriptions from Gregory's discussion of the seven principal Vices.²⁷ As part of the larger illustrated encyclopedia, *Luxuria* in the Tree of Vices is imbued with more than just lustfulness of the flesh but is interrelated with *Cupiditas* and *Desperatio*. As a sinner gave into the Vice of *Cupiditas*, he climbed up the tree's trunk, which grew most directly into *Luxuria*. Cassian saw *Avaritia* as a natural lead into *Luxuria*, as both were instances in which an individual sought to inflate the self.²⁸ Lambert described *Luxuria* as an indulgent, impetuous sin that is the hatred for God and his dominion, rather than just sexual lust.²⁹ In the earlier parts of the manuscripts, Lambert discusses *Cupiditas*

²⁵ Richard Newhauser, "Towards Modus in Habendo: Transformations in the Idea of Avarice. The Early Penitentials through the Carolingian Reforms," in *Sins: Essays on the Moral Tradition in the Western Middle Ages* (Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate/Variorium, 2007), 4.

²⁶ To give into carnal desire and greed with *Cupiditas* was to hate God and his kingdom. This related to early medieval theological concepts, where there was a significant interest in the carnal, bodily, sins of lust, greed, and gluttony. See discussion of John Cassian and Gregory the Great in the Introduction.

²⁷ Albert Derolez, *Autograph Copy*, 134; Albert Derolez, *The Making and Meaning*, 155; Claire Catalini, "Luxuria and Its Branches" in *Sex, Love and Marriage in Medieval Literature and Reality: Thematische Beiträge im Rahmen des 31th International Congress on Medieval Studies an der Western Michigan University (Kalamazoo-USA)* (1996), eds. Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok (Greifswald: Reineke-Verlag, 1996), 4.

²⁸ Carole Straw, "Gregory, Cassian and the Cardinal Vices" in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture of the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser (Ontario: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2005), 51.

²⁹ *Luxuria, inde cecitas mentis, inconsideratio, inconstantia, precipitatio, odium Dei, amor sui, affectus presentis seculi oriuntur*. See Tuttle, "An Analysis of the Structure of the 'Liber Floridus,'" 342, n. 42.

in excerpts of poems by Petrus Pictor. The first, *On Simony*, from *Carmina XI*, discusses the treacherous form of the Vice, simony, or the sale of clerical offices, that was performed by clergymen.³⁰ The second, *On Indigence and On Greed*, from *Carmina XII*, is a double poem that discusses the physical effects of indigence, or physical hunger and thirst on one folio and the even more arduous mental hunger and thirst. This mental hunger and thirst are unquenchable and leads the person down a road of *Cupiditas* and crime.³¹ Both Cassian and Gregory believed that *Gula* and *Luxuria* were connected. Gregory believed that gluttony steered the soul toward the most debased of sins, as *Luxuria* was the final departure from God.³²

Even though the Ghent *Liber Floridus* Tree of Vices does not illustrate *Luxuria* using a female personification or discuss her sexuality, this non-figural representation of *Luxuria* can still be understood in the context of the contemporary discussion of celibacy. The Ghent *Liber Floridus* was created when secular clergy were not required to take vows of celibacy and chastity.³³ Though reform movements led by high-ranking church authorities, including Gregory VII, Gregorian Reform, began in the second half of the eleventh century sought to require all clerics to take vows of celibacy and chastity, renouncing marriage and sexual activities as one of the conditions for ordination. However, most secular canons did not follow these rules.³⁴ The

³⁰ Derolez, *Making and Meaning*, 132.

³¹ Derolez, *Autograph Copy*, 134; Derolez, *Making and Meaning*, 132.

³² Straw, "Gregory, Cassian and the Cardinal Vices," 51.

³³ De Coene, et al., "The World in a Book," 15.

³⁴ James A. Brundage, "Sex and Canon Law," in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, eds. Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 36; Deploige and Vanommeslaeghe, "Lambert's World," 48-52; Uta-Renate Blumenthal, "The Prohibition of Clerical Marriage in the Eleventh Century," *Jurist* 68, no. 1 (2008): 22-37, esp., 27.

generated cause to create a new type of canons, the *canonici regulares*, or regular canons who sought a life like those in the monastic orders based on the ideals of the Apostles differing from the secular canons, or *canonici seculars*, who followed the traditional path of clerics, living as secular communities and serving the collegiate church or cathedral.³⁵ The collegiate church of Saint-Omer had a close relationship with Rome, and thus followed the Gregorian Reform. In 1076, they received a charter of privileges from Gregory VII, but still lived as a secular community.³⁶ According to James A. Brundage, as the vow of celibacy in particular became mandatory in the later eleventh century, it was met with great concern by clerics, their families, and parishioners. Clerics found the celibate life harsh and resisted the reform. Some fought back violently against these orders, going so far as to murder supporters of the reform.³⁷ As Brundage and Jo Ann McNamara report, the First and Second Lateran Councils met in 1123 and 1139, respectively, ruling that those who had taken holy orders could no longer validly enter into marriage and deeming current clerical marriages as void. This action stripped their families of legal status and protections.³⁸ Slowly, the reform took hold and by the middle of the thirteenth century, clerical celibacy was resolutely recognized as canon law.³⁹ Even if celibacy was not

³⁵ Deploige and Vanommeslaeghe, “Lambert’s World,” 48-52; C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London and New York: Longman, 1984), 241.

³⁶ Deploige and Vanommeslaeghe. “Lambert’s World,” 48-52.

³⁷ Brundage, “Sex and Canon Law,” 36-37.

³⁸ Brundage, “Sex and Canon Law,” 36; C. 21 *Sac Conc 21* as in Jo Ann McNamara, “Chaste Marriage and Celibate Clergy,” *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, eds. Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Book, 1982), 32, 235 fn. 93.

³⁹ Brundage, “Sex and Canon Law,” 36.

uniformly practiced among clergy, the ideal of clerical celibacy was important, and it seems to have shaped the discourse on *Luxuria* and her representations.

These religious developments are particularly important when investigating the images of *Luxuria* in the twelfth century created in religious contexts. *Luxuria* was interpreted as the main sin of the Vice of Lust, but it also encompassed desire for material goods. Within the broader text of the manuscript, Lambert excerpts Gregory's *Moralia* in a discussion of the seven principal Vices and Virtues. Lambert's description of *Luxuria* in the Tree of Vices follows Gregory's description of the Vice and what Claire Catalini describes as the spiritual qualities of a sinner, rather than the sub-Vices.⁴⁰ As discussed earlier, Lambert viewed *Luxuria* as overindulgence in the Tree of Vices, aligned with *Cupiditas*.⁴¹ The Tree of Vices is crowned in *Luxuria* and rooted in *Cupiditas*. Gregory viewed *Luxuria* as the ultimate departure from God as giving into *Luxuria* was to completely debase the soul and become one with beasts.⁴² Lambert and his tree kept with Gregory's traditions and viewed *Luxuria* as a Vice that branched from *Cupiditas*. As a canon cleric, Lambert was concerned with *Luxuria* and its ties to worldly possessions and the separation from God, and I suggest, if he had taken vows of celibacy, Lambert would have been concerned with the aspects of *Luxuria* as associated with *Cupiditas*.

In the century after Lambert's death, and before its removal to Ghent as a gift to an abbot of the Abbey of St. Bavo, the Ghent *Liber Floridus* would have been viewed by the clerics of

⁴⁰ Catalini, "Luxuria and Its Branches," 14.

⁴¹ Gregory's *Avaritia* bears close associations with greed for external goods. See Straw, "Gregory, Cassian and the Cardinal Vices," 51.

⁴² Straw, "Gregory, Cassian and the Cardinal Vices," 51.

Saint-Omer.⁴³ Although there is no evidence of viewer response to the manuscript, the potential reception of *Luxuria* in the Ghent *Liber Floridus* by the male clerics can be considered in the context of the clerical reformations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Clerics viewing this work in the later twelfth century most likely took vows of chastity or celibacy, and those who viewed the image after the meetings of the First and Second Lateran Councils were definitely supposed to take these vows.⁴⁴ As discussed above, the image of *Luxuria* encompassed more than just physical lust, but overindulgence in all aspects of the world. There were many instances of the subject of clerical usury or *Cupiditas* as the root of all evil, discussed throughout the Ghent *Liber Floridus*, such as Petrus Pictor's poems, which discuss the vileness of simony. The Gregorian Reform of the eleventh and twelfth centuries sought to extinguish simony as well as clerical promiscuity. This was further emphasized at the meetings of the First and Second Lateran Councils, which prohibited clerics from illicitly living or marrying women or concubines. These canonical orders were in part to put an end to the expenditure that came from clerical marriages/families and the mistrust by the laity of the clerics.⁴⁵ Karras discusses how the concubine/women were blamed for polluting the priest but also for siphoning from the church's good as female weakness for lust and greed, or *Cupiditas*, knew no bounds.⁴⁶ Though the image of *Luxuria* is non-figural, I suggest that the male clerics viewing this image would have interpreted it in light of the greater context of the manuscript. Understanding *Luxuria* as hatred

⁴³ Derolez, *Autograph Copy*, 13-14.

⁴⁴ Brundage, "Sex and Canon Law," 36.

⁴⁵ Blumenthal, "The Prohibition of Clerical Marriage," 22-37, esp., 27; Brundage, "Sex and Canon Law," 36; Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 69-73.

⁴⁶ Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 69-73.

for God, a transgression against Him and his dominion (the Church) and the withered *ficulnea* that grown from *Cupiditas* and *Desperatio*, male clerics could understand this as an image that spoke against clerical marriage as a lustful and greedy transgression against the church. The image of the Tree of Virtues, rooted in *Karitas* and crowned by *Castitas*, provides the remedy by showing the proper Virtues clerics should emulate. Additionally, they would have seen the Tree of Vices as one they should chop down. This is further emphasized by the concluding image of the chapter the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar, which depicts Nebuchadnezzar chopping down a tree (fig. 16). This double emphasis on the tree that must be removed in order for good to come reinforces the notion that the Tree of Vices must be chopped down in order for the Tree of Virtues to flourish.⁴⁷ As will be discussed more in-depth below, a female monastic viewer may have interpreted *Luxuria* in this image type differently, as I examine with the image of Tree of Vices in the *Speculum Virginum*.

Luxuria* in the *Speculum Virginum

The *Speculum Virginum* (ca. 1140-1150) (fig. 7) continued the concept of the Trees of Virtues and Vices but was based on the treatise *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, or *The fruits of the flesh and spirit* (fig. 9). *Luxuria*, as in the Ghent *Liber Floridus*, is depicted in the top bough of the Tree of Vices. However, she is now represented as a female figure in a vertical tree. Here, *Luxuria* makes a bold introduction to the female monastic viewer. Instead of being listed in name only, a bare-breasted figure of *Luxuria* grows from her fruit. Her sub-Vices sprout below and are listed by name only on either side of her head as leaves. The Tree of Vices, or *Babilonia sinistra*

⁴⁷ Tuttle, “An Analysis of the Structure,” 324; Penelope C. Mayo discusses chopping down the Tree of Vices but in the role of an Apocalyptic Crusade, see Penelope C. Mayo, “The Crusaders under the Palm: Allegorical Plants and Cosmic Kingship in the ‘Liber Floridus,’” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973): 29-67.

(Babylon on the Left), are depicted with drooping branches and the Seven Deadly Sins, including *Luxuria*, as the main fruits, or *fructus carnis* (fruits of the flesh).⁴⁸ From those fruits grow 54 subsidiary Vices.⁴⁹ At the root of the tree is *Superbia*, a finely dressed woman holding a chalice, whose placement signals the tradition that *Superbia* is the root of all sin.⁵⁰ Snakes and dragons, who were associated with the retribution of sin, climb, or fly upwards towards *Luxuria*.⁵¹ *Babilonia sinistra* generates the Old Man, or *Vetus Adam*, labeled above the head of *Luxuria*.⁵² Mirroring the Tree of Vices across the valley of the book is the Tree of Virtues (fig. 17). The Tree of Virtues, *Ierusalem dextra* (Jerusalem on the Right), is rooted in *Humilitas*, or Humility, and topped in the fruit of *Caritas*. From each Virtue grows their sub-Virtues, totaling 54. Behind the fruit *Caritas* is the figure of *Novus Adam*, New Man, or Christ who sits atop the Tree. On either side of the bottom of the Tree of Virtues are angelic figures, or *angela paci*.⁵³

The Tree image of the *Speculum Virginum* and the subsequent text in the manuscript are a reference to the treatise *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, once attributed to Hugh of St. Victor but

⁴⁸ Dr. Feltman suggests that the names of the Trees reflect the orientation of Last Judgment imagery, where the Blessed are placed on Christ's right-hand side and the Damned on his left. *Babilonia* and *Ierusalem* are the two city names that come from the Apocalypse, where Babylon is associated with the damned and New Jerusalem is associated with the Blessed.

⁴⁹ O'Reilly, "The Trees of Eden," 356-361.

⁵⁰ Marchese, "Virtues and Vices," 365.

⁵¹ Anthony Weir and James Jerman, *Images of Lust: Sexual Carvings on Medieval Churches* (London: Batsford, 1986), 61.

⁵² Morgan Powell, *Gender, Reading, and Truth in the Twelfth Century: The Woman in the Mirror* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2020), 120.

