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Iconography analysis of the
representations of the Last Judgement
in late medieval France

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Master of Philosophy in History of Art

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the iconographic elements in large-scale representations of the Last Judgement in late medieval France, *c.* 1380 – *c.* 1520. The study begins by examining the sudden surge of the subject in question that occurred in the second half of the fifteenth century and its iconographic evolution across geographical regions in France. Numerous depictions of the Last Judgement and iconographic differences have prompted speculation concerning its role in society.

The basis of the study is grounded on the findings from the comparative and functional analysis on different decorative cycles and the placement of a painting within a religious building gathered in the catalogue. Special attention is given to the interrelationship between patronage and the subject of devotion, providing background to the study. As such, small-scale Last Judgement images including illuminated manuscripts, decorative artwork and collectible items dated within and around the period in question are included in the study in order to provide an overview of the visual context. New observations and interpretations are made with reference to available textual sources, both religious and pseudo-religious, medieval chronicles, historical documents and eyewitness accounts.

Placed against the religious and historical backdrop, these visual differences in the Last Judgement provide evidence of a twofold purpose. On the one hand, it served as an instructive purpose for believers in affecting salvation, and, on the other, it also functions as demonstrative proof to enunciate the Church's spiritual authority. The thesis contributes to current scholarship by providing new insights into religious expression associated with the devotion of Christian believers in medieval life.

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Table of Contents

Declaration	
Abstract	
Acknowledgements	
Table of Contents	
Chapter One: Introduction	
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Research Questions	7
1.3 Research Objectives	8
1.4 Thesis Overview	9
1.5 Definitions and limitations	10
1.5.1 Visual and textual limitations	10
1.5.2 Geographical limitations	11
1.6 Methodology	12
1.7 Definition of key terms and concepts	14
1.8 Definition of terminology used	16
1.9 Other notes	17
Chapter Two: Literary Sources for the Last Judgement in France in the Late Middle Ages	18
2.1 City of God	20
2.2 Dominican Texts	
La Somme le Roi	35
2.3 Sermons	
L'Horloge de Sapience	39
2.4 Popular texts	
2.4.1 Les Sept Articles de la Foi	46
2.4.2 Le Livres de Bonnes Mœurs	49
2.4.3 Le Voie de Povreté ou de Richesse	55
Conclusions	57

Chapter Three: Mystery Plays	59
3.1 Le Jour du Jugement	60
3.2 Lo Jutgamen Dernier	69
Comparison between the text of the Jutgamen General and representational art	75
Conclusions	86
 Chapter Four: Iconography Analysis	 88
4.1 Deisis	
4.1.1 Christ	90
4.1.2 Virgin Mary	103
4.1.3 St John the Baptist	111
Conclusions	117
4.2 St Michael	119
Conclusions	138
4.3 Heaven	141
Conclusions	158
4.4 Hell	160
Conclusions	178
4.5 Purgatory	180
Conclusions	200
4.6 Seven Deadly Sins	205
4.6.1 Seven Virtues and Vices	219
Conclusions	231
Chapter conclusions	234
 Chapter Five: Conclusions	 237
 Bibliography	
List of Figures	
Figures	
Maps	

Chapter One:

Introduction

1.1 Background

The image of the Last Judgement in France in the Middle Ages

The subject of the Last Judgement and representations of it was well known throughout the Middle Ages and its study may be traced back to the nineteenth century. The representations of the Last Judgement are found in many different media, from large-scale depictions, including wall paintings, altarpieces, stained glass windows, retables and tapestries, to small-scale images, such as those found in manuscripts (including breviaries and books of hours), woodcuts, engravings, medallions and in the decorative arts. The French online catalogue *Architecture et Patrimoine*, which includes a survey of large-scale representations of the Last Judgement, lists 212 depictions of this subject in France datable between the twelfth and twentieth centuries.¹ Approximately half of the entries (117 cases) belong to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; 42 entries are datable from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries; and 53 entries date from after the seventeenth century. This is not a comprehensive list of surviving large-scale representations of the Last Judgement. This database does not include tympana on church façades or images that no longer survive but which are documented. However, this data makes it abundantly clear that there was a huge preponderance of Last Judgement representations during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. There are 17 examples from the fourteenth century, but there are 54 examples from the fifteenth century. There was a considerable increase in depictions of the Last Judgement in France in the second half of the fifteenth century.

¹ This figure counting was merely based on the information from the French database with no systematic study. In addition, this number excludes other forms of portrayals listed in the database, namely, statue carving, manuscripts and engravings.

Among the 110 examples studied in this thesis within the period *c.* 1380 – *c.* 1520, thirteen were produced before the first half of the fifteenth century (see Map I).² The majority of representations were produced in a relatively short time span of approximately seventy years. This finding raises the following key question: why did the subject of the Last Judgement apparently become so popular at this time? What specific message was intended and to whom it was directed?

Previous studies of the Last Judgement iconography in France

No study has hitherto addressed the question of the rise in popularity of the Last Judgement subject in France in the fifteenth century, or outlined the regional differences. Most studies of the Last Judgement iconography tend either to be unhelpfully broad, featuring only selected examples, or narrowly focused on a particular painting or documented artist. The earliest study featuring a selection of representations of the Last Judgement in France is that by Auguste Bouillet in the late nineteenth century.³ This contribution made little impact on the understanding of the theme, such as cultural and social aspects, political conditions or religious beliefs. This was followed by A. M. Cocagnac's, which appeared in 1955. This book examined selected churches by examining their sources and stylistic trends.⁴ In the twentieth century, much scholarship was devoted to the great Romanesque and Gothic tympanums such as the study by Yves Christe.⁵ These are largely concerned with monuments predating the focus of this thesis.

² This number of cases excludes paintings belong to neighbouring countries that are iconographically and stylistically similar to that of the French. This is particularly referring to a few cases in Piedmont, which once belonged to the County of Savoy, which had a close alliance with the French court.

³ Auguste Bouillet, *Le Jugement Dernier dans l'Art aux Douze Premiers Siècles. Étude Historique et Iconographique. Extrait des Notes d'Art et d'Archéologie* (Paris: J. Mersch, 1894).

⁴ A. Maurice Cocagnac, *Le Jugement Dernier dans l'Art* (Paris: Cerf, 1955).

⁵ Yves Christe, *Jugements Derniers* (Vauban: Zodiac, 1999).

Other contributions include chapters on the Last Judgement iconography with broad coverage, such as the account by Emile Mâle⁶ and Jérôme Baschet.⁷

More often than not, the study of representations of the Last Judgement is found as a feature of accounts of wall paintings or stained glass with a regional emphasis. Examples include: the south-west, studied by Robert Mesuret; the south-east, studied by Marguerite Roques; the Auvergne, covered by Anne Courtille⁸; Michelle Gaborit and Alain Béguerie on the Aquitaine⁹; and Christine Leduc-Gueye on the Anjou¹⁰. There are also collective studies by scholars attached to French heritage centres on other regions such as Burgundy and the Alps.¹¹ These works examine the style and developments of iconography within regional and local settings and do not focus on any particular iconographic theme; the Last Judgement is only noted in passing. There are other studies on the subject of the Last Judgement; but these are only local dossiers, guidebooks and even brochures intended for tourists. The subject of the Last Judgement has often been addressed; but what has been hitherto unrecognised is the preponderance of representations. The lack of concern regarding the iconographic study of this subject in a larger geographical scale may constitute a hindrance to our understanding of its role to medieval society as a whole. This requires examination and analysis, which is the principle aim of this thesis.

⁶ Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: the Late Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources*, trans. Marthiel Mathews (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

⁷ Jérôme Baschet, *Les Justice de l’Au-delà: les Représentation de l’Enfer en France et en Italie (XIIe – Xve siècles)* (Paris: Bocard, 1993).

⁸ Anne Courtille, *Histoire de la Peinture Murale dans l’Auvergne du Moyen-Age* (Brioude: Watel, 1983).

⁹ Alain Béguerie and Michelle Gaborit, *Des Histoires et des Couleurs: Peintures Murales Médiévales en Aquitaine: (XIIIe et XIVe siècles)* (Bordeaux: Éditions Confluences, 2002).

¹⁰ Christine Leduc-Gueye, *D’intimité, d’Éternité: la Peinture Monumentale en Anjou au Temps du Roi René* (Lyon: Lieux dits, 2007).

¹¹ Desvignes-Mallet, Chantal et al. *Peintures murales des Hautes-Alpes: XV- XVI Siècles*, Cahiers de l’Inventaire 7 (Paris: Édisud, 1987); *Peintures Murales des Eglises Alpines: (XIIIe-XVIe Siècle)*, edited by Dominique Rigaux. (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1994) ; Germaine-Pierre Leclerc, *Chapelles Peintes du Pays Niçois* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 2003).

Yves Christe investigated the subject of the Last Judgement a decade ago, tracing the earliest examples in both eastern and western Christendom, up until the thirteenth century. Christe drew attention to the theme of the Last Judgement from the point of view of its apparent popularity in the thirteenth century. He did not examine examples from the period covered by this thesis. However, he noted that the theme gradually became more relevant to private devotion than to public worship.¹² Personal devotion to this subject is shown by the large number of representations of the Last Judgement in private chapels as well as in devotional objects such as wood panels and collectible items, for instance, pendants. Evidence examined in this thesis bears out this observation for the fourteenth century and extends its understanding afterwards. Emile Mâle, who devoted a series of important studies specifically to the iconography of the Last Judgement, also contributed to the understanding of this development, but also has little to say about the later development. Both Christe and Mâle focused on iconography development without noting the subject's popularity or its social repercussions. Drawing attention, Mâle observed several subtle iconographic changes in representations of the Last Judgement in this later period. However, he emphatically discredited any notion of fifteenth-century innovation and associated the later iconographic changes to the influence of *tableaux-vivants* and mystery plays.¹³ This work is not definitive; more detailed iconographic analysis in this thesis reveals new features.

Mâle also recognised popular texts of the period with the details of Hell iconography seen in Last Judgement representations of this later period. He particularly associated these depictions with the *Pèlerinage de l'ame*, *Vision of Tundal* and the *Traité de bien*

¹² Yves, 349.

¹³ Mâle, 417 – 418.

vivre et bien mourir.¹⁴ However, the nature of the relationship between these texts and the Last Judgement representations was not fully covered. Other religious and pseudo-religious texts have been examined in this thesis in order to determine its potential visual impact within a wider readership and patronage. His argument that the essential features of the Last Judgement were in place before the fifteenth century has served to discourage later scholars from re-examining this subject as it developed in the later Middle Ages. Although the composition of the Last Judgement was, to some extent, developed in the thirteenth century and earlier directly from Biblical sources, Mâle's singular observations are not entirely justified to artistic production in the fifteenth century.

Baschet's analysis of Hell in France and Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries extends the discussions of Mâle.¹⁵ He suggested that the terrifying imagery seen in the punishments of Hell and in the Seven Deadly Sins were intended by the Church to encourage mass conversion.¹⁶ He did not pursue further the tangible evidence for his hypothesis. However, this speculative claim cannot be made without a full understanding of the society and culture as well as the institutionalised religion. Another unmerited remark to the fifteenth-century Last Judgement was deduced in a research carried out by Craig Harbison on the Last Judgement in sixteenth-century Northern Europe. Having identified the distinctive depiction of a few renowned Last Judgement portrayals by the northern artist, Harbison overly simplified the iconographic distinction in alpine France by associating them with the Northern European influence.¹⁷ His observations are unfair

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 420 – 433.

¹⁵ Jérôme Baschet, *Les Justice de l'Au-delà: les Représentation de l'Enfer en France et en Italie (XIIe – XVe siècles)* (Paris: Boccard, 1993).

¹⁶ "Les Sept Péchés Capitaux et Leurs Châtiments dans l'Iconographie Médiévale," in *Histoire des péchés capitaux au Moyen Age*, edited by Carla Casagrande, Silvana Vecchio and Pierre-Emmanuel Dauzat (Paris: Aubier, 2003), 339 – 385.

¹⁷ Harbison, 15.

generalisations, particularly to the provisions of the Last Judgement in late medieval France that were produced within a short time frame.

The integration of new iconographic elements into the subject of the Last Judgement, namely, the Seven Deadly Sins should not be overlooked. The study of the Seven Deadly Sins is not a new field of endeavour. Leading authorities include Morton Bloomfield, Adolf Edmund and Max Katzenellenbogen, Emile Mâle and Jérôme Baschet.¹⁸ They have all devoted much attention to its historical and iconographical development. For example, Bloomfield has extensively examined the Seven Deadly Sins in medieval literature; Edmund and Katzenellenbogen studied the iconography of the vices and virtues in the early Middle Ages;¹⁹ Mâle²⁰ devoted a section to the subject of the vice and virtue on various media in France and, finally, Baschet has covered the form and function of the Seven Deadly Sins in France, Italy and England.²¹ Two other scholars, Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio, have recently published a book on this subject that places the Seven Deadly Sins within the liturgical context.²² These studies provide a great notion for understanding the iconography in a solitary way. Scholars tend to assume that the aim of such a scene was to educate simple believers as the subtlety of

¹⁸ For a comprehensive bibliography on the Seven Deadly Sins, see Jean-Pierre Suau's "Une Représentation des Sept Péchés Capitaux Sculptée à la fin du Moyen Âge dans l'église de Saint-Sernin-sur-Rance," *Revue du Rouergue* 36 (1993): 543 – 562; Marguerite Roques, *Les Peintures Murales du Sud-Est de la France: XIIIe au XVIe Siècle* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1961); Desvignes-Mallet; Enrico Castelnuovo, "Les Alpes, Carrefour et Lieu de Rencontre des tendances artistiques au XVe siècle," *Etudes de Lettres* 10 (1967) 13-26; Paul Roque, *Les Peintres Primitifs Niçois: Guide Illustré: Retables, Peintures Murales, Itinéraires de visite* (Nice: Serre Éditeur, 2001); Germaine-Pierre Leclerc, *Chapelles Peintes du Pays Niçois* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 2003).

¹⁹ Adolf Edmund and Max Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964).

²⁰ Mâle, 273 – 317.

²¹ Baschet, *Les Justices de l'au-delà*.

²² Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio, *Histoire des Péchés capitaux au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Flammarion, 2009).

the doctrine of sins is a didactic discourse.²³ The work of William Voelkle on the Seven Deadly Sins and its artistic representations is particularly comprehensive.²⁴ He painstakingly associated each sin with the psalm that is attached to it and examined the symbolic use of each animal that was used to a specific sin. The function and meaning of the animals was investigated through religious experience.

However, depictions of the Seven Deadly Sins do not work in isolation. It is important to take into account not just the purpose for which they were painted but to what extent the respective depiction works with the eschatological subject that is painted adjacent to it. The scholarly work of Lester Little offers a historical background for this current study on the medieval culture and religious life.²⁵ This is particularly important as the thesis aims to compare and contrast the Last Judgement iconographic elements within the representations and across a larger geographical area in France.

1.2 Research questions

In order to better understand the theme of the Last Judgement and its implications, a full-length scholarly work remains to be carried out. By considering the interest of the intended society, several questions are essential to form the basis of the study and to provide a framework for identifying and analysing iconographic motif in individual depictions. Questions emphasised issues from a wider question on why there was a universal promotion of this theme to a specific question on how this eschatological

²³ Mireille Vincent-Cassy, "Un modèle français: les cavalcades des sept péchés capitaux dans les églises rurales de la fin du XVe siècle," *Artistes, Artisans et Production Artistique au Moyen Age, III, Fabrication et Consommation de l'œuvre* (Paris: Picard, 1990), 463.

²⁴ William Voelkle, "Morgan Manuscript M. 1001: The Seven Deadly Sins and The Seven Evil Ones," in *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds: Papers Presented in Honour of Edith Porada*, ed. Ann E. Farkas (mainz: P. von Zabern, 1987), 101 – 114.

²⁵ Lester K. Little, "Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom," *The American Historical Review* 76 (1971): 16 – 49.

theme was perceived. Special attention was paid to the study the variation of stylistic analysis and iconographic cycles. This thesis addresses three key questions:

- i. Where artists drew their inspiration from? Did the artists produce these paintings from the recollection of what they have seen or it was textually based? The examination is advanced by asking for visual expression in textual sources and artistic merits.
- ii. To what extent the two surviving mystery plays that focused on the Last Judgement can be associated with its representations?
- iii. How did audiences perceive and interpret the eschatological doctrine through the abundant presence of representations of the Last Judgement?

These questions will be approached by examining historical sources and stylistic study in an attempt to reconstruct the understanding of the extant visual evidence. However, the bigger question of stylistic characteristics of neighbouring countries such as Italy and Germany and their relationships at the end of the fifteenth century will be deliberately avoided.

1.3 Research Objectives

The main contribution of this thesis is to offer an analytical study of the iconography of the Last Judgement from a broader geographical span. The study of this thesis serves two purposes:

- i. To permit a wider consideration of the existence of representations of the Last Judgement by allowing a detailed analysis of stylistic and aesthetic study.

- ii. To identify stylistic differences and iconographical innovations within the period concerned.

A systematic review of the extant examples enables the study to establish why and where this type was common and this, in turn, throws light on the general trend of the eschatological culture in the fifteenth century.

1.4 Thesis overview

Chapter One begins with brief definitions on key concepts in this study, namely, eschatological concepts within the medieval justification. It outlines limits of the current research and develops appropriate research methodologies accordingly. It includes definitions of the iconographic terms used in this thesis. Chapter Two discusses the literary sources of the Last Judgement iconography. It deals with religious writings that were popular in the fifteenth century. They include canonical treatises, religious and pseudo-religious texts. Particular attention is given to the popularity of the texts and patronage concerning selective manuscripts in order to identify the collective interest at that time. In connection with the aim of examining possible stylistic and iconographical tradition and innovation, Chapter Three analyses two mystery plays that focus on the subject of the Last Judgement. These literary sources may indicate a link with artistic practices, particularly with comparisons to contemporary French representational arts and performances. Chapter Four surveys six key iconographic elements of the Last Judgement with special reference to the stylistic variations. These include the Deisis, Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, St. Michael, and the Seven Deadly Sins. It will look in depth at the dominating types of iconographic elements and how these differences tend to be regionally varied within France. Chapter Five closes the study by considering some areas

for future research aimed at religious influence in artistic production from the early fifteenth century up till the Reformation.

1.5 Definitions and Limitations

1.5.1 Visual and textual limitations

A few limitations have been identified and recognised while conducting this research. The first and most significant constraint was the accessibility to the actual site of the paintings. Field trips had been planned throughout the course of three summers in order to facilitate accessibility to the sites. However, unavoidable hindrances ensued. Due to severe vandalism in France, entry to these buildings was refused without prior appointment. Field trips were problematic as the locations of some of these paintings are in remote areas. Any possibility of seeing private paintings frequently relied on the favourable assistance of the proprietors. On other occasions, visits were almost impossible owing to the critical and dangerous state of the respective building. The study of these paintings was further hindered by the current state of a painting. Surviving paintings rarely remain intact or in their original state. Often, they are in a fragmentary condition as a result of inattentive conservation, whitewashing and unavoidable gradual weather erosion. The deficiency of later architectural alterations has made the study and identification of iconography harder. As the original state of a painting is the key reference for accurate dating, overly restored works had compromised the authenticity of a work. For paintings that are now extinct, any analysis is dependent on reproductions from antiquarian documents and contemporary sources. Textual descriptions from these sources became the only source for paintings without any visual reproduction. Although every practicable exertion has been made to ensure their precise dating, misjudgement should be taken into account concerning the aforementioned measures. Equally

complicated, accessing the primary sources, especially the medieval sermons, was impractical. Considering the available timeframe and financial practicalities in accessing these archives from different countries, the author had to rely on modern study for referencing and citation.

1.5.2 Geographical limitations

Considering the fluctuant nature of the French territory during the course of the fifteenth century, this study has to limit itself to a modern administrative region. In fact, to some extent, a major part of modern France was formed at the end of the Middle Ages. Modern regions such as Lorraine, Alsace, and some parts of Rhône-Alpes and Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur were independent from the royal domain but they were in the hands of ducal families of France who shared a similar historical, cultural and religious setting. In order to minimise confusion regarding the geographical location, the study and documentation of representations of the Last Judgement has, therefore, adopted the structure set by the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* on the research of the medieval stained glass windows in France. However, within the artistic domain it is impossible to have a clear distinction of geographical boundary. In respect to this, whenever necessary, the thesis will retain some examples that are not currently under French administration. This, in particular, refers to Piedmont (in Northern Italy), which once belonged to the Duchy of Savoy. As the thesis deals with a large and heterogeneous polity of the kingdom of France, reference to a modern geographical France would be a practical solution to this variable issue. Therefore, the task in defining the nation of France and its boundary within the period concerned will not be attempted here. However, one should be aware that the problem exists. Additionally, for referencing purposes, the thesis will adopt

French spelling for building dedications and locations throughout the body of discussion and the catalogue.

1.6 Methodology

The question of the abundant presence of representations of the Last Judgement cannot be approached without an analysis of the whole work. Leaving aside the difficult issue of accessing all the monuments, the available paintings demonstrate a broad geographical distribution and stylistic register. While a collective analysis on this subject allows a pronounced identification of stylistic and iconographic characteristics, the thesis will consider two integrative approaches: visual content and textual annotations. Judging the innumerable presence of the Last Judgement representations in the fifteenth century, two key criteria are set to make the research manageable throughout the course of study. First, the thesis will examine a large number of representations found on this subject that are limited to decorations in private and religious buildings. In addition to wall paintings, the study also includes stained glass, panel paintings, retables, altarpieces and stone-relief. Any visual representation that is beyond this category, namely, illuminated manuscripts will not be included for the purpose of grounding the discussion. Second, research has limited itself to a time frame between two major religious events: the inception of western schism around *c.* 1380 and the Protestant Reformation approximately *c.* 1520. While the teaching of the Last Judgement could hardly be singled out from the authority of the Church, it would be appropriate to study a period confined to the dogmatic context of the Roman Catholic Church. This is because the intervention of the Protestant Reformation may have changed the entire context of artistic merit and functional purpose.

Fundamental consultations are based on the French digital database, which include *Consultation de la Base Médiathèque du Patrimoine, Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine, Laboratoire de Recherche des Monuments Historiques* and *Inventaire général du Patrimoine Culturel*. Other materials such as local guidebooks, brochures and unpublished dossiers are used as an aid for catalogue compilation. Due to the time and practicality constraints, seven regions of Northern France have been left unvisited, as they possess relatively fewer cases than other regions.²⁶ Therefore, any iconographic study of these regions is mainly established through other available visual sources. Each iconographic element is analysed and recorded on a separate table for the purpose of collective study. While most paintings remain in their original site, photography is not limited to just the painting itself but also to the interior and exterior setting of a church in order to understand the function and viewing process of the intended audience.

In order to offer a comprehensive study of the Last Judgement iconography, a descriptive survey on a few popular texts and literature of both religious and pseudo-religious writings were carried out. In fact, the selection of these texts is determined by its readership. It is justified by the number of extant and extinct manuscripts' production and printings that were produced within the period concerned. An examination of these texts may help to achieve greater clarity with regard to this theme by which it may reveal an understanding of the general iconological programme and its stylistic pattern. In order to provide a close perspective in respect of medieval views and expressions, full quotations are adopted from modern translation, particularly for medieval sermons and chronicles, where ever original scripts are inaccessible.

²⁶ These regions include Pays de la Loire (4), Brittany (3), Upper-Normandy (4), Lower-Normandy (3), Picardy (2), Nord-Pas-de-Calais (1) and Ile-de-France (1).

1.7 Definition of key terms and concepts

Considering that the thesis is concerned with theological issues regarding the doctrine of the Last Judgement, some religious concepts need to be adequately discussed in relation to medieval understanding within the teachings of the Church. Several important doctrines deserve some one of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic faith. The basis of the Last Judgement is derived from the Christian Bible, which states that Christ will come again to judge the living and the dead and then he will restore a new Heaven and new Earth.²⁷ Before the Judgement, there is a general resurrection of the dead in which there is a reunification of the body and soul.²⁸ At the Judgement Court, everyone is asked to give an account of their own conduct. It must be stressed that the doctrine of the Last Judgement should be distinguished from the particular or individual judgement, which occurs at the time of death. The sentence of each particular judgement is always pronounced by God when death occurs. The just and perfect souls are assumed directly to ‘the beatific vision of the Godhead’, in other words, Heaven; the imperfect soul with mortal sin and who has refused to confess will be consigned to eternal punishment; and those who are in an acceptable manner and not entirely flawless will be temporarily assigned to Purgatory for purification. It is important to note that particular judgement was not a defined dogma in Catholic doctrine but it was clearly implied in Pope Eugene IV’s Union Decree.²⁹ Hence, for those who died before Christ’s Second Advent, the Last Judgement is a confirmation of their sentences pronounced by Christ instantaneously upon their death. For the living, it is a final verdict.³⁰

²⁷ Miri Rubin, *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, .

²⁸ Saint Augustine quoted in Francis J. Ripley, *This is the Faith* (Liverpool: Gracewing Publishing, 2007), 275.

²⁹ John McHugh, “Particular Judgment,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, accessed September 23, 2010 <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08550a.htm>

³⁰ Thomas L. Kinkead, *Baltimore Catechism, No. 4: An Explanation of the Baltimore Catechism of Christian Doctrine* (New York: General Books, 2010), 369– 371.

1.7.1 Hell and Purgatory

In order to distinguish representations of Hell and Purgatory within the artistic discipline, it is necessary to differentiate their basic theological concepts. To a certain extent, there are some similarities in their representations but they must not be confounded with their existence and purpose. Hell is a state of eternal punishment for absolute sinners and it begins at one's death (for those who died before Christ's Second Coming) and also at the Last Judgement.³¹ Purgatory is a temporal state of punishment intended for souls who are not entirely sinful. These souls will go through a transitory period of expiation before they are admitted into Heaven.³² Their pain and suffering could be alleviated and their stay could be shortened through prayers recited by the living. Punishment in Purgatory will end when Christ's Last Judgement takes place.³³

1.7.2 Heaven

The state of Heaven is less complicated. It is a place for 'those who die in God's grace and friendship and are perfectly purified live forever with Christ. They are like God forever, for they 'see him as he is', face to face'.³⁴ Admission to Heaven is a prompt fulfilment according to one's good deed. It takes place upon one's death but full embodiment will only be realised on the day of general judgement.³⁵ For the living, entrance to Heaven will be accomplished at the day of Last Judgement.³⁶

³¹ *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 235 – 236.

³² *Ibid.*, 724.

³³ *Ibid.*, 235.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 233.

³⁵ Jeffrey Burton Russell, *A History of Heaven: The Singing Silence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 136.

³⁶ John McHugh, "Particular Judgement," *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*.
<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08550a.htm> (accessed 27 April 2006).

1.8 Definition of terminologies used

In order to avoid any possible confusion resulting from principal terms used in this thesis, it is useful to define these terms:

1.8.1 Last Judgement and its synonym

For the purpose of style, other phrases that are equivalent to the meaning of the Last Judgement include the Last Day, the Final Judgement, and the end of time. For the purpose of the study of stylistic variation within an art historical context, the meaning of the Last Judgement should be strictly referred to as Christ's judgement of all mankind at the Last Day. No part of this study will consider other eschatological discussions such as millennialism or chiliasm, Messianic Age, Apocalypse of John, and the Four Last Things.

1.8.2 Judgement Court

A Judgement court is a place where Christ's final judgement was held. Often, other saints are attending the court, namely, the Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, the twelve apostles, other saints in Old and New Testaments and canonised saints.