⁵³ Martha Strube, *Die Illustrationen des Speculum Virginum* (Dusseldorf: G.H. Nolte, 1937), 19

now thought to be the work of Conrad of Hirsau.⁵⁴ The *Speculum Virginum* is an instructional manuscript attributed to Conrad of Hirsau (c. 1070-1150), written as a discussion between a spiritual advisor, “Peregrinus,” or Pilgrim, and a *virgo Christi*, “Theodora.”⁵⁵ The *Speculum Virginum* was originally designed for the education of nuns, but it became popular for monks as well.⁵⁶ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, more and more women were joining or becoming associated with religious communities.⁵⁷ Contemporaneously, new concerns arose for providing pastoral care specifically for women in religious orders. Many felt that the Rule of Saint Benedict and other monastic guidelines were produced only with men in mind.⁵⁸ William of Hirsau (1069-1091), a monk of St. Emmeram Regensburg, who led reforms at monastic houses, expounded the importance of poverty and simplicity, and was a key voice advocating for the pastoral care of women. William of Hirsau’s method was to use dialogue as a didactic tool, and this shares many of the concerns expressed in the *Speculum Virginum*, which Constant J. Mews refers to as an extended dialogue.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Salzburg, Studienbibliothek, M I 32, ca. second quarter of the 12th century

⁵⁵ Marchese, “Virtues and Vices,” 365.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 364.

⁵⁷ Fiona Griffith, “Herrad of Hohenbourg: A synthesis of Learning in *The Garden of Delights*,” in *Listen Daughter: The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Constant J. Mews (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 221-223.

⁵⁸ A major complaint and request made by Heloise to Abelard was that he writes a guide for her and her ladies on how to behave; see Constant J. Mews, “Introduction,” in *Listen Daughter: The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Constant J. Mews (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 1-5.

⁵⁹ Constant J. Mews, “Virginity, Theology, and Pedagogy in the Speculum Virginum,” in *Listen Daughter: The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Constant J. Mews (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 19-20.

The text begins with a note that Theodora, a nun, has requested an instructional guide for her life as a female monastic from Peregrinus, her teacher. Peregrinus gives her not a text, but images that will accompany his teachings.⁶⁰ According to Morgan Powell, women were grouped as *auditores* (listeners) with laypeople and were similar to *illiterati* (illiterate). Thus, women were believed to be more readily akin to listening and viewing images than men, who were able to assume the role of preaching, teaching, or reading. Powell thus suggests this applies to the *Speculum Virginum*, as Peregrinus encourages Theodora to listen to him and view the images.⁶¹

Peregrinus encourages Theodora to look into the *Mirror of the Virgin* to see her own Virtues and Vices. By meditating on such arboreal images, she can regard the fruit of her soul, her progress, and see where she needs to improve. As Elizabeth Bailey notes, Peregrinus encourages his pupil to look at specific illuminations, which will help bear fruit in her mind and spirit.⁶² The text mirrors the format in which it was to be given, as a male pastor was most likely to read the text aloud to a female student or students.⁶³ In the text, Peregrinus explains the role of virgins of Christ to Theodora. Their discussion is educational and informational for the intended

⁶⁰ Elizabeth Bailey, “Judith, Jael, and Humilitas in the *Speculum Virginum*,” in *The Sword of Judith: Judith Studies Across the Disciplines*, eds. Brine Kevin R., Ciletti Elena, and Lähnemann Henrike (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2010), 6.

⁶¹ Morgan Powell, “The *Speculum Virginum* and the Audio-Visual Poetics of Women’s Religious Instruction,” in *Listen Daughter: The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Constant J. Mews (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 111-122.

⁶² Bailey, “Judith,” 275-290.

⁶³ Mews, “Introduction,” 1-5; Mews, “Virginity, Theology, and Pedagogy,” 21.

female audience and also provided a guide for a male instructor, with the diagrams and figural representations assisting in the lesson.⁶⁴

As the virgins looked upon the image of the Tree of Vices and the Trees of Virtues, they were supposed to understand the images as reflections of their real and ideal selves. The virgins, in contemplation of the Tree of Vices, are able to transform themselves from the Old Woman into the New Woman.⁶⁵ Powell suggests this transformation of the Old Woman, or Eve, into the New Woman, or the Virgin Mary, plays a vital role in the generation of the New Man, or Christ. By acknowledging their bodily associations, renouncing them, and allowing their spirit to gain control of their body, women become more like the Virgin Mary.⁶⁶ With this reading in mind, the form of *Luxuria* can be understood as a representation of Eve. Furthermore, most depictions of nude women in medieval art bear negative associations as they are connected to the nudity of Eve.⁶⁷ The Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil from which Eve ate, also seems to be referenced in the *Speculum Virginum* Tree of Vices, since the snakes are shown climbing up the Tree.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Mews, “Virginity, Theology, and Pedagogy,” 21-22.

⁶⁵ Morgan Edwin Powell, “The Mirror and the Woman Instruction for Religious Women and the Emergence Vernacular Poetics 1120-1250, Volume I” (Ph. D. diss., Princeton University, 1997), esp. 260.

⁶⁶ Powell, *Gender, Reading, and Truth*, 121.

⁶⁷ John A. Nichols, “Female Nudity and Sexuality in Medieval Art,” in *New Images of Medieval Women: Essays Toward a Cultural Anthropology*, ed. Edelgard E. DuBruck (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 168-170.

⁶⁸ Some versions of the *De fructibus* tract, including the *Speculum Virginum* illustrate a serpent at the base of the Tree of Vices, alluding to the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. See O'Reilly, “The Trees of Eden,” 361.

Within the *Speculum Virginum*, the virgins' moral shortcomings are linked with lustful glances, as it is their wandering gaze that stops moral progress.⁶⁹ In the *Speculum Virginum*, the female viewer was encouraged to associate herself with the negative female images, such as Eve, in order to be spiritually transformed into Mary.⁷⁰ In the text, there are many references that connect women to their bodies, whereas the man is connected to his spirit. Peregrinus suggests that with Tree of Vices and Tree of Virtues, virgins can transform themselves by cultivating the Virtues in their lives. Peregrinus invites Theodora to measure her progress by contemplating her soul in relation to the Tree of Virtues and the Tree of Vices, as they are images of the spectator's moral growth. But the images also teach there will be nowhere for the Vices to take root because the fruit of Christ will already have flourished.⁷¹

In the *Speculum Virginum* the Tree images have also been transformed to address the female viewer. This is in distinction to the treatise of *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, in which the fruits of the flesh are identified as female, while the fruits of the spirit are identified as male.⁷² Like many of the themes from texts used in the *Speculum Virginum*, this treatise specifically addresses the dialogue between a man and woman.⁷³ In the image, the fruits of the Tree of Virtues have become the female Virtues, with Christ as the only masculine fruit. This is because Christ was born from the body of the virtuous Virgin Mary who gave birth to him. The virgins

⁶⁹ Powell, *Gender, Reading, and Truth*, 123.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 113-120

⁷¹ Ibid., 120-122.

⁷² Mews, "Virginity, Theology, and Pedagogy," 18.

⁷³ Powell, *Gender, Reading, and Truth*, 117-124.

who viewed the image of *Luxuria* in this tree would see that they must become her opposite and be like the Virgin Mary, one who is internally pure of heart and filled with the good fruit of Virtue.⁷⁴ According to Mews, the *Speculum Virginum* contrasts with contemporary twelfth century thought of *Castitas*, which taught that the physical state of virginity was of utmost importance for the virgins. Instead, the text underscores the importance of the spirit controlling the body. Inner intention and other virtuous acts were just as important as the state of virginity.⁷⁵

The Tree of Virtues is rooted in *Humilitas*, as the virgins should root themselves in humility. The Tree of Vices is rooted in *Superbia* and topped in *Luxuria*, the physical manifestation of *Superbia*. This is because *Luxuria* is self-indulgence. Inner intention and virtuous acts were just as important as the state of virginity.⁷⁶ Partially, this is because not all women who may listen and view the Tree of Vices would have been physically virgins, but rather “honorary virgins.” As discussed in the Introduction, while the Virgin Mary, and the concept of virginity, or physical purity, was an ideal form for women to emulate, not all could. Those who led pious lives, praying and seeking penance were so called “honorary virgins.” Upon entering a monastery, their inner intention and chasteness would be considered as they spiritually reconstructed their virginity.⁷⁷ By cultivating their interior rather than exterior, the virgins ensured that they were pure of soul, emulating the Virgin Mary even more, as *Humilitas* and *Caritas* were the main Virtues of the Virgin.

⁷⁴ Powell, *Gender, Reading, and Truth*, 117-124; Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 31-35.

⁷⁵ Mews, “*Virginity, Theology, and Pedagogy*,” 21-22.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 49.

Additionally, *Luxuria* in the *Speculum Virginum* thematically correlates to the representations of *Humilitas*, Judith, and Jael trampling *Superbia* found within this same manuscript, even if these are visually more closely related to *Psychomachian* tradition of battling Virtues and Vices (fig. 18).⁷⁸ On folio 34v, the Virtue *Humilitas* is accompanied by Judith and Jael in slaying their enemies of *Superbia*, Holofernes, and Sisera. Judith stands triumphant over the tyrant Holofernes. Judith is often described as embodying *Humilitas* and *Castitas*.⁷⁹ In Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, Judith spurns the lecherous and unclean passions of Holofernes. He equates her beheading of Holofernes with *Castitas'* conquering of *Libido*, as both die by sword to the throat (fig. 11).⁸⁰ Since, in the twelfth century, *Luxuria* encompasses *Libido*, and in the Tree of Vices, *Libido* is a leaf of *Luxuria*, the illustration of Judith slaying Holofernes can be compared to the *Speculum Virginum* Tree of Vices topped by *Luxuria*, as an illustration of *Castitas* versus *Luxuria*. Judith, the embodiment of *Castitas* and *Humilitas*, illustrates the strength taken from those Virtue.⁸¹ She is able to defeat her enemy while maintaining her *Castitas*. The *Speculum Virginum* stresses that *Humilitas* and *Karitas* are necessary for *Castitas*.⁸² Without these, one cannot embody *Castitas* and oppose *Luxuria*. Additionally, Judith is a type for the Virgin Mary, and an exemplum for the virgins viewing the manuscript. Judith

⁷⁸ Marchese, “Virtues and Vices,” 365.

⁷⁹ Bailey, “Judith,” 283; Mews, “Virginity, Theology, and Pedagogy,” 25.

⁸⁰ Bailey, “Judith,” 283.

⁸¹ Elena Ciletti and Henrike Lähnemann, “Judith in the Christian Tradition,” *The Sword of Judith: Judith Studies Across the Disciplines*, eds. Brine Kevin R., Ciletti Elena, and Lähnemann Henrike (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2010), 41-65.

⁸² Mews, “Virginity, Theology, and Pedagogy,” 24-26.

defeated the lecherous and lustful Holofernes because she was virtuous. She was able to chop down the Vice that Holofernes represents, much like the *Arbor Mala* that is chopped down in the *Liber Floridus*.

The author of the *Speculum Virginum* also shared concerns with instructing the minds of the male monks or clerics who taught the text, encouraging the men to denounce material possessions and their own flesh.⁸³ It is likely that the manuscript was primarily kept in male rather than in female religious houses. This is likely because the *Speculum Virginum* acted as a spiritual advisor handbook for the male monastic or male cleric and was also read by the male teacher. Peregrinus's and Theodora's relationship was an idealized model of the teacher-student, male-female relationship for the cleric or monk to follow.⁸⁴ It was a guide for the male teacher as well as the female student, assisting the male cleric or monk with navigating proper behaviors between men and women. As women joined the religious orders, religious men took on the role of teachers and guides. In the Hirsau circle, women joined mixed communities where men and women lived alongside one another. But concerns were shared for how these men would interact with women, especially in the context of vows. The men and women were kept separated, often the women were enclosed. Peregrinus advises that the teacher and his charge(s) must be physically separated by a wall in order to limit contact.⁸⁵ The author of the role of men in the

⁸³ Mews, “Virginity, Theology, and Pedagogy,” 21.

⁸⁴ Jutta Seyfarth, “The Testimony of the Manuscripts,” in *Listen Daughter: The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Constant J. Mews (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 42.

⁸⁵ Julie Hotchin, “Female Religious Life and the Cura Monialium in Hirsau Monasticism, 1080 to 1150,” in *Listen Daughter: The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Constant J. Mews (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 66-72.

instruction of women, and how they must maintain distance lest they neglect their role as caretaker for the virgins. In one prominent story, Peregrinus describes a young cleric who allows himself to falter in his duties as a teacher for the nuns. Giving into temptation, the cleric attempts to slip into the private dormitory of a nuns. Immediately, he is struck dead for his transgression and sent to purgatory.⁸⁶ This tale heeds a warning to those who would trespass the boundaries of the proper relationships of the teacher and the virgins. Upon reading this story, and then looking at the Tree of Vices and the Trees of Virtues, I suggest, the male cleric or monk would understand the image perhaps in the context of temptation. By mediating on these images and allowing the Tree of Virtues to take root more fully in their breast, the religious man was protecting their *Castitas*. For men, *Castitas* meant constantly battling temptation through hard work.⁸⁷ Thus, according to Karras, male *Castitas* and ability to fight *Luxuria* was linked to their masculinity.⁸⁸

In sum, a multitude of meanings can be read in the representations of *Luxuria* in the Trees of Vices in the manuscripts of the twelfth century. Both the form and meaning of *Luxuria* depends on the context in which the manuscripts were created and their primary intended audiences. The non-figural or nominal depiction of *Luxuria* in Ghent *Liber Floridus* allowed its readers to categorize the Vice and understand its relationship to other Vices and the counter Virtues needed to conquer *Luxuria*. The categorical nature of the encyclopedia and its diagrams did not prevent viewers from understanding that the Vice was part of a moral system; it reinforced the moral message. However, the nominal form did not rely upon a sexualized image

⁸⁶ Mews, “Virginity, Theology, and Pedagogy,” 21-34; Hotchin, “Female Religious Life,” 72-73.

⁸⁷ John Arnold as quoted by Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 49.

⁸⁸ Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 49.

of a woman. In the *Speculum Virginum*, the female viewer's response to the sexualized body of *Luxuria* was anticipated. The viewer was to connect this image with other images in the Tree of Virtues and representations of Judith Slaying Holofernes. As an active viewer, the nun was to analyze these many images to cultivate and develop the concepts of Virtue.

As the examples from the *Liber Floridus* and *Speculum Virginum* show, the image of *Luxuria* was mutable based on the concerns and needs of the maker. In diagrammatic trees, her function was complementary to the other Vices and the Tree of Virtues, as an aid to the overall moralistic themes being expressed. As part of a branch of the Tree, *Luxuria* was interrelated with other Vices, and the contrast with the virtuous Tree, helped to emphasize the value of cultivating the Virtues within in order to overcome the Vices. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, *Luxuria* also worked in tandem with other Vices in public sculpture to demonstrate the Virtues and Vices through opposition. At the Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre in Moissac, a new, somatic iconography, derived from the *femme-aux-serpents* type, was developed in the twelfth century (fig. 8). Whereas manuscript images of *Luxuria* do not overtly represent abject female sexuality, in the sculpture of Moissac, there was an implicit misogynistic tone applied in the *femme-aux-serpents* type, which emphasized the negative aspects of female sexuality.

CHAPTER 2

LUXURIA IN TWELFTH-CENTURY SCULPTURE

In twelfth-century sculpture on churches, *Luxuria* was depicted as a grotesque, sexualized figure that expressed explicitly misogynistic messages against female sexuality in ways that were more overt and visceral than in the manuscripts studied in Chapter 1. This is exemplified on the south porch of the Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac (ca. 1115-1131), where *Luxuria* appears as the *femme-aux-serpents*, who is punished by snakes who suckle her breasts and a toad attacking her genitals accompanied by a demonic figure (fig. 8).¹ This sculpture was created in the context of a male, Cluniac monastery, but its location on the porch placed it in the public domain where it could be seen by many viewers. As was discussed in the Introduction, by the twelfth century there were many preexisting image categories that could be used to depict an image of *Luxuria*. These included *Psychomachian* battle scenes, diagrammatic Trees, and Triumphal Virtues. The diagrammatic Trees of Vices discussed in Chapter 1 were more conducive to private didactic viewership due to the size of the manuscripts. As Adolf Katzenellenbogen has shown, *Psychomachian* scenes of the Virtues and Vices continued in sculpture, but they were simplified to show allegorical female figures of Virtue standing

¹ A similar sculpture is at the Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne, ca. 1130-1140.

triumphantly over allegorical female figures of Vice.² Other representations in sculpture included *Luxuria* alongside narrative exempla, such as the Parable of Lazarus and Dives. In these sculptures, *Luxuria* is often accompanied by *Avaritia* (Greed), and both are shown receiving punishment. In these scenes, *Luxuria* is punished ironically by getting what she wants in a twisted act of overindulgence. At Moissac, *Luxuria*'s indulgence in sexual pleasure leads to her punishment, as she fulfils the parable. The figure exhibits characteristics of the *femme-aux-serpents* type, a twelfth-century sculpture type derived from ancient Greek and Roman sources.³ She differs in form from the figure of the *Woman with the Skull* from the tympanum of the Puerta de las Platerías, the south transept portal of the Basilica of Santiago de Compostela, with whom she is often compared (fig. 13). The *Woman with the Skull* is thought to be based on an eleventh or twelfth century sermon exemplum on adultery, a sin associated with the Vice of *Luxuria*. This sculpture shows a woman enthroned, holding the skull of the head of her lover as punishment for her sin. In this chapter, I examine the above sculptures, showing how, in each case, gender and audience played a role in the image type that was used to represent *Luxuria*. I begin with the figure of *Luxuria* at Moissac.⁴

² Joanne S. Norman, *Metamorphosis of an Allegory: The Iconography of the Psychomachia in Medieval Art* (New York: Peter Lang, 1988), 27-53.

³ Eukene Martínez de Lagos, ““La femme aux serpents”. Evolución iconográfica de la representación de la lujuria en el Occidente europeo medieval.” *Clio & Crimen* 7 (2010): 152; Anthony Weir and James Jerman, *Images of Lust: Sexual Carvings on Medieval Churches* (London: Batsford, 1986), 58-79.

⁴ The major sources on Moissac are Ernest Rupin, *L'abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac* (Paris: A. Picard, 1897), esp., 335-338; Meyer Schapiro, “The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac Part I (2),” *The Art Bulletin* 13, no. 4 (1931): 464-531; M. F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture: The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981); Meyer Schapiro, *The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac* (New York: George Braziller, Inc, 1985); Eleanor Lorraine Scheifele, “Path to Salvation: The Iconography of the South Porch of Saint-Pierre-de-Moissac” (Ph. D diss., Washington

Luxuria was sculpted on the left lateral wall of the South Portal porch at Moissac sometime between 1115 and 1131 (fig. 19), as part of an overall program focused on the Parable of Lazarus and Dives and the Vices associated with Dives (Latin for rich man) and his wife.⁵ The left lateral wall consists of a frieze and blind arcades separated by columns, which are decorated with high relief sculptures. The frieze sculptures depict the Parable of Lazarus and Dives, the biblical story of a rich man who refuses to help a poor leprous man, Lazarus (fig. 20). To the right, Dives and his wife are shown feasting while Lazarus begs for their scraps. Lazarus, lays nude to their right at the gate of the dining hall as dogs lick his wounds. While the richly dressed Dives sits motionless, ignoring the dying Lazarus outside the gate, his wife readily eats, filling her mouth and reaching for another handful.⁶

In the next part of the upper relief, the angel carries the soul of Lazarus to the next scene, where the soul is then enveloped in the Bosom of Abraham, a symbol for heaven, to the far right.⁷ Below, in the upper reliefs of the blind arcade, above the Vices, are the scenes of Death

University, 1985). Ilene H. Forsyth, “Narrative at Moissac: Schapiro’s Legacy,” *Gesta* 41, no. 2 (2002): 71-93; Ilene H. Forsyth, “The Date of the Moissac Portal,” in *Current Directions in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, eds. Robert A. Maxwell and Kirk Ambrose (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 77-99; Amanda Luyster, “The *Femme-aux-Serpents* at Moissac: *Luxuria* (Lust) or a Bad Mother?” eds. S. Asirvatham, C. O. Pache, and J. Watrous, (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2001), 165-191.

⁵ The dating and patron-Abbot of the portal has been of some contention. Some scholars have suggested an earlier dating, during the rule of Abbot Ansquitil (d. 1115) due to his interest in sculptural programming and the wealth of the abbey under his rule. Others have suggested the under the rule of Abbot Roger (r. 1115-1131), due to the sophisticated character and design of the sculptures. The latest possible date given to encompass both rules is 1115-1130. For more on this see Rupin, *L’abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac*, 60-73; Forsyth, “The Date of the Moissac Portal,” 77-99; Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture*, 170 n. 1.

⁶ Forsyth, “Narrative at Moissac,” 78-86, esp., 78-79.

⁷ Scheifele, “Path to Salvation,” 55.

(fig. 21) and Punishment of Dives (fig. 22) and his wife. Above *Luxuria*, two demons extract the soul of Dives from his body as the female companion, now thin and gaunt with loose hair, kneels by his deathbed in mourning.⁸ A demon hovers above with money bags, as a reminder of his avaricious nature. At their deaths, demons torture the souls of Dives and wife. A large demon dominates the narrative, riding what Eleanor Lorraine Scheifele describes as a demonic horse.⁹ The demon's right foot stands on the belly of Dives, whose naked form is weighed down by a sizeable money bag tied around his neck. His body is emaciated, and his mouth is wide open. He sees that Lazarus is in the Bosom of Abraham. Dives cries out for a drop of water from Lazarus, but remains in hell, because Lazarus is unable to see him and it is too late to receive mercy.¹⁰ His female companion is in the middle of the narrative, only her face and sagging breasts seen from the recesses of hell. Interestingly, she appears to emerge from the bottom of the larger demon. In the lower reliefs, the punishments for the Vices of *Avaritia* and *Luxuria*, Vices that were considered to be interrelated, are depicted (fig. 23).

This composition is echoed on the right lateral wall, which presents narratives from the Life of the Virgin. The Infancy Cycle is depicted directly across from Lazarus and Dives, *Luxuria/Avaritia* imagery (fig. 24). This design encourages oppositional pairing across the architectural space of the porch. The upper arcades depict the Arrival (fig. 25) and Adoration of the Magi (fig. 26). In the right lateral frieze, the biblical scenes of the Presentation of the Temple

⁸ Scheifele notes that Dives' soul is extracted feet first, as if fighting to stay in, whereas Lazarus' soul departs headfirst as if naturally removing himself. This she relates to Christ's and the Devil's followers born into the world, who are born head first and feet first, respectively; See Ibid., 45-46.

⁹ Ibid., 45-48.

¹⁰ Luke 16:19-31

and Flight into Egypt (fig. 27). The lowest sculptures depict the paired reliefs the Annunciation (fig. 28) and Visitation (fig. 29).¹¹ The themes of both the left and right lateral walls should be read in relation to the primary theme of the porch, the *Maiestas Domini*, or Christ in Majesty, surrounded by the Twenty-Four Elders as represented on the tympanum (fig. 30).¹² In the context of the porch, this abstracted representation of a vision from the Apocalypse of John can be understood as a representation of Heaven.¹³

Luxuria in a Virtue and Vice Porch

As Ilene Forsyth has shown, themes of Virtue and Vice in sculptures of the south porch's lateral walls seem to have been organized according to the concept of the pairing of opposites.¹⁴ In this scheme, significantly, two female bodies are paired. *Luxuria* is depicted on the left lateral wall as a naked and debased woman in the *femme-aux-serpents* type alongside her demon tormentor.¹⁵ To the left of *Luxuria* within the architectural niche is the Vice of *Avaritia*, represented by the rich miser and the poor man. *Luxuria* and *Avarice* have a long history of being associated and thus represented together. Together, they are manifestations of carnal desire,

¹¹ The identification of these scenes come from Schapiro, *The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac*, 107-120.

¹² Ibid., 77-104.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Forsyth, "Narrative at Moissac, 71-93.

¹⁵For an introduction on the *femme-aux-serpents* type, see Jacqueline Leclercq, "De la Terre-Mère à la luxure: A propos de "La migration des symbols,"" *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 18e année 69 (1975): 37-45; Weir and Jerman, *Images of Lust*, 58-79; Luyster, "The *Femme-aux-Serpents* at Moissac," 165-91; Martínez de Lagos, "“La femme aux serpents,”" *Clio & Crimen* 7 (2010): 141-45.

connected by a common desire to have more than enough.¹⁶ Dives and his wife provide the exempla of these Vices. Whereas Lazarus is virtuous in his poverty. *Avaritia*, as the Vice of greed, was interpreted as the greed for material possessions.¹⁷ In the personification of *Avaritia*, the miser is a thin bearded man wearing a hat and long robe. The miser wears a purse around his neck as a sign of his avaricious nature as a horned demon latches onto his shoulders and head.¹⁸ Purses, or money bags, are traditional attributes of *Avaritia*.¹⁹ Before him walks a beggar, helpless and leaning onto a crutch. The helpless man implores the miser for pity and aid, but a demon attacks.²⁰ Above, in the upper blind arcade and in the frieze, the Parable of Lazarus and Dives is depicted. On the opposing wall, the narrative of the Infancy of Christ suggests themes of Virtue, in which the figure of the Virgin provides a positive moral *exempla*. Directly opposing *Luxuria* in an architectural niche is the Annunciation, in which the angel Gabriel announces to the Virgin that she will become miraculously pregnant with Christ. The Visitation is depicted in the architectural niche on the far right. In this scene, Virgin and her cousin Elizabeth are both

¹⁶ Richard Newhauser, “Towards Modus in Habendo: Transformations in the Idea of Avarice. The Early Penitentials through the Carolingian Reforms,” in *Sins: Essays on the Moral Tradition in the Western Middle Ages* (Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate/Variorum, 2007), 4; Richard Newhauser, “*Avaritia* and *Paupertas*: On the Place of the Early Franciscans in the History of Avarice,” in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser (Ontario: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2005), 328.

¹⁷ Newhauser, “*Avaritia* and *Paupertas*,” 328.

¹⁸ Meyer Schapiro suggests there is no narrative connection between the two vices, rather they illustrate the two punishments; see Schapiro, *The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac*, 113; Rupin, *L'abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac*, 335-338.

¹⁹ Scheifele, “Path to Salvation,” 55.

²⁰ Scheifele refers to the beggar as a pilgrim. Saint-Pierre was a pilgrim church, along the pilgrim route to Santiago de Compostela; see Ibid., 54-55.

pregnant (one with Christ, the other with John the Baptist). Above, in the upper blind arcade, is the Adoration of the Magi. They approach in the left architectural niche as the Mary, Joseph, and Child await with an ox and donkey in the right niche. Above these scenes, in the frieze, biblical scenes are depicted from right to left: the Presentation in the Temple, the Dream of Joseph, and the Flight into Egypt.²¹

Luxuria and the femme-aux-serpents type

The depiction of *Luxuria* at Moissac is one of the earliest examples of the *femme-aux-serpents* type in sculpture. The type is characterized by a woman who is attacked by snakes who nurse from her breasts.²² Representations of *femme-aux-serpents* are found in capitals and on the façades of churches in Western Europe, especially in western France and Northern Spain, but have also been found in Britain and Scandinavia (fig. 31).²³ Emile Mâle characterizes the *femme-aux-serpents* sculptural type as a new development in the Languedoc region of France, with that of Saint-Pierre and Saint Sernin, Toulouse being the earliest examples (fig. 32), though an example exists in Spain as early as the eleventh century (fig 33).²⁴ The image in manuscript illustrations was originally associated with the Earth mother Terra, who willingly suckled all

²¹ This description is aided by Ibid.