1.8.3 The Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Virtues and Vices

The study on the motifs of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Virtues and Vices will mainly deal with their association with Hell and punishment within the Last Judgement framework.³⁷ Hence, any discussion on the depiction of the seven virtues and vices that are beyond the scope has been intentionally avoided.

³⁷ It is included in representations of the Last Judgement in certain regions in France. For full discussion see Chapter 4: 4 Hell.

1.9 Other notes

- i. All bible excerpts are taken from the Douay-Rheims Bible.
- ii. All translations are translated by the author unless otherwise noted.
- iii. Attached diagrams are illustrated without precise dimensions. They serve to provide a general placement of a painting or an iconographic element in an architectural building.
- iv. The unavailability of two books that are particularly relevant to the subject of interest in this research and may have potentially contributed to the findings include a compilation study on medieval sermons T. Mertens, H. J. Schiewer, M. Sherwood Smith's *The Last Judgement in Medieval Preaching*³⁸ and Pascale Bulit-Werner and Nicole Sevestre's *Images de la Musique Céleste dans l'Art Français du XVème siècle: Les Anges Musiciens dans l'iconographie Mariale et les Scènes du Jugement Dernier*.³⁹

³⁸ No date has been scheduled to publish this book.

³⁹ This thesis is unavailable for interlibrary loan.

Chapter Two: Literary Sources for the Last Judgement in France in the late Middle Ages

2.0 Introduction

Of all the aspects in understanding medieval society, surviving manuscripts and printed books offer explicit evidence concerning the interest of medieval literary culture.¹ Through quantitative study, modern scholars demonstrate that there was a growing interest in the spiritual dimension, particularly in relation to leading a righteous life.² In France, the rise of demand on biblical, pastoral and moral texts for private collection became gradually apparent, particularly at the end of the fourteenth century. Besides the high demand of the French vernacular bible (about 1,200 copies were made between 1450 – 1519³), other pastoral texts, namely, *la somme le roi*, *la science de bien morir*, *le Livre de bonnes meurs*, *le livre des échecs moralisés* and, *Pelerinage de la vie humaine* were some of the prominent texts of the time.⁴ These religious and pseudo-religious texts and manuals on sin and penitence mainly stress on a pragmatic approach in inculcating religious conscience and spiritual formation.⁵ In fact, after the Fourth Council of Lateran (1215) effectuated annual confession, devotional and meditational texts, such as

¹ Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato, “Les Lectures des Français au XIV^e et XV^e siècles, Une Approche Quantitative,” in *Ensi Firent Li Ancessor, Mélanges de Philologie Médiévale Offerts à Marc-René Jung*, Vol. II, edited by Luciano Rossi (Milan: L. Rossi, 1996), 713-762.

² Frédéric Duval, *Lecture Françaises de la fin du Moyen Age: Petite Anthologie Commentée de Succès Littéraires* (Geneva: Droz, 2007), 33.

³ Margriet Hoogvliet, “Media change and cultural change? Quantitative and Generic Questions Concerning Printed French Bibles from the Fifteenth Century,” paper presented at *Changing Cultures: Cultures of Change*, University of Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain, December 10 – 12, 2009; Andrew Gow, “Challenging the Protestant Paradigm: Bible Reading in Lay Urban Contexts of the Later Middle Ages,” in *Scripture and Pluralism. Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, edited by Thomas J. Heffernan and Thomas E. Burman (Leiden: Boston, 2005), 180.

⁴ The popularity of these texts is evident by the high number of surviving manuscripts. See Duval’s *Lecture Françaises de la fin du Moyen Age*.

⁵ For more information on religious literature on sin and guilt see Jean Delumeau’s *Sin and Fear: the Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture 13th-18th centuries*, (trans. Eric Nicholson) (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1990), 198 – 211.

contrition manuals, confessors' handbooks and sermons on sin and guilt with apocalyptic allusions saw an increase.⁶ With the prevalence of private reading in the late Middle Ages, theological contents engaging with moral issues became more detailed in mystical writings, vernacular allegories and visionary narratives.⁷ What is of concern is that these texts contain excerpts or references to the imminence of the Last Judgement.

The subject of the Last Judgement was one of the doctrines that underpinned Christian faith throughout the Middle Ages. Key canonical texts, namely, the gospel of St. Matthew and the Apocalypse of St. John contain comprehensive sequences of events of the end of days. Other authoritative writings that deal with this subject are texts written by earlier Church fathers including Saint Augustine's *City of God*, Saint Gregory's *Dialogues* and Saint Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. Among these texts, *City of God* had gained great success.⁸ Its readership extended beyond the clerical order to private collectors.⁹ The increasing popularity of the production of these scriptural-based eschatological literary sources in the fifteenth century may lead to fundamental questions about their patronage and usage. In order to better understand the significance of the subject of the Last Judgement and its association with contemporary visual image, the aim of this chapter is to place the production of these texts into a wider social context, particularly concerning the patterns of patronage.

⁶ Leonard E. Boyle, "The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology," in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, edited by T. J. Hoffman (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 30 – 43; Geneviève Hasenohr, "Religious Reading Amongst the Laity in France in the Fifteenth Century," in *Heresy and Literacy: 1000 – 1500*, edited by Peter Biller and Anne Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 205 – 22; Jacques le Goff, *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 107 – 121; Delumeau, 198 – 211.

⁷ For the private reading culture in Middle Ages see Laurel Amtower's *Engaging Words: The Culture of Reading in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave, 2000).

⁸ Over five hundred surviving copies of the text (both in illuminated manuscripts and printed books), in Latin and the main European languages, demonstrate its popularity. See, Paul Johnson, *A History of Christianity* (New York: Atheneum, 1976); Geard O'Daly, *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 275 – 276.

⁹ Alexandre Laborde, *Les Manuscrit à Peintures de la Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin*. Paris: Société des Bibliophile François, 1909.

For the purpose of the iconographic assessment of the Last Judgement and its textual association, this chapter is to offer a supplementary on textual interpretation to the extent to which it corresponds to the visual traits and styles of the Last Judgement. In analysing the textual sources, two issues should be taken into account. First, the chapter will focus on a few key texts that are appropriate to the context of the thesis. It is beyond the scope of the current study to construct a complete literary genre of eschatological writings. The selection of texts is justified by the extent of the distributed text, within France, through recorded and extant copies within the period in question. Second, analysis will focus on the interrelationship between image and text within the content. Other excerpts from the text are necessarily limited. Since there are different translations with diverse modes, styles and methods in treating the same text, the thesis only mentions the structural aspects of each text in passing.

2.1 The *City of God*

One key authoritative medieval literary source that provides a full-length discussion on the Last Judgement is the *City of God* (De Civitate Dei), written by Saint Augustine in the fifth century.¹⁰ Starting from a biblical perspective, the *City of God* is a theological, philosophical and historical text concerning the Christian faith. It had a considerable influence in shaping Christian thought and forming fundamental canonical doctrines throughout the Middle Ages.¹¹ In France, at the demand of the king Charles V, the first French translation of the *City of God* (*Cité de Dieu*), by Raoul de Presles, was made between 1371 and 1375.¹² Copious manuscripts were subsequently produced. Among 57 illuminated manuscripts of the *City of God* (Raoul's translation), produced between 1376

¹⁰ For the textual source of the *City of God*, this thesis uses Henry Bettenson's translation. *St Augustine: City of God* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1984).

¹¹ O'Daly, 234–264.

¹² Labourbe, 173.

and 1503, more than half were dated not later than 1410.¹³ The interest of the historical account of antiquity and apologetic treatise in vindication of Christianity appeared to be sparked off at the turn of the fifteenth century. Therefore, it is not surprising that the commissions of these manuscripts were not limited to the religious orders but private collections as well. Before examining a few exemplary illuminated manuscripts of the *City of God*, it is useful to briefly analyse its structure and content.

Generally, the *City of God* was divided into two sections comprising ten and twelve books. The first section assesses a detailed account of the historical setting in Rome. It addresses the issues underlying the conflicts between paganism and Christianity. The second section deals largely with a comparison of two cities, that is the terrestrial and the celestial, their formation, development, providence and destruction. Eschatological discourses on the discussion of the Last Judgement, eternal punishments in Hell, and perpetual bliss in Heaven were addressed in great length in the last three books (XX – XXII) in the second section. For the purpose of this study, the thesis will only focus on the interest of the Last Judgement. The subjects on Heaven and Hell will be dealt with separately in the iconographic examinations in Chapter Four.

The treatise of the Last Judgement in Book XX consists of thirty chapters. It begins with a general discourse of the Last Judgement in the first four chapters. Chapters five to twenty focus on the discussion of the Last Judgement in the New Testament. References to these chapters are taken from the four gospels, the John's Apocalypse and the epistles from Saint Paul. The subsequent nine chapters are writings cited from the Old Testament's prophets, namely, Isaiah, Daniel and Malachi, as well as writings from

¹³ *Ibid.*

David in the book of Psalms. The last chapter concludes by substantiating evidence of Christ as the ultimate Judge. It is Christ, not God the Father, who will judge on the last day (Chapter VI). Descriptions on Christ's appearance are particularly remarkable. According to the evidence that is substantiated by Augustine, Christ will come to judge 'in the body in which he came to be judged'.¹⁴ Elsewhere, Augustine explains the condition of Christ when he was judged. Christ was 'clothed with humiliating garments as an insult, and was crowned with thorns; when he was struck on the head with a reed, and received homage on bended knees in mockery; when he carried his crown, and when in the end he hung upon that cross'.¹⁵ Upon his arrival, he shall sit on the throne with glory and 'come like a fire, and his chariot like a tempest, to wreak vengeance in his indignation and devastation with the flames of fire. For by the fire of the Lord all the earth will be judged and all mankind by his word'.¹⁶ He will be accompanied by the twelve apostles.¹⁷ The act of Christ's separation of the good and the evil is particularly expressive in Chapter V. Augustine quotes the Gospel of Matthew at great length:

When the Son of Man comes in his majesty; and all the angels with him, he will sit on his throne of majesty; and all the nations will be gathered before him. Then he will separate them from one another, like a shepherd separating the sheep from the goats, and he will place the sheep on his right, and the goats on his left.

He condemns the cursed on the left 'out of my sight, you accursed, into the eternal fire, made ready for the Devil and his angels'.¹⁸ And blesses the just by saying 'Come, you that have my Father's blessing, take possession of the kingdom prepared for you from the creation of the world'.¹⁹ Christ's pronouncement of judgement is comparable to fire.

¹⁴ Saint Augustine, *City of God*, Book XX Chapter 6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Book XX Chapter 30.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *City of God*, Book XX Chapter 21.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Book XX Chapter 5.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

His words are like a two-edged sword.²⁰ The division of the cursed and the blessed upon the judgement day is unmistakable.²¹ Throughout this book, Augustine reaffirms that every person will be judged on their own account. Augustine believes that these dead should rise up in the day of judgement and ‘when the day comes on which the resurrection of the body also is effected, they will come out of the grave not to life but for judgement’.²² He quotes John’s vision that:

then I saw the dead, great and small; and the books were opened. Then another book was opened, the book of life of every man; and the dead were judged according to their deeds, on the record in those books.’ ... it was ‘the book of every man’s life’. The ‘books’ mentioned first must therefore be taken as the sacred books, old and new, which were opened to show what commandments God had given in them... the book of every man’s life, was to show which of these commandments each man had fulfilled or failed to fulfil.²³

Augustine goes further by briefly specifying the eternal fates of the blessed and the cursed. He uses several verses in the New Testament to substantiate his propositions. For the wicked, they will be cast into a fiery abyss.²⁴ He asserts that ‘death and hell were cast into the lake of fire, by these names designating the devil and the whole company of his angels, for he is the author of death and the pains of hell’.²⁵ In contrast, the just will receive eternal life in Heaven that is formed by God’s right hand.²⁶ He encapsulates the discussion by offering a detailed discussion on the fulfilment of the prophecy, that is, the realisation of a new heaven and new earth.²⁷ In this, Augustine specifically refers to the establishment of a New Jerusalem, which comes down from Heaven.²⁸ He quotes Isaiah

²⁰ Book XX Chapter 21.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Book XX Chapter 27.

²² *Ibid.*, Book XX Chapter 5 and Chapter 9.

²³ *Ibid.*, Book XX Chapter 14.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Book XX Chapter 7.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Book XX Chapter 15.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Book XX Chapter 30.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Book XX Chapter 16.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Book XX Chapter 17.

that God will ‘make Jerusalem a gladness and my people a joy’.²⁹ In another words, Augustine considers Heaven as the New Jerusalem, a heavenly city. He also believes that Heaven is represented by the saints and the just. He justified this by quoting Paul’s words ‘so this doubtless means what the apostle is describing when he says, “We shall be caught up along with them in the clouds into the air, to meet Christ”’.³⁰ With conviction, Augustine emphasised how the event of the Last Judgement is a fulfilment of the biblical prophecies. In fact, the textual descriptions of the Last Judgement according to Augustine seem to be widely accepted and visually adopted as it tends to correspond to contemporary depictions. How was the subject of the Last Judgement visually interpreted by artists under the textual portrayals of Saint Augustine? In order to explore the association between visual features and textual descriptions, the thesis will review the iconographic elements and compositions of four fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *City of God* within the context of patronage.

One of the early manuscripts containing a French translation of the *City of God* is found in the inventory of Jean, Duke de Berry, the son of John II king of France (BnF, ms. fr. 172 – 173).³¹ The manuscript was, most probably, a commission of Pierre Salmon, a royal secretary.³² Throughout his service to the kingdom, he had been involved in the political and religious conflicts, namely, the Hundred Years War and the western Schism.³³ He gave the manuscript to the duke in 1407 and nine years later, upon the duke’s death, Pierre Salmon claimed it back.³⁴ The cycle of illustrations in Salmon’s

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Book XX Chapter 21.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Book XX Chapter 24.

³¹ Anne Dawson Hedeman, *Of Counsellors and Kings: The Three Versions of Pierre Salmon’s Dialogues* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 5.

³² Millard Meiss, Sharon Off Dunlap Smith and Elizabeth H Beatson, *French painting in the time of Jean de Berry: the Limbourgs and their contemporaries* (New York: G. Braziller, 1974), 375.

³³ Hedeman, 4.

³⁴ Laborde, 284.

manuscript is particularly of interest as it reveals the patron's interest in the textual content.³⁵ Salmon's *City of God* featured twenty-three miniatures of which two are full-page pictures and the remainder were painted in ornamented border. Rather unusually, among these miniatures, the subject of the Last Judgement appears in two folios. Similar depictions were included in different books.

The first miniature is a frontispiece of the Book XI, beginning of Section Two, on the origin of the *City of God* (BnF, ms. fr. 173, fol. 2) (fig. 2. 1 – 1). Here, the event of the Last Judgement seems to be unveiled by the Four Evangelists who were placed at the four corners of the miniature. Each of them is labelled with a scroll. To the top right is John the Evangelist in the symbol of an eagle, Saint Matthew is to the left as an angel, at the bottom left is Saint Mark who is symbolised by a lion and Saint Luke an ox at the right. In the middle, Christ sits on a golden rainbow that is hovering in the sky. His feet rest on a tripartite globe. Clad by a blue mantle lined with green, Christ exposes the five holy wounds. His passion is further underlined by the instrument of crucifixions carried by two angels at each side. Above them, another two angels blow the trumpets announcing the arrival of Christ and summoning the death. As soon as the dead are resurrected from their graves, they lift their arms in prayer. The two intercessors kneel on the ground. To the right is the Virgin Mary and to the left is Saint John the Baptist. Covered with a blue mantle and a red dress, the Virgin shows her right breast as a form of intense intercession.³⁶ Saint John the Baptist was depicted as a wasted aged man with a long parted beard and grey hair. He is clothed with a rough garment of camel's hair. He can be seen joining and lifting his hands in supplication. In fact, the visual elements

³⁵ Hedeman, 5.

³⁶ For the Virgin iconography see Chapter 4.1. 2 The Virgin Mary.

of this image do not correspond to the content of the text in Book XI. Instead, it seems to serve as a visual synopsis of Section Two of the *City of God*.

The second image of the Last Judgement was painted thumbnail size in Book XXI. It is relatively small compared to the former (BnF, ms. fr. 173, fol. 253v). It seems to be an adaptation of the miniature in folio two. Here, Christ conducts the final judgement on a throne (fig. 2. 1 – 2). Unlike his typical portrayal, he was painted as a bearded and well-clothed elderly man. He is wearing a blue robe and is covered with a red mantle. He can be seen lifting his right hand in a judgement gesture while in his left; a globe with a cross on top, which symbolically signifies his authority over the world. Christ seems attentive to the imploration of the Virgin. He tilts his head leftward where the Virgin kneels. In a long blue dress, the Virgin is cloaked with a dark blue mantle. As an act of desperate intervention of mankind, she bares her right breast to Christ to remind him of her suckling and her unfailing nurturance. A group of worshipping angels kneel in supplication. Next to him, two angels sound the trumpet of resurrection so as to raise the dead from their tombs. Two resurrected souls lift their hands pleading for mercy.

The image of the Last Judgement (folio 253 v) was reduced to the fundamental elements: upon the sound of the trumpet of resurrection, the dead are raised before Christ for divine judgement and the Virgin remains as a faithful mediator. Compared to that of folio two, this miniature places more emphasis on the realisation of the final judgement of Christ. Yet, in term of resemblance, neither miniature corresponds to the text. Both miniatures were not associated with Book XX on the discussion of the Last Judgement: the miniature in folio two is associated with Book XI concerning the introduction; whereas the miniature in folio 253v goes along with the formation of two cities and

Book XXI concerning the subject of Hell and punishment. The miniature of Book XX was painted with an image of the Antichrist. Certainly, Salmon's manuscript is not a single case because the association of the depiction of the Antichrist with the Last Judgement text is also found in other manuscripts of the same period.³⁸ This collective visual evidence indicates that more attention was placed on the existence of the Antichrist than the arrival of Christ to judge at the day of judgement.

One close visual resemblance to Saint Augustine's description of the Last Judgement is a *City of God* manuscript made around c. 1460 (BnF, ms. fr. 27 – 28, fol. 2).³⁹ The importance of this eschatological subject is emphasised through its placement and its size. Not only does the image serve as a summation of Section Two of the *City of God*, it is also one of the only two large miniatures contained in this manuscript (fig. 2. 1 – 3). Christ seated on a rainbow throne occupies the centre of the composition. Light radiating from him echoes the shape of a mandorla. He stretches his arms with downward palms. He is cloaked in red. He wears a crown of thorns and his wounds on his limbs and side are visible and bleeding. Christ is flanked by four angels. Two at the side blow the trumpet of resurrection and two on the top carry instruments of passion. Below Christ, the two intercessors and the twelve apostles attend at the judgement court. Some apostles whisper to each other; others seem to accord to Christ's judgement. On the ground, naked dead people are resurrected from their tombs. Four evangelists were also painted at each corner of the manuscript. This image possesses essential features substantiated by Augustine. These features include allusions of Christ's passion, the resurrected bodies, the presence of the twelve apostles and the symbolic depictions of the Four Evangelists.

³⁸ Other examples of representation of the Last Judgement in *City of God* that have similar placement include BnF, ms. fr. 23, 24, 27, 28 and 174. Other cases such as in manuscripts of fr. 27 and 28, image of the Last Judgement was excluded from XXI and it was substituted by the image of Hell.

³⁹ Unfortunately, no sufficient information is available regarding the setting of this manuscript. See Laborde, 360.

A third example of the image of the Last Judgement is in the two-volume *City of God* datable between 1469 and 1473.⁴⁰ It belonged to Charles de Gaucourt, advisor and chamberlain of Louis XI King of France (BnF, ms. fr. 18 – 19).⁴¹ A documented letter in 1473 revealed that the structure of this manuscript and the illustration cycles were directed by Robert Gaguin, master of the Trinitarian Order.⁴² For this commission, he had written a pictorial programme for a leading artist in the second half of the fifteenth century, Master François.⁴³ Differing from the previous manuscripts, Gaucourt's copy took on a new cycle of illustrations.⁴⁴ It was identified by modern scholars as a prototype of at least three manuscripts of the *City of God* of later dates.⁴⁵ Coming from a religious background since an early age, Gaguin's pictorial programme deserves a close examination. Remarkably, Gaguin's understanding of the Last Judgement seems to be different from his contemporaries. He did not envisage the Last Judgement as an apocalyptic moment but an actual event that takes place. This is evident from the exclusion of the symbol of the Four Evangelists in miniature. The constitution of the iconography in this miniature seems to reflect Saint Augustine's eschatological attestations in the last chapter in Book XX. Augustine wrote:

⁴⁰ Avril and Reynaud, 50.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Louis Thuasne, "François Foucquet et Les Miniatures de la Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin," *Revue les Bibliothèques* 8 (1898): 33 – 57; Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la Librairie de Charles V, Roi de France : 1337-1380* (Amsterdam: G. Th. van Heusden, 1967), 45 – 49.

⁴³ Laborde, 397 – 416; John Plummer, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420 – 1530; from American Collections* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 65–71.

⁴⁴ It was categorised by Laborde in Family 5 while Jean de Berry's copy is belong to Family 2. See Laborde, 192.

⁴⁵ The structure of the book and composition of the iconography correspond to other commissioners including Mathieu Beauvarlet (Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 246, fol. 371v) and Philippe de Comines (The Haye Museum, Meermanno-Westreenianum ms. 10 A 11 and Bibl. Municipale Nantes, ms. 8). See, Avril and Reynaud, 51 – 52.

There is no one therefore who denies or doubts that the Last Judgement, as it is foretold in holy Scripture, is to be executed by Jesus Christ ... and so in that judgement, or in connection with that judgement, we have learnt that those events are to come about: Elijah the Tishbite will come; Jews will accept the faith; Antichrist will persecute; Christ will judge; the dead will rise again; the good and the evil will be separated; the earth will be destroyed in the flames and then will be renewed. All those events, we must believe, will come about ...⁴⁶

The representation of the Last Judgement in this manuscript was painted on the introductory page of Book XX (BnF, ms. fr. 19, fol. 190). The miniature is divided into three tiers: a court of judgement at the top; the blessed and the damned souls in the middle; and three biblical figures at the bottom (fig. 2. 1 – 4). As a principal figure in the judgement court, the image of Christ was painted proportionally bigger than the others. Christ is seated majestically in the middle on a gold lusted rainbow with a globe as a footrest. A group of cherubim encircle Christ in the form of a mandorla. A pink robe is covering the half-naked Christ whose wounds are visibly shown. Christ's judgements were painted with two inscriptions stemming from his mouth from Matthew 25: 34 and 41, reading VENITE, BENEDICTI PATRIS MEI and ITE MALEDICTI IN IGNEM ETERNUM. To his right, the Virgin Mary, garbed in blue attire, sits humbly on her throne. Behind her throne are a host of unidentifiable female saints apart from Saint Catherine whose attributes, a wheel and a sword, are discernible. Opposite are the twelve disciples, each of whom carry distinguishing attributes; for example, St Peter with a silver key, Saint John with a chalice and Saint Andrew with a saltire cross. Surrounding these saints and disciples are four angels carrying the instruments of passion.

⁴⁶ Saint Augustine, Book XX Chapter 30.

Below Christ's feet, another two angels summon the dead to stand before Christ. Two groups of souls face Christ, the blessed to his right and the damned to the left. The serenity of the blessed souls who are standing in joined hand contrasts with the restlessness of the damned whose countenance is in a grimace of disgust. On the ground, two Old Testament prophets sit at each side. To the right is Isaiah who was a messianic prophet. He is clothed with a red tunic and a red-violet robe and a blue hat. An inscription is issued from his left hand announcing the resurrection of the dead from their tombs on the last day.⁴⁷ Opposite him is another prophet, Malachi, who is proclaiming the imminence of Christ's coming.⁴⁸ Malachi wears a black tunic and a blue robe with a red hat. In between these prophets is Saint Paul who also carries a similar message.⁴⁹ He was painted as an elderly man with a white beard. Unlike the two prophets, he has a halo. Around him are several devils emerging from fire pits on the ground. The visual content of the Last Judgement instructed by Gaguin closely resembled the description by Augustine. For example, the inclusion of the images of Isaiah, Malachi and Saint Paul can be associated with their messianic visions that were reiterated in Book XX. It consists of an interaction and integration between the text and image of this manuscript. Compared to that of the previous depictions, the image of the Last Judgement featured in the Gaucourt's *City of God* reflects a fulfilment of the prophetic message vindicated by Augustine.

⁴⁷ It is written: MORTUI RESURGENT ET QUI IN SEPULCRIS ERUNT SUSCITABUNTUR (The dead rise and those who are in grave will rise) from the *City of God*, Book XX Chapter 21.

⁴⁸ It is written: ECCE DOMINUS NOSTER OMNIPOTENS VENIET, ET QUI SUSTINEBIT DIEM ADVENTUS EIUS (Behold our Lord omnipotent comes, and who will sustain the day of his arrival?) from *City of God*, Book XX Chapter 21.

⁴⁹ NOLUMUS VOS IGNORARE DE DORMIENTIBUS (We do not want that you disregard about the sleeping ones)

The last example of the Last Judgement is the manuscript of the *City of God* at Mâcon (Mâcon, Bibl. Mun, ms. fr. 2, fol. 217), datable to c. 1480.⁵⁰ In the absence of any surviving documentation and visual evidence such as the coat-of-arms or a signature, the provenance of this manuscript remains unidentified. However, one thing that is certain is that the executor of Mâcon's copy was a competent artist or artists whose workshop was of Paris origin.⁵¹ This is made evident from his approach in handling a complex composition and iconographical aspects that are in accordance with ecclesiastical knowledge.⁵² Stylistically and iconographically the Mâcon's manuscript corresponds closely with Gaucourt's copy (BnF, ms. fr. 19). The manuscript also seems to have been associated with Augustine's text. The full-page image of the Last Judgement was inserted into Book XX in the *City of God* (fig. 2. 1 – 5). As a predominant figure, Christ was painted on a golden-rayed background surrounded by seraphim and cherubim. His glory seems too extravagant, so much so that the golden light permeates through the myriad angels. Christ is half-clad with a purple lined green robe. Blood spills out from his visible holy wounds. He is seated on a colourful rainbow while his feet are on a golden globe. Two rays of light disperse from his mouth pronouncing the eternal judgement to the resurrected souls.

At each side of Christ are the two intercessors, the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist. They were depicted not as intercessors but according to their own attributes recounted in the Christian bible. Infrequently, instead of interceding for humankind, the crowned Virgin holds a Bible. Likewise, as a precursor of Christ, Saint John the Baptist carries a haloed-lamb in his left hand and points to the lamb with his right. He foretells

⁵⁰ Avril and Reynaud, 68.

⁵¹ Laborde, 454.

⁵² Avril and Reynaud, 68; Thomas Tolley, "Master of Coëtivy," in *Grove Art Online*. <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T055065pg99> (accessed 15 April 2010).

the coming of Jesus Christ. Below the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist are two groups of elected members and saints. The group to the left (below the Virgin Mary) is formed by three tiers: the twelve disciples on the top, martyrs in the middle, and saints at the bottom. Their attributes are easily identifiable, for example, Saint Barbara's tower; Saint Sebastian with a half-naked body pierced by arrows and Saint Andrew who carries a giant cross. On the other side of the composition are the biblical figures including King David with his harp, Mary Magdalene and Moses. These exquisite details indicate that the artist was subtle in providing an accurate depiction within biblical references.