²² Emile Mâle argues that these two are the two earliest to form in Languedoc, See Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France, the Twelfth Century: A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 374.

²³ Weir and Jerman, *Images of Lust*, 69.

²⁴ The other being the representation at St.-Sernin; See Mâle, *Religious Art in France, the Twelfth Century*, 374; Other scholars have suggested the origin as San Isidoro in Leon, now known as the Panteon de los Reyes, dated to 1063 in which two snakes fly to bite a nude woman's head as she grabs them as two more bite her breast, as quoted by Weir and Jerman, *Images of Lust*, 69.

beasts of the earth, including snakes (fig. 34).²⁵ Eukene Martínez de Lagos discussed that the model's meaning has clearly shifted, and the association with lust was impressed upon it because to the unfamiliar Christian eye the image looked like one of retribution.²⁶ Snakes represented evil, deceit, and chthonic power. This coupled together with the body of a woman brought to mind temptation and sin.²⁷

Luxuria at Moissac is one of the earliest of the subtype of *femme-aux-serpents* in which a toad attaches itself to the genitals. A similar depiction of *Luxuria* to the Moissac type with the entwined snakes attached to the breasts and a reptile on the genitals is found replicated at Saint-Pierre Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne (ca. 1130-1140) (fig. 35). According to Amanda Luyster, the addition of the toad on her genitals is uncommon, as most representations show toads attached to the breasts or near the ears.²⁸ Toads and crawling creatures in the Bible were associated with plagues and uncleanness.²⁹ The accompanying demon does not appear to be common in the standalone *femme-aux-serpents* type. Scheifele suggests that the demon is like the dragon from Revelation 16, which regurgitates unclean spirits into the world like frogs.³⁰ Its belly, rotund and swollen, hints that the demon might be *Gula*. Furthermore, toads were also thought to be associated with gluttonous behavior due to their habit of receiving sustenance from unclean

²⁵ Weir and Jerman, *Images of Lust*, 48-51.

²⁶ Martínez de Lagos, ““La femme aux serpents,”” 141-45.

²⁷ Ibid., 141-45.

²⁸ Luyster, “The *Femme-aux-Serpents* at Moissac,” 180; Weir and Jerman, *Images of Lust*, 58-79.

²⁹ Scheifele, “Path to Salvation,” 65-66; Weir and Jerman, *Images of Lust*, 65.

³⁰ Scheifele, “Path to Salvation,” 65.

water by Beatus of Liébana.³¹ Demons were common in hell scenes, as illustrated in the Parables above. They worked as agents of the devil by punishing sinners. So, ultimately, the porch presents a narrative of the Vices to avoid and Virtues to emulate in a medieval conception of punishment and reward after death.

Luxuria as a Punishment Figure

Luxuria, the Vice of Lust associated with selfish indulgence in sexual pleasure, opposes the moment the Mary accepted the Annunciation from the angel Gabriel that she would be pregnant with Christ and give birth a Virgin. This was understood as the most selfless act, an exemplum of *Humilitas*.³² *Luxuria* stands together with the demon opposing the holy moment, dividing the porch into an opposition of the Virtues and Vices.³³ Meyer Schapiro noted the symmetry between the two walls and that of the Visitation and *Luxuria* niches, but he did not fully explore the ramifications of the two. The Virgin Mary symbolized *Castitas* (Chastity) and was a representation of good female sexuality, though often this meant the lack of female sexuality.³⁴ Peter Damian argued in the middle of the eleventh century that the Virgin Mary's womb reverted to that of a virgin after the birth of Christ.³⁵ As Ruth Mazo Karras has elucidated,

³¹ Ibid., 65-66.

³² Ibid., 50-70.

³³ Scholars have investigated the dual nature of the porch. Gaillard has seen it as a essential to the concept of the Last Judgment, with the left lateral wall as part of the judgement and the right lateral wall as a type for redemption, see Georges Gaillard, "El Claustro y el Portico de Moissac," *Etudes d'art Roman*, VIII-, Publications de la Sorbonne, tome 3 (Paris, 1972), 417-431, as quoted by Scheifele, "Path to Salvation," 4; Eleanor Lorraine Scheifele see the walls as representing aspects of penitential trials, see Scheifele, "Path to Salvation."

³⁴ Scheifele, "Path to Salvation," 88.

³⁵ Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 35.

to be truly pure, virgins were to be physically impenetrable. The Virgin is the only woman who remained pure yet was able to do the job of the woman: procreate.³⁶ As Odilo, abbot of Cluny (994-1046), explained the Annunciation, the moment of divine impregnation, exemplifies the Virgin's Virtues of *Humilitas* and *Obedientia* (Obedience).³⁷ Thus, as Scheifele suggests, and I agree, the Virgin Mary stands as a redemptive figure in contrast to *Luxuria*. When she is considered in context with the vision of Christ in Majesty in Heaven, as shown on the porch's tympanum above, she presents a message that salvation can be found through a woman.³⁸

That the Virgin Mary is part of salvation history is part of her role as the New Eve, through whom Salvation was brought into the world. This role is in opposition to Eve, the woman to whom mankind can attribute the origin of sin. Augustine of Hippo underscored the Virgin Mary's *Humilitas* and obedience to God in her acceptance of the Annunciation, which in his eyes, made her the opposite of Eve, whose sin was *Superbia* (Pride).³⁹ The negative aspect of female sexual desire associated with *Luxuria* can be traced to Eve. This misogynistic vision was influenced by the broader culture that cultivated a bias against women and their bodies, a view originating with the Early Church Fathers. According to Jacqueline Murray, in the ascetic life of the Church Fathers, the mind controlled and oppressed the body and sexuality.⁴⁰ Ambrose (c.

³⁶ Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 60.

³⁷ Scheifele, "Path to Salvation," 88.

³⁸ Ibid., 88-89.

³⁹ Elizabeth Bailey, "Judith, Jael, and Humilitas in the *Speculum Virginum*," in *The Sword of Judith: Judith Studies Across the Disciplines*, ed. Brine Kevin R., Ciletti Elena, and Lähnemann Henrike (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2010), 287-88.

⁴⁰ Jacqueline Murray, "Hiding Behind the Universal Man: Male Sexuality in Medieval Art," in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, eds. Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1996), 125.

340-397) in his *On Virginity* viewed sexual desires and death as going back to the Original Sin of Eve and placed the blame for the Fall on her as she was too receptive to the wiles of the serpent.⁴¹ This idea was shared by others and continued in literary and visual traditions of Eve as the first Temptress, as after the snake seduced her, she seduced Adam into sinning, beguiling the First Man. Jerome (d. 420) viewed the Original Sin as sexual in nature in *Against Jovinianus*, and also viewed women as more carnal than men, and therefore, more capable of reenacting Eve's temptation of Adam. He linked men to the spiritual realm, whereas women were closer to the material realm.⁴² Adam was created by God and who breathed life into them. Eve, however, was created second as "help meet" for Adam. She was quite literally pulled from the body, and thus is more connected to it.⁴³ The serpent in the Garden of Eden is suggested by Augustine (354-430) to have first seduced Eve, who then became the First Temptress who brought Original Sin into the world. That Original Sin was understood as *Superbia*, and it was associated with *Luxuria* in Augustine's *City of God*. Augustine, who understood *Concupscientia* (sensual desire) as part of the reason for the Fall of Adam and Eve. This was then further simplified to carnal Lust, or sexuality, being understood not as a consequence of the Original Sin, but the Original Sin. Sexuality, therefore, fell under the umbrella of the Vice of *Luxuria*.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Ambrose, *On Virginity*, trans. Daniel Callam, Peregrina Translation Series, 7 (Toronto: Peregrina Publishing, 1989), XIII. 81, quoted in Murray, "Hiding Behind the Universal Man," 125.

⁴² Jerome, *Against Jovinianus*, in *St. Jerome: Letters and Select Works*, trans. W.H. Frehamantle, Select Library of Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, VI (New York: Christian Literature, 1893), 346-415, quoted in Murray, "Hiding Behind the Universal Man," 125-126.

⁴³ Martínez de Lagos, ““La femme aux serpents,”” 144.

⁴⁴ Scheifele, "Path to Salvation," 64; John A. Nichols, "Female Nudity and Sexuality in Medieval Art," in *New Images of Medieval Women: Essays Toward a Cultural Anthropology*, ed.

A sumptuous image of Eve as a type of *Luxuria* can be seen at the Cathedral of Saint Lazare of Autun. The lintel fragment of Eve at Autun depicts a nude woman reclining on one elbow with knees bent (1130).⁴⁵ Attributed to Gislebertus (active 1100-1150), the lintel fragment was originally placed in the north portal of Saint-Lazare, where she accompanied a depiction of Adam below the Tympanum of Lazarus before being removed.⁴⁶ Eve's breasts are bare, and a fig tree blocks the view of her genitals as her left arm reaches behind her to pluck an apple from a tree on the right, similar to the *Venus pudica* type. The tree is pushed down by a demonic claw, now visible only as a fragment. Eve's face is in profile facing to the left and her right-hand caresses her face near her mouth in a gesture associated with grief.⁴⁷ The snake is missing from the scene, but Eve's position is serpentine as she rests on the ground. Eve's seduction of Adam and the subsequent knowledge and shame of their nakedness connected sensuality and sin and its punishments.⁴⁸

Edelgard E. DuBruck (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 168; Martínez de Lagos, “La femme aux serpents,” 140-142; Jeffrey M. Hoffeld, “Adam’s Two Wives” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (1968): 431-435.

⁴⁵ The sculpture is now in the Musée Rolin, but the Adam counterpart is now lost. See Otto Karl Werkmeister, “The Lintel Fragment Representing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972): 1.

⁴⁶ Linda Seidel, *Songs of Glory: The Romanesque Facades of Aquitaine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 1981).

⁴⁷ Werkmeister interpreted this as a composite moment where Eve recognizes she is sinning and feels grief over what is to come, yet she continues to sin. See Werkmeister, “The Lintel Fragment,” 14, 30.

⁴⁸ Margaret R. Miles, *Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious Meaning in the Christian West* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), xi.

Luxuria at Moissac, opposing the Virgin Mary as a Vice opposed with a Virtue, also recalls the Eve and New Eve dialogue. *Luxuria* as lust represented a negative female sexual desire as an overindulgence of the flesh. This opposes the Virgin Mary, the epitome of *Humilitas*, *Caritas* (Charity), and *Castitas*.⁴⁹ Scheifele argues that there are, in fact, three Vices depicted in the left lateral wall at Moissac: *Luxuria*, *Avaritia*, and *Gula*.⁵⁰ The wife of Dives and *Luxuria* experience misogynist punishments for their Vices. Ilene Forsyth calls the positioning of the female companion a gang rape.⁵¹ Much like the proverbial monkey paw, the wife of Dives, as a person who enjoyed *Luxuria*, now has those actions twisted and perverted upon her. The same is said of the form of *Luxuria*, which has every sexual part of her body attacked.

The figure of *Luxuria* may also relate to sado-erotic imaginations. Madeline Caviness discussed the sado-erotic in medieval art, bringing attention to the *femme-aux-serpents* type. According to Caviness, sado-erotic art for heterosexual male viewers typically depicts sado-masochistic imagery that draws attention to the sites of sexual pleasure.⁵² In sado-erotic art, the female figure gradually loses control of her body, her surroundings, lack of clothes, and orifices. The arms are normally restrained in some way to present the body to the viewer, allowing it to be susceptible to abuse⁵³ At Moissac, *Luxuria*'s body and personal space is invaded by the demon

⁴⁹ Scheifele, “Path to Salvation,” 60-69.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 60-69.

⁵¹ Forsyth, “Narrative at Moissac,” 78.

⁵² Madeline H. Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 85, 120.

⁵³ Sadism is pleasure taken in another’s pain, masochism is the subject’s pleasure in his or her own pain; See Caviness, *Visualizing Women*, 85.

and creatures. The snakes have wrapped around her arms and legs, entwining them and attached themselves to her breasts. The one toad attached to her pubis, as the other jumps towards her face, perhaps to go for her mouth. According to Caviness, these images of women encouraged by the church as obscene images could encourage cultural norms.⁵⁴ But it was not only women of sin who were depicted in sexual punishments. Female saints of the thirteenth century, such as Agatha, were depicted during their sexual tortures, with their breasts torn and removed (fig. 36).⁵⁵

In the Middle Ages, dominance was gendered male and passivity was gendered female.⁵⁶ Forsyth describes the activeness of the wife of Dives and his passivity as a reversal of gender roles. The wife at Moissac displays agency in her sinning at the feast, while Dives is a passive and still figure. However, their roles are then reversed in the hell scenes. The wife in the middle of the flurry of action is passive in her punishment.⁵⁷ Her mouth hangs open, but there is no emotion to her face, and she does not gesticulate or fight her attackers. Dives, on the other hand, appears to scream and writhe as his body contorts. Similarly, the same can be said about the figure of *Luxuria*. The figure of the woman merely holds her arms up as the punishment occurs. Therefore, the two images are reflective of one another. *Luxuria* represents the punishment of the overindulgence of the wife. As figures of *Luxuria*, these two women are suffering by the means in which they enjoyed pleasure.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 85-86.

⁵⁵ Female saints were shown under torture more so than male saints, but male saints were rarely shown sexually punished; see, Ibid., 85-86.

⁵⁶ Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 1-15.

⁵⁷ Forsyth, “Narrative at Moissac,” 78-86, esp., 78-79.