Below the celestial court, three groups of souls were painted. To the left are the blessed souls and the wicked can be found on the right. The middle group raise their hands heavenward to the saints and the elected for their intercession. The group to the right is monitored by devils who guard the damned souls in Hell. Hell was placed at the bottom right. It is a dark and tempestuous place burning with vicious fire. Lucifer is entrapped in the pit of Hell and is waiting for the arrival of the damned souls. He was painted as a horned-animal with bat's wings and an additional face on his chest. On the ground, the resurrected dead pray with joined hands. Skulls and bones scattered all around resemble the inscription stemmed from Saint Paul at the bottom of the miniature. The inscription reads 'We do not want that you disregard about the sleeping ones', which refers to the dead ones before the Second Coming of Christ.⁵³

⁵³ It is the same inscription in Gaucourt's copy of *City of God*.

Besides Isaiah, Malachi and Saint Paul, Saint Augustine was included in the group.⁵⁴ The inscription that stemmed from his hand was a summary of chapter six in Book XX. It reads ‘Resurrect dead to second and eternal judgement’.⁵⁵ Augustine was painted as an honourable saint who is haloed and dressed as a bishop. He wears a white mitre with a golden lining blue cape and a red rochet. He has a crozier in his right hand. The representation of the Last Judgement in this manuscript reflects the discourse of the last day asserted by Saint Augustine in Book XX. First, he began by laying out a foundation for the discussion of the Last Judgement. Then he advanced his argument by quoting biblical excerpts from both the Old and New Testaments. He focuses on a few key books, which include the book of gospels, epistles from Saint Paul, Saint John’s Apocalypse, and the visions envisaged by Isaiah and Malachi. Evidently, Augustine’s exegetical explanations on eschatology were visually interpreted by the artist in this manuscript.

Taken together, one key feature is noticeable from the examination of these examples of the Last Judgement from manuscripts of the *City of God* of different periods and different patronage. Substantial development can be seen concerning the images of the Last Judgement. Not only had the subject gained more emphasis, but also the essence of the Last Judgement had been interpreted more attentively. The pictorial programme prescribed by Robert Gaguin seems to bring the vision of the Last Judgement to another level of understanding. Instead of being a distant vision, the event of the Last Judgement appears to be the near future. Before entering the heavenly city as described by Augustine, one will have to be confronted by the Last Judgement. In the manuscripts of the *City of God*, four visual statements appear to be reflected the realm of the Last Judgement. First, Christ was painted not just as a Judge but as a Saviour who redeems,

⁵⁴ To ensure precision reading, these four figures are labelled.

⁵⁵ Morte Resurrexit Secunda et Finale Judicatur.

helps and delivers the faithful.⁵⁶ As a Judge, he comes in glory and is seated on a throne and as a merciful Saviour; he blatantly exposes his wounds that act as a reference of salvation. Christ's wounds were recapped by Augustine as evidence of his passion in the last chapter of Book XX.

Likewise, a certain weight was given to the depiction of instruments of passion carried by angels in reflecting Christ's suffering and sacrifices for mankind. Second, the restatement of the separation of the sheep from the goats and the significance of the left and the right provides a precise visual definition of left and right, and the just and the wicked. Third, the presence of the twelve apostles at the judgement court seems mandatory. They were appointed by Christ to assist him on the last day. For this reason, within the depictions of the Last Judgement, it is not unusual to find the twelve apostles standing in judgement over the nation. Fourth, the dead will be resurrected on the last day to stand before Christ for judgement. Each will have to give his own account to Christ. No sins are hidden from Christ as their deeds are written in the book of life. The image of the dead resurrected from their graves is one of the key forms of iconography in portrayals of the Last Judgement.

In addition, resurrected souls, which were both blessed and damned, were painted unclad and seem to correspond to Augustine's argument in the form of resuscitated souls after death. He justified the discourse of nakedness at great length in Book XXII.⁵⁷ And, lastly, Augustine's description on Heaven and Hell in Chapter XX is rather brief but adequate for visualisation. To him, Hell is filled with unquenchable fire and damnation whereas Heaven is a heavenly city with eternal bliss. To a certain degree, an underlying

⁵⁶ Saint Augustine, Book XX Chapter 8.

⁵⁷ Saint Augustine, Book XXII Chapters 12 to 20.

visual structure of the Last Judgement seems to emerge from this comprehensive textual source particularly towards the end of the fifteenth century. The comprehensiveness of Augustine's text on the Last Judgement remains unrivalled throughout the Middle Ages. The study of a few popular and comparable texts provides evidence of this.

2. 2 The *Somme le Roi*

Among all writings, the *Somme le Roi* was one of the important texts that was employed by the Church for lay education.⁵⁸ It is a compilation of texts, which consists of religious and moral instructions written on the request of Philippe III King of France by his confessor Laurent du Bois, a Dominican.⁵⁹ It includes devotional advice for good Christian practice of piety, as well as instructions that facilitate repentance through self-examination. The *Somme le Roi* is a vernacular moral treatise that enjoyed a continuous popularity for more than two hundred years after its date of production in 1280.⁶⁰ In France, no less than eighty copies were produced prior to the end of the fifteenth century. Most of these manuscripts were commissions from wealthy patrons, namely, Louis de Bruges (Lord of Gruuthuse), Antoine de Chourses (sire of Magné) and Isabelle d'Ecosse (duchess of Brittany).⁶¹ More than half of the surviving copies were luxurious

⁵⁸ Laurent Dominican. *The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth-Century English Translation of the Somme le Roi of Lorens d'Orleans*, (edited and translated by Nelson Francis) (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), ix.

⁵⁹ Ellen Virginia. "A study of the style and iconography of a thirteenth-century *Somme le Roi*: (British Museum Ms. Add. 54180) with A Consideration of Other Illustrated *Somme* Manuscripts of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1973), 10–12.

⁶⁰ The dating of this work remains tentative. Nelson's work has a brief discussion on the dating. See, Francis, xi–xviii; Elaine E. Whitaker argued the date of 1289, for detail see "Traces of a Programme of Illustration Specific to a Late Medieval *Somme* /*Miroir*," *Manuscripta* 29 (1995): 33–39.

Recently, a reassessment on *La Somme Le Roi* show a plausible date of 1280. See, Brayer, Edith and Anne-Françoise Leurquin-Labie. *La Somme Le Roi* (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 2008), 10; For its popularity, see the recent paper published by A-F Leurquin-Labie, "Mise en Page et Mise en Texte dans les Manuscrits de la *Somme le Roi*," in *La Mise en Page du Livre Religieux, XIIIe – XXe Siècles, Actes de la Journée d'Étude de l'Institut d'Histoire du Livre*, edited by Annie Charon, Isabelle Diu and Élisabeth Parinet (Paris: École des chartes, 2004).

⁶¹ Louis de Bruges (Paris, BnF, fr. 942, dated to 1438); Antoine de Chourses (Chantilly, Musée Condé 134 and 135, dated to the fifteenth century); Isabelle d'Ecosse (Paris, BnF, fr. 958, dated to 1464).

manuscripts produced without illustrations.⁶² This was particularly applicable to the production of the *Somme* in the fifteenth century of which a greater number of manuscripts were modest copies executed by non-professionals.⁶³ Subsequent to its wide circulation, other redactions emerged. The *Somme* was also known as *Le Livre de Vices et de Vertus*. Other uncommon titles under the same genre are *Livre de la Philippine* and *Li Livre Royaux de Vices et de Vertus*.⁶⁴ More often, with later adaptation, the text was comparable to the *Le Miroir du Monde*, which triggered off much perplexity to the modern scholars.⁶⁵ Comprehensive studies have been carried out by scholars on the convoluted nature of the text of the *Somme*, however, what is noteworthy is not its popularity of readership but its abrupt cessation of fame. At the turn of the sixteenth century, there was an apparent sign to the decline of interest in the *Somme*; despite the advancement of the printing press, only two editions are found.⁶⁶ What would be the cause of this sudden decline? Unfortunately, until further information is given, the question shall remain unanswered. For the interest of this thesis, the analysis specifically focuses on the *Somme*'s text and its readers and visual aspects concerning iconography of the Last Judgement.

Generally, the content of the *Somme* consists of six tracts. They include the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Pater Noster, the Seven Deadly Sins, the tract of Virtues, and the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit and the related Virtues. Laurent painstakingly

⁶² Ellen Virginia Kosmer, "A study of the style and iconography of a thirteenth-century *Somme le roi*: (British Museum Ms. Add. 54180) with a consideration of other illustrated *Somme* manuscripts of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1973).

⁶³ Leurquin-Labie, 'Mise en page', 36.

⁶⁴ Marie Brisson, "The Influence of Frère Laurent's 'La Somme le Roi' on Frère Robert's 'Le Chastel périlleux,'" *Medium Aevum* 36 (1967): 134 – 140.

⁶⁵ The *Somme le Roi* and *Le Miroir du Monde* are two comparable treatises that are sometimes indistinguishable. For a thorough study on the comparison and differences of the composition of these texts, see Edith Brayer, "Contenu, Structure et Combinaisons du *Miroir du Monde* et de la *Somme Le Roi*." *Romania* 79 (1958): 1 – 38, 433 – 470; Francis, xix – xxvii.

⁶⁶ Anne-Françoise Leurquin-Labie, *La Somme le Roi*, 24.

listed the virtues and vices by classifying each one of them into a branch and branch-let. For example, there are ten branches for the sin of Avarice, such as usury, theft, plunder and sacrilegious. And within usury there are seven branch-lets. Similarly, branch-let gifts are derived from each gift of the Holy Spirit. This method was applied throughout his treatise. Together with this treatise, an elaborative description of the iconographic cycle of fifteen illustrations was planned along with the text.⁶⁷ Notably, a pictorial programme on the Last Judgement was proposed to the tract of Virtues that was preceded by the Art of Dying Well.⁶⁸ The subject of the Last Judgement was not addressed in great length but was only referred to throughout the text. For example, in the tract of Virtues entitled ‘How we learn to hate sin’, Laurent offered advice on a prompt confession before the Judgement Day. In the section of the Articles of Faith, the author repeatedly asserted that everyone will be resurrected on judgement day.⁶⁹ In the instruction of the Last Judgement, it reads:

Here finishes the treatise of vices. Here must have some images. Firstly, our Lord sits in a form of judgement and a sword pierces through his mouth. A man and a woman kneeling with joined hands sitting on each side of the Lord/ and behind each one must be an angel [sic]. One holds a spear. The other a crown of thorns and below these images must have four trumpeting angels and graves as many as one can build from which the dead are rising. Below must be hell/the boiler above the fire and the souls inside. & at the right must have angels who take away those on behalf of our lord. At the left side,

⁶⁷ This instruction was written fifteen years after the text. The authorship of this instruction is contestable. Brayer and Leurquin-Labie, 42 – 44; Brayer, Kosmer, Nelson Francis accredit this ‘instruction for illuminator’ to Laurent. For the copy of iconography direction see Léopold Delisle, Léopold, *Recherches sur la Librairie de Charles V, Roi de France : 1337-1380* (Amsterdam: G. Th. van Heusden, 1967), 236 – 247.

⁶⁸ Art of Dying Well or *Ars moriendi* is a text of Christian precepts and advices on preparation of a good death. *Ars Moriendi* enjoyed great popularity in the fifteenth century especially in Germany. For more information, see the recent research by Austra Reinis, *Reforming the Art of Dying: The Ars Moriendi in the German Reformation (1519-1528)* (London: Aldershot, 2007); Alberto Tenenti, *La Vie et La Mort à Travers l’Art du XV^e Siècle* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1951), 48 – 60 and *The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars Moriendi* (New York: AMS Press, 1942).

⁶⁹ Articles of faith VIIIth and XIIth in *La Somme le Roi*.

two devils, one who take the souls by the neck and throw them in the boiler/the other which hold them with a chain.⁷⁰ (BnF, ms. fr. 1895, fol. 400)

(See Appendix: Original Text, Document I)

One of the thirteenth-century manuscripts that include an image of the Last Judgment is the *Somme* that belonged to Charles V (BnF, ms. fr. 938, fol. 37). The composition of the Last Judgment was divided into three compartments: at the top is the Deësis, the middle showed resurrected souls and the bottom consists of an image of Heaven and Hell (fig. 2.2 – 1). Christ is seated on a well decorated throne. A two-edge sword pierces through his mouth. Here, Christ exposes the five holy wounds and points at the wound in his torso with the index finger. In intercession, the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist kneel at each side of Christ with joined hands lifted heavenwards. Two angels next to them carry instruments of Passion. To the right, the angel carries some nails and a cross bearing the crucifixion; and to the left, the other angel holds a lance and a crown of thorns. Each of these five figures was placed in an architectural compartment. Below, three resurrected souls are summoned by four trumpeting angels, two on each side. The bottom compartment was distinctively divided into two parts: Heaven to the left and Hell to the right. The gate of Heaven is represented by a church-like form of architecture. At the gate, a crowned king is in supplication.

Next to him is St Peter. With the key of Heaven in his right hand, the saint is seen welcoming three Blessed souls to Heaven. Hell was painted as a giant cauldron boiling above a fiery fire. Below the cauldron, a giant head heats up the fire by blowing constantly. Seven damned souls are plunged into the cauldron. It is guarded by two

⁷⁰ It is important to note that not all the *Somme* manuscripts consist of the illuminator's instructions. According to Kosmer, no instruction was found in the thirteenth-century copies of the *Somme*. Attached is a fourteenth-century copy with some inconsiderable variations in spelling and the occasional omission or addition of a word. For the original French text of the pictorial direction on the Last Judgment, see Rosemond Tuve, "Notes on the Virtues and Vices." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964): 55 – 56.

devils. One of the damned souls is tied with a purse around his neck, another is bitten by a toad and the third one is clamped by two serpents. Seemingly, they can be associated with the Seven Deadly Sins. The depiction of the Last Judgement in this compartmental layout was closely related to the pictorial programme included in the *Somme*. To a great extent, the visual image of the Last Judgement and the illuminator's pictorial instruction conformed to each other.⁷²

Other manuscripts produced in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were faithfully painted according to the iconographic instructions. Up until the beginning of the fifteenth century, within the French context, little variation was found. Although the *Somme* achieved enormous success for over a century, the pictorial programme was less dominant. It is rare to have a full iconographic cycle in the extant copies of the illuminated manuscript of the *Somme* in the fifteenth century.

2.3 L'Horloge de Sapience

Another late medieval text that was widely collected in the fifteenth century and preceded many other contemporary devotional treatises is the *l'horloge de Sapience* or *Horologium Sapientiae* (the 'Clock of Wisdom').⁷⁶ It is a fourteenth-century treatise written by a mystic, Heinrich Seuse (also Henri Suso).⁷⁷ At the age of 13, Seuse joined the Dominican Order and was appointed prior in 1343. Coming from a strong

⁷² French manuscripts that contain such depictions are including Paris de l'Arsenal ms. fr. 6329, fol. 37; Paris, BnF. ms. fr. 1895, fol. 41; Paris, BnF. ms. fr. 14939, fol. 74v and Paris, Ste. Geneieve ms. fr. 2898, fol. 34

⁷⁶ At the second half of the fifteenth century, its fame was only almost comparable to *Imitatio Christ*, *Life of Christ* and *Meditations on the Life of Christ*. For more details, see Heinrich Seuse, *Wisdom's Watch Upon the Hours*, trans. Edmund Colledge (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1994), 14 – 15 and Eleanor P. Spencer, "L'Horloge de Sapience: Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. IV. 111," *Scriptorium* 23 (1969): 278

⁷⁷ It probably composed around c. 1334. For discussion on dating see Peter Rolfe Monks, *The Brussels Horloge de Sapience: Iconography and Text of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 111* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 29.

Dominican background, the text of the *Horloge* consists of Dominican form of devotion. It focuses on the veneration of the Passion of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Throughout Europe, more than 300 manuscripts are found in nine vernacular languages.⁷⁸ The French translation was made by a Franciscan of the Observant Convent in Neufchâteau in 1389, upon the request of Master Demenche de Port, a counsellor of Henri Duke of Bar.⁷⁹ About sixty-three French manuscripts are found both in complete and fragmentary versions.⁸⁰ More than half were illuminated. The *Horloge* was written in a conversational style between Sapientia (Wisdom) – a female personification of God and a Disciple. Conforming to its title in accordance with the metaphor of time, the *Horloge* was structured into twenty-four chapters. The first sixteen chapters are in Book One and the last eight chapters in Book Two. Book One comprises three fundamental Christian convictions: the passion of Christ, eschatological expectations and the Virgin's goodness. Book Two covers instructions for spiritual growth and gives advice for the preparation of a good death. The eschatological subject was extensively addressed (chapters Seven to Eleven). They include discussions on divine judgement, believers' faith and endurance, the torments in Hell and the joys in Heaven.

One of the earliest dated manuscripts of the *Horloge*, executed in France, may be appropriate to introduce the nature of this book (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS. 76.E.19, fol. 1). Although, not much is known about the patronage of this manuscript, judging from its iconography evidence, it is most likely made in the first decade of the fifteenth century. The frontispiece of this manuscript is featured by the subject of the Last Judgment (fig. 2.3 – 1). At the bottom left, Seuse can be seen seated

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Steven Rozenski, "Henry Suso's Horologium Sapientiae in Fifteenth-Century France: Images of Reading and Writing in Brussels Royal Library MS IV 111," *Word & Image* 26 (2010): 364 – 380; Heinrich Seuse, 14 – 15 and Spencer, 16.

on a large wooden chair inscribing on a scroll. The gesture of God the Father on the top of the composition seems to suggest that Seuse's text was inspired by God. Depicted as a wise elderly man, God the Father lifts his right hand to bless the Dominican and in his right hand, he carries a scroll. In front of Seuse, a priest celebrates mass. He is assisted by a monk kneeling behind him. Their prayer seems directed to Christ on his throne. Half clad with an azure blue robe, the Five Holy Wounds are visible. Christ's passion is reminded by the presence of two angels carrying the instruments of crucifixion. Lifting their heads upon Christ, the two intercessors kneel at each side. The Virgin Mary appears to be interceding for the four naked souls kneeling behind her. Following the Dominican tradition, the Virgin was depicted with an exposed breast.⁸¹ She holds her breast with her right hand and stretches out with her left. On the other side, St. John the Evangelist crosses hands on his chest.⁸² On the ground, four dead are resurrected from their tombs. Above Christ, a few angels are receiving the Blessed souls who are righteous in Christ. Heaven seems to be represented as a place where God's presence dwells. At the lower right, a hellmouth is devouring damned souls who are sent by devils. These iconographic elements of the Last Judgement encompass the key messages written by Seuse in the Horloge, namely, the Passion of Christ, efficacious of the Virgin for intercession and, the coming of the Last Judgement.

The description of the Last Judgement and discussion on the nature of God's judgement were narrated at length in chapter Seven of Book Two. It began with an account of a vision envisaged by the Disciple after a terrifying experience at sea due to unexpected raging weather. In the vision, he saw God seated on his judgement seat. The Disciple

⁸¹ The association between the Dominican tradition and the bared breast Virgin has been dealt in Chapter 4.1.2 The Virgin Mary.

⁸² This image has a close resemblance to the usual depiction of St John the Evangelist who always depicted as a young beardless man.

believed that this abrupt event was associated with the end of the age. The incident unveiled a great fear in the disciple about his anguished past. He regretted his earthly conduct soon after he had encountered the verisimilitude of Christ's stern judgements. The Disciple pleaded for forgiveness from God and beseeched God to rectify him in his current life so that he will not tremble at the hour of judgement. Having a strong conviction in the function of pictures in cultivating religious instructions, Seuse's *Horologium* is particularly descriptive.⁸³ The primary text reads:

And immediately I was shown a prophetic vision in a wonderful way, and it told this story: the thrones and seats are in place and the oldest man has taken his seat. His raiment is as white as snow, the hair on his head is as pure and unsullied as cleanest wool. His throne was burning fire, and from his face streamed a rapid and turbulent river of fire, and from his mouth emerged a sword with two sharp cutting edges. When I saw him I was greatly terrified and fear struck my heart, so much so that my hair stood on end from the great revulsion I experienced; and all the more so because, in the presence of everyone, I beheld along with everyone else all the sins and peccadilloes committed in my lifetime written down at length. And I was constrained by the angelic attendants to appear sad, grieving and fearful before the judge, who seemed to me to be beyond himself with rage and anger. And when the judge was seated on his throne of majesty and saw me in front of him, he raised his head, and fire seemed to issue from his eyes. Then, in great rage and indignation, he spoke and displayed the anger and vexation of his heart. When I heard him speak, I collapsed on the ground from fear, and I put my weak and awe-struck head on my arm as best I could. I was silent for an hour out of the great dread I experienced.⁸⁴

(See Appendix: Original Text, Document II)

Apparently, it contains an extended discussion about the lamentation of the Disciple upon his venial sins, his readiness to repent and eagerness to live in a godly manner. The chapter ends by Sapientia, or God in this case, affirming his equitable nature in judgement and his loving temperament to the just. As he says, "I am indeed terrible to

⁸³ Spencer, 277 – 311.

⁸⁴ Thesis has employed a modern English version translated from a Latin text. See, Heinrich Seuse, trans. Edmund Colledge 14 – 15 and 133 – 135. For French version, see Appendix: Original Text, Document II, quoted from Monks, 96 – 96.

sinner, yet lovable to the just and to those who love me. “I am God, who does not change.”⁸⁵ The description of the Last Judgement does not seem to conform to the iconographic tradition.

One manuscript of the *Horloge* that has faithfully depicted Seuse’s texts is the *Horloge* manuscript in Brussels (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. IV 111, fol. 46v). Illuminated with vivid illustrations, the Brussel *Horloge*, most probably, belonged to Guillaume Gouffier who served the royal court.⁸⁶ Guoffier’s religious contact with the Dominican order may have been influenced by his daughter who herself converted as a Dominican novice but also his close friendship with François I de Bretagne who devoted much effort to canonise a great Dominican of his time, Vincent Ferrer. In addition to this connection, a particularly distinctive pointer of the Dominican connection is the bare-breasted Virgin in the heavenly court (fol. 62) (fig. 4.1.2 – 9). The concept of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, propagated by the Franciscans, was denied by the Dominicans and had caused a great dispute between them.⁸⁷ Notably, together with this manuscript, an eighteen-page commentary on the reading of the miniatures was attached.⁸⁸ Most likely, it was written by a Dominican confessor for the royal household.⁸⁹ In the interest of didactic concern, a close reading of this visual commentary may offer an insight into how the image of the Last Judgement was interpreted within the Dominican teaching.

⁸⁵ Heinrich Seuse, 14 – 15 and Spencer, 135.

⁸⁶ The ownership of this manuscript has been Monks, 9 – 16.

⁸⁷ For a detailed examination of the Immaculate Conception see Chapter 4.1.2 The Virgin Mary.

⁸⁸ Monks, 40 – 49.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 47 – 48.

Here, two miniatures were attached to chapter seven in the Brussels manuscript: the Last Judgement and a shipwreck incident (fig. 2.3 – 2). The representation of the Last Judgement was placed at the bottom of the page. Clad with a white robe, Christ was placed in the centre of the whole composition. He is seated on an arc-shaped fire throne. His foot is resting on a globe. The golden-orange light that is radiating from him formed the shape of a mandorla. Inside the globe is an image of a city filled with architectural buildings and three ships can be seen sailing at the horizon close to the city. Christ's hand gesture is consistent with his judicial pronouncement and this is represented by two inscriptions (Matthew 25:34 and 41). He lifts his right hand to bless and lowers the left to curse. Besides the double-edged sword, a stream of fire emerging from his mouth flows straight to Hell. An inscription stating 'Ite maledicti in ignem eternum' was painted within the stream of fire. To Christ's right, the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist kneel in supplication. The Virgin seems to intercede on behalf of the Disciple who is fearfully prostrating himself before Christ.

Just as the two intercessors, three apostles are seated on their judgement seat and are assisting Christ in the judgement court. Behind them, angels present the blessed souls to Christ. To Christ's left is Hell, which is represented by a hellmouth and placed below a mountainous landscape. Flame and smoke billow out of hellmouth. The artist has proficiently created a contrasting scene between Heaven, painted with little bright stars, and Hell in the form of a gloomy ambience with dismal weather. Upon Christ's final judgement, St. Michael expels damned souls to the left where Hell is placed. Below Christ, four resurrected souls, male and female, raise their out-stretched arms in supplication. Meanwhile, the Disciple is confronted by an angel urging a prompt

repentance and a devil convicting him with the book of life.⁹⁰ According to Seuse, the book that is being held by the devil contains ‘all the sins and peccadilloes committed in [one’s] lifetime written down at length’.⁹¹ Great trepidation and reverence to God was utterly revealed on the countenance of the Disciple.

The second miniature is half the size of the judgement scene (fol. 47). It illustrates the prelude of chapter seven which recounts a shipwreck before the Disciple had the vision (fig. 2.3 – 3). In this miniature, the Disciple is trapped on a ship within a raging sea aggravated with severe frosty weather. Snow covers the barren lands while dark clouds hover over the sky. He is afraid as parts of the ship have begun to rupture and sink. A mast, a sail and a turret were abruptly struck down. In the meantime, the Disciple is summoned by two angels appearing from clouds to attend at the judgement court. The two angels carry a trumpet with one hand while indicating the direction of the court to the Disciple with another. One of the angels carries an inscription that reads ‘Come to Judgement’.⁹² Gazing upon the angel with a puzzled frown, the Disciple appears to be shocked by these series of startling events. This imagery seems to suggest that the coming of the judgement day is preceded by terror at an unexpected hour. Noticeably, each detail seems to be visually reproduced from the *l’horloge* in the Brussels’ manuscript. Distinctive features according to Seuse, include God in a white garment and white hair, throne like flames of fire, a stream of fire stemming from God’s mouth and the incident of the shipwreck. Their portrayals are particularly expressive but how did

⁹⁰ I beheld along with everyone else all the sins and peccadilloes committed in my lifetime written down at length. And I was constrained by the angelic attendants to appear sad, grieving and fearful before the judge, who seemed to me to be beyond himself with rage and anger, quoted in Monks, 95.

⁹¹ ... tous les pechiez et tous les deffaulz que j’avoie fais tout le tempz de ma vie ... quoted in Monks, 95.

⁹² Quoted in Monks, 98.

the preacher direct the reader's understanding while reading this text of the Last Judgement?

The pictorial guide begins by restating the key message of the miniature, that is, fear of God's Judgement. The troubled time that was experienced by the Disciple, 'asunder and almost sunk', is compared to that of one's life on earth. Readers are urged not to risk their life for crime and sin as Christ's Judgement is unwavering. Thus, the sinners should be fearful of God. Notably, the pictorial commentary does not offer any comforting assurances of Heaven to the righteous but repeatedly reminds the reader to live a watchful life as all committed sins are recorded.⁹³ To the author of this pictorial commentary, the event of the Last Judgement seems to be directed to sinners. It offers no alternative reading; neither compassionate vows nor eventual redemption or salvation. The Dominicans made clear that the Judgement day is a day of no point of return. Thus, turning from sin and immediate repentance are necessary for eternal salvation and is the only way for salvation.

2.4 Popular Texts

2.4.1 The *Sept Articles de la Foi*

Another pastoral text that was widely disseminated is the *Sept Articles de la Foi* written by Jean Chappuis at the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁹⁴ There are no fewer than sixty copies of surviving manuscripts.⁹⁵ Sometimes it was attached to other allegorical poems, particularly the *Roman de la Rose*.⁹⁶ The *Sept Articles de la Foi* is both a

⁹³ See Monks, 72–73.

⁹⁴ Duval, 72.

⁹⁵ According to Duval, not less than sixty manuscripts are preserved.