Perverted punishments for sins were depicted on cathedrals as well. In the Puerta de las Platerías, or south portal of Santiago de Compostela, the *Woman with the Skull* is known as a type of *Luxuria*, representing *mulieris adulterate* (adulterous woman) (1117).⁵⁸ This high relief sculpture is installed in the left tympanum of the Puerta de las Platerías, or the south portal. The Woman with the Skull is the largest figure in the tympanum, crowded into the right space with diabolical figures to the right of the Temptation of Christ with the Tree of Knowledge (fig. 37). The woman sits on a throne made of the bodies of lions. Her hair flows in waves to her shoulders, leading to her one exposed breast. Her cheeks are full, her eyes protruding from her face and her lips are slightly parted, providing a glaring contrast to the skull that lays in her lap.⁵⁹ Likely based eleventh- or twelfth-century sermons, the sculpture is suggested to represent exempla on adultery. If so, medieval viewers could have possibly reconciled the sculpture with the punishment for adultery.⁶⁰ Perhaps one of the most famous responses to this sculpture is that mentioned in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* or *Pilgrim's Guide to Saint James* (ca.1130-1140) whose author refers to the sculpture as the *mulieris adulterate*, who is forced by her husband to kiss the head of her lover.⁶¹ The author lauds the ingeniousness of the punishment of the adulterous wife

⁵⁸ A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1923), 214.

⁵⁹A comparable sculptural model exists on a capital in Santa Marta de Tera which also depicts a woman enthroned holding a decapitated head in her lap; Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, 214.

⁶⁰ Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, 214-215; The sculpture is a spolia figure originally intended or placed somewhere else, and her original context is debatable, see Karen Faye Webb, "Preliminary Investigation of the Iconography of the Woman with the Skull from the Puerta de las Platerías of Santiago de Compostela" (Master's thesis, University of Florida, 2004), 18-48.

⁶¹ Paula Gerson, Jeanne Krochalis, Annie Shaver-Crandell, and Alison Stones, *The Pilgrim's Guide: A Critical Edition*, Vol. II: *The Text* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1998), 74-76.

and even identifies the skull as stinking, providing a sense of repulsion by evoking the sense of smell.⁶² This is a rare example of a medieval viewer's response to sculpture. Furthermore, it is unique within the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, which rarely provides moralistic interpretations of the sculptures it describes. The grotesque nature of the sculpture of the *Woman with the Skull* is similar to the representation of *Luxuria* at Moissac. The skull, although not as visually repelling as the author of the *Guide* would have the viewer believe, is just as disgusting as snakes and toads. The woman's punishment is similarly twisted and perverted like the wife of Dives and *Luxuria* at Moissac. Interestingly, this sculpture once was accompanied by a *femme-aux-serpents* and *homme-aux-serpents* sculptures in the archivolts that have now been removed to the local lapidary museum.⁶³ This consideration further suggests that she is an image of *Luxuria*. The Woman with the Skull ultimately got what she wanted, to be with her lover.

Reception of *Luxuria* at Moissac

The reception of the sculpture of *Luxuria* at Moissac depends on many factors including the gender, literacy, and social background of the audience. *Luxuria* combined with the narrative of Lazarus and Dives, would have reminded noble viewers of their moral failings, especially if they were overindulging. The opposing wall of the Infancy Cycle could act as an exemplum to encourage virtuous behavior. Ilene Forsyth and Eleanor Scheifele both discuss in detail the role of the wife of Dives within the parable of the Lazarus and Dives in consideration of noble viewers, but neither consider the ramifications of her image for noble viewers. Noblemen and noblewomen looking at the scenes could have seen the ignorance and sumptuous behavior

⁶² Gerson et al. *The Pilgrim's Guide: The Text*, 207, note 2.

⁶³ Weir and Jerman, *Images of Lust*, 58.

reflected in their daily lives as an *exemplum*. For noblewomen, I argue, in particular, the female companion could represent how women, too, were complicit in the sins of their husbands and fathers. As previously discussed, the three Vices of the left lateral wall are *Gula*, *Luxuria*, and *Avaritia*. The wife, in reaching for more food before she even finishes her food, is exemplifying the indulgent actions of *Gula* and *Luxuria*. According to Caroline Walker Bynum, one way a woman could show their piety was to take the excess food of their husband or father and donate it to the poor.⁶⁴ Food in the twelfth and later centuries of the Middle Ages became an important symbol in women's piety, much more so than in men's. As in the *Psychomachia*, the wife's gluttonous actions are inextricably linked with the Vice of *Luxuria*. *Luxuria*, as a sin of the Flesh, encompassed sins of food, drink, sex, and even sleep. But religious teachings also taught that *Gula* led to *Luxuria*, such as Gregory the Great, Jerome, John Cassian, and other patristic writers who linked food and *Luxuria*, especially in their discussions of women.⁶⁵ The gluttonous and luxurious image of the wife, replicated and expounded in the *Luxuria* image, would resonate with women of the twelfth century. Additionally, the sculpture of *Luxuria* is positioned low on the porch wall, close to the viewer.

The image of *Luxuria* also acts as a remedy for itself. Thomas Dale has posited that the sexual and grotesque nature of *Luxuria* and similar images were intended to evoke sexual memories in the mind of monks so that they could negate, or counteract, the memories' abilities to affect the monk and thus lead to sin. He considers this for monks who had had sexual experiences, and therefore were haunted by them. The grotesque and visceral experience of the

⁶⁴ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 4.

⁶⁵ Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 79.

punishment of *Luxuria* could act as a mode of rewiring the memories of the monks and emphasize celibacy and chastity.⁶⁶ Dale suggests that, as a figure of both attraction and abhorrence, *Luxuria* seduces the viewer with her sensual yet decaying form.⁶⁷ This goes back to the original definition of the word *Luxuria* in which it was associated also with repulsiveness.⁶⁸ In essence, a monk with sexual experience could imagine her once beautiful form but now see it as it attacked and perverted, thus tainting and ruining memories.⁶⁹

A lay female audience response to *Luxuria* has been postulated by Amanda Luyster, who suggests that the sculpture's moralizations go beyond just sensual Lust and Greed, to represent Bad Motherhood. This point is clarified when the figure of *Luxuria* is read in contrast to the scene of the Visitation, depicted diagonally across, on the right lateral wall.⁷⁰ Luyster defines a bad mother as a woman who becomes irresponsibly pregnant and neglects the child, refuses to nurse it, or even kills the child by drowning him or her in the river or throwing him or her to dogs.⁷¹ And Luyster further shows that the *femme-aux-serpents* type was a known twelfth century symbol for bad motherhood. She mentions Brother Alberic (d. 1109), who witnessed in a vision the torture of Bad Mothers carrying snakes for infants who then suckled their breasts as

⁶⁶ Thomas Dale, "The Nude at Moissac: Vision, *Phantasia*, and the Experience of Romanesque Sculpture," in *Current Directions in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, eds. Robert A. Maxwell and Kirk Ambrose (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 61-76.

⁶⁷ Dale, "The Nude at Moissac," 70-72.

⁶⁸ Charlton Thomas Lewis, William Freund, Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary* (New York: American Book Company, 1907), 1088.

⁶⁹ Dale, "The Nude at Moissac," 70-72.

⁷⁰ Luyster, "The *Femme-aux-Serpents* at Moissac," 186-190.

⁷¹ Ibid., 173.

the mothers had refused to nurse the infants, orphans, or unborn children or they had pretended to feed them but then refused.⁷² Although Luyster interprets Bad Motherhood as an aspect of *Luxuria*, she does not consider Bad Motherhood as an aspect of the self-indulgence of *Luxuria*, as I suggest. *Luxuria* seeks out pleasures for herself rather than for the glory of God. In medieval Christian thought, the procreative function of sexuality was the only aspect of female sexuality that was honored. To disrespect that by being self-indulgent in sensual pleasures was to invert gender roles. Furthermore, through acts of adultery one risked becoming pregnant outside of wedlock and becoming a Bad Mother. As discussed above, the *Luxuria* pair make a mockery of the Annunciation, but they also parody the Visitation pair. In the Visitation, the Virgin reveals to Elizabeth that she is pregnant by modestly revealing her breast.⁷³ The demon, whose stomach is round and inflated, impersonates pregnancy.⁷⁴ For being a Bad Mother, *Luxuria* is now accosted by the perverse pregnant demon as toads leap from his belly and attach to her genitals.

In conclusion, the depiction of *Luxuria* in twelfth-century sculpture demonstrates multitude of meanings and associations that are dependent on audience and context. *Luxuria* at the Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac demonstrates a complex interpretation of the Vice of *Luxuria* depending on the gender and social status of the viewer. As part of a larger porch narrative on the Virtues and Vices, the punishment of *Luxuria* illustrates the negative aspects of female sexuality in comparison to the epitome of positive femininity, the Virgin Mary, in the moment of the Annunciation. The overall themes of the two walls at Moissac are Vice leading to

⁷² Luyster, “The *Femme-aux-Serpents* at Moissac,” 178; Rupin, *L’abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac*, 335-338.

⁷³ Meyer Schapiro, “The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac Part I (2),” 115-117.

⁷⁴ Luyster, “The *Femme-aux-Serpents* at Moissac,” 185.

punishment and Virtue leading to Salvation. When read together with the opposing Annunciation, it is easy to see the dichotomy between sacred and profane, read as Virtue and Vice. In the paired architectural niches, even as she suffers her attack, *Luxuria*'s outright sensuality starkly contrasts with the modest Virgin who accepts her impregnation. The *femme-aux-serpents* type of sculpture was used at Moissac to illustrate the negative aspects of female sexuality for both male and female viewers alike. The image, as a prototype for Eve the damning Temptress, stood in opposition to Mary, the salvation figure. In comparison, the Woman with the Skull at Santiago de Compostela shows the sin of adultery, as an aspect of *Luxuria*. She also experiences a punishment as part of the negative association of female sexual desire. The visceral representations of *Luxuria* in sculptures drew from a variety of subjects, but all focused on the punishments to be inflicted on the female body for lustful, seductive behavior. In the end, the form of *Luxuria* depended on the bias of the maker and, depending on the viewer, she could be interpreted as an example of self-indulgence, Bad Motherhood, or adultery.

CONCLUSION

In sum, this thesis has argued that gender and intended audience shaped the representation of the Vice of *Luxuria*, or Lust, in twelfth century Europe, in a time where this Vice was understood to combine overindulgence in sensual pleasures with avaricious desires for material possessions, food, and drink.¹ As Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott define it, gender is the performative actions which construct identities that lead to distinctions between the sexes.² Furthermore, to Scott, gender also illustrates the interactions of power, articulating the roles in which each gender plays in a given historical timeline.³ For the Middle Ages, this power dynamic lead to specific gendered roles. Women were expected to be chaste virgins, chaste wives, or chaste nuns.⁴ These gender roles for women were connected to female sexuality, which was admired for its procreative potential (or chastity in case of the virgins) but also feared for its ability to tempt and corrupt.

¹ Joanne S. Norman, *Metamorphosis of an Allegory: The Iconography of the Psychomachia in Medieval Art* (New York: Peter Lang, 1988), 19.

² Judith Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory,” *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (1988): 521-522; Joan W. Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1067-68.

³ Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution,” 521-522; Scott, “Gender,” 1067-75.

⁴ Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 2-5.

Representations of *Luxuria* can reveal the gender bias a creator may have concerning female sexuality, as *Luxuria* is a concept associated with the negative aspects of female sexuality. As I have illustrated in Chapter 1, the context of *Luxuria* could change the value placed on the association with female sexuality, as in the Ghent *Liber Floridus* (ca. 1120). In this representation, the Vice is non-figural and described by its descendant Vices. By contrast, the *Speculum Virginum* Tree of Vices, *Luxuria* is illustrated as a half-length nude woman, and her role as a female allegorical female takes on a multitude of meanings. These Trees of Vices illustrate the monastic concern with internal reflection and pondering with the image of the Tree of Vice as part of a larger quest of learning and spiritual education, respectively, rather than commenting on female sexuality. As seen in Chapter 2, a misogynist bias against female sexuality shaped the sculptural representations of *Luxuria*. The image of the *femme-aux-serpents* type at on the south porch of the Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac depicted the Vice of *Luxuria* being punished for abject female sexuality. In this representation, *Luxuria* is with snakes suckling from her breasts and a toad attached to her genitals. Comparably the associated image at Santiago de Compostela depicts the Woman with the Skull, or the adulterous woman, who is being punished for her sin by having to hold the head of her lover (ca. 1117). These representations demonstrate the punishment for the life of sin. These sculptural depictions firmly situated female sexuality in connection to the punishment of the Vice. The negative associations with female sexuality could also be used to critique the very establishment who established the misogynistic tones.

One final example shows how a powerful woman could use the negative aspects of the misogynist imagery to critique male power. This can be seen in the work of the extraordinary figure of Hildegard of Bingen, (1098-1179) who used the negative aspects associated with

female sexuality to critique the Church and press for reforms in her own time. In her *Scivias* (c. 1175), Hildegard, who most likely oversaw the creation of the image, depicted *Ecclesia* as a woman with a monstrous crotch (fig. 38).⁵ This bears similarity to the image of the female companion in Hell, where her face and upper body assume the role of the demon's genitals (fig. 39). As seen in Lambert's Tree of Virtues, *Ecclesia* was normally associated with goodness and Virtues. As Richard K. Emmerson demonstrates, however, Hildegard's *Ecclesia* represents the internal corruption within the church, and the point of all that corruption is situated in her genitals.⁶

As I have demonstrated, the representation of *Luxuria* was connected to the gender of the maker and the intended audience, which was further influenced by the context and the medium. The manuscripts discussed in this thesis were created in the context of more private education. The *Liber Floridus* was created for male monastics by a male monastic, while the *Speculum Virginum* was created for women in religious orders by men and was supposed to be read aloud to the nuns by a male teacher as well. By contrast, the sculptural representation of *Luxuria* discussed was created in the context of a male monastery, but also anticipated both male and female audiences. These images of *Luxuria* represent the varying degrees to which the negative aspects of female sexuality could be represented in order to further a didactic or salvific purpose.

⁵ Richard K. Emmerson, "The Representation of Antichrist in Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias*: Image, Word, Commentary, and Visionary Experience," *Gesta* 41 (2002): 95-101.

⁶ Emmerson, "The Representation of Antichrist," 95-101.

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FIGURES



Figure 1. *Psychomachia*, Luxuria at the Banquet. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, MS Burm. Q. 3, fol. 132r, 825-849.



Figure 2. *Psychomachia*, Luxuria Hears the Horns of Battle. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, MS Burm. Q. 3, fol. 132v, 825-849.



Figure 3. *Psychomachia*, Luxuria Joins the Battle. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, MS Burm. Q. 3, fol. 133r, 825-849.

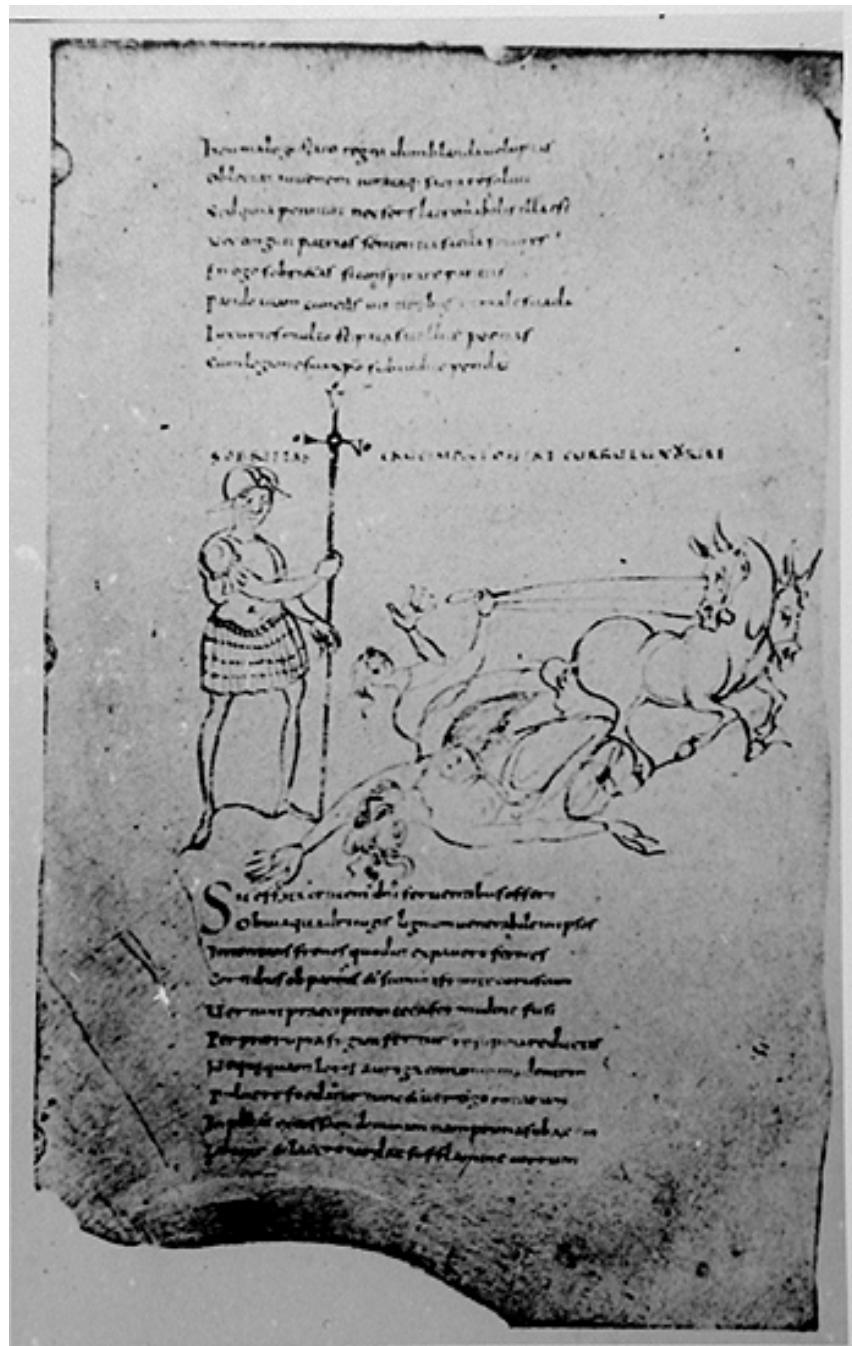


Figure 4. *Psychomachia*, Death of *Luxuria*. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, MS Burm. Q. 3, fol. 134v, 825-849.



Figure 5. *Psychomachia*, Sobrietas Stands over the Body of Luxuria. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, MS Burm. Q. 3, fol. 134r, 825-849.

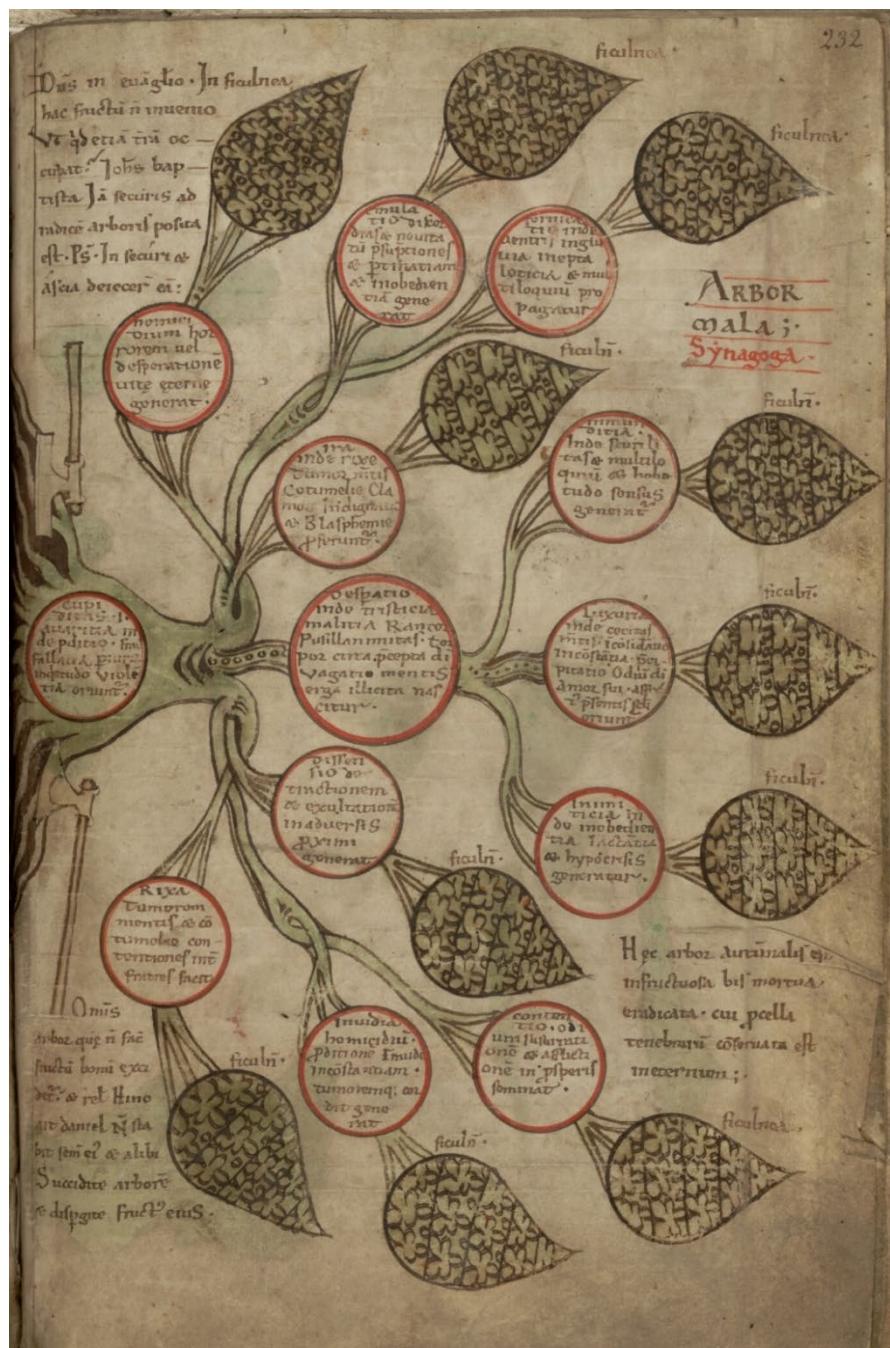


Figure 6. *Liber Floridus*, Tree of Vices. Ghent, Ghent University Library, MS 92, fol. 232r, ca. 1120.

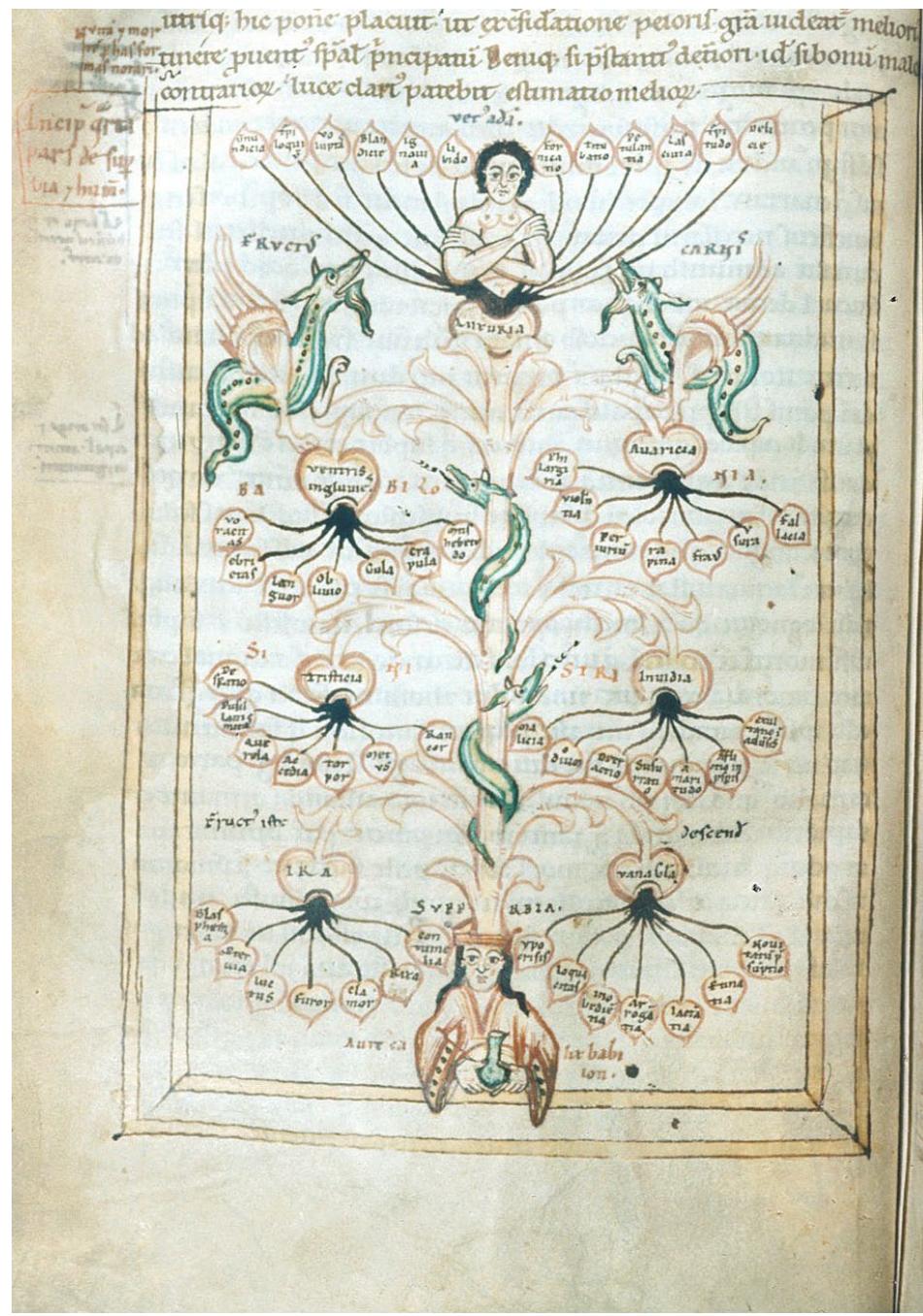


Figure 7. *Speculum Virginum*, Tree of Vices. London, British Library, MS Arundel 44, fol. 28v, ca. 1140-1150.