⁹⁶ For example, among the fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose* that include the *Les Sept Articles de la Foi* are including Paris, BnF, fr. 806, fr. 12596, fr. 24392, fr. 804, fr. 380 and Bibl. de l'Arsenal 3339.

devotional and doctrinal book on the meditation of the life of Christ. It consists of seven events that begin with the Nativity, Baptism, Crucifixion, Descent into Hades, Resurrection, Ascension and the Second Coming of Christ. Each event is an article of faith. The seventh event on the Advent of Christ and his judgement is the longest article of faith. It contains seventeen strophes (See Appendix: Original Text, Document III).⁹⁷ It begins with a reminder to readers of the significance of meditating on the last article of faith. It is followed by addressing the Christians' faith in salvation through the sacrifice and redemption of Christ. Chapuis warned the readers about the inescapable death and how all wages of sins will be reaped on the end day. The emphasis of the last day was placed on the fear of the wrath of Christ. Sin is neither left unexposed nor unpunished nor can any appeal be made against Christ's judgement. He reiterated that this future event is beyond any conceivable experience. Ten strophes were devoted to the event of the last day and the sign of the end of time. Nonetheless, Christ's judgement would not take place until the arrival of the Antichrist and the fulfilment of each sign. Joy in Heaven and misery in Hell were only mentioned in passing. The poem ends with a prayer to avoid Hell and go to Heaven. This text offers the provision of prayer for spiritual strength by meditating on Christ's life and his promise. This genre of text achieves its aim, that is, to effect salvation. Procrastinating repentance will only bring destruction of life.

At this point, it is essential to explore how the artist visually interpreted texts regarding the Last Judgement, in particular, at the later part of the fifteenth century. A contemporary image of the Last Judgement from the *Sept Articles de la Foi* may illustrate this deficiency (Ada Turnbull Hertle Fund, 1957.162). The image is now a

⁹⁷ For a copy of the text of the seventh article, see Duval, 74 – 80.

single leaf, dated *c.* 1470 and is probably from a lost manuscript (fig. 2.4.1 – 1).⁹⁸ The miniature is mainly dominated in grisaille and lightly coloured with sculptural figures that can be attributed to Master François.⁹⁹ The composition of the representation of the Last Judgement can be divided into two parts. A frame filled with text occupies the top. Above the frame, a few red seraphim seem to be meditating over these texts. They lower their head and join their hands in prayer. At both sides of the frame, there is an angel blowing the last trumpet in its announcement of the Last Judgement. Below, in the middle, Christ is seated on a three-coloured rainbow in a judgement gesture. He lifts his right hand and lowers the left. Bright yellow light radiating from the centre of Christ forms a shape of a mandorla. He is cloaked in a white mantle fringed with gold. His wounds are barely visible. Two banderols are next to Christ's mouth proclaiming the judgement to the blessed and the damned. Such excerpts are taken from the gospel of Matthew. Two groups of saints are there in order to be of assistance at the judgement court. To the left, the Virgin Mary leads a group of female saints. To the right, St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist were painted before other apostles and male saints. Each of them carries an object of attribution. Below Christ, a few angels execute Christ's pronouncement. Two angels escort the blessed to Heaven while another two, armed with a red sword, expel the damned to Hell. Instead of standing in judgement, these souls, both the blessed and the cursed, walk towards their appointed destiny. This visual pointer seems to suggest that Christ's judgement has already taken place. At the bottom of the composition, below the mantle of the earth, three devils try to hook the damned souls with different apparatuses.

⁹⁸ Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies. "*The Fifteenth Century*," *Devotion and Splendor: Medieval Art at the Art Institute of Chicago*, 30 (2004): 77.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

At a glance, this basic structure of the visual image and its iconographic elements resemble the familiar composition of the Last Judgement. The physical attributions of the saints and intercessors and the stylistic approach demonstrated a repetition of the artist's style and his attentiveness with various sources rather than merely textually based.

2. 4.2 The *Livres de Bonnes Mœurs*

One example that could adequately demonstrate how artists took various approaches to the same subject matter from the same text is the *Livre de Bonnes Mœurs*. Its popularity can be testified by the copious surviving evidence. Besides eight incunabula editions, not less than seventy manuscripts are documented in France before 1503.¹⁰¹ The *Livre de Bonnes Mœurs* (from now on the *Livre*) is a moral treatise composed between 1405 and 1410 by Jacques Legrand who was an Augustinian. The *Livre* was composed of extractions taken from *Archiloge Sophie*, which were written by the same author in 1401. This book contains a close proximity to the text of *La Somme le Roy*, particularly within the Christian conscience of how to have a good death. The *Livre* is a treatise which consists of two parts: a detailed discussion on the seven vices and virtues in book one (eighteen chapters) and the individual moral responsibility of a trilateral feudal society in book two (thirty-five chapters).¹⁰² The text ended with an emphasis on the equality of society in the face of death and the expectation of individual judgement upon one's death. Aiming at the pragmatic practices of a virtuous life, elsewhere Legrand remarked that 'we must know not only what to do but also how, why and for what purpose and

¹⁰¹ Duval, 175; Evencio Betran composed a comprehensive list of manuscripts of the *Livre* in *Archiloge Sophie. Livre de Bonnes Meurs. Jacques Legrand* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1986), 290–295.

¹⁰² See Beltran for the detailed division and chapters of the *Livre* in *Archiloge Sophie et Livre de Bonnes Meurs*, 300–302.

under what circumstances'.¹⁰³ Similarly, the *Livre* is not only an advisory book on how to live a Christian life but also purposefully speaks of how to live righteously while expecting the Last Judgement. The subject of the Last Judgement is delineated in chapter thirty-five of Book Two. It is entitled 'How should we think about the day of Judgement' (*Comment on doit penser au jour du jugement*) (See Appendix: Original Text, Document IV). He begins the chapter by warning the reader of the imminence of the Last Day and ends by apprising the reader of the trepidation of dying unprepared. Signs of the last days were identified and associated with contemporary calamities and presaging events. The emergence of the Antichrist and predication of the actual date of the end world were encapsulated by referring to John's Apocalypse and associating it with historical events. In this chapter, eschatological interpretations were mainly adduced from St Augustine's *City of God* and were supported by historical evidence.

The original manuscript of the *Livre* was dedicated to Jean duke of Berry, brother of Charles V the king of France, by Jacques Legrand in 1410 (BnF, ms. fr. 1023).¹⁰⁴ Remarkably, the last chapter of the manuscript was coupled with an image of a figure of death attacking a man (fol. 74). Here, a skeletal corpse with a white shroud was placed to the right of the composition (fig. 2.4.2 – 1). The corpse aims his lance at a richly dressed nobleman who is on the left. He is dressed in a blue high collared gown lined with fur and a red chaperon as headdress. The man's face registered dismay. He seems to be struck by the sudden presence of death. The concept of the visitation of sudden death

¹⁰³ *Commentaire des Sentences* 'Ad vitam moralem oportet scire non solum quid agendum, sed qualiter, quare, ad quem finem et cum quibus circumstanciis' *ms. Cit. f. 93* (il faut savoir non seulement ce qu'il convient de faire, mais aussi comment, pourquoi, dans quel but et dans quelles circonstances) quoted in Beltran, *L'idéal de Sagesse d'après Jacques Legrand* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1989), 158

¹⁰⁴ Albert Châtelet postulates that this miniature was dominated by strong political allusion. For this argument, see his article of "Un traité de bonnes mœurs écrit et illustré dans une période tourmentée: Le manuscrit Français 1023 daté de 1410 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France," *Art de l'Enluminure* 1(2002): 40– 58.

was not unusual, particularly in the fifteenth century. Regardless of the pictorial composition and iconographic arrangement of the original copy of the *Livre*, other manuscripts seem to be adapting to the fundamental judgement iconography. In order to distinguish artists' visual interpretations of the text, it would be useful to review a few contemporary manuscripts of the *Livre*, which contain depictions of the Last Judgement.

One of the illuminated manuscripts of the *Livre*, executed in France, is datable to 1435 (Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett 130, fol. 25).¹⁰⁶ The miniature was painted as the frontispiece of the first part of the treatise addressing the subject of the Seven Deadly Sins. A red rubric reads:

Here begins the first part of this book which deals with the remedy against the Seven Deadly Sins/ and firstly how pride displease God this is what talks about in this first chapter/.¹⁰⁷

Above the text, a miniature was divided into two registers representing the celestial and terrestrial (fig. 2.4.2 – 2). Christ and two intercessors occupy the top register. Seated on an arc, Christ is encircled by a golden mandorla of which rays of light disperse from the centre. He is draped with a white mantle while exposing his emaciated chest. The five holy wounds are visibly determined from his pale meagre and bloodless body. Christ turns his face towards the Virgin who is kneeling at his right. The Virgin Mary was painted as a well-dressed middle-aged woman. She is covered with a red robe with fur lining. Her untied blond hair is cascading over her shoulder. Opposite her is a juvenile St. John the Baptist who also kneels in supplication. He wears the distinctive camel's hair attire. Below them, in the second register, are two groups of people. Each of them can be

¹⁰⁶ Jacques Legrand, *Archilogie Sophie*, 294; Plummer, pl. 28 and Bennett, Adelaide, Jean F. Preston and William P. Stoneman, *A summary guide to Western Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts at Princeton University* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 43.

¹⁰⁷ 'Cy commence la premiere partie de ce liure laquelle parle du remede qui est contre les sept pechez mortelz/ et premierement comment orgueil desplaist a dieu de quoi parle ce premier chappitre'

identified as being representative of different social classes. The arrangement of these figures is oriented hierarchically. From left to right, it begins with a crowned king who carries a golden sceptre of fleur-de-lys in his left hand. He raises his right hand pointing at a bishop who is facing him. His red high-collared gown is topped with a blue heraldic mantle lined with ermine. The king is accompanied by two armies who are dressed in full armour. A group of courtiers are standing alongside. One of them wears a short red gown with an ochre hose and pale red acorn hat. Next to him is another handsomely appressed man. He is clothed in a blue gown trimmed with gold lace and a black draped chaperon. He rests both of his hands between a black narrow belt and the gown. The bishop, on the other side, is dressed in ecclesiastical attire. He is mitred and garbed with vestment while holding a crosier in his left hand. Seven middle-class men and women in contemporary patrician clothing stand behind the bishop. Behind them, a few peasants are in peasant garments. One of them wears a torn tunic, rolled-up trousers and stockings. These subtle details of depiction differentiated the three-states of the society. To a certain extent, the integration of the Last Judgement and the feudal society in this miniature summarises the content of Jacques Legrand's *Livre de Bonnes Meurs*. Each level of society must show responsibility in standing before judgement on their deeds. No one will escape the judgement of God. However, this manuscript is an exceptional case.

A variation is found in a frontispiece of another manuscript of the *Livre* painted by Master of Dreux Budé around 1450 (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 11063, fol. 3).¹⁰⁸ The frontispiece was not painted with a standard depiction of the Last Judgement. Instead of Christ, it was God the Father who is attending the judgement court (fig. 2.4.2

¹⁰⁸ Avril and Reynaud, 53 – 55.

– 3). In the middle of the composition, he is seated on an adorned throne cast in gold. He appears like a high priest. He is garbed with a liturgical garment – a white gown covered with a red cape secured by jewellery and, on his head, a papal tiara. His hands are posed in a judgement gesture. He lifts his right hand, three fingers held together and two bent, to bless and lowers the left to condemn. Surrounding God is a three-level concentric of worshipping angels. The innermost is gold, the middle is blue and the outer ring is white. Remarkably, resurrected souls and other members in the judgement courts were excluded. Below God is a contrasting scene. It is a dark and gloomy mountainous landscape inhabited by grotesque beasts. Some fall into deep cold water and others into a volcanic valley. The miniature begins with a text that reads ‘all the proud want to compare with God’ which is the first chapter of the *Livre*.¹⁰⁹ It seems that the artist did not execute his work without knowing the text itself. This is evidenced by his integration of the teachings of deadly sins with the concept of the Last Judgement in the miniature.

Another comparable example of the Last Judgement painted by an anonymous artist is a manuscript of the *Livre* kept in Chantilly (Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 297, fol. 153). It is a miniature that accompanies the chapter that begins with the thought of the Last Judgement. The iconographic elements of this miniature indicate that the artist was attentive to the content of the text. Here, from his benign countenance, Christ appears to be gentler (fig. 2.4.2 – 4). Seated on a colourful rainbow with a tripartite globe under his feet, Christ lifts both hands. His gestures suggest his arrival to the earth. He lowers his head looking at the resurrected souls. At both sides, two angels blow the trumpet of resurrection raising the dead. Rays of light disperse from these celestial beings. Remarkably, this miniature abounds with apocalyptic references that are comparable to

¹⁰⁹ Tous orgueilleux se veulent à dieu comparer.

the text. Three out of five signs mentioned in the text before the doom day were painted to the left on a mountainous landscape. These include a roaring sea at the bottom, an icy glacier and molten lava.

To the right of the composition is a serene scene. A fortified castle is situated in a green pasture over a clear blue sky. Below Christ, eleven naked souls are resurrected from the ground. Some appear to be ashamed of their sins and are trying to escape from the sight of Christ; others remain tranquil and welcome the arrival of Christ. They join hands in devotion. Some of these souls can be identified as members of the court and of ecclesiarch. These depictions seem to resemble Legrand's treatise on the signs of the doom day and the individual trial on the day of judgement. Although the subject of the Last Judgement was not the key element of the *Livre*, it was frequently included in a manuscript. To some extent, the text of the *Livre* constitutes a basis of the depictions of the Last Judgement within the text itself rather than those universally applied. For instance, the inclusion of the images of the signs of doom day seems to be limited to small scale production such as miniatures. Similarly, the visual distinction of the three states of society is not uncommon but less popular. These four examples lead to an observation: there is neither a standard text nor a model supporting the portrayal of the Last Judgement. Often, the iconographic elements and arrangements were dependent on artists' interpretation of the text and individual artistic invention within the traditional depiction of the Last Judgement.

2. 4.3 The *Voie de Povreté ou de Richesse*

One less popular poem, but in which the description of the Last Judgement deserves a certain attention, is the *la Voie de Povreté ou de Richesse* or *le livre du Chastel de Labour*. The poem, which consists of 2,634 lines, was written around 1342 by Jacques Bruyant, a clergyman from Paris (See Appendix: Original Text, Document V).¹¹⁰ It is an allegorical dream vision of a newly married man. A large part of the text resembles the contemporary popular writing of the Romance of the Rose (*Roman de la Rose*).¹¹¹ It begins with a sleepless man (the author) having a vision on his bed. Throughout the vision, he is confronted by various personifications from two opposing groups, namely, the good conscience and the bad conscience. The virtues, part of the good conscience, justify the righteous ways of eternal life. In contrast, the vices entice the author with temporal material and sensual pleasure. In the second half of the poem, the author is urged to serve Wisdom (God's way) and to practice virtuous behaviour in order to be spared from eternal damnation. Several lines of description offer a familiar scene of the Last Judgement. According to the author, on the day of judgement:

He [Christ] will sit middle on the throne,
His wounds to all the people shown,
The crown of thorn, the spear, the nails;
And every soul shall to the scales;
No king nor emperor but then
Shall quake for fear, like common men;
The cobbler and the count shall be
Exactly of the same degree;
And cheap-budge-wearers equal all
With any king and cardinal.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Jean Bruyant, *Le Livre du Chaster de Labour*, edited by Peter Arrell Brown Widener (Philadelphia, 1909), 22; Eberhard König, *Das Buch vom erfüllten Leben: Jacques Bruyant: le Livre du Chastel de labour* (Lucerne: Switzerland, 2005).

¹¹¹ For the comparison between these two texts see Pierre-Yves Badel, *Le roman de la Rose au XIVe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1980).

¹¹² For the complete poem see Widener's *Le Livre du Chaster de Labour*.

These textual illustrations of the judgement day are further emphasised by the separation of the good and the bad in accordance with the chosen path.¹¹³ Noticeably, a few key iconographic elements of the Last Judgement are discernible. The most common feature is Christ sitting on the throne and displaying the signs and instruments of crucifixion. Besides, the universality of Christ's judgement revealed through the inclusion of the three states of society and the separation of the good from the bad are not unfamiliar to the fifteenth-century reader.

The textual source of the Last Judgement can be seen in a well illuminated manuscript that is dated to the first half of the fifteenth century (The Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department, Widener 1, fol. 49).¹¹⁴ The poem was divided into forty-seven chapters, each coupled with a miniature except chapter twenty three. In fact, every visual feature in the miniature has a textual association. The portrayal of the Last Judgement was painted in chapter thirty three with a rubric that reads:

How Reason told the new worker about the glory of the paradise is prepared for those who serve and speak of the judgement of our lord Jesus Christ, and also the pain of Hell, and how the servants of *Barat* (personification of Fraud) will be condemned incessantly.¹¹⁵

Here, Reason and the author were painted at the bottom left corner against a green pasture background and azure sky (fig. 2.4.2 – 5). Looking at the author, Reason seems to be explaining to him about the moral discourse by stretching her left hand towards hellmouth. The personification of Reason reveals two contrasting eternal destinations, prepared by God on the last day, to the author. He will join the heavenly host if he lives

¹¹³ Two paths were offered by the vice and the virtue throughout the poem that is the path to richness that leads to eternal salvation and the path to poverty that directs to eternal damnation.

¹¹⁴ Widener, 7.

¹¹⁵ Comment Raison declare au nouvel mesnagier la gloire de paradis laquel est appareillée pour ceulx qui la serviront et parle du jugement de nostre seigneur Jhesucrist, et aussi des paines d'enfer, et comme les serveurs Barat seront tous condampnez pardurablement.

a righteous life. In contrast, he will be sent to Hell if he concedes to sin. Correspondingly, two destinations were painted. Above them, Heaven appears as a vision. Christ sits on a golden throne whilst encircled by a gold mandorla with rays of light dispersing from his majestic appearance. No instruments of crucifixion were depicted as mentioned in the poem but the five wounds remain noticeable. Christ lifts his right hand blessing the righteous in supplication led by the Virgin Mary.

Assisted by a few angels, the Virgin is presenting the righteous souls to Christ. She humbly lowers her head with joined hands. Each of the righteous souls is haloed. Next to Reason is a life-sized fiery hellmouth. Two devils, one brown and the other black, carry an apparatus to torture the damned who stay inside hellmouth. Certainly, this portrayal of the Last Judgement is less common but it retains the traditional features of the judgement. This particularly refers to Christ in judgement and the five holy wounds, the image of Heaven and Hell. The comparison between this poem and the visual demonstrates a structural similarity with the other texts as demonstrated above. To a certain extent, it seems that the subject of the Last Judgement was strongly adapted to the visual culture of the mainstream rather than the secondary textual source.

2.5 Conclusions

Through the examination of the nature of the literary sources, it is obvious that there was a rise in demand for texts with advice on spiritual matters and prayers. The growing interest in the canonical writings such as St Augustine's *City of God* and moral instructions, namely, the *Somme le Roi* by lay readers reflects a substantive concern in the ethical conduct of a society. Particularly, concerning the hope for a better future in the next life, the content of these texts centred on righteous conduct and moral

conviction. Besides, the epic of the life and the passion of Christ and eschatological expectations together with the instructions for spiritual growth are carefully pointed in the text such as in *Horloge de Sapience* and the *Sept Article de la Foi*. Other texts including the *Livres de Bonnes Moeurs* and the *Voie de Povreté ou de Richesse* associate the moral discourse centred on the life of virtue.

Although the religious and pseudo-religious texts took a different approach, as one, they consider the essential meaning of the imminent event of the Last Judgement. Reading on these texts allows the medieval readers to meditate a righteous life and to prepare themselves for divine judgement; notwithstanding, the message of salvation laced throughout. Concurrent with the growing interest of the society in literary sources in preparing for the Last Judgement, the number of surviving large-scale representations of the Last Judgement also testifies to its popularity. This individual and collective interest in personal conscience cannot be an effect without a cause.

Chapter Three: Mystery plays

3.0 Introduction

As far as this thesis is concerned, there are only two medieval mystery plays featuring the Last Judgement that survived from late medieval France.¹ These are the fourteenth-century the *Jour du Jugement* and the fifteenth-century the *Jutgamen General*. The former focuses on the advent of Antichrist and the judgement day and the latter solely on Christ's judgement. Both plays reveal an interest in elaborating on judgement, the confrontation between devils and the Seven Deadly Sins, and the punishments of Hell. Substantial emphasis was given to the imminent event, leading to self-reflection and penitence. Certainly, there are other mystery plays touching on eschatological themes but none recounted the event of the Last Judgement so conclusively.

One of the most widely known mystery plays was the *Passion play*, which survives in many versions, recounts events from the life of Christ until his resurrection and subsequently his final judgement.² Predominantly, most mystery plays focus on personal moral behaviour and its relation to the Virtues and Vices, for example, the *Homme Juste et Homme Mondain* (1476).⁴ By employing two contrasting characters, the good and the bad, the play of *Homme Juste et Homme Mondain* narrates the life of a man from birth to death. Throughout his journey of life, he is confronted with two paths, one leading to vice and the other to virtue. The play ends with the final repentance and admonitions to

¹ Alan E. Knight, "France," in *The Theatre of Medieval Europe: New Research in Early Drama*, edited by Eckehard Simon (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 151 – 168.

² The English Passion cycle always end with enactment of the Last Judgement but not the French's version. The French passion play closes by briefly mentioned in order to conclude the biblical message of salvation. Jean-Pierre Bordelier, *Le Jeu de la Passion: le Message Chrétien et le Théâtre Français (XIIIe-XVIe Siècle)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998), 16 and 755.

⁴ *Moralités Françaises: Réimpression Facsimilé de Vingt-deux Pièces Allégoriques Imprimées aux XVe et XVIe Siècles*, 3 vols, edited by Helmich Werner. Geneva: Slatkine, 1980.

the audience. Others themes that centred on biblical episodes include the Nativity, the Resurrection, the Passion of Christ and the Assumption of the Virgin.⁵ They are plays adopted from biblical parables, namely, the popular twelfth-century play, the *Sponsus: Mystère des Vierges Sages et des Vierges Folles*.⁶ The account of the Second Coming of Christ and his final judgement is comparatively rare. Thus, the survival of two complete plays devoted to the Last Judgement permits an investigation of the relationship between dramatic representation of the theme and its painted equivalent.

3.1 The *Jour du Jugement*⁷

The *Jour du Jugement* has long been known for providing full details of how medieval drama was performed including the stage direction and eloquent dialogues (Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 579).⁸ It is a non-cycle play written with ninety-three actors and taking approximately two hours to perform. The manuscript consists of 2,438 lines. Its original length is likely to have been between 2,700 and 3,000 lines.⁹ There is no record of the actual enactment of this play, but it seems likely that the manuscript is a record of how the play could be performed as a drama.¹⁰ The *Jour du Jugement* embraces two key Christian expectations: the appearance of the Antichrist and the

⁵ Graham A. Runnalls, *Le Corpus du Théâtre Religieux Français du Moyen âge*. <http://toison.dor.byu.edu/fmddp/corpus.html>, accessed 19 May 2006.

⁶ William Tydeman, et al., *The Medieval European Stage: 500 – 1550*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 154 and Lynette R. Muir, *The Biblical Drama of Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 148– 153.

⁷ Since the interest of the thesis is on the subject of the Last Judgement, the narration and illuminated miniatures in relation to the legend of Antichrist will not be pursued at this point.

⁸ Émile Roy, *Le Jour du Jugement: Mystère Français sur le Grand Schisme; Publié pour la Première Fois d'après le Manuscrit 579 de la Bibliothèque de Besançon et les Mystères Sainte-Geneviève* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1976); Richard K. Emmerson, Richard Kenneth. *Antichrist and Judgement Day: The Middle French Jour du Jugement* (Asheville: Pegasus Press, 1998), and Jean-Pierre Perrot and Jean-Jacques Nonot, *Le Mystère du Jour du Jugement : Text Original du XIVe siècle* (Besançon: Edition Comp'Act, 2000).

Karlyn Marie Griffith, "Illustrating Antichrist and The Day of Judgment in the Eighty-Nine Miniatures of Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 579," (Master diss., Florida State University, 2008).

⁹ Perrot and Nonot, 9.

¹⁰ The manuscript was dated to the 1330s based on the style and linguistic evidence. See Emmerson, xv – xvi, see also Tydeman, 309.

inevitability of Christ's Judgement.¹¹ The first half of the text deals with the focus of the Antichrist, from his birth to his ministry on the earth (ll. 193 – 1471). The second half narrates Christ's pronouncement of his divinity and sovereignty on earth (begins at l. 1693).

Before analysing these texts concerning Christ's Judgement, it is useful to examine the Prologue of the play, spoken by a preacher.¹² The Prologue or, a kind of sermon, serves as a synopsis of the play. It recounts a series of events derived from the Bible that begins with an account of Creation and the Fall of Man, and covers the First Destruction of the World leading to Christ's offer of salvation to Mankind. This is followed by the Advent of the Antichrist, his career on earth and his fall. The preacher closes the sermon by foretelling the Revelation of John and offering advice to the audience in preparing for the Last Days. He encourages a watchful life, saying:

Let us pray to God, who upholds all good things,
that he might consent to console us all
and sustain us in this life,
so that neither Antichrist nor another devil
will deceive us with their lies.
Rather may we all be able with confidence
to come to the *Day of Judgement*, [my italics]
without any sin, by the grace of God;
Say *Amen*, may God let it come to pass. (ll. 184 – 192)

The key aim of the play is unambiguous: repentance is necessary to count among the righteous on the Day of Judgement. Three imperative eschatological themes are clearly explained by the author throughout the play: (1) certainty of the judgement, (2) the

¹¹ Richard K. Emmerson, "Visualizing Performance: The Miniatures of the Besançon MS 579 Jour du Jugement," *Exemplaria* 11 (1999): 245.

¹² The preacher attribute can be identified through the depiction of the manuscript. A man wearing a white flock and clad in black robe, a Dominican outfit, is standing on a pulpit preaching. For detail, see Perrot and Nonot, 38.

finality of Christ's judgement at the end, and (3) biblical admonitions concerning morality.

The play begins with the preacher reminding the audience that the Day of Judgement is a tangible event that, one day, will actually take place (l. 5). The end of all things was an event planned by God before the formation of the world (ll. 1692 – 1721). When the Antichrist comes, a series of apocalyptic events should be expected. When the final day comes, Christ will empower St. John the Evangelist to annihilate the degenerate world (ll. 1864 – 1869).¹³ After this, Christ then commands the Four Evangelists, Saint Matthew, Saint Mark, Saint Luke and St. John the Evangelist to resurrect the dead so that all stand before their final judgement (ll. 1863 – 1937).¹⁴ All souls are expected to give their own accounts to Christ (ll. 68 – 70, 86 – 88, 118 – 119). He will judge according to everyone's deeds (ll. 1548 – 1549, 2168). The virtuous and the just will be rewarded in Heaven (ll. 127 – 131). In contrast, the wicked and those with vices will not be spared from Hell (ll. 132 – 135). Heaven is described as a place formed by God where perpetual joy exists and where hunger, thirst, illness, misfortune and discomfort are absent (ll. 1911, 2287 – 2288, 2311 – 2332, 2412 – 2421). In Heaven, the blessed will be crowned (l. 2286). In addition, they are also important to God and will gain eternal kinship with him (ll. 2413, 2428 – 2429). Those accepted by Christ will be unblemished by sin (l. 2319).

¹³ This is one of the exegetical unconformities. According to the biblical account, Saint John was witnessing the destruction of the world instead of instigating it.

¹⁴ The second unconformity is the act of raising the dead. Instead of the responsibility of the angels, it was the Four Evangelists who blow the trumpets. For probable justifications see Roy, 55 – 58.

Conversely, Hell is characterised as a fiendish terrifying place where torments await the sinners (ll. 2091 – 2092, 2165 – 2170). These torments are everlasting and ‘exceptionally cruel’ (l. 2371), and every punishment inflicts enormous pain and suffering (ll. 2002, 2354 – 2359, 2433 – 2435). Once in Hell, the damned will be chained and torments will be doubled (ll. 2385, 2400 – 2407). In *le Jour du Jugement*, sins are not categorised into the Seven Deadly Sins. Sinners are named in more generic ways. Sinners include the treacherous, the arrogant, the corrupt, the lazy, the covetous, the lustful, the avaricious, the proud, those who pilfer, usurers, liars, murders, those who skip mass and those who reject the Ten Commandments (ll. 1488, 1590, 1642, 1938 – 2124). The torture for usury is particularly described. According to the play, they will be toasted (ll. 2408 – 2411). Other tortures for unspecified sins imposed on the damned include being boiled in a cauldron, plunged into sulphur (ll. 2239 – 2240), incarcerated in furnaces and beaten (ll. 2241 – 2244) where they will ‘forever reside in flames’ (ll. 1714 – 1715). Hell is portrayed as a hellmouth with a door and a deep pit (ll. 1958 – 1959, 2307 and 2382).

The Last Day will take place because God could no longer bear sin (ll. 1504 – 1511). His determination in diminishing corruption without delay is emphasised throughout the play (ll. 1718 – 1720). Christ’s decision at the judgement court is just and unchallengeable (ll. 1550 – 1554, 1705 – 1706, 2160 – 2161 and 2237 – 2238). Christ’s impartiality is reiterated throughout the play. According to the preacher in the Prologue, Christ is:

The true Judge on that day will come to preside at the judgement. He will maintain a fierce and relentless demeanour, and, even though he is peace and concord and overflowing with pity, he will judge according to what is right. (ll. 122 – 127)

His determination to judge is emphasised by the intercession of the Virgin. In responding to the Virgin's intervention on behalf of humankind, Christ repudiated the damned who rejected the salvation of Christ concerning his passion by asserting that:

‘... for the wicked, I could not in all justice prevent them from being damned... I shall show them my countenance – I who for them suffered such ignominy – and the manner of my crucifixion’. (ll. 1852 – 1857)

His solemnity terrified the angelic hosts, the seraphim and the cherubim, and the twelve disciples who attended the court. Besides being a Judge, in *le Jour du Jugement*, Christ is also the Sovereign King and All Powerful King (ll. 1904 and 1933). Even though these heavenly hosts had been virtuous, they implored the Virgin Mary to intercede on their behalf because they were greatly afraid of the judicious and prudent Christ. For instance, before Christ's judgement began Saint John the Baptist commenced by imploring:

‘Please entreat both your Son and your Father to have mercy on his people. My heart is blackened with fear. Alas! I dare not speak to him, my Lady: Beg him to remember us as well as his friends, dear Lady... if you wish you can certainly protect each and every one of us’ (ll.1744 – 1759)

Similarly, Saint Andrew asked the Virgin to intercede so that Christ has grace upon those who served him as he has ‘greater fear than (he) ever did a single day of (his) life’ (ll. 1780 – 1789). Their prayers and confidence in the Virgin reveal her powerful intercessory position. Her importance can be seen in the miniature in folio 28r of which the Apostles kneel before the Virgin.

While Christ's judgement seems resolute, the inclusion of the Virgin Mary as a key intercessor was significant in offering hope to the audience. Since the Virgin Mary's aid

is efficacious, prayers dedicated to the Virgin are featured before the play begins. The preacher recites a prayer to the Virgin in the Prologue:

Let us therefore all pray to the noble Lady, dispenser of grace, that, through her prayer, she might make us act upon and attend to what I am about to say, so that we might be able to come into our heavenly homeland; and then of her we shall say Hail Mary. Oh Day of Wrath. (ll. 10 – 17)

The Virgin Mary is indeed treated as an influential intercessor who possesses the closest kinship with God. She is both the mother of Christ and the daughter of God. In respect of the Virgin's intimate position, before Christ rendered his judgement, angels suggested that:

Let us now go and pray to the Lady who is both mother and daughter to him, that she might pray both to her Son and her Father for the sake of her people (ll. 1722 – 1725).

Besides being a Holy Mother (ll. 1682 – 1683 and 1829 – 37), the Virgin is also seen as an honourable Queen (ll. 1734 – 1727, 1791, 1802 – 1805 and 1845 – 1847). The efficacy of the veneration of the Virgin is confirmed by Christ in the play. He says 'all those who have served you and who adored you in the world, and all the virtuous shall I place in glory' (ll. 1849 – 1851). Apparently, as a powerful intercessor, the Virgin Mary is presented as a symbol of hope.

Concurrent with the message of inevitable judgement and unbearable Hell, the audience is confronted by forewarnings and moral instruction throughout the play. For example, a blind man grieves because he regrets his refusal of Christ's supreme nature. He boldly declares "Repent, I must" (1623 – 1624). Another example is an act of contrition by a king. He explains the cause and consequence of his behaviour:

Alas! Why did I act this way? On earth I was a king with a crown. I completely abdicated my responsibilities by giving nothing and forever taking. I did not choose to put any effort into good works, and I treated the poor with scorn. (ll. 1964 – 1969)

The audience is warned to expect terrifying conditions in Hell. One damned soul advises the audience that ‘everyone must believe and know, that we [the damned] necessarily will come to such an end.’ (ll. 1598 – 1599). Most importantly, the audience is reminded that there is no time for repentance on the Day of Judgement (ll. 1570 – 1579). Redemption and appeal will be too late for the impartial God (ll. 1592 – 97, 2302, 2371 – 2372 and 2396). Although shorter than the scene of the damned regretting their behaviour, exemplary attitudes, such as charity, kindness, and modesty, are alluded to in a conversation between God and the just (ll. 2311 – 2350). The play made clear that on the presupposition of sin, a life of virtue is necessary for salvation.

In many places, the audience is reminded by actors of God’s resolution of eternal salvation for humankind (ll. 2171 – 2220). Christ’s passion, from his arrest to his trial and suffering, and finally his crucifixion, is briefly recounted. Apart from salvation, the play also proclaims Christ’s victory over evil (ll. 67, 1496 – 1499 and 1556 – 1569). Christ’s wounds were displayed to the audience. As soon as the dead are resurrected, Christ says ‘It is now the time for me to display my *insignia* to all people’ (ll. 2172 – 2172).¹⁵ In addition to his wounds, two angels carry the instruments of Passion (ll. 2203 – 2220). One holds a cross, another angel a lance. There is no reason to doubt that the fundamental appeal of this play centres on the call of repentance rather than the conviction of sins.

In the *Jour du Jugement*, the event of the Last Judgement was staged as part of the story on the fulfilment of the annihilation of the world. It was approached in a rhetorical way supported that biblical text. This is evident by the arrangement of the structure of this

¹⁵ A detailed discussion on the Five Holy Wounds of Christ will be examined in Chapter 4.1.1 Christ.

play. Almost equal attention is paid to subsequent events after the fall of the Antichrist. It begins with the fulfilment of the sign of Doomsday, resurrection of the dead, intercession of the Virgin, the twelve apostles assisting at the judgement, the interrogation of Christ and division of the blessed and the damned; and ends with a brief summary on the completion of Christ's judgement of mankind. Each sinner who was called forth for judgment also has an equivalent length of script. The impartiality of sin has been addressed in a more universal way. The play was treated in a narrative style.

Among the eighty-nine illuminations attached to the Besançon manuscript, the frontispiece seems to feature this narration (Besançon, BM. ms. 579, fol. 2v).¹⁶ Here, the image of Antichrist is disregarded albeit he was the key player who engages half of the play.¹⁷ This frontispiece has three tiers (fig. 3.1 – 1). At the top, Christ is seated on an adorned throne in the middle of the composition. He is clad with a red-lined white cape that is secured by a gold clasp. The five wounds are clearly visible. Similar depiction of Christ can be seen throughout the manuscript which includes folios 33v, 34r and 35r (fig. 3.1.2a, 2b and 2c).¹⁸ Here, for the frontispiece, Christ was painted comparatively larger than the other figures. On either side of Christ, the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist bend their knees in supplication. A few unidentifiable saints in a praying gesture can be seen behind the two leading intercessors. Above them, two angels carry the instruments of crucifixion. The angel to the left holds a cross and some nails and the angel to the right carries a lance and a crown of thorns. Next to the Virgin is St. Peter. He wears a white robe with raised hands and open palms whilst standing in front of the door of

¹⁶ For the complete illuminations, consult toison.dor.byu.edu/dscriptorium/jugement/jugement.html

¹⁷ The image of Antichrist is rarely found in French Last Judgement scenes of this period.

¹⁸ Although the image of Christ appears in several other folios, he was fully covered. It seems that he only display his wounds during the judgement. For instance, Christ is well clothed while he summoned the Four Evangelists to awake the dead with their trumpets. This depiction can be seen in folios 27r, 29r, 29v, 31v and 32r.

Heaven. Behind the door is a three-storey architectural building inhabiting crowned souls.

In the middle tier, four red-winged angels blow the trumpet of resurrection. Each one of the dead who have been resurrected from their graves is praying to Christ with joined hands. The scene of Hell occupies the last tier. The damned souls are being transported by devils, with a basket and on their shoulders, from the right to the left where a hellmouth is located. The hellmouth is portrayed as a fearsome beast with animal features whose task is to devour damned souls. In the middle, there is a burning cauldron filled with damned souls. It is guarded by two devils. One devil stirs the damned in the cauldron and another presses bellows so as to increase the volume of the fire.

Certain iconographic elements of the frontispiece do not seem to resemble to the key illuminations painted for the play. One of which is the images of the Four Evangelists. In the play, they undertake the role in summoning the dead as instructed by God (ll. 1864 – 1937). This attribute can be seen in folio 29v, the four Evangelists are blowing the trumpet towards the graves to resurrect the dead. Each of them is haloed and dressed in a different coloured robe. Besides, their hair was painted in distinctive colour and style. These differences make them different from the ordinary angels whose appearances are more generic. These angels are uniformly depicted with red wings and a white robe. Similar portrayal can be found on the frontispiece. No further visual indication to suggest that they are the Four Evangelists as God specifically called upon.

The second iconographic element in the frontispiece that is differing from the key illumination is the image of Hell. Instead of a two-door gate as painted elsewhere in the manuscript (for example in folio 36r), Hell is featured by a chaotic place guarded by devils; a boiling cauldron filled with the damned souls; and, a basket of souls carried by two devils. These visual pointers seem to suggest that the depiction of the frontispiece was painted independent from the play. In some way, the composition and iconographic arrangement of the depiction of the Last Judgement bears a resemblance to the common depiction that had been long established.

3.2 The *Jutgamen General*

Another mystery play featuring the Last Judgement is the late fifteenth-century Provençal the *Jutgamen General* (BnF, ms. fr. nouv. acq 6252).²¹ Its length is comparable to that of the *Jour du Jugement*. It consists of 2733 lines. As yet, no document has come to light that supplies information on either the date of the play or its location. The text of this play survives in a unique manuscript that deals with the Last Judgement theme at length.²² It contains detailed directions both for the actors' movements and for the whole production. Although the *Jutgamen General* was not a particularly extended play, the complexity of the stage setting, props and decorations, as well as the number of actors seem to require substantial time to perform.²³ Not only does the manuscript provide considerable pictorial information that is very revealing, it also reflects the interest of the author in composing topical issues that concern a contemporary audience. In fact, the scene is not entirely unique on the basis of its

²¹ The date of this Provençal play remained unsettled. Authorities suggested a later date of 1481 judging by the close connection of the French copy of *Procès Belial* employed in the play. For details discussion, see Moshé Lazar, *Le Jugement Dernier (Lo Jutgamen General): Drame provençal du XVe siècle* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971), 15 – 16.

²² Lazar, 9.

²³ Nadine Henrard, *Le Théâtre Religieux Médiéval en Langue d'Oc* (Geneva: Droz, 1998), 202.

tradition, particularly concerning the in-depth interrogation scenes of transgressors and execution of punishments. Certain parts of the play are found in various literary sources and mystery plays. As pointed out by Moshé Lazar and Nadine Henrard, some textual aspects in the play script resemble a few contemporary sources including *l'Art de bien vivre et de bien mourir*, *Procès Belial*, *Jutgamen de Jhesus* and *Miracle of Christ*.²⁴ In addition, the textual descriptions and stage settings of the *Jutgamen General* also share some visual features in common with contemporary representations of the Last Judgement. Certainly, it is futile to identify the visual originality of the play with absolute precision, what should be considered is the intention that lies behind the play and how this eschatological theme was conveyed to the audience of its time.²⁵

Generally, the play can be divided into three parts.²⁶ The first part began with Christ commanding angels to summon the dead to stand for the final judgement (ll. 1 – 1065). This is followed by a lengthy interrogation of Christ to malefactors from a different social class. Christ started by questioning Lucifer (as the chief of all sin), then the Jews (the heathens and the idolaters), the bad Christians led by the prelates, representatives of different religious orders, the rulers of the world, the judges, the lawyers and the prosecutors. Every one of them attempted to justify their wrongdoings. In the second part, Christ sent the wicked to the left where Hell was (ll. 1066 – 1698). Justice and Mercy, in a personified form, set off a dispute about the deservingness of absolution. While worrying that Christ will not grant any pardon to him, Lucifer commanded Belzebuc, one of his companions, to seek aid from the Virgin. However, Christ refused

²⁴ Lazar, 18– 21 and Henrard, 201 – 202.

²⁵ Scholars such as Emale Mâle attempted to justify the influence of mystery plays to the representational art while Lazar attested the opposite, particularly, in reference to the Judgement theme. See, Lazar, 13. Other discussions include Donald Clive Stuart, *Le Jugement Dernier (Lo Jutgamen General): Drame provençal du XVe siècle* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971).

²⁶ For the this play, the thesis consults Moshé Lazar's *Le Jugement Dernier (Lo Jutgamen General): Drame provençal du XVe siècle* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971).

the Virgin's request. He explained to the Virgin about their irreparable sins and insisted that everyone will pay for their own misdeeds. Nonetheless, he accepted certain innocent redemptions, in particular, the children who died without being baptised.

Thereafter, Christ assigned the Virgin to resolve the dispute between Justice and Mercy and decided to adjudicate the conflicts between personified Death and Life. Christ accused Death of causing premature death. Furthermore, Christ addressed a reprimand to Life for his incompetence by letting Death overpower him, and, in the last part (ll. 1699 – 2733), Christ pronounced the final verdicts by sending the malefactors to the left and the righteous to the right. Some malefactors complained and cursed their parents for bringing them to the earth; the others expressed remorse on having committed lethal sins. The scene of the punishments of the Seven Deadly Sins took place after Christ's final judgement. Each sin was associated with an assigned devil. Before the punishment took place, each personified sin explained their guilty verdicts and designated tortures. The play ended with some advice concerning repentance from Satan to the audience. Finally, a Messenger concluded the play with a didactic exhortation.

An insertion of an account of the stage setting of the play is necessary in order to provide a better picture of the formal resemblance of both the play and visual depiction.

First of all, Our Lord will be seated on a throne richly decorated and to show, in the presence of all, his wounds with haloed. And then, he will have four angels, two there on each side; that each one carries a cross, the other one a pillar with the rope wrapped around him, the third holds some nails and whips, and the last one a lance and a sponge. There will be another throne, well decorated, to sit Our Lady in the right-hand side of her son there, at the appropriate moment. And there will be two angels, each with a trumpet, and in the Paradise will have St. Michael accompanied with a crowd of angels. And the Saints will be on the other trestle, each in his place, seated on rows of benches. And St. Peter will have to carry a tiara as a pope, whereas the emperors and the kings will be

dressed according to their state, his rank and its way to be, some in green, some in black and some other in amice. And there will be the emperors, the kings, the men of church, and women were dressed in their way; the Jews will be grouped together, as well as the others, and they will appear when they will be called by the angels. The devils, after they will have gone out of the Hell, will be held aside, but they will also be in front of God the Eternal and will listen to their judgment. Our Lady will be alone in her place, on the big trestle, richly dressed, and she will be until the moment there when her role will call her to play...²⁷

This introduction features a visually rich description that conforms to many common scenes in representational arts painted within the period concerned. Each of the actor's attributes was clearly mentioned. For example, the actor of Christ consists of the attribute as the Eternal Judge, Our Lord and the Son; the Virgin is the Mother of God, Our Lady, and the Virgin Mary, and, two groups of angels: carrying instruments of Passion and the other blowing the trumpet of resurrection. Their occurrence in forming the basic structure of the Last Judgement scene is common.²⁸ Other stage directions, including actors' on-stage movement and gestures reveal certain visual and compositional similitude with the representational arts of its time.

Although no illuminated miniature was painted for the manuscript of the *Jutgamen General*, a late fifteenth-century tapestry may offer some visual reference with this play (Paris, Musée de Louvre).²⁹ In fact, both style and iconography belong to Flemish tradition, substantial evidence suggests that it was for French use, particularly the Burgundian court.³⁰ Certainly, this does not imply that the text had influenced the visual representation of this tapestry but as a useful reference to visualising the play.³¹

²⁷ Lazar, 58–59

²⁸ Each of this iconography will be dealt with in Chapter Four.

²⁹ Élisabeth Antoine, *La Tapisserie du Jugement Dernier* (Paris: Musée du Louvre Éditions, 2007), 17

³⁰ Antoine, 46–50.

³¹ One of the key differences is the image of Virgin Mary. In the tapestry, she does not expose her breast instead covered with a headdress and a blue robe.

The enormous size of the tapestry of the Last Judgement, measuring 490cm and 820cm, suggests that it was, together with the remainder, most likely used for more significant events than as an internal decoration. The tapestry is the tenth in a series of ten tapestries entitled *l'Histoire de la redemption de l'Homme* (History of the Redemption of Man).³²

The image of the Last Judgement retains an intricate visual perspective (fig. 3. 2 – 1). It contains more than a hundred figures that include Christ, two intercessors, twelve apostles, two prophets, Adam and Eve, Justice and Mercy, six personified sins, two old women, a male Tempter,³³ ten resurrected souls, four trumpeting angels, eight warrior angels, four worshipping angels, fifteen assisting angels, five devils, eighteen blessed souls, two damned souls and nine cleansed souls. Certain features in this tapestry show a close resemblance with that of the Last Judgement in the Hôtel Dieu at Beaune, particularly that of the Deësis.

The event of the Last Judgement seems to be announced by two prophets seated at each bottom corner of the composition. No specific visual attribute of the prophets can be identified but both carry an inscription from Isaiah. To the right is 'He will exercise his authority over the nations and shall arbitrate for many people' (Isaiah 2: 4) and to the left is 'The Lord will come to judge' (Isaiah 3: 14).³⁵ Christ, richly cloaked in an ornamented red robe, is surrounded by the twelve apostles, the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist. Christ's feet are resting on a transparent tripartite globe. They are seated on a wooden throne of judgment. At each side of the edge of the tapestry, two angels blow the trumpet

³² (1) The creation of the world, (2) Man fails to resist the temptations of the Vices, (3) Fall of man; and the intercession of Mercy, Peace and Grace (4) Destiny of man and the cycle of Incarnation (5) The Adoration of the Magi, Christ and the doctors, the meeting of Christ and St. John the Baptist, (6) The scenes of the life of Christ, (7) The battle of the Virtues and the Vices, (8) The Resurrection, (9) The Ascension, and (10) The Last Judgement.

³³ Antoine, 11.

³⁵ The original Latin inscriptions read 'Judicabit gentes arguet pplos multos and Dns ad judindu veniet'.

of resurrection. Below Christ, at a distance to the horizon, a few souls are resurrected. Some are naked and some are clothed. Interestingly, the traditional soul weigher, St Michael, had been replaced by Justice to the right and Mercy to the left. In her raised right hand, Justice, personified by a crowned woman, holds a sword. She casts away the wicked who include the six deadly sins, a Tempter and two poorly dressed elderly women who have fallen to the ground.

The six personified sins are young richly adorned women, dressed in contemporary gowns and headdresses; the seventh sin may be represented by a naked female who is being sent to the hand of a beast. Her appearance shares some similarities with that of the six sins, such as her youthful look and loose hair. The beast, on the extreme right waves his hand towards her. The beast is composed of several animals' appearance. It has a pair of deer's antlers, an eagle's beak, a bat's wings and a rooster's feet with sharp claws. Behind them is a rocky fiery mountain where wild beasts live. Above them, a group of warrior angels cast away these wicked sins and devils with a lance. Opposite Justice, Mercy seems to intercede for the just. She holds a stalk of lily in her left hand and stretches her right towards a couple. Behind Mercy, a group of just souls from different classes of society is represented by men and women of all ages. While joining their hands in prayer, they lift their head upon Christ in the hope of his grace. A host of angels are crowning these souls from above. Another group of angels present some cleansed souls to Christ.

Apart from the absence of the personification of Life and Death and St. Michael, most of the actors mentioned in the play were the key iconographical figures in the tapestry. They include Christ, the Virgin Mary, a multitude of angels, representative groups of

blessed souls from different social classes, seven personified sins and devils. In addition, both the play and the tapestry emphasise the consequences of the Seven Deadly Sins rather than the rewards or punishments. This is especially noticeable in the tapestry where neither images of Heaven nor Hell were represented. The omission of the reward or the penalty induces the function of the Last Judgement in the tapestry as something that is edifying rather than terrifying.

*Comparison between the text of the *Jutgamen General* and representational art*

While juxtaposing the structure of the *Jutgamen General* with the representation of the Last Judgement, certain key elements of the play reveal a close relationship between mystery play and representational art. One of the few instances is the scene of Christ in judgement. A noticeable example is the action of Christ who is deliberately exposing his wounds while pronouncing his final verdict (blocking before l. 1699). In the play, he first condemns the malefactors (ll. 1699 – 1804) and then he welcomes the righteous (ll. 1805 – 1818). The depictions of Christ at the judgement court exemplify most of the depictions of the Last Judgement, particularly, in his judgement gesture and the Five Holy Wounds.³⁶ In representational art, Christ's wounds are often emphasised by the bleeding. Besides appearing as a Judge, the kinship tie of mother and son between the Virgin and Christ was clearly underlined in the play. Not only did the author repeatedly emphasise Mary's role as a Holy Mother but he also accentuated her powerful position as an intercessor. Before the Virgin makes her request, Christ gently says:

It would be an unreasonable thing, in fact, that I refuse your request or not to pursue it immediately because you, my mother, you conceived me nine months in your stomach and then you breastfed me yourself, of your own breasts, without making me to take other milk' (ll. 1160 – 1168).

³⁶ An in-depth examination of Christ will be carried on in Chapter 4.1.1 Christ.

Customarily, being an intercessor of all, the Virgin Mary kneels and implores her son for forgiveness on behalf of humankind. Depictions of Mary kneeling in supplication, sometimes exposing her breast and spurring her milk, are common within the context of the Last Judgement.³⁷ The belief seems to be enacted in the *Jutgamen General*. While entreating Christ, the Virgin reminds him of her nurturance. She asserts, ‘I breast-fed you as a mother, a virgin, of my bosoms filled with heavenly milk’ (ll. 1174 – 1176). To a certain degree, Dominicans’ connection can be detected in this play as the Virgin’s milk and her motherhood was a cult of *Virgo Lactans* promulgated by the mendicant order.³⁸ Among the large scale representations of the Last Judgement in France investigated in this thesis, ten cases are found of which Virgin Mary is shown bare-breasted.

Another noticeable resemblance of the play with contemporary paintings is the form and position of Hell. Within the visual domain, the image of Hell is always placed to the right of the composition. It is a sombre place filled with flaming fire guarded by devils. Different torments are inflicted upon the damned. Reflectively, in the *Jutgamen General*, Hell was described as a dark fiery place with permanent cruel punishments of the damned and dominated by Lucifer and his companions. In the play, after Christ summons the angels to resurrect the dead, a stage blocking reads:

And then, after they [the angels] will have risen to the Paradise, the Dead will get up, some from their graves and others from invisible places, and they will appear in front of God, kneeling and without saying word. Later, the Blessed will rise to a trestle lower

³⁷ The conviction of the Virgin’s milk in appeasing the wrath of Christ was common, particularly in the fourteenth century. See Chapter 4.1.2 The Virgin Mary.

³⁸ The Immaculate Conception of which Mary did not inherit original sin was a bitter controversy on the article of faith between Franciscans and Dominicans and which prolonged for centuries. For more insightful discussion, see Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: the Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Knopf, 1976); Owen F. Cummings, “Understanding the Immaculate Conception,” *The Furrow* 30 (1979): 767 – 771; Richard Cross, *Dun Scotus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 132 – 134 and, Salvador Ryan, “The Persuasive Power of a Mother’s Breast: The Most Desperate Act of the Virgin Mary’s Advocacy,” *Studia Hibernica* 32 (2003): 61.

than the Paradise, of the right-hand side; the Damned souls will stay on the big trestle, of the left-hand side. (Blocking before 1. 23)

Elsewhere in the play, after Christ curses and condemns Lucifer, he commands Lucifer and his companions to ‘Go away from the others and go to the left side there’ (ll. 296 – 299).³⁹ Throughout the play, all the damned are sent to the left. Like most of the Last Judgement images, Hell was located on the left of the stage. In accordance with the existence of hellmouth in other mystery plays, a mechanical device is found. In a play script, in an earlier dated *Passion* play that was performed in Metz in 1437, the form of Hell was described as ‘a device [that] is opened and closed of its own accord when the devils wanted to go in or come out of it. And this great head had two great steel eyes which glittered wonderfully.’⁴⁰ It seems that this flexible device of a hellmouth could be the case in the *Jutgamen General*. The depiction of hellmouth in a human-sized form on the right side of the composition of representations of Last Judgement was not unusual. Furthermore, the scenes of devils transporting damned souls towards Hell in various methods, such as, on their shoulder and on a cart are common in both the play and the visual representations.

The whole notion of the awareness of the existence of sins and the urgency of repentance was concomitant with the subject of the Last Judgement. The popularity of the theme of the Seven Deadly Sins can be justified by numerous depictions of this theme and its punishments can be found on the parish churches in the southern part of France.⁴⁵ More broadly, the *Jutgamen General* indicated that the damned were those who had sinned despite their societal status. Different groups in the society were called forth for

³⁹ Since Christ sits facing the audience his left is the audience’s right.

⁴⁰ Peter Meredith and John E. Tailby, *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages: Texts and Documents in English Translation* (Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1983), 90.

⁴⁵ Gabrielle Sentis, *L’art du Briançonnais: La Peinture au XV^e Siècle*, vol. 1. (Grenoble, 1970), 121 – 138.

judgement including members of religious orders, members from the monarchy, pagans, idolaters and wrongdoing Christians. In the play, Christ was determined about his decision to the group who will never be able to gain forgiveness and salvation. These include: those who defied God's mercy, despised penitence, confessed but still acted evilly, those who caused the division of the Church, and finally the Seven Deadly Sins (ll. 1396 – 1441). Notably, this is not without biblical support. According to the Bible, Hell is a place intended for a specific group of people including the wicked, the proud, non-believers, murderers, idolaters, sorcerers, adulterers and liars, that is to say, those who committed sins.⁴⁶ A fifteenth-century preacher, Guillaume Pepin, listed 'murderers, the sacrilegious, thieves, adulterers, blasphemers, lechers, the envious, gluttons, snobs, violent men, and the like' as those whose intention is to live a life in Hell.⁴⁷ Therefore, it is to say that no sinners will leave unpunished.