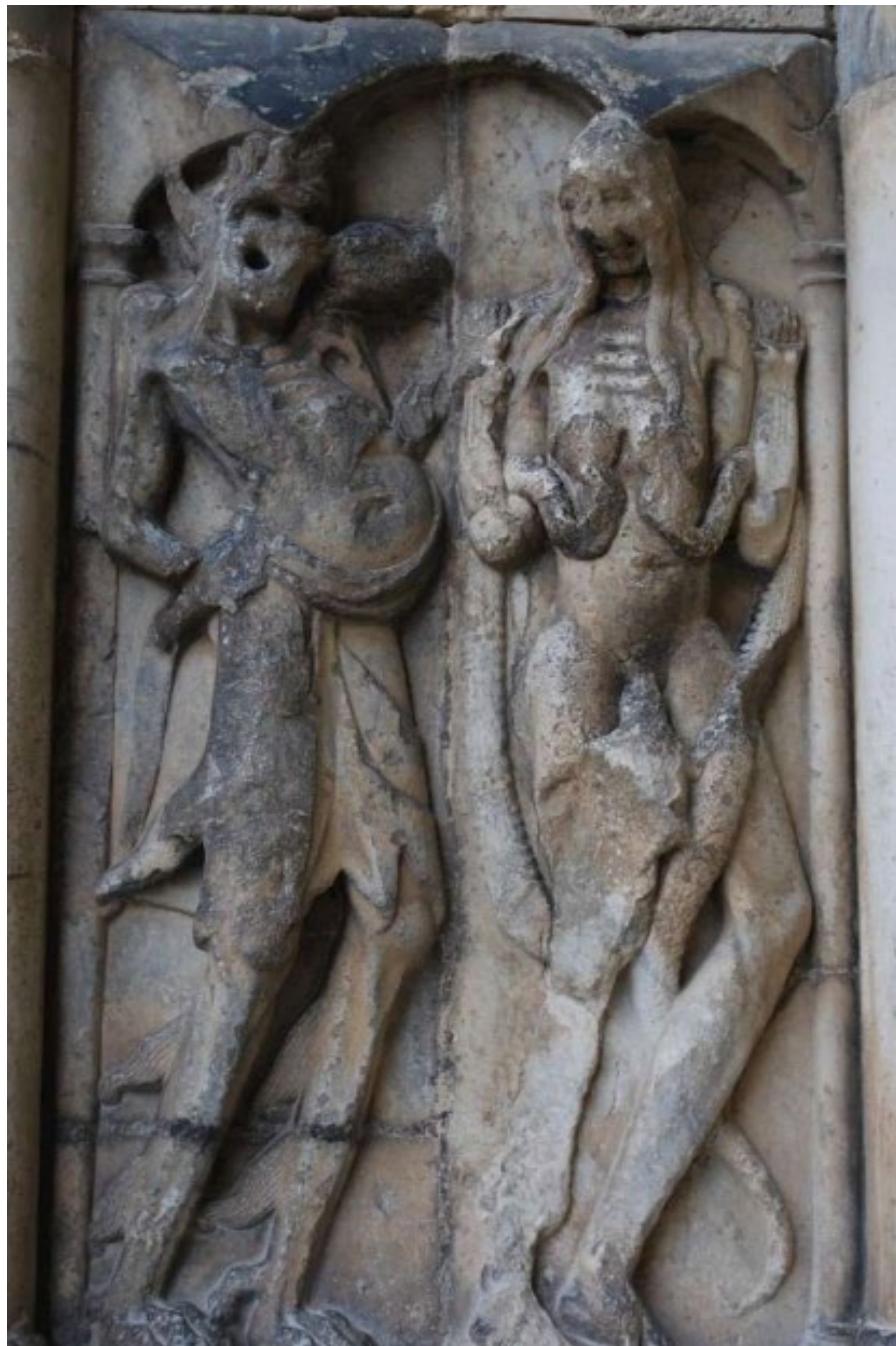


Figure 8. *Luxuria*. Left lateral wall, South porch, Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, ca. 1115-1131.

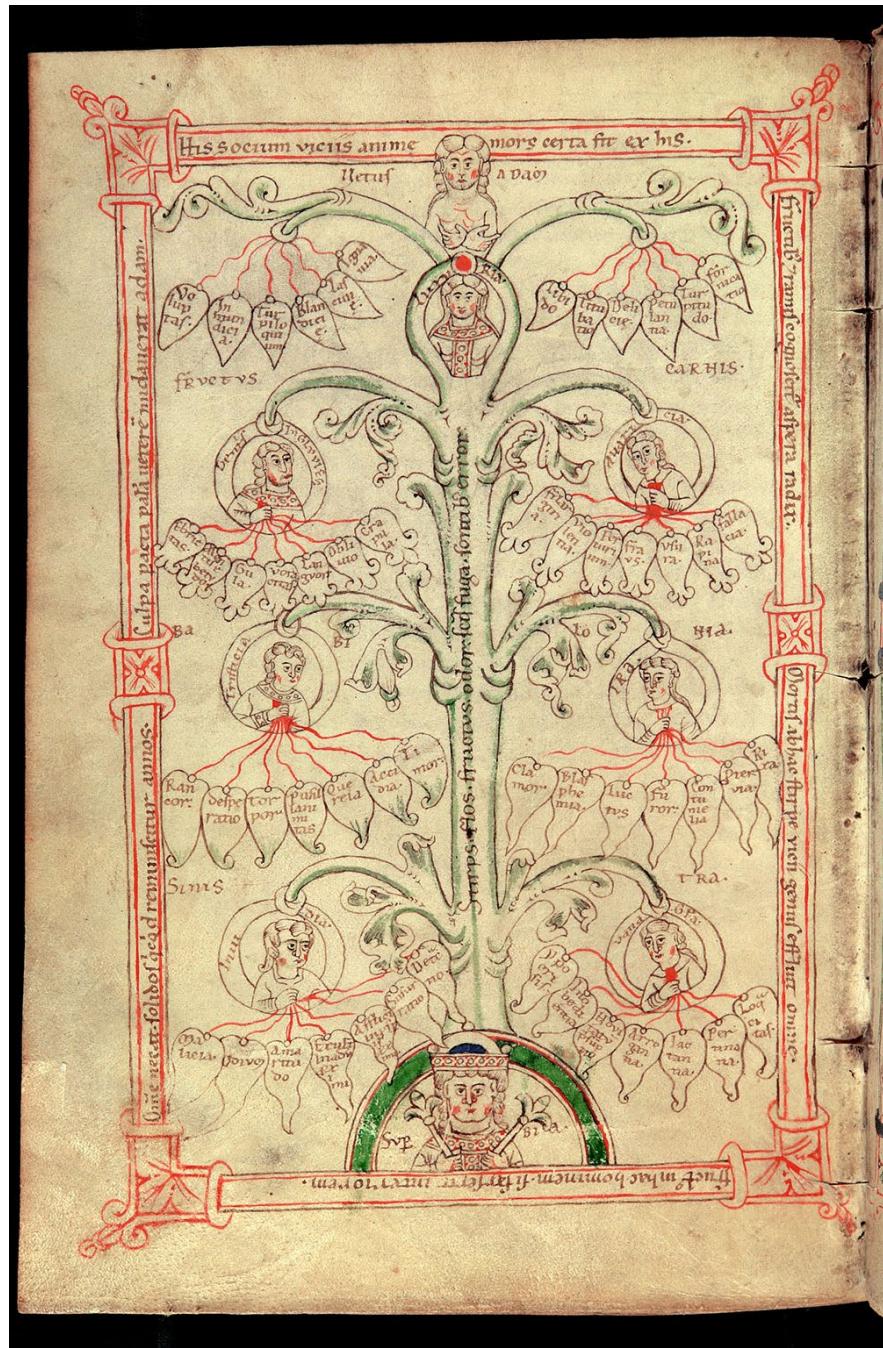


Figure 9. *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, The Tree of Vices. Salzburg, Studienbibliothek, M I 32 fol. 75r, second quarter of the 12th century.



Figure 10. *Psychomachia*, *Libido* battles *Pudicitia*. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, MS Burm. Q. 3, fol. 123v, 825-849.



Figure 11. *Psychomachia*, Pudicitia stabs Libido. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, MS Burm. Q. 3, fol. 124r, 825-849.



Figure 12. Gislebertus (attributed), Eve. Lintel Fragment, Cathedral of Saint Lazare, Autun, ca. 1130.



Figure 13. *Woman with the Skull*, Left tympanum, Puerta de las Platerías, Basilica of Santiago de Compostela, ca. 1117.

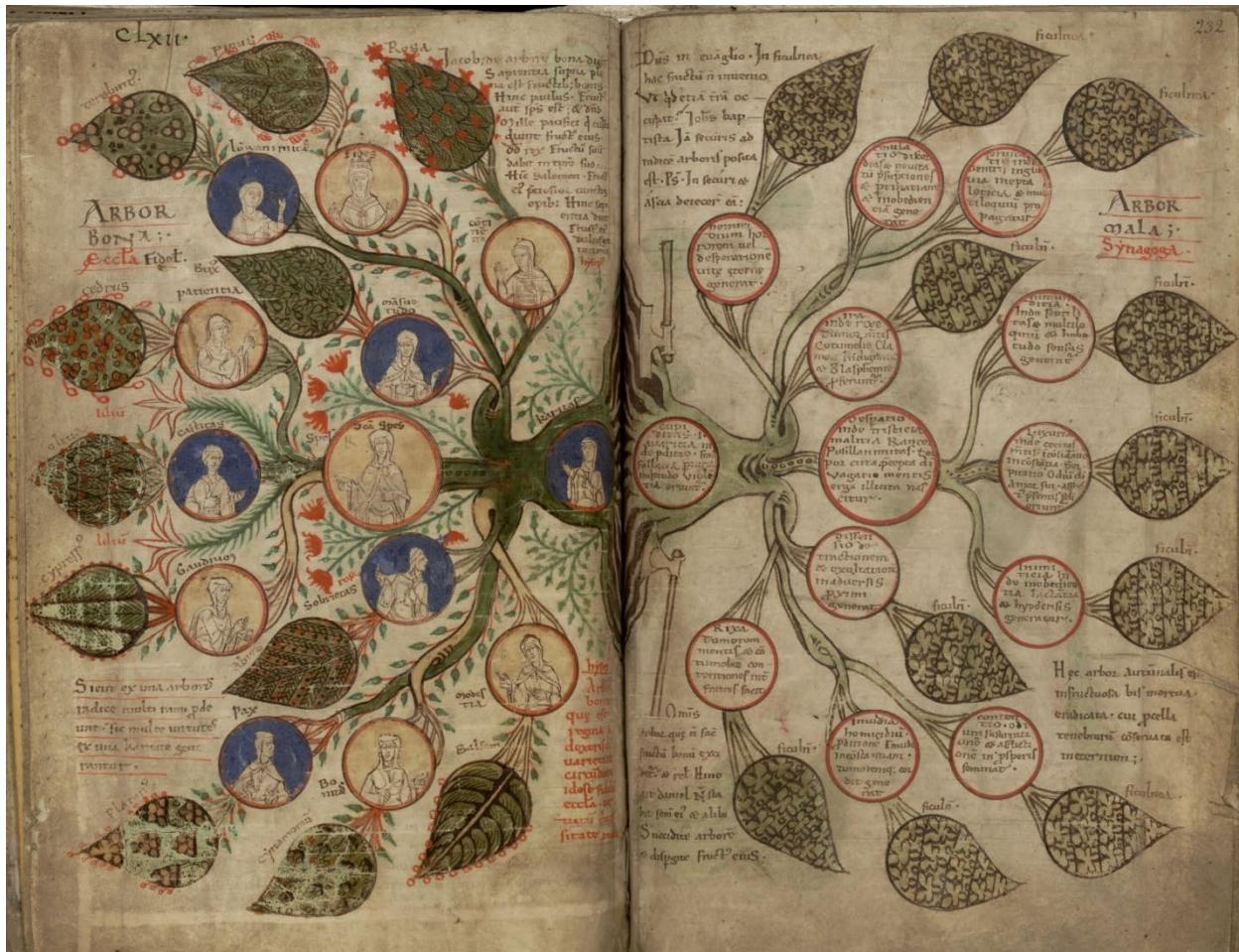


Figure 14. *Liber Floridus*, Tree of Virtues (Left) and Tree of Vices (Right). Ghent, Ghent University Library, MS 92, fol. 232r-231v, ca. 1120.



Figure 15. *Liber Floridus*, Tree of Virtues. Ghent, Ghent University Library, MS 92, fol. 231v, ca. 1120.



Figure 16. *Liber Floridus*, Dream of Nebuchadnezzar. Ghent, Ghent University Library, MS 92, fol. 232v, ca. 1120.

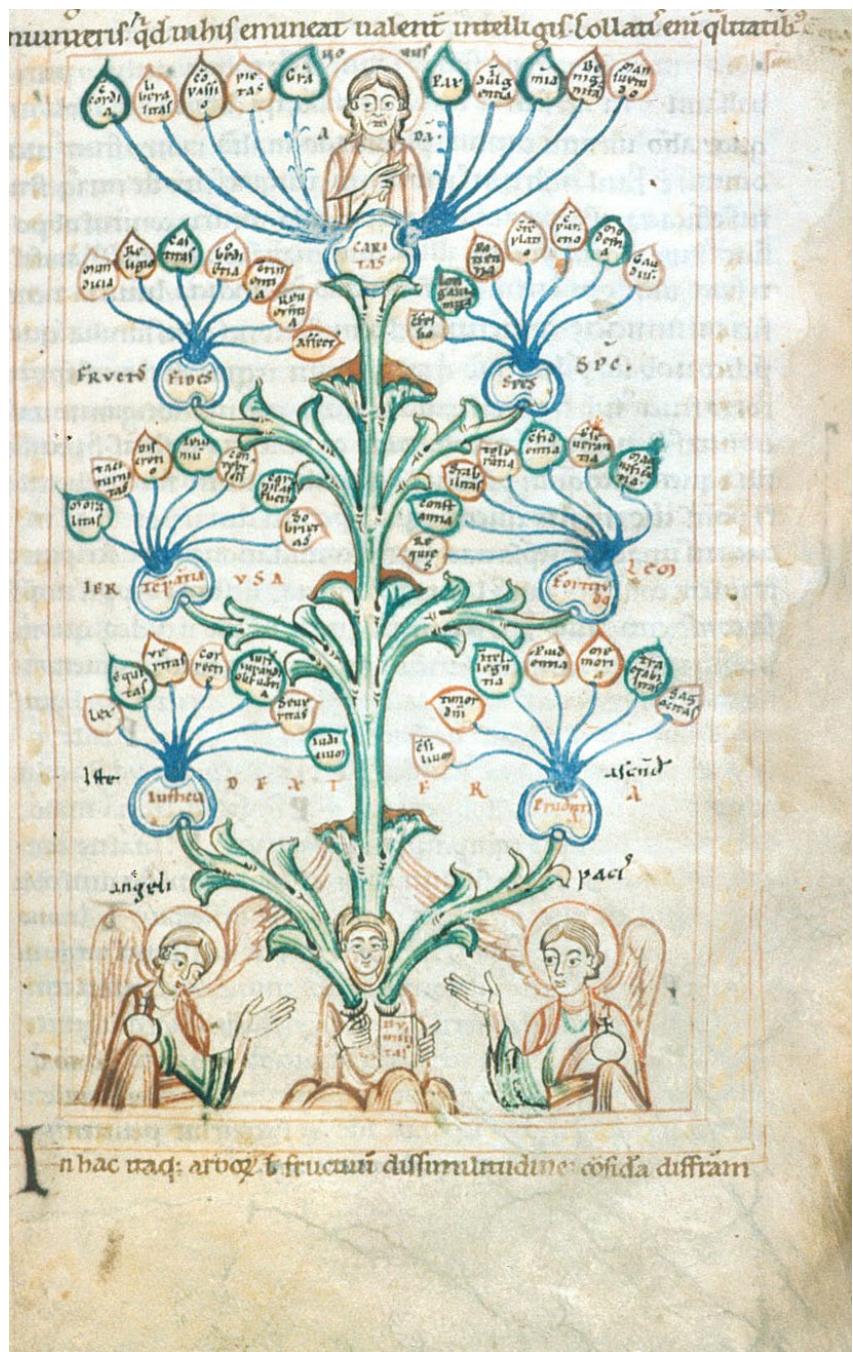


Figure 17. *Speculum Virginum*, Tree of Virtues. London, British Library, MS Arundel 44, fol. 29r, ca. 1140-1150.