Among these named sins, two sins – religious schism and heresy – seem to be positioned particularly relevant to the contemporary issues in the fifteenth century. The schism that began at the last quarter of the fourteenth century and lasted nearly forty years had undermined not just the Christian faith but also the Church's authority. Many theologians of that time interpreted it as *the* sign of the end of the world. In the play, the actor portraying Christ specifically asserted that those who had caused the spiritual destruction would not go unpunished.⁴⁹ Likewise, the actor also declared condemnation to '... [those] who have presented the truth as deceit and the deceit was made as truth, all these shall be damned' (ll. 1410 – 1413). This condemnation can be reasonably

⁴⁶Esther 13:7, Isaias 14:11, Apocalypse 21: 8, 22:15.

⁴⁷Quoted in Larissa Taylor, *Soldier of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 96.

⁴⁹'... [those] who by their great wickedness have caused the great schism in the Holy Church as a whole, I gave them a temporary reprieve to do penance, but they despised it and therefore they will be damned.' (ll. 1424 – 1431)

understood to mean the heretic movement, the Waldensians, which was particularly prevalent in the south in the second half of the fifteenth century.⁵⁰ The clerical concern in reacting against the contemporaneous issues seems to be noticeable in this play.

A Last Judgement depiction in the parish church of Notre-Dame-du-Bourg at Dignes-Bains may adequately reflect the concern of heresy within the Last Judgement. The painting dates back to around 1480. Here, the wall painting is divided into three compartments.⁵¹ Depictions of Christ and heaven occupy the top left, an image of Hell is seen at the bottom left and the Seven Deadly Sins were painted on the right. What should be noted is the image of Hell where a naked male figure kneels at the knee of a chained Satan (fig. 3.2 – 2a). He carries scrolls in both of his hands. He tries to get Satan's attention by stretching his hands high up. A big inkpot is placed behind him (fig. 3.2 – 2b).

Both the images of the manuscript and the inkpot suggest that it is a depiction of a learned man. In any case, a higher level of knowledge was often associated with suspicion of heresy. Since the Waldensians venerated scriptures more than ritual practises, the *barbes* were trained to read and to write for at least four years before they were sent to preach.⁵² The image of the man with scrolls can reasonably be seen as a heretic, as modern studies demonstrated that most of the Waldensians *barbes* were literate.⁵³ Although there were different organisations of heretics, the inquisitor manual

⁵⁰ Heretic movements had been challenging the Church since the twelfth century. Two heretic movements that particularly became a threat to the Church were the Albigensians centred in Languedoc (in the thirteenth century) and the Waldensians (active in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) in the Alpine regions. See Chapter Six on the discussion of the Waldensians movement.

⁵¹ For a more detailed visual examination, see Chapter 4. 6 Seven Personified Sins.

⁵² Gabriel Audisio, "Were the Waldensians more literate than their contemporaries (1460 – 1560)?" in *Heresy and Literacy: 1000 – 1500*, edited by Peter Biller and Anne Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 176 – 185.

⁵³ To the Waldensians, the word of *Barbe* is equivalent to the Christian's preacher.

of Bernard Gui to the Beguins of Languedoc may help to understand the Church's position towards the heretics. He wrote:

“... the source of the Beguins' errors and pernicious opinions has been discovered. They have culled these, at least in part, from the books and pamphlets of Brother Peter of John Olivi ... that is, from his commentary on the Apocalypse, which they have both in Latin and vernacular translation, and also from some treatises which they say and believe that he wrote, ... all of which they have in vernacular translations. These they read, believe in, and treat as veritable Scriptures.”⁵⁴

Correspondingly, the language of the script on the man's scroll, which he holds in his left hand, is recognised as Latin but the script on the right is unidentifiable. It appears most likely a vernacular language, as described by Bernard Gui, most of the *barbes* were travelling missionaries who verbally transmitted the Latin scriptures into vernacular language.⁵⁵ Whilst devil worship was the key accusation of the Waldensians by the Church, the act of the man presenting the scripts to Satan can be seen as a charge that carries eternal life in Hell.⁵⁶ Certainly, this can only be reduced to a hypothesis.

Besides the concern of heresy, the play of *Jutgamen General* contains a consistent pattern of metaphor through repeatedly reciting the causes, unbearable torments and contrition of each deadly sin. These formal features in the play may serve as supplementary sources for acquiring other visual references of the function of the representations of the Last Judgement as the depictions of the torments are not unfamiliar. Biblical admonition and an instantaneous response seem to be underlying the structure of the play. As ethical instruction in order to urge the audience to be attentive to

⁵⁴ Quoted in Robert E. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 188.

⁵⁵ Pierette Paravy, “Waldensians in the Dauphiné (1400 – 1530): from Dissidence in Texts to Dissidence in Practice.” In *Heresy and Literacy: 1000 – 1530*, edited by Peter Biller and Anne Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 160 – 175.

⁵⁶ Yannick Frizet, “Le Jugement dernier de Digne (XVe siècle): Sermon par la Peinture Murale.” Paper presented in *Images et Imagerie, Le Congrès National des Sociétés Historiques et Scientifiques* in 2007, 151 – 152.

their current conduct, a long list of sins is explicated by the actors. For instance, before each sin was assigned to a specific punishment, the cause of sin was clearly spelled out. For the case of Gluttony, he said he had ‘skinned every individual and left people to starve’ (ll. 894 – 897) and Lust admittedly said that ‘I was lustful throughout my life ... I played, denied, disdained, and I pronounced no doubt great madness; I wasted irreparably all my youth in banquets of debauchery’ (ll. 2164 – 2166).

During every torture, each deadly sin regretfully expressed their wrongdoings and advised the spectators not to follow their path because the condition in Hell was intolerable. For instance, Pride expressed the excruciating state in Hell while he was being tortured. He implored a devil saying ‘Come and kill me. I ask you to do it very sincerely!’ (ll. 1889 – 1890). He pleaded with Death to kill him at once. Pride disappointedly expressed that he would rather die than dwell in an eternal agony. Elsewhere, the actors, who took on the role of the damned, asserted the same expression. They no longer wanted to stay in a terrifying Hell (ll. 2062 – 2065). In the play, the hellish fire that was continuously consuming the damned souls had propelled them to ask for remedy (ll. 2180 – 2184). Other damned souls pleaded to God for an interim of punishment. Throughout the play, Hell was described as an eternal place of punishment without any peace of mind and that Hell was an ultimate destination for the damned.

Not only had the seven sins frequently expressed that they would rather die than experience eternal torment, they also gave advice to the audience. For example, after Pride pronounced his delinquency of self-glorification and vanity that had caused him eternal punishment, he advised the audience ‘do not follow the example of my acts, because you would undergo certainly the same consequences’ (ll. 1840 – 1841). In order

to ensure that his advice was well conveyed, Pride ended his compunction by recapitulating that 'I tell everyone not to take my example, because all those who will want to follow my path will arrive, without any doubt, to that place of torment will never avoid torture' (ll.1851 – 1856). A similar pattern of repeated admonitions was repeated by other personified sins. To urge the audience to do charity, Miserliness began with an account of his misdeeds. After he had delineated his covetousness and how he led the poor to destruction, he dissuaded the audience that 'I tell you now: it is the perseverance of my deceits that I am damned without forgiveness' (ll. 1948 – 1950). Then, he deplorably summarised his misdeeds again with:

Cursed is my greed which did not let me to be aware of the great evil which I did! Instead, I always persevered in this way, because it seemed to me that it was not a sin, especially the perseverance greatly benefited me. But now, I really realise that I am damned for eternity with all the devils in Hell. And for this, I tell you: please do not follow my way, because if you follow it, you will be damned without forgiveness. (ll. 1951 – 1963).

Having been through the tortures in Hell, thrice Miserliness repeated 'Good miserable people, please consider my example, because if you do not learn the morality, you will be irretrievably damned' (ll. 1995 – 1998). It is obvious that the author attempted to ensure that the advice on morality would be implanted in the mind of spectators.

Certainly, the script of the play of the *Jutgamen General* is not just to accentuate the unbearable torments in Hell but the hopelessness in obtaining a second chance. Repentance will be too late on the Day of Judgement. In the play, Christ rejected the intercession of the Virgin Mary while she tried to plead for forgiveness on behalf of the damned. To her request, Christ replied 'I am the Judge and it is necessary for me to judge each of them according to what he deserves' (ll. 1225 – 1227). Although Christ

showed much respect to the Virgin who had nurtured him, he did not show any compassion to the malefactors because of their unworthiness. Christ affirmed resolutely to one of the malefactors that ‘I answer you without hesitating that the place where you will go will be the abyss of Hell and you will never go out from there’ (ll. 1793 – 1796). Both the entrance of Hell and the well of torments were locked (l. 2610). The damned would never be freed from Hell nor have the right to die again (ll. 2014 – 2020). The moral of the play is straightforward: there is no hope for a damned soul after God’s verdicts on the Last Day.

As it will be too late to repent on the Last Day, the play of the *Jutgamen General* instigated the urgency of atonement. This is more noticeable in the admonition of Envy. He fervently exclaimed to the audience:

“Do not be so unreasonable as not to regret in view of the torments which you are witnessing at this time, because the fool does not believe in anything before he sees his brain! So all of you, consider this matter!” (ll. 2407 – 2412).

The actor urged the audience, particularly the stubborn ones, to repent immediately. The author deviously changed the accent of the advice from each deadly sin, from the application of a kind reminder to a menacing forewarning. A comparable warning was claimed by Laziness. He stressed that one must...

‘Leave your sinful ways, so you do not know one day the torment that you are attending. For I believe that in this public there is no Christian who will not tremble with fear when he saw the tortures’ (ll. 2541 – 2548).

Conjecturally, the performance of this play was violent to the eye of the spectators.⁵⁷ To a certain extent, the intensity of vicious punishments in the play must have aroused uneasiness among the spectators.

⁵⁷ Tailby, 90.

The emphasis of fiendish punishments indicates that the existence of Hell was an important element in imploring the spectator for repentance. Therefore, before the end of the play, Satan, the actor, earnestly warned the spectators:

‘It is necessary for you now to repent about it, because no evil remains unpunished. Because, in your life, you did not repent for wrong-doings which you had committed, you suffer now this torture...’ (ll. 2680 – 2688).

Here, Satan attempted to draw attention to a message of prompt repentance because no sinners will go unpunished. He implored the spectators to envisage beyond the mere image and to consider the moral message in leading a life of virtue.

In his appeal to the audience of the reality of the Last Judgement and the horrendous punishments, he asserted that:

‘And for this, you all, take example if you want, because the terrible torments which you see here are obviously only a figure, an image. Consequently, everyone, let's do good as long as we are in this world, because if we do not do it we shall certainly be punished for it’ (ll. 2689 – 2698).

Satan's admonishment was supported by a Messenger concluding the play. After praising the omnipotence of God, the Messenger reminded the audience that:

We cannot hide from your eyes, Lord, nor do we want to do so. And for that, lords and ladies, do good as long as we are in the world, because, when we are on that side of life, we could do neither good nor evil. And all of us who are here, we know that we will die. Well, everyone does what he must to win the holy glory days of the Last Judgement...
Go with God, and to God I commend you! (ll. 2716 – 2733)

The Messenger urged the spectators to constantly reflect on their conduct in their present life. He recommended that it is essential to exert virtuous behaviour in order to be able to stand righteously before God at the judgement court on the Last Day. He said ‘Lords and ladies, you have seen the play of the story of the Last Judgment; everyone puts it well in his memory...’ (ll. 2727 – 2729). He prayed that the spectators would remember what

they have seen in the play and act accordingly. Repeated exhortations throughout the judgement play accentuated the urgency of repentance before Christ's ultimate judgement. The actors asserted that the pains and prolonged punishments upon committed sins are more atrocious than what they had just seen. To a greater extent, the audience's perception was shaped by the act of seeing and believing.

The play offered no alternative way for the audience to believe otherwise. An instant example can be seen from the lamentation of Gluttony. He reaffirmed the audience that what they had seen was merely a spectacle, he mourned that:

‘I recommend you to do good as long as you live in the world; because when you are dead, you will do neither good nor evil, instead will be condemned for the tortures which you see me saddened in this place where I sit. Please consider the example of my punishments and my sorrows in which you see me subdued, because all this is only a figure, an allegory’ (ll. 2155 – 2159).

The actors reminded the audience that what they saw was an imitation from reality, which may as well be the function of a painting. In fact, the resemblance of the descriptions of the Last Judgement in these plays enrich the linear depiction but confer a creative space in which all aspects of the judgement fit. On the whole, through the examination of the resemblances between visual image and mystery play, it is certain that the *Jutgamen General* was a play that corresponds to the common features of contemporary depictions of the Last Judgement, particularly in the fifteenth century. Being the only surviving textual evidence of the questioned period that features a complete description of the plot of the Last Judgement, the play had justified the significance of the judgement theme depicted on the churches' wall.

The *Jutgamen General* adopted a proactive approach. It delivers the subject of the Last Judgement as an impending event that requires immediate action by offering a much

deeper psychology sense, particularly in relation to individual conscience. The attention of the play firmly focused on the Seven Deadly Sins that covers from its cause, its conviction to its consequence. Throughout the play, actors use a direct and repetitive manner of expression. Each personified sin first began to justify their wrongdoings, then expressed remorseful sentiments towards the past and, finally, repeatedly offered moralising advice. Before the play ended with moral advice, focus shifted to Hell where the Seven Personified Sins expressed their sorrow for sin. This repetitious approach might reasonably be aimed at moral reform that leads to personal conversion, which seems to be of Dominican influence. One clear evidence is the explicit proclamation of the lactation of Christ by Virgin. Together with the increasing interests in Dominican texts in the fifteenth century as described in the Chapter Two, there is enough reason to believe that there was a certain connection between the preaching focus of the Dominican and the subject of the Last Judgement.

Conclusions

The examination of these two plays offers a practical understanding not only of the way medieval society perceived the theme of the Last Judgement but how they visually interpreted it. The significance of each iconographic element such as the presence of the Deësis, emphasis of Christ's wounds, Virgin's intercession, insight description of sins and its consequences and the condition in Hell in the play were made amply clear. Although both mystery plays adopted the subject of the Last Judgement as the fundamental theme, different emphasis can be observed from the treatment of each play. The fourteenth-century play, *Jour du Jugement*, focused more on the biblical narrative on the story of salvation in association with the Last Judgement. It was a terrifying subject that would take place and that one should be aware of. Conversely, the *Jutgamen*

General emphasised the urgency of individual spiritual reform and, thus, immediate repentance is obligated.

While the setting and visual elements of the plays and representational arts shows substantial similarity, the implication of the theme can be understood in two levels. At the fundamental level, the imminence of the Last Judgement is the key concept of this eschatological theme. At a deeper level, the theme emphasise three key points both in the plays and the visual art. Firstly, as the judgement day may come at any time, the audience was advised not to defer the call for repentance. Secondly, Christ's final judgement cannot be influenced because he is stern in his judgement that is just and righteous. And lastly, Hell is real and is a horrible place to be for eternity. These accumulative aspects complemented to the key message of the theme of the Last Judgement that is the call and to effect salvation. In conjunction with the preponderant presence of the representations of the Last Judgement in France, in the fifteenth century, this subject seem to be reified not as a living reality rather than as a distant doctrine.

Chapter Four: Analysis on the Last Judgement iconographic elements

4.0 Introduction

Deësis in Judgement court in representations of the Last Judgement

An archetype of a Judgement court in a representation of the Last Judgement comprises the Deësis (Christ the Judge and the two traditional intercessors, the Virgin and St. John the Baptist)¹ and the resurrected dead. In this setting, Christ appears as a judge ready to adjudicate the resurrected one while the two intercessors prepare to intercede. It is common to find the Deësis accompanied by the twelve disciples and other figures such as saints, prophets and patriarchs. Christ's judgement on the Last Day is not merely to inflict punishment on the damned but it is a form of proclamation of truth. It is a truth of justice by not sparing sinners; of provision by fulfilling his promise; and of victory by reinforcing his juridical right. In the interest of understanding Christ's legal authority to the society in the fifteenth century, it would be better conceived by paralleling it with a secular juridical court. One of the prominent examples of the king exercising his royal authority to his subject can be found in a political trial called by Charles VII king of France, the *Lit de Justice de Vendôme* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, God. Gall. 6, fol. 2v).² It is a frontispiece of a manuscript *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes* (Concerning the Fates of Illustrious Men and Women) painted by the king's court painter, Jean Fouquet in 1458.³ This miniature

¹ Deësis is a traditional Byzantine iconography. See Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, vol. 2 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955 – 59), 740.

² The manuscript was commissioned by Laurent Girard, a secretary to king Charles VII. The frontispiece of the *Lit de Justice de Vendôme* was not in the original manuscript of *Des cas des nobles homes et femmes* written by Giovanni Boccaccio in around c. 1409.

³ François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à Peintures en France 1440 – 1520* (Paris: Flammarion, 1998), 130 – 139.

records a trial against John II Duke of Alençon, a close comrade-in-arms of Joan of Arc, who was charged and found guilty of treason to the British crown during the Hundred Years' War and sentenced to life imprisonment.

The *Lit de Justice* was a medieval monarchic proceeding in France, which set great authority by issuing edicts and judgements on major crime. Sitting on the throne of judgement indicates the ultimate power of the crown (fig. 4.1 – 1). Inside the royal court, as the supreme judge, King Charles VII sits majestically in the middle of the court. The king's regal appearance is emphasised through his uplifted throne ornamented with azure blue and gold fleur-de-lys, which extend to the canopy of the court. In front of him sat the Chancellor of France and a king constable. A representative from the jury is presenting a verdict to the Chancellor. On both sides, the king is surrounded by prelates, knights, nobles, and members of the Parliament of Paris. Each member turns their head towards the king; they seem to be waiting for the final verdict from the king. A crowd was assembled outside the court to hear the trial. This hierarchical arrangement in the court indicates an expression of the royal sovereignty and supremacy of the king. This unique visual evidence of a real trial offers a medieval perspective of justice and judgement.⁴

To a certain extent, the arrangement of the *Lit de Justice* resembles to that of the portrayal of Christ in the Last Judgement in two ways: the setting and the judgement authority. Within the Last Judgement setting, Christ is often placed in the middle of the composition flanked by the other two important Deësis members and the twelve disciples. The seating is

⁴ A more detail iconographical analysis is recorded in Georges Chastellain, *Oeuvres*, ed. J. Calmette and G. Durville, vol. III (Paris, 1924 – 1964), 477.

comparable to that of the solemn chamber for the treason trial of which the king's seat is slightly lifted than others. He is also the centre of the court surrounded by groups of people according to order and rank. It seems that the king's judgement chamber, just as Christ, is exclusive for noble members as commoners are kept outside the enclosure. Besides the arrangement in the court, both the king and Christ hold the final authority to pass the final judgement. For the purposes of this study, consideration will be given to the nature of the Deësis in the Judgement court, specifically, on how each character might have functioned and been perceived in the fifteenth century.

4.1 The Deësis

4.1.1 Christ

Representation of the Last Judgement cannot be formed without Christ. Christ's physical appearance in his Second Coming is almost biblical. Throughout the Christian Bible, *Parousia* or the Second Coming of Christ as Judge is recounted. Apocalyptic prophecies on Christ's Second Coming were often presaged in the Bible, which comprises strong eschatological and messianic overtones. According to the Bible, the return of Christ is regarded as the 'day of Christ' (Philemon 1:6), the 'day of the Lord' (1 Thessalonians 5:2), and the 'last day' (John 6:39 – 40). In other words, it is the end of the world, or as it is commonly called the Judgement Day. On that day the dead will be summoned to judgement (Apocalypse 20: 12 – 15). Of all the key scriptures that provide a visual description of this apocalyptic day, the gospel of Matthew is particularly prominent. It has been visually interpreted as the fundamental framework of the Last Judgement throughout medieval time. Christ's apparition upon his second return was described in Matthew 24: 30 – 31:

And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all tribes of the earth mourn: and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with much power and majesty. And he shall send his angels with a trumpet, and a great voice ...

And Christ's judgement was made explicit in Matthew 25: 31 – 34:

And when the Son of man shall come in his majesty, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit upon the seat of his majesty. And all nations shall be gathered together before him, and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats: And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on his left.

Then shall the king say to them that shall be on his right hand: Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

In verse 41:

Then he shall say to them also that shall be on his left hand: Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels.

And verse 46:

And these shall go into everlasting punishment: but the just, into life everlasting.

These descriptions of Christ executing his ultimate judgement are visually discernible. In order to discern the extent to which Christ is depicted as a Judge, it will be useful to examine through depictions of Christ's gestures within the representations of the Last Judgement.

Two common gestures of Christ on his judgement seat can be distinguished from the large scale paintings. The first and the most common gesture is the early Christian prayer manner – the *orans* posture. Two major variations of *orans* gestures are with extending arms or hands raised towards heaven.⁵ Originally, it was a gesture to imitate the suffering of Christ

⁵ It is a praying gesture that began since the late antiquity and became popular in the eleventh century. For a fuller discussion on the *orans* gesture see Moshe Barasch, *The Language of Art: Studies in Interpretation* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 61 – 69.

on the Cross to reflect the redemptive saviour attribute.⁶ More than half of the cases studied in this thesis feature this motif. One immediate example of Christ with *orans* gesture is in St-Eutrope church at Allemans-du-Dropt. Christ sits on a double rainbow with upright hands towards heaven (fig. 4.1.1 – 1).

Another gesture is the gesture of benediction. Here, Christ lifts his right hand up with the ring and small fingers touching the thumb and the remaining extended.⁷ In a judging posture, he lowers the left hand. Image of Christ in the parish church of St Victor and St Couronne at Ennezat (Puy-de-Dôme) possess this exemplary gesture.⁸ Here, Christ is seated on a rainbow that is reaching towards the ground (fig. 4.1.1 – 2). With his right hand upward, where he holds his thumb, forefinger and middle finger together, he blesses those who are saved. He curses those who are damned with his downward left hand. At Ennezat, Christ is depicted as an austere Judge. He seems to be disregarding the adjuration of the two intercessors and the twelve disciples. Some of the disciples, whose hands are joined in entreaty, look upwards to Christ attempting to implore whilst others lower their heads, seemingly in agreement with Christ's pronouncement. Below Christ, the dead are resurrected from their tombs and rise in supplication for Christ's merciful judgement. It is interesting to note that the depiction of the Judgement court was placed at one's eye level. This placement also runs parallel to the image of hell, which, unlike the image of Heaven, was placed above the court.

⁶ O. B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press), 59 – 77.

⁷ Leonid Ouspensky and Vladimir Lossky, *The Meaning of Icons*, trans. G. E. H. Palmer and E. Kadloubovsky (Boston Book and Art Shop, Boston, 1969), 73.

⁸ The original site of the painting is on the back wall of the church choir stalls. It was removed in the nineteenth century. For details, see George Troescher, *Burgundische Malerei. Maler und Malwerke um 1400 in Burgund, dem Berry mit der Auvergne und in Savoyen, mit ihren Quellen und Ausstrahlungen*. (Berlin: Mann, 1966), 188 – 19 and Anne Courtillé, *Auvergne, Bourbonnais, Velay Gothiques: Les Édifices Religieux* (Paris: Picard, 2002), 231 – 242.

Correspondingly, spectators were induced to contemplate the day of Judgement and the terror of Hell rather than the blissful state of Heaven. To a certain extent, the composition and location of the representation of the Last Judgement seem to incite spectators to virtually encounter the experience of being in the Judgement court.

In addition to these common motifs, oftentimes the image of Christ as Judge is coupled with the depiction of a sword, symbolising the eternal verdict, and a lily, alluding to the divine grace.¹⁰ The depiction of the sword, usually two-edged, is an apocalyptic symbol derived from the vision of John's apocalypse.¹¹

These iconographic elements are either issued from Christ's mouth or juxtaposed to his head. An immediate example can be found in the chapel of St Michel at Épinal (Vosges). Here, Christ was painted on the vault of the main sanctuary (fig. 4.1.1 – 3). He is seated on a rainbow supported by clouds. He raises both hands in an *orans* gesture while displays his wounds. To the right, a stalk of lily is stemming from his mouth and there is a sword on his the left. Christ is flanked by two angels blowing the trumpets of resurrection. Below him, resurrected souls are praying for compassion. Notably, although intercessory figures were not included, the depiction of heaven is still emphasised. Saint Peter is standing in front of the gate of Heaven accepting righteous souls. Here, it seems that the representation of Hell was deliberately omitted. This visual composition of Heaven-predilection reflects the wishful desire of the donor to be admitted to Heaven upon Christ's judgement. A much later

¹⁰ Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art : The Passion of Christ*, 207.

¹¹ Apocalypse 19: 15 And out of his mouth proceedeth a sharp two edged sword; that with it he may strike the nations. And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness of the wrath of God the Almighty.

dated but comparable example can be identified in a private chapel in Château de Langlard at Mazerier (Allier).¹²

The representation of the Last Judgement on the south wall in Langlard was commissioned by Agnès de Montmorin whose figure was painted as the leader of a group of donors, kneeling in supplication in the direction of Christ. Here, in the apse of the east wall, Christ is enthroned on a double-rainbow (fig. 4.1.1 – 4a). A stalk of lily and a sword were placed at both sides of Christ's hands. His Judgement is reinforced by the image of God the Father painted above him who seems to confer authority on Christ for his verdicts. Instead of looking at Christ, the donors are gazing upon a group of saints who take over the role of intercessors (fig. 4.1.1 – 4b). Their countenance seems to suggest that they utterly rely on the intervention of these saints. According to the individual attribution, the saints begin with Saint Anne, Sainte Barbe, Sainte Catherine, Sainte Madeleine, Sainte Marthe and Sainte Claire (fig. 4.1.1 – 4c). These saints are associated with healing, sustained health and to have a good death. The presence of these saints reveals the donors' concern with both their earthly well-being as well as their assurance of the celestial destiny upon Christ's final verdict.

Besides the inclusion of a stalk of lily and a sword, together with the hand gesture Christ's five wounds are often depicted. These include the nailed-limbs and side of his body. The honour of the Five Holy Wounds was a popular medieval cult that was growing since the

¹² Anne Courtillé, "Langlard à Mazerier," *Bulletin Historique et Scientifique de l'Auvergne* 51 (2000): 193 – 208.

eleven and twelfth century and developed until the Reformations.¹³ It was the cult of remembrance of Christ's passion.¹⁴ The medieval society viewed the wounds of Christ 'as a place of refuge for the soul of humans'.¹⁵ The idea of Christ's redemptive and suffering role for humility was emphasised.

Concerning the interest of the conviction of the wounds, private prayers were written for meditation and a special mass was said in honour of his wounds.¹⁶ The significance of Christ's wounds was addressed in Thomas à Kempis's popular devotion book, the *Imitation of Christ*, which was written in the early fifteenth century. He asserts:

If you cannot soar up as high as Christ sitting on his throne, behold him hanging on his cross. Rest in Christ's Passion and live willingly in his holy wounds. You will gain marvellous strength and comfort in adversities. ... If we had known ourselves his sufferings in a deep and serious consideration and tasted the astonishing greatness of his love, the joys and miseries of the life would soon become indifferent to us.¹⁷

To believers, the Five Holy Wounds of Christ were closely correlated with his passion for mankind. Elsewhere, in one of the prayer guides of Thomas à Kempis, he refers to these wounds as tokens of 'surpassing love' and 'victory over death'.¹⁸ He says "if you do not know how to meditate on heavenly things, direct your thoughts to Christ's passion and

¹³ Louis Gougaud, *Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages*, (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1927) 95 – 96

¹⁴ Bonetti, *Le Stimate della Passione: Dottrina e Storia della Devozione alle Cinque Piaghe* (Rovigo: Istituto Padano di Arti Grafiche, 1952) 87 – 125; Caroline Walker Bynum, 'The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg,' in *Renaissance Quarterly* 39: 399 – 439 and David Williams, *The Five Wounds of Christ* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2004)

For more detail read Anselme Longpré, *The Holy Wounds of Jesus: based on the Scriptures, the Doctors of the Church, the Holy Shroud and the Spiritual Masters* (Montreal: Companions of Jesus and Mary, 1986).