Figure 18. *Speculum Virginum*, Victory Of *Humilitas* with *Jael*. London, British Library, MS Arundel 44, fol. 34v, ca. 1140-1150.



Figure 19. Left lateral wall, South porch, Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, ca. 1115-1131.



Figure 20. Parable of Lazarus and Dives. Frieze, Left lateral wall, South porch, Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, ca. 1115-1131.



Figure 21. Death of Dives. Left lateral wall, South porch, Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, ca. 1115-1131.



Figure 22. Punishment of Dives and his Wife. Left lateral wall, South porch, Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, ca. 1115-1131.



Figure 23. *Avaritia*. Left lateral wall, South porch, Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, ca. 1115-1131.



Figure 24. Infancy cycle. Right lateral wall, South porch, Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, ca. 1115-1131.



Figure 25. Arrival of the Magi. Right lateral wall, South porch, Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, ca. 1115-1131.



Figure 26. Adoration of Magi. Right lateral wall, South porch, Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, ca. 1115-1131.



Figure 27. Presentation of the Temple and Flight into Egypt. Frieze, Right lateral wall, South porch, Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, ca. 1115-1131.



Figure 28. Annunciation. Right lateral wall, South porch, Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, ca. 1115-1131.



Figure 29. Visitation. Right lateral wall, South porch, Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac,
ca. 1115-1131.

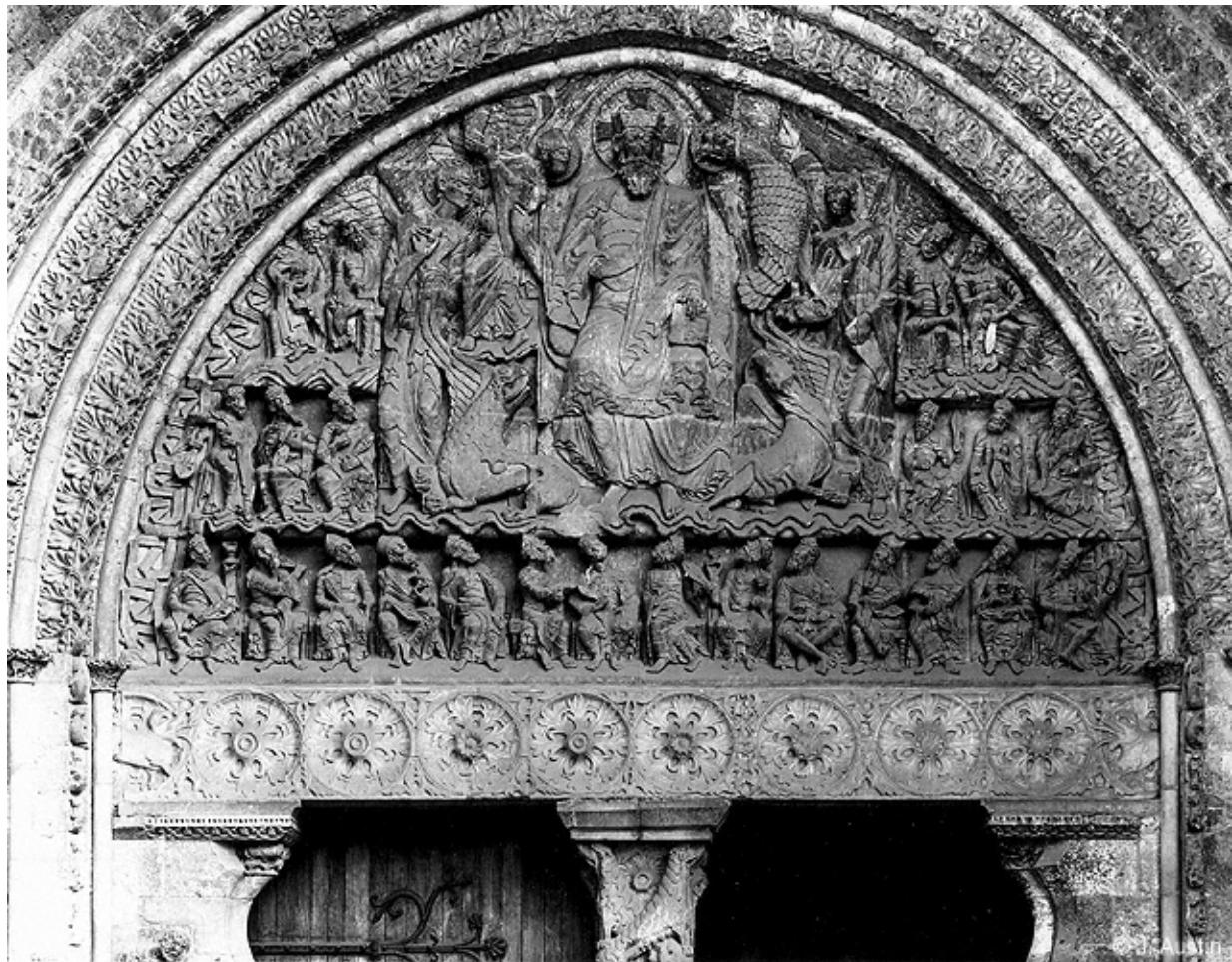


Figure 30. *Maiesta Domini*. Tympanum, South porch, Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac,
ca. 1115-1131.



Figure 31. *Luxuria*. Capitol, Abbey of Sainte-Marie-la-Madeleine at Vézelay, ca. 1100–1149.



Figure 32. *Femme-aux-serpents*. Capital, Saint Sernin, Toulouse, ca. 1080.



Figure 33. *Femme-aux-serpents*. Capital, San Isidoro de León. León, ca. 1080-1100.



Figure 34. *Exultet Rolls*, Terra. Rome, Apostolic Library, Vatican Cod. Barb lat. 592, 11th-12th centuries.

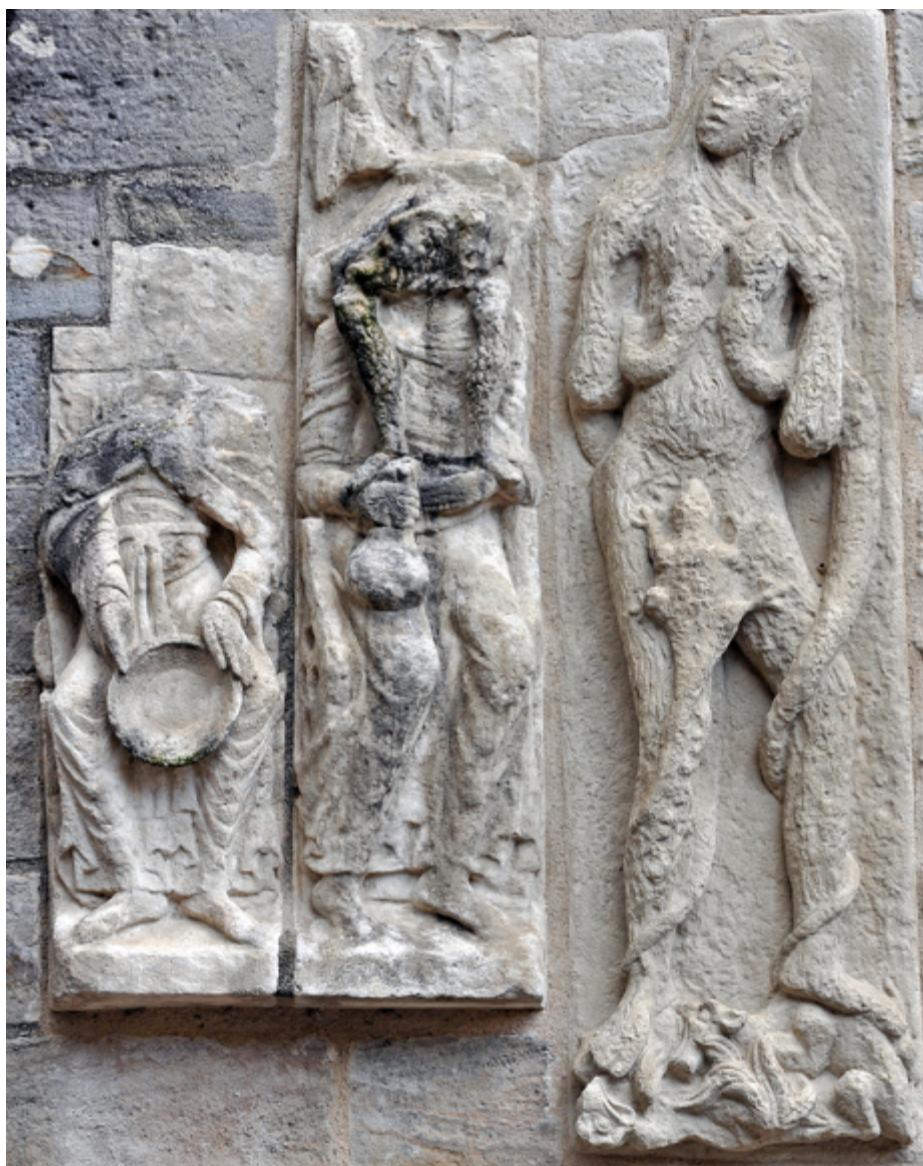


Figure 35. *Luxuria*, Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne, ca. 1130-1140.



Figure 36. *Pamplona Picture Bible*, Agatha of Catania before Consul Quintianus and Torture. II
Navarre, Universitäts Augsburg, MS I. 2. qu 15, fol. 247v, ca. 1200.

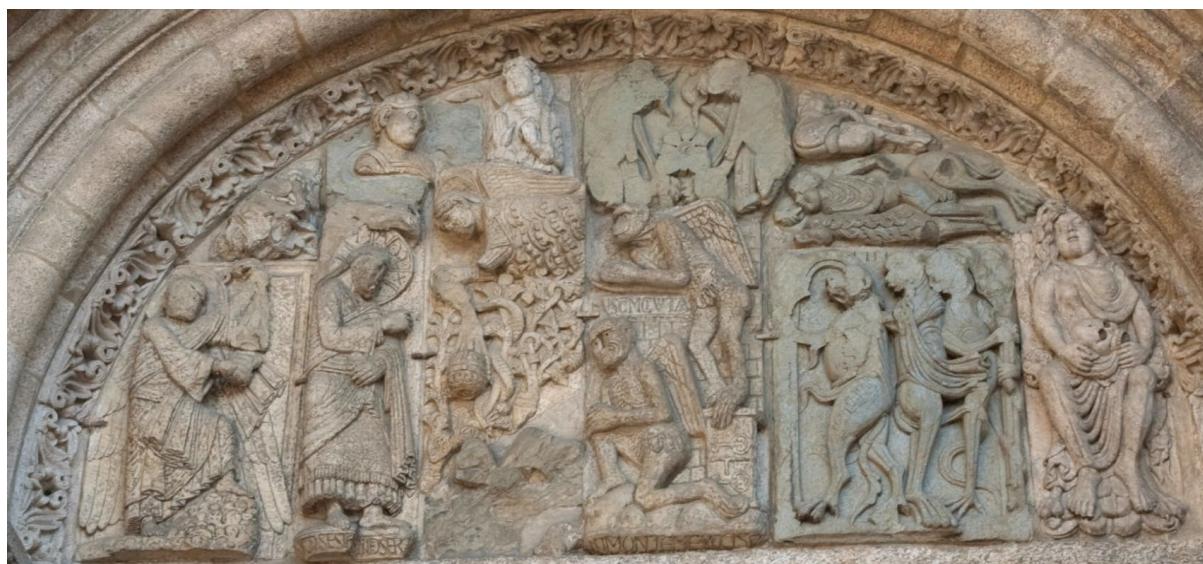


Figure 37. Left tympanum, Puerta de las Platerías, Basilica of Santiago de Compostela, ca. 1117.



Figure 38. Hildegard of Bingen, *Liber Scivias*, Vision 3.11: Vision of the Last Days. Eibingen, MS 1, fol. 214v, ca. 1175 (Copy of Wiesbaden, Hessisches Landesbibliothek, MS 1).



Figure 39. Detail of Punishment of Dives and his Wife. Left lateral wall, South porch, Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, ca. 1115-1131.