¹⁵ Quoted in E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved; The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 138.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Imitation of Christ*, quoted in Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 302-306.

¹⁸ Thomas à Kempis, *Prayers and Meditations on the Life of Christ*, trans. William Duthoit, K. Paul, (London, 1908), 114 – 116 and 274 – 279.

willingly behold His sacred wounds”.¹⁹ He stresses that these wounds redeemed souls and ‘cleansed the world’.²⁰ This can be further supported by two fourteenth century mystics Heinrich Seuse and St Catherine of Siena who believed that the holy wounds, particularly the wounded side, was the path to Christ’s heart and the token of his heart.²¹

In addition to religious authority, other media also laid emphasis on the Five Holy Wounds. For instance, a fourteenth-century mystery play, the *Jour du Jugement* recounts Christ’s wounds at great length. After sitting for the trial, Christ says:

It is now the time for me to display my insignia to all people. It is this that teaches everyone how my people put me to death – I who was their friend – and how I, God, chose to come down from Heaven for their sake and hang on the cross.

The intention of showing his wounds was clearly stated. It is to ‘show it so that everyone should look upon it’ (l. 2178). Christ continues:

I am Jesus Christ, your king, who in order to redeem you from Hell allowed my body to be struck and beaten. I was sold for thirty deniers and was hanged on the cross for you. In my side and in my hip they wounded me with this lance, so that the blood flowed down to my feet. I was fastened with these nails and yet it was not because of any sin of mine ... (ll. 2181 – 2190)

Later, Christ’s wounds were reiterated by an angel who is carrying a cross. The Angel reminds the audiences by asking a rhetorical question, ‘do you see here present the sign whereupon he suffered his death and passion for your redemption, you are lest who have deserved it?’ (ll. 2205 – 2208). Another angel, carrying a lance, expounds on the nails that fastened Christ and how Christ’s side was pierced (ll. 2210 – 2214). The angel further indicates Christ’s sacrifice and humility by referring to the crown of thorns and a vessel (ll.

¹⁹ Thomas à Kempis, *Imitation of Christ*, 17 May 1995, <http://wesley.nnu.edu/wesleyctr/books/1201-1300/HDM1212.PDF> (accessed 17 February 2009).

²⁰ Thomas à Kempis, 274 – 279.

²¹ Gougaud, 95 – 96

2215 – 2220). The Five Holy Wounds and the instruments of passion can be seen as the identifying mark of Christ as the Redeemer. Certainly, this play of *Jour du Jugement* is not the single play that features the wound and the blood of Christ. It is commonly found in other medieval festivals and mystery plays.²²

A noticeable example is in the already mentioned chapel of Pénitents Blancs at La-Tour-sur-Tinée. Christ's passion for humanity is displayed not only through the five marks of wounds but also through the sacrificial blood that gushingly flows out from these wounds (fig. 4.1.1 – 5). In many cases, the depiction of Christ's redemptive characteristic was highly regarded. An instant example is the church of Notre-Dame de Fountains at La Brigue of which Christ's indivisible character as a Judge mingled with his loving nature as a Redeemer (fig. 4.1.1 – 6). Here, Christ's five wounds are clearly visible. Instead of blood spurting out, intense strokes are jetting from these wounds. The embracement of the concept of the blood of Christ as the act of love can be seen from the depictions of angels encircling him. These angels are carrying the instruments of the Passion that inflicted Christ's death on the cross. To Christ's right, one angel carries a pair of ropes while another holds the crown of thorns. To Christ's left, angels are carrying a pillar and the crucifix. Below Christ, another angel is clasping a lance, a reed and some nails. The angel seems to incite the outcasts, labelled as Jews, with the passion instruments in his hands. Interestingly, one of the outcasts furiously stares at the angel rather than feeling any regret. In this case, it would be probable to assume that these Jews were those who were said to have been responsible for Christ's crucifixion. The episode of Christ's crucifixion was reinforced.

²² Clifford Davidson, *Festivals and Plays in Late Medieval Britain* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 162.

It would seem that within the context of the representations of the Last Judgement, the depiction of Christ displaying his wounds was relatively common in the fifteenth century. According to the medieval Christian conception of redemption, the blood of Christ reconciles the broken relationship between man and God the Father.²³ For example, the concept of Christ's blood was reiterated in a sermon of Michel Menot a Franciscan. He exclaimed that:

“...the blood of Christ cries out for compassion toward the poor, despoiled and unjustly afflicted, and for punishment, for the very cloaks you wear were bought with the blood of the poorest people.”²⁴

In other words, the eternal redemption of the world resulted upon his death and through his blood.²⁵ Through the manifestation of the Five Wounds and the blood and the display of the instruments of crucifixion, Christ is not only an austere Judge but a Redeemer. The display of the holy wounds on the Day of Judgement may be perceived as evidence of Christ's resurrection and the fulfilment of prophecy. Nonetheless, in a practical sense of religion amongst believers, this integration may represent another level of perception.

One other motif that sometimes inserted into the image of Christ as Judge is the depiction of scrolls. One apparent example that incorporates benediction gesture with scrolls is in the parish church of Notre-Dame de Fontaines at La Brigue (Alpes-Maritimes). This late fifteenth-century painting was painted on the west wall of the church. Christ, seated

²³ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2007; “The Blood of Christ in the Later Middle Ages,” *Church History* 71 (2002), 685–715, and “The Power in the Blood: Sacrifice, Satisfaction and Substitution in *Late Medieval Soteriology*,” in *Redemption: an Interdisciplinary Symposium on Christ as Redeemer*, ed. Gerald O’Collins, Stephen Davis and Daniel Kendall, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004.

²⁴ Quoted in Larissa Taylor, “Dangerous Vocations: Preaching in France in the Late Middle Ages and Reformations,” in *Preacher and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, edited by Larissa Taylor (Boston: Brill, 2001), 93.

²⁵ Hebrews 9: 15 – 20, 12:23 – 24, 13: 20 – 21 and Luke 22: 20

enthroned, is encircled by cherubim and seraphim in a mandorla form (fig. 4.1.1 – 6). He exercises his judgement by lowering his left hand upon the wicked. A scroll is positioned beside Christ's head. It is a revision of Matthew 25:41 which reads 'Step back you cursed, go to the eternal fire that has been prepared for the devil and his angels, since the fault is infinite the sentence must be infinite'.²⁶ Christ is glaring at the three accusatory beasts whose appearance seems to transmute from a leopard, an ox and a goat. Each of the beasts carries a book in their hand declaring their ownership of the wicked souls. The words inscribed on the scroll above them read 'Very fair Judge, admit that these are my sons since they have refused your grace'.²⁷ The rejection of Christ and proclamation of possession indicate that at the Judgement court there is no point of return. In other words, the verdict of Christ is eternal.

Although the Judgement court is attended by the twelve disciples and the two mediators, the authority of Christ is emphasised by his proportionally larger size when compared to the other panels in the tribunal. In fact, it is usual for the image of Christ to be depicted with at least one or two judgement signs besides the hands gesture. For example, in the cathedral of Coutances (Manche), Christ's verdict is represented by the stalk of a red lily and sword that correspond with the gesture of benediction and condemnation (fig. 4.1.1 – 7). In the same way, in the chapel of Pénitents Blancs at La-Tour-sur-Tinée (Alpes Maritimes) Christ is pronouncing his judgement with both hands raised towards Heaven whilst a lily and sword are flanking his head (fig. 4.1.1 – 5). Below these two motifs are two inscriptions placed juxtapose to his hands assimilate the judgement signs. Additionally, Christ's holy wounds

²⁶ Arrière Maudits, allez au feu eternel qui a été préparé pour le diable et ses anges comme la faute fut infinité de même la sentence doit être infinité.

²⁷ Juge très équitable, admet que ce sont mes fils puisqu'ils ont refusés ta grâce.

are highly visible on his pallid body. The combination of these motifs serves as a reminder of Christ's self-sacrifice to redeem humankind from their transgressions while emphasising his Second Coming as a supreme Judge.

In France, more than half of the depiction of Christ as Judge studied in this thesis is often interweaved with other iconographic elements namely a stalk of lily, a sword, bleeding wounds, a pair of scrolls. The fusion of elements is to either intensify Christ's role as a Judge or to underline his redemptive nature.

However, there is one exceptional case that offers different motif of Christ on his judgement seat. In the parish church of Saint Vincent at Tarnos (Landes) Christ is depicted not just merely as a Judge but as the Saviour of the world or *salvator mundi* (fig. 4.1.1 – 8a). He lifts his right hand by extending three fingers as an act of blessing and on his left he holds a tripartite orb. This tripartite orb, which traditionally symbolises the three key continents: Europe, Africa and Asia, intensifies Christ's majestic power over the world.³⁹ In fact, the tripartite orb is often depicted as a footstool of Christ when he is on his judgement seat. This motif can be seen in the churches of Saint-Austremoine, Saint-Eutrope, Saint-Mexme, Sainte-Anne, the triptych of Hôtel Beaune and chapel in chateau of Châteaudun (See Plates VI, VII, XII – XVI).

The representation of the Last Judgement at Tarnos is painted at the main apse of the church. Christ is placed in the middle of an apse (fig. 4.1.1 – 8a). He is depicted as an elderly man who is seated on a coloured-rainbow. His supreme power is celebrated by six angels around

³⁹ Percy Ernst Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel* (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1958), 84 – 85.

him. The four angels that can be seen behind him are playing different musical instruments that include a rebec, a harp, an organetto and a lute. Another two angels flanking Christ's side are swinging an incense burner in their hands to honour and glorify Christ's love. In Christian tradition, burning incense is an act of devotion and a way of pleasing God.⁴⁵ Disparate from its contemporary examples, at Tarnos, Christ is clothed and clad with a red robe by which his wounds are concealed.

Christ's attribute as the Saviour of the world is further intensified by an image of the crucifixion below Christ. Three female saints, most likely to be the Virgin Mary, Mary of Clopas and Mary Magdalene are witnessing a man piercing Christ's side with a lance (fig. 4.1.1 – 8b).⁴⁶ Christ's suffering was expressed not only by the holy wounds and blood but also from the bruises on his body. The depiction of Christ as Judge did not overshadow his love for mankind.

A comparable example can be discerned from the parish church of Notre-Dame at Pont-sur-Yonne (Sens). Here, Christ has been placed in the middle of the composition (fig. 4.1.1 – 9). He is flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist. Christ is presented as an austere judge with a stern countenance. Unfortunately, it is impossible to distinguish the other parts of the painting as they have been white-washed. However, the message of salvation and eschatological fulfilment is clearly demonstrated by an empty crucifix that was painted to his right. The cross is crowned by the crown of thorns while other instruments of passion, such as a ladder and a spear, are attached to it. Not only do these images reveal Christ's

⁴⁵ Frank C. Senn, "Other Liturgical Vessels," *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 3, edited by Erwin Fahlbusch and Geoffrey William Bromiley (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 321 – 322.

⁴⁶ John 19: 25

crucifixion but also his resurrection. The offer of salvation is facilitated by an emotional appeal of a bare-breasted Virgin Mary.⁴⁷ Apparently, Christ's humility was deliberately separated from his sovereign prominence at his Second Coming. These details lend to the attributes of Christ both as the supreme Saviour and the Judge.

The accumulated iconographic analysis of the image of Christ leads to an interesting finding that reveals medieval perception of the role of Christ at the Last Day. Christ was regarded not just as a supreme Judge in representations of the Last Judgement but assuming other roles such as the Saviour of the world, the Redeemer of sinners. The sublime of Christ at Judgement court is compellingly expressed. As the Judge, Christ was depicted with his judgement gesture with his upraised right hand and lowered left hand. Oftentimes, as a redemptive saviour, Christ extended both of his hands outward in an *orans* gesture to show his affection for humankind.

To further intensify this redeeming nature, Christ discloses his unflinching passion through his bleeding wounds. Occasionally, the instruments of crucifixion and a tripartite orb lies at his feet are included. While Christ's Second Coming signifies Christ final judgement, these depictions of Christ establish an image of a supreme God. He is both a stern Judge and a compassionate Saviour. In a spiritual and religious sense, these visual pointers emphasise Christ's passion and love that should be seen to encourage the acts of devotion and penitence.

⁴⁷ This iconography is discussed in the following section on Virgin Mary.

4.1.2 The Virgin Mary

The Virgin Mary, mother of Christ, is one of the key intercessors on the Judgement Day. The cult of Virgin Mary began as early as the fifth century.⁵⁰ Through her submission and sufferings, she became a typical model of humility and faithfulness in the Middle Ages. This had earned her merit as a mediator of mercy and compassion for humankind. To the medieval Christian, it seems that praying to the Virgin was more approachable and more efficacious.⁵¹ These prayers include key statements of the Virgin's imploration to her son. One of the medieval prayers that are still cited today is written by a twelfth-century Cistercian French abbot, St. Bernard of Clairvaux. He wrote:

Remember, O most gracious Virgin Mary, never is it heard that anyone who fled to your protection, implored your help, or sought your intercession was left unaided. Inspired with this confidence, I fly to you, O virgin of virgins, my Mother. O you do I come, before you I stand sinful and sorrowful O Mother of the Word Incarnate, do not ignore my petitions. But in your mercy hear and answer me. Amen.⁵²

St. Bernard of Clairvaux played a great part in promoting the cult of the Virgin after he saw a vision of the Virgin during his prayer. He was miraculously healed by the Virgin as she pressed her breast and squirted milk towards his sore body.⁵³ His faith in the Virgin as an intercessor was widely disseminated.⁵⁴ The Virgin's subsequent fame, in particular, on the Judgement Day was highly praised. Admiration for the Virgin's goodness was not limited to religious texts, but also in secular literature such as poetry and mystery plays. For example,

⁵⁰ Michael P. Carroll, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary: Psychological Origins* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 86–88.

⁵¹ Catherine Oakes, *Ora pro nobis: The Virgin as Intercessor in Medieval Art and Devotion* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2008), 41.

⁵² Charlene Spretnak, *Missing Mary: The Queen of Heaven and Her Re-emergence in the Modern Church* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 122–123.

⁵³ Richard Salter Storrs, *Bernard of Clairvaux: The Times, the Man and His Work* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1892), 194.

⁵⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Magnificat: Homilies in Praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, Trans. by Marie-Bernard Said and G. Perigo (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publication, 1993).

the French poem the *Advocacie Notre-Dame* consists of a long account of the Virgin's intercession for sinners.⁵⁵ These writings, which were dedicated to the Virgin, emphasise her effective appeals. One of the exclusive honours to the Virgin was the non-biblical idea of the Immaculate Conception promoted by the Franciscans that began to take form in the twelve century.⁵⁶ It is to believe that the Virgin is exempted from original sin. Upon the wide acceptance of this idea, particularly in the thirteenth century her cult grew as a central object of public veneration.⁵⁷ In 1476, Pope Sixtus IV introduced a feast day for the Immaculate Conception. He wrote '[Mary] is the path of mercy, the Mother of grace, and the friend of piety, the consoler of the human race ... she intercedes with the King whom she has brought forth, for the salvation of the faithful'.⁵⁸ Following the teaching of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin and her close kinship with Christ, the Virgin's cult experienced great development. The liturgical feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary was embraced during these times, but the doctrine was only made dogma in the nineteenth century.⁶¹

⁵⁵ Lynette R. Muir, *Literature and Society in Medieval France: The Mirror and the Image 1100-1500* (London: Macmillan, 1985), 155.

⁵⁶ The idea of Immaculate Conception did not emerge swiftly. This idea can be traced to as early as the fifth century. For more historical background, see Mirella Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (New York: College Art Association of America in conjunction with the Art bulletin, 1957), 5 – 11.

⁵⁷ Ignatius Brady, "The Development of the Doctrine on the Immaculate Conception in the Fourteenth Century after Aureoli," *Franciscan Studies* 15 (1955): 194 – 202; Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 195 – 202 and Cornelius A. Bouman, "The Immaculate Conception in the Liturgy," in *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception: History and Significance* (Notre-Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958), 113 – 159.

⁵⁸ *Extravagantium Communium, on the Relics and the Veneration of Saints* quoted in Council of Trent, *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. by Theodore Alois Buckley (London: George Routledge and Co., 1852), 320.

⁶¹ The discussion of Mary's status will not be covered in this thesis. For further details see the studies by Nancy Mayberry, "The Controversy over the Immaculate Conception in Medieval and Renaissance Art, Literature, and Society," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 21 (1991), 207 – 224.

Mary's intercessory role in representations of the Last Judgements is singular. A few iconographic elements feature this characteristic. The most common depiction is where she kneels in supplication. For instance, in the cathedral of Saint-Austremoine at Issoire (Riom), Mary is portrayed as a young noblewoman clad with a golden fringed white robe (fig. 4.1.2 –1). She joins her hands in prayer whilst kneeling down. She looks upward in the direction of Christ. Another example in which the Virgin was depicted as a regal lady is in the Coutances cathedral at Coutances (Manche). Having left her throne, she is on her knees in supplication for mankind (fig. 4.1.2 – 2). The depiction of a youthful Mary reflects her submissive quality by which she was receptive to God's request to conceive Christ in a virgin womb. Behind her, two angels carry a cloth of honour emphasising her dignified position. The Virgin Mary's imperial character on the last day was recounted in *le Jour du Jugement*. Her special intercessory position was featured by the implorations of the twelve disciples who were also attending at the Judgement court.⁶² A cherub requests Mary's intervention before Christ exercises his judgement. He addresses the Virgin as 'Lady, wise and valiant queen, you who illuminate all of Heaven, Queen above all other queens; supplicate your Son for the sake of your people' (ll. 1734 – 1737). Moreover, there are a few occasions where the Virgin was depicted as a celestial queen.

This variation can be seen in the parish church of Notre-Dame de Benva at Lorgues (Var). The queenly attribute of Mary is reflected through the richly decorated crown and dress. Here, the Virgin is given a more honourable position; she sits at Christ's right hand. Visually she shares the same throne (fig. 4.1.2 – 3). Behind them, four angels hold a cascade of a cloth of honour. Christ is represented by an elderly man who has a tripartite globe in his

⁶² *Le Jour du Jugement*, ll. 1738 – 1829.

left hand. On his cruciform halo rests a dove – the Holy Spirit – with outstretched wings. Another comparative depiction of Mary as a queenly intercessor is found in the parish church of Saint-Mexme at Chinon (Indre-et-Loire). The regal characteristic of the Virgin is combined with her motherhood status (fig. 4.1.2 – 4). Not only does the Virgin wear a brocaded golden gown and a richly decorated crown, but she is also covered with a wimple and clad with a blue mantle. She seems to present the blessed souls to Christ by lowering down her hands to the right. She sits on a curved throne as a regent and entreats Christ's merciful judgement to the faithful.

Very often, the Virgin was depicted as an empathetic mother who intercedes. Her intercessory status as the mother of Christ at the judgement court was recited in one of the early prayers of Mary, which is attributed to the Bishop of Liège, Saint Wolbodo.⁶³ The prayer reads:

... mother of the highest king, chosen before the constitution of the world ... knowing no one more capable of appeasing the anger of the judge than you, the mother whom he chose for the reconciliation of sinners, I humbly beg you most tearfully, most merciful *domina*, that, when you come to the aid of all those wretched and accursed who are fleeing to you for refuge, you may also deign to succour miserable me ... I should merit to see the desirable and placable face of my redeemer without confusion, by your intervention, illustrious mother of the highest emperor.⁶⁴

The faith of medieval believers depended on the Virgin's kindred with Christ.⁶⁵

⁶³ Quoted in Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800 – 1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 219.

⁶⁴ "O Gloriosa Mundi Domina," quoted in *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Rubin, 132 – 134.

Besides, the Virgin's motherhood was also reiterated in a fourteenth-century play, the *Jour du Jugement*. In the play, the Virgin implored her son, saying:

Son, for whom I was in sorrow and pain,
that day I saw you die on the cross,
fair son, may you remember me:
I entrust myself completely to you.
Fair, gentle son, I ask nothing of you
that would be against your will:
I beg you to allow those who have venerated me
to receive their legacy in paradise. (ll. 1829 – 1837)

Interestingly, although the Virgin Mary did not remind Christ of her motherly suckling care, Christ in turn replied that “what pleases you is what my heart desires. Blessed was the hour that you begot me, and suckled me and nourished me.” (ll. 1838 – 1842) The Virgin was regarded as a holy mother who attentively took care of her son. The divine kinship between Mary and Christ was a popular concept.⁶⁷ The intercession of the Virgin became an urgent entreaty for the believers at the time of Christ's judgement. His adjudication on the Judgement Day is inalterable. The Virgin's motherly intervention is more intense because of her exposed breast. A brief example may be observed in the mystery play of the *Jutgamen General*. While Christ begins his judgement, the Virgin Mary implores to her son by emphasising her unfailing nurture of breast-feeding. However, Christ dissuades his mother by explaining the reprobation of the wicked souls.

The cult of the Virgin's milk was promoted by Dominicans in the thirteenth century. They believe that the Virgin's milk evokes Christ's compassion and then to assent to the Virgin's

⁶⁷ Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, Vol. 1 (London: Sheed and Ward, 1963), 226.

appeal.⁶⁸ With the Virgin's milk, the wrath of Christ will turn into gentleness. One representative example of Mary intervening with a bare breast is in the chapel of Saint-Gaubert in the cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Cahors (fig. 4.1.2 – 5). In the depiction of the Last Judgement, Mary is dressed in gold and covered with a white cloak. The Virgin gazes earnestly upon Christ for imploration by baring her left breast to remind Christ of the breast that had suckled him. Instead of in supplication, she is holding her breast with her right hand and lowering her left hand down to the resurrected souls. Her expression seems to have efficaciously evoked Christ's compassionate nature to humanity. Christ turns his attention towards his mother whom he had depended on. Similar imagery of the Virgin with her bare breast is found in the Chateau de Boismorand at Antigny (Vienne) and the parish church of Notre-Dame at L'Hôpital-sous-Rochefort (Loire) (fig. 4.1.2 – 6 & 7).

This depiction recalls one of the eleventh-century prayers to the Virgin regarding the Judgement written by Saint Anselm. It reads:

Lady, it seems to me as if I were already before the all-powerful justice of the stern judge, facing the intolerable vehemence of his wrath, while hanging over me is the enormity of my sins, and the huge torments they deserve. Most gentle Lady, whose intercession should I implore when I am troubled with horror, and shake with fear, but hers, whose womb embraced the reconciliation of the world? ... Who can more easily gain pardon for the accused by her intercession, than she who gave milk to him who justly punishes or mercifully pardons all and each one?⁶⁹

A more desperate variant of the representation of a bare breasted Virgin can be found in the parish church of Saint-Vincent at Cazeaux-de-Larboust (Tarn). The Virgin's defining role as

⁶⁸ Salvador Ryan, "The Persuasive Power of a Mother's Breast: the Most Desperate act of the Virgin Mary's Advocacy," *Studia Hibernica* 32 (2002/3): 59 – 74.

⁶⁹ Quoted in Fulton, 233 – 234.

a proactive intercessor is represented by her act of pressing her breast to spurt milk towards Christ's wound at the side (fig. 4.1.2 – 8). It is an expression of 'double intercession'.⁷⁰

The pervasiveness of the conviction of Virgin's lactation in France can be recognised from a manuscript of Dominican origin, the *Horloge de Sapience* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. IV 111) (fig. 4.1.2 – 9).⁷¹ Instead of being placed within the context of the Last Judgement, the bare-breasted Virgin appears in the heavenly court alongside the Holy Trinity, which is represented by God, Christ and a dove (fol. 62).

This subject became very popular in the fifteenth century.⁷² In fact, the question of Mary's virginity created a great tension between the Dominicans and the Franciscans for centuries. The dispute began in 1387 by Jean de Montson, a Spanish Dominican who opposed the doctrine of the Virgin Mary's exemption from original sin.⁷⁵ At the turn of the fifteenth century, Jean de Montson appealed to the Pope Clement VII at Avignon and this resulted in a dilemma for the papacy.⁷⁶ The Dominican argued that if Mary was truly immaculate, then she would not have been able to have lactated Christ as lactation was considered as the curse of original sin.⁷⁷ For the Franciscans, the Blessed Virgin Mary was believed to have been a perpetual virgin.

⁷⁰ Beth Williamson, "The Cloisters Double Intercession: the Virgin as Co-Redemptrix," *Apollo* 152 (2000): 48 – 54.

⁷¹ This manuscript is examined in Chapter 2.3 *Horloge de Sapience*.

⁷² Barbara Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 261.

⁷⁵ Jean Joseph Laborde and Arthur Cleveland Coxe, *The Impossibility of the Immaculate Conception as an Article of Faith* (Philadelphia: Herman Hooker, 1855), 70 – 72.

⁷⁶ Mandell Creighton, *A History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome* (London: Longmans, 1919), 108 – 111.

⁷⁷ Warner, 204.

In fact, this depiction occurs as an uncommon motif within representations of the Last Judgement. Among ten cases in France that depict the Virgin Mary with a bare breast, only two included the depiction of her holy milk. Since the conception of the Virgin's maternal relationship with Christ and her nourishment of Christ were mainly promoted by Dominicans, the places where these depictions of the Blessed Virgin Mary found may have been under the influence of Dominicans.⁷⁹

Through the examination of the motif of the Virgin in representations of the Last Judgement in the fifteenth century, the responsibility of the Virgin is clearly visible. Her traditional intercessory role was particularly emphasised through her motherhood and her close relationship with Christ. She is commonly depicted as a compassionate divine mother with an expression of tender supplication. The Virgin's presence was not necessary in the representations of the Last Judgement but spiritually significant for her devotees who asked for her intercession and protection.

One motif of the Virgin that was not commonly seen before the fifteenth-century Last Judgement depictions was the bare-breasted Virgin. The visual imagery of the Virgin with an exposed breast emphasised two spiritual expectations concerning her importance. First, it was a reminder of her unique maternal intimate relationship with the creator; and second, depiction of the Virgin's breast and her ability to lactate in representations of the Last Judgement intensifies the devotee's hope of redemption at the Last Judgement. The

⁷⁹ Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 123 and 222, and for detail discussion see Georgiana Goddard King, "The Virgin of Humility." *The Art Bulletin* 17 (1935): 474–491.

particular devotion of double intercession – bare-breasted and the holy milk– assumes strong emotional appeal in appeasing the stern judgements of Christ. Although she does not hold the final decision for one’s salvational outcome but she was seen as hope and assurance. The emergence of the new motif of the Virgin Mary in representations of the Last Judgement seems to underlie the plea for salvation from desperation in medieval French society.

4.1.3 Saint John the Baptist

The last Deësis member who was privileged enough to honour a seat in the Judgement court is John the Baptist. In most cases in France, within the depictions of the Last Judgement, he was always painted as a traditional intercessory figure. His physical appearance was very much dependent on the description of him in the Bible. According to the Bible, John ‘had his garment of camels’ hair, and a leathern girdle around his loins: and his meat was locusts and wild honey’ (Matthew 3: 4). One example of this conventional depiction of John is the Beaune altarpiece (fig. 4.1.3 – 1). John the Baptist, on Christ’s left, lowers himself in a humble position of half-kneeling and half-side-sitting. While fixing his eyes upon Christ, his hands are joined. He is pleading on behalf of mankind. He has short dark curly hair with a beard. As the result of an ascetic life, he appears as an aged hermit wearing a garment made from camel’s hair. John’s emaciated body is manifested through his exposed leg. He is barefooted. However, this wasted appearance does not undermine John’s saintly status. Over his shoulder, he is covered by a priestly blue cape fringed with gold. These visual details of John are common and can be discerned from many churches. John the Baptist’s intercessory role was highly praised in the Middle Ages. Prayers were often said to both the Virgin and John the Baptist for divine intervention. For example, in an intercessory prayer the

efficacious appeal of the two intercessors were praised. It reads “Oh, two celestial gems, Mary and John! Oh, two lights which shine divinely before God! May your rays chase away the clouds of my sins”.⁸⁰ Nonetheless, unlike the Virgin Mary whose fame of having effective appeals to Christ is exclusive, John’s role in a judgement scene is multifaceted.

Besides acting as a mediator, uncommonly, within the visual representation of the Last Judgement Saint John the Baptist is depicted as a Precursor of Christ. This role is not without biblical support. According to the Bible, John is the forerunner in preparing for the coming of Christ (Matthew 3: 13 – 15).⁸¹ He is one who bears the testimony of Christ’s coming. His occurrence was foretold by the Prophets Isaiah and Malachi as the one to ‘prepare the way for the Lord’.⁸² Hence, John the Baptist was also called as the Precursor.

St. John’s role as the Precursor can be discerned in the cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Cahors (fig. 4.1.3 – 2). Here, John is half-naked and exposing his chest. The camel’s hair garment is flapping from his waist. He is depicted as an aged half bald man with a short white beard. His face is furrowed with wrinkles and his eyes are sombre. Kneeling on one knee, John is not in an interceding position as he crosses both hands on his shoulder. He seems to act as a humble soul before Christ. This visual feature recalls two biblical excerpts that recount John discrediting himself from being able to baptise Christ and that, instead, he was sent to

⁸⁰ *Anima mea*, quoted in Rubin, 133.

⁸¹ Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to the Jordan, unto John, to be baptized by him. But John stayed him, saying: I ought to be baptized by thee, and comest thou to me? And Jesus answering, said to him: Suffer it to be so now. For so it becometh us to fulfill all justice. Then he suffered him.

⁸² Matthew 3:4 and Mark 1:6.

prepare the way for Christ.⁸³ John reminded believers that he was not Christ, but was sent before him. He declared to a crowd at Aenon that ‘He [Christ] must increase, but I must decrease.’⁸⁴ He indicated that Christ was the true Messiah.

However, the image of John as a Precursor at Cahors is a rare case within the Last Judgement depictions. A more common depiction is the inclusion of a Lamb with St. John the Baptist. A depiction resembling John’s prevision can be discerned in the Saint-Austremoine parish church at Issoire (Riom). There, John is portrayed as a wasted saint who is kneeling before Christ (fig. 4.1.3 – 3). Next to him, a little white lamb with a cruciform halo is seated. Undoubtedly, it is a reference to the Lamb representing Christ as the sacrifice of God. Instead of being an intercessor, John is a prophet in the representation of the Last Judgement in Saint-Austremoine. The inclusion of John and the Lamb here seem to be a fulfilment of apocalyptic prophecy.

Leaving his intercessory role, St. John of Baptist was portrayed as an ascetic prophet. This feature can be seen in the parish church of Saint-Laurent at Mont-d’Astarac (Miranda). He is dressed in a garment of camel-hair with a leather girdle (fig. 4.1.3 – 4). In his hand, he holds an opened book where a scroll lies on top. The scroll is crowned with a cross that is tightened with a white braid. This is a common visual tradition that is proclaiming Christ’s imminence and his crucifixion.⁸⁵ Saint John foretells Christ’s salvation to humankind and his transcendence, where he prophesies that ‘Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who

⁸³ I indeed baptize you in the water unto penance, but he that shall come after me, is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; he shall baptize you in the Holy Ghost and fire (Matthew 3: 11).

⁸⁴ John 3: 28 – 30.

⁸⁵ Anne Jamerson, *History of Our Lord*, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, 1865), 284.

taketh away the sin of the world. This is he, of whom I said: After me there cometh a man, who is preferred before me: because he was before me' (John 1:29 – 30). John the Baptist was the first one to describe Christ as the 'Lamb of God'.⁸⁶

An alternative depiction of John as a prophet can be found in the chapel at Châteaudun. John is seated, to the left of Christ, on a throne and is portrayed as a respectable saint (fig. 4.1.3 – 5). His character as a hermit in the wilderness is represented by his austere countenance and his camel hair apparel. It is covered by a golden brocaded cape fringed with precious stones. The saint holds a book with his left hand and his forefinger is pointing at Christ; signalling that Christ is the Messiah. His presence indicates the coming of judgement. Although John the Baptist is the key messenger and precursor of Christ, his intercessory role seems more popular within the depictions of the Last Judgement. This can be further testified by the extant case studies of which less than five examples of John were depicted as a prophet or a precursor.

Nonetheless, the depiction of John the Baptist as a mediator seems less significant than that of the Virgin Mary. No example of the image of Christ hitherto focuses on John. Christ is either gazing forward or turning his head towards the Virgin. The mystery play of the *Jour du Jugement* offers some insights about John's intercessory position in the Middle Ages. At the end of the play, before Christ exercises his judgement, John the Baptist requests the Virgin's intercession on behalf of him and the twelve apostles. He emphasises his

⁸⁶ Richard Taylor, *How to Read A Church: A Guide to Images, Symbols, and Meanings in Churches and Cathedrals* (London: Rider, 2003), 52 – 54 and 94 – 95.

unworthiness before Christ even though he was the one who baptised Christ and preached about his coming. He said:

My Lady ... I ask of you a boon and beseech you – for I have a great fear – in remembrance of how I worshipped your dear Son when still in my mother’s womb: Please entreat both your Son and your Father to have mercy on his people. My heart is blackened with fear. Alas! I dare not speak to him, my Lady: Beg him to remember us as well as his friends, dear Lady, for it is not fitting that we leave your company and descend with the wicked. I have placed all my hope in you: You are well aware that I baptised him and preached his coming. For his sake I lived most abjectly and even was beheaded for him. Sweet Lady, if you wish you can certainly protect each and every one of us’ (ll. 1738 – 1759).

In fact, the intercessory role of Saint John the Baptist was sometimes substituted by Saint John the Apostle. This substitution is not uncommon as the apostle had a close connection with Christ. Being the beloved disciple of Christ, not only did he witness Christ’s crucifixion, he was also the first disciple to believe in Christ’s resurrection.⁸⁷ Most of all, he was often considered as the author of the *Apocalypse* who had seen the process of the destruction of the world. This replacement can be discerned in the parish church of Saint-Victor-et-Saint-Couronne at Ennezat (fig. 4.1.3 – 6). Here, John the Apostle was depicted as a youthful vigorous man clothed in a red robe.⁸⁸ He joins his hands together in prayer while fixing his eyes upon Christ. He has completely different facial features compared to that of the ascetic characteristic of John the Baptist. Besides John the Apostle, Christ is flanked by the Virgin and the other apostles in the Judgement court. Their attendance in the judgement

⁸⁷ John 20: 3 – 9.

⁸⁸ Réau, vol. 3, 460.

court is not without biblical reference. According to the Bible, Christ bestowed a judicial authority to the twelve apostles on the Last Day.⁸⁹

Their presence is recounted in the mystery play of the *Jour du Jugement*. In this play, the twelve disciples turn to the Virgin for intercession, as they are afraid of the austere Judge in the court. Upon Christ's judgement, they express their trepidation. In turn, Christ invites them to sit on judgement seats, which he has prepared for them to assist him in the trial. Each disciple administers different groups of the resurrected souls (ll. 2221 – 2234). One representative example of the inclusion of the twelve disciples ministering Christ in the Judgement court is in the parish church of Saint-Mexme at Chinon (Pl. XV). Six on each side of Christ, they are seated on a throne. They seem to be participating in Christ's juridical office by whispering to each other. Each of the apostles carries a personal attribute. For instance, Saint John the Apostle is holding a chalice with a serpent, Saint Peter has a silver key and Saint Matthew holds a book. The inclusion of the twelve apostles in representations of the Last Judgement is relatively common but not widespread. Other examples can be found in the parish church at La Brigue (Pl. XI) and the chapel in Châteaudun du Châteaudun (Pl. XIV).

It is obvious that the intercessory role of St. John the Baptist at the Judgement court is less prominent than that of the Virgin. Certainly, his role at the Last Judgement is versatile but his presence in the Judgement court seems to be fulfilling the traditional iconography of the Deësis. In many cases, the image of St. John the Baptist was excluded or sometimes

⁸⁹ And Jesus said to them: I say to you, that you, who have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the seat of his majesty, you also shall sit on twelve seats judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Matthew 19:28).

incorporated as one of the saints attending at the heavenly court. The less consistent characteristic of St. John featured in representations of the Last Judgement suggests his position as a subservient intercessor for the society in question.

Conclusions

In view of all this visual evidence, each member of the Deësis should not be read in an apocalyptic way. The key motive within the representation of the Last Judgement is likely to be associated with the reassurance of hope for salvation. Besides resumes the ultimate Judge at the Last Day, Christ He was portrayed as the Redeemer. His judgement characteristic was often associated with his passion for mankind which can be seen from the *orans* gesture. The emphasis on his five wounds and the surging blood was a crowning touch to the appeal of immediate repentance. Constancy in depicting Christ's wounds at the judgement court should be regarded as an act of love and divine passion that can be mediated through the literal eyes of spectators. Together with the motif of the tripartite globe, the love attribute of Christ as a Saviour who desires the salvation of every soul. His appearance as Judger, Redeemer and Saviour in representations of the Last Judgement could be interpreted as a religious appeal to sinners that may possibly lead to the thought of repentance rather than a state of despair.

Equally important, the inclusion of the two intercessors, the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist, was an aspiration of the intervention for divine mercy in the Judgement court. Their close kinship to Christ was seen as a merit for believers to seek for confidence. It is a

powerful spiritual and psychological connection between the divine and humanity. As an intercessor, depictions of the Virgin as a divine mother with her bared-breast and holy milk were an expressive appeal. It was the assurance of divine forgiveness. The reinforcing role of the Virgin as a significant advocate who intercedes between Christ and mankind seem to bring hope closer to reality.

The assertion of St. John the Baptist as a prophet and precursor in representations of the Last Judgement are more articulate than that of a mediator. Possessing a prophetic feature, his presence carries strong apocalyptic essence, both in announcing salvation and in testifying eschatological fulfilment. Whether it was within an intercessory dimension or judicial ministration, the inclusion of the twelve disciples at the judgement court seems less popular within the Last Judgement imagery. These distinctive visual features of the Deësis can be interpreted in the same way, that is, the offer of salvation remains open for all who choose to accept it and this offer can be received through intercession of the Deësis.

4.2 Saint Michael

One of the archangels always associated with an eschatological accent is St Michael. This connection is not fictional but is biblical in origin. According to the Bible, St Michael is *the* Archangel who disputes with the Devil (Jude 1:9), the chief prince who protects (Daniel 12:1) and the one who will fight against the dragon on the Last Day (Apocalypse 12:7). His multifaceted roles were highly complimented in Jacobus de Voragine's compilation of saints' lives, *Golden Legend*, written around 1260.¹ It was a widely collected hagiography in the Middle Ages, particularly in the fifteenth century.² Jacobus de Voragine begins with a brief but concise introduction about St Michael:

... in the time of the Antichrist St Michael will rise up and stand forth as defender and protector of the elect. He it was who fought with the dragon and his angels and expelled them from heaven, winning a great victory... Michael receives the souls of the saints and leads them into the paradise of joy. In the past he was prince of the synagogue but has now been established by the Lord as prince of the Church... He is held to be Christ's standard-bearer among the battalions of the holy angels. At the Lord's command he will kill the Antichrist with great power on Mount Olivet. At the sound of the voice of the archangel Michael the dead will rise, and it is he who will present the cross, the nails, the spear, and the crown of thorns at the Day of Judgement.³

[Saint Michael Archangel in *Golden Legend*]

To the medieval society, St Michael was clearly an authoritative saint who protects souls of the faithful and fights against evil. Although not formally canonised by the Church, St Michael's multifaceted roles, particularly in guardianship, had made him a legendary

¹ Richard Freeman Johnson, *Saint Michael the Archangel in Medieval English Legend* (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2005), 66 – 67.

² Frédéric Duval, *Lecture Française de la fin du Moyen Age: Petite Anthologie Commentée de Succès Littéraires* (Geneva: Droz, 2007), 115 – 118.

³ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. by William by Granger Ryan (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), 201.

archangel by church Fathers.⁴ The feast of Michaelmas was celebrated as early as the fifth century.⁵ Nonetheless, within the visual context, another role that was commonly assigned to St Michael on the Last Day of Judgement was that of being a weigher of souls. This traditional task was of apocryphal origin rather than one supported by a scriptural source.⁶ As a weigher of souls, St Michael was depicted as an archangel in a long tunic bearing the scales of judgement.⁷

A typical depiction of St Michael as a weigher of souls is a fifteenth-century altarpiece at Beaune (fig. 4.2 – 1). The saint was painted directly underneath Christ. He is weighing souls by lifting up his right hand that holds the balances and lowering the left. St Michael is dressed in a liturgical garment: a white alb and brocaded red lined green cape.⁸ He has a pair of red pointed wings decorated with peacock motifs. He appears to have a certain authority as described by Jacobus. The name St Michael means, ‘who is like God’.⁹ However, during the course of the fifteenth century the weighing task of St Michael was extended. This was because the militant role of fighting against a devil was assigned to him on the Last Day.

This military role is noticeable in the depiction of the Last Judgement in Saint-Laurent parish church at Pressiat (Bourg-en-Bresse). This mural dates from the late fourteenth to

⁴ For St Michael’s role in medieval time, see Colette Beaune, “Saint Michael,” in *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 167 – 171.

⁵ Johnson, 49.

⁶ It is beyond the scope of this thesis to cover this aspect. For more historical discussions, see Johnson, 87 – 88. For iconography developments see Samuel George Frederick Brandon, *The Judgement of the Dead* (London: Weidenfelt and Nicolson, 1967), 119 – 129 and Jean Fournée, “L’archange de la mort et du jugement,” in *Millénaire Monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, vol. 3, edited by Marcel Baudot, 79 – 82 (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1971), 79 – 82.

⁷ Earlier representations of St. Michael in the Judgement scene are including the Cathedral of Bourges at Bourges (c. 1240), Sainte-Foy at Conques (c. 1150) and Chartres (c. 1215)

⁸ Barbara G. Lane, ““Requiem aeternam dona eis”: The Beaune “Last Judgement” and the Mass of the Dead,” *Simiolus* 19 (1989), 166 – 180.

⁹ Jacobus de Voragine, trans. by Ryan, 201.

the early fifteenth century. The Last Judgement scene occupies three walls: the Deësis and St Michael on the eastern wall; the twelve apostles and donors on the north; and the Devils and an image of Hell on the south. At the judgement court, Christ is flanked by two intercessors (Pl. I). Below them, to the right, the dead are resurrected from their tombs. To the left is St Michael performing his service (fig. 4.2 – 2). He has a decidedly military bearing. As a man-at-arms, St Michael is fully dressed as a knight. His hands are protected by a gauntlet and vambrace, and his legs are covered by poleyn and greave. As an archangel, the saint has wings and a halo. His head is fastened by a circlet with a cross. He is carrying a pair of scales in his right hand and a cross staff in his left. The saint lowers his head as he looks at a wounded dragon beneath his feet. Saint Michael is in a defeating guise. The dragon extends his limbs in pain. It is bleeding from its mouth and ears of which St Michael's cross staff has thrust through. On his scales, a man's sin seems to be of a greater weight than the other soul whose head is haloed. Above the haloed soul, a group of blessed souls, whose deeds passed St Michael's scales, are escorted by an angel towards Christ. In Pressiat, St Michael did not abandon his traditional role as a weigher of souls on the Last Day but, instead, he was assigned with a knightly task.

One fully developed iconography of St Michael in the representation of the Last Judgement is found in Saint-Austremoine parish church at Issoire (Riom).¹⁰ It dates back to the third quarter of the fifteenth century.¹¹ Placed below the judgement court, St Michael is fulfilling his duty in weighing souls (fig. 4.2 – 3). Meanwhile, a personified devil attempts to interrupt the saint's balance by pulling a soul away from a pan. St Michael seems to secure his fair judgement by raising up his sword towards the

¹⁰ Anne Courtille, *Histoire de la Peinture Murale dans l'Auvergne du Moyen-Age* (Brioude: Watel, 1983), 199 – 203.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Devil. Here, the saint possesses a more defensive character. He is fully garbed in armour and covered by a long blue lined red robe. Images of a sword, a cross staff and a scale can be seen by the saint. A similar depiction of St Michael was also painted in Saint-Eutrope parish church at Allemans-du-Dropt (Lauzun).¹² The image of St Michael is placed between one of heaven and another of Hell (fig. 4.2 – 4). Interestingly, instead of traditionally weighing souls, he is safeguarding a soul who hides his lap away from a devil. The saint holds the horn of the Devil with his left hand and assails the Devil with a cross staff in his right. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, St Michael, in the guise of a warrior, achieved enormous success. More than half of the images of St Michael within the context of the Last Judgement in France that are examined in this thesis show him as being dressed in full armour. These observations prompted further consideration: why did the images of St Michael change in the representation of the Last Judgement? What cultural issues in society could have prompted these changes? What was the connection between St Michael and the French?

At this point, it is important to consider what the medieval French found admirable in respect of his prevailing qualities and how St Michael was perceived by contemporary audiences. The connection between St Michael and France can be discerned from the French veneration towards the cult of St Michael. Veneration of St Michael in France may be traced back to 813 AD when Charlemagne proclaimed the feast day of St Michael. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, St. Louis (king Louis IX) publicly announced his devotion to St Michael.¹³ The importance of St Michael to the French monarchy during the Middle Ages is evident from a large number of contemporaneous

¹² J. B. Marboutin, “Les Peintures de l’église d’Allemans-du-Dropt,” *Revue de l’Agenais* 62 (1935), 217 – 226; Robert Mesuret, *Les Peintures Murales du Sud-Quest de la France du XIe au XVIe Siècle* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1967), 113 – 114.

¹³ Abel Anastase Germain, Pierre Marie Brin and Édouard Jules Corroyer, *Saint Michel et le Mont-Saint-Michel* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1880), 219 – 230.

chronicles, literature and plays concerning St Michael defending the kingdom of France.¹⁴ Numerous churches and chapels in private chateaux were dedicated to him, one of those that was famous is the Mont-Saint-Michel.¹⁵ To the French, St Michael was one of the favoured saints apart from St Denis – a prestigious patron saint.¹⁶

One major historical event that might have encouraged the reliance of the French to the service of St Michael in the latter part of the Middle Ages was the Hundred Years War that began around 1337. After more than half a decade of wars with the English, France was in political chaos. Not only was the French monarchy involved in prolonged wars with the English but it was also engaged in civil conflicts between the Armagnacs and Burgundians. The situation worsened when the English won the Battle of Agincourt in 1415 which resulted in the loss of the heart of French territory – Paris.¹⁷ The saint's military protection was recognised throughout the wars and this gave great assurance to later kings of France to put their kingdom under St Michael's protection. His military role in France was recounted by Guillaume Benoit, a French jurist and author, at the end of the fifteenth century. In the *Repetitio contra Raynutium*, he wrote:

In France, it is St Michael who is the angel of royal dignity because he is the most powerful of all the angels, just as the King of France is the most Christian of kings. And by the will of God he is appointed to guard the kingdom; as sign of this protection he appeared in France at the Mont and the kings of France can say, as Daniel did, 'he is the first who came to my aid'.¹⁸

¹⁴ Jean Chartier, *Chronique de Charles VII: Roi de France*, (Vol. II) (Paris: P. Jannet, 1858); Eugène de Beaurepaire, *Les Miracles du Mont Saint-Michel; fragment d'un mystère du XIVe siècle*, A. (Avranches: Anfray, 1862); V L Hamblin and Jacques Milet, *Le Mistère du Siège d'Orléans (ca 1300 – 1500)* (Geneva: Droz, 2002); Simeon Luce, *Chronique du Mont-Saint-Michel*, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1879).

¹⁵ For example, in 1446, Charles dedicated a chapel to St. Michael in Chateau d'Amboise. *Ibid.*, 160.

¹⁶ For the study on the national patron saints in France, see Beaune, 20 – 79 and 152 – 171.

¹⁷ Anne Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000.

¹⁸ Guglielmus Benedicti, *Repetitio contra Raynutium* quoted in Beaune, 170.

It is evident that St Michael was not just another patron saint venerated by the French monarch but a saint that had political bonds with the kings and the kingdom of France. One of the key players in the Hundred Years War whose great art collections may shed some light on the understanding of the importance of St Michael to the French monarchy, was Jean Duke of Berry.¹⁹ He was the brother of King Charles V and the uncle of King Charles VI. Regardless of his lack of interest in politics, the Duke's involvement in French politics was inevitable.

Among many collectible items recorded in the Duke's inventory, one of the most valuable collections that possess an image of St Michael is a reliquary that houses a relic of the holy thorns of Christ (British Museum, Waddesdon Bequest).²⁰ It is one of the four spines that the duke inherited from the grand Crown of Thorns that had been brought back by Louis IX (Saint Louis) from Constantinople in 1238.²¹ Because it had physical contact with the body of Christ, the Crown of Thorns was venerated as a sacred object in Byzantium for more than a millennium. According to the record of the inventory, this reliquary may have been fabricated sometime between 1405 and 1410.²² To honour a holy subject as such, the reliquary was amply decorated with precious gems and materials, namely, rubies, sapphires, pearls, crystals, enamel and gold. Interestingly, a biblical scene that was normally associated with this relic is the subject of the Last Judgement (fig. 4.2 – 5a). This 30-centimetre high reliquary consists of three scenes. On the top, God the Father appears as a sovereign king whose hands carry an orb topped

¹⁹ For the inventory of Duke of Berry see Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean Duc de Berry (1401 - 1416)*, vols. 2 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894).

²⁰ John Cherry, *The Holy Thorn Reliquary* (London: British Museum Press, 2010).

²¹ Rowena Loverance, *Christian Art: The British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 2007), 206.

²² Hugh Tait, *Catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1986), 41.

with a triumphant cross in his left and a sceptre in his right. His appearance seems to be welcomed by two angels.

Below God the Father is a sealed case with the presence of the Deësis and the holy spine. Christ the Son is seated on a rainbow with a judgement gesture. The Five Holy Wounds are clearly visible. Next to Christ, two angels carry the instruments of passion, which include a holy thorn, a cross staff and some nails. Christ's head is slightly lowered so he is not looking at either the Virgin Mary or St. John the Baptist. Instead, he seems to be gazing at the spectator. At his foot, both intercessors kneel in supplication. Whilst lifting her head towards Christ, the Virgin Mary lowers her left hand and points at the holy spine. She appears to remind Christ about his passion before he executes the final judgement. St. John the Baptist has his hand clad and he looks at Christ with earnest compassion. In the middle of the Deësis, the holy spine elevates on a sapphire. Below is an inscription that reads 'This is a thorn from the crown of Our Lord Jesus Christ'.²³ The twelve disciples, each with their own attribute, encircle the main case. At the base of the reliquary is a chaotic scene in which the dead are resurrected upon the angels' final trumpet sounds.

At the back of the reliquary is a flat compartment with two hinged doors decorated with gold relief. It is believed that both saints were chosen to protect valuable items, perhaps another relic, which is now lost (fig. 4.2 – 5b).²⁴ This may be evident through the presence of two saints, St Michael and St Christopher, whose role was to safeguard the faithful. With respect to the subject of the Last Judgement as the main theme, the presence of these two saints may be associated with an apocalyptic belief. The former

²³ Ista est una spinea corone/ Domine nostril ihesus cristi

²⁴ Tait, 43.

was venerated as a soul protector and the latter was honoured as a guardian saint of sudden death.²⁵ Instead of weighing souls on the Last Day, St Michael is defeating a beast with a cross staff. He is dressed in a short tunic with bare feet. On the left door, St Christopher carries a Christ child whilst crossing a river. Both saints seem to be deliberately chosen by the patron who urged for spiritual protection. To a certain extent, the battling attribute of Saint Michael echoes an image of St Michael in a parish church at Ennezat – a commune in Auvergne under the appanage of Jean Duke of Berry (since 1360).

The parish church of *Saint-Victor-et-Saint-Couronne* at Ennezat includes one early fifteenth-century example of a knightly role of St Michael in the representation of the Last Judgement.²⁶ This painting was commissioned by the priest of Ennezat, Étienne Aurelle and his aunt Audine Aurelle in 1405. Seated on a judgement seat, Christ is flanked by the Virgin Mary and St. John the Apostle who kneel in supplication (Pl. II). The twelve disciples, six on each side, were painted with distinctive expressions and attributes. One of the disciples, who stands to the left of Christ, seems to be distracted by a conflict that occurs behind him. An image of a damned soul, not a devil, being cast away by St Michael (fig. 4.2 – 6). Here, St Michael shows a total transformation from his traditional role as a weigher of souls or a protector of souls on the Last Day. In a rather unusual manner, he forbids the damned soul from going to the left where Christ's judgement and heaven are located. What seems to be emphasised in Ennezat was not the ministry of St Michael to Christ but the defending spirit of the saint towards the evildoers. The change of attribute in St Michael leads to some reconsideration of his task

²⁵ Cherry, 12 – 15.

²⁶ The current painting is not on its original location. For details, see George Troescher, *Burgundische Malerei. Maler und Malwerke um 1400 in Burgund, dem Berry mit der Auvergne und in Savoyen, mit ihren Quellen und Ausstrahlungen* (Berlin: Mann, 1966), 188 – 19 and Anne Courtillé, *Auvergne, Bourbonnais, Velay Gothiques: Les Édifices Religieux*. (Paris: Picard, 2002), 231 – 242.

in the Last Judgement. It is important to note that the mural painting of Ennezat was produced during the lifetime of Jean duke of Berry. Thus, it would be of no surprise if he had known or visited the church since it is situated not far from Riom; one of the duke's residencies.²⁷ Many occasions were recorded concerning the duke's involvement in directing his artists in their works.²⁸ It seems likely that Jean's preferences may have had a certain influence on this painting. A direct response to this change could be that the saint's exclusive service to the French as a military saint was that he was regarded more as a triumphant warrior than a weigher of souls.

This potential connection may be supported by another visual example of St Michael as a militant archangel, in the Duke of Berry's book of hours, the *Très Riches Heures* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, fol. 195r). It is attributed to the Limbourg brothers, the duke's court painters, executed around 1405 – 1408/1409.²⁹ Here, St Michael is garbed with a long blue robe and covered by a breastplate. He is armed. He has a sword in his right hand and a sheath in his left. The saint seems to have just defeated a winged dragon. The dragon turns his head downwards. He is severely wounded and bleeding (fig. 4. 2 – 7). Besides this strong visual representation of the service of St Michael, one interesting detail in relation to the saint's protection is the depiction of a scale. The scale was painted to the right, on one of the houses on the shore. The inclusion of the scale may seem trivial. Nonetheless, its importance must not be overlooked. The scale was emphasised by its gold-gilded appearance. Visually, this scale counterweighs a white flag painted with fleur-de-lys on the extreme right. The flag is dangling from the ledge in

²⁷ Courtillé, Thibout, Aubert and Troescher concur that there was a certain relationship between painters who worked for duke of Berry and the Last Judgement in Ennezat.

²⁸ Husband, Timothy B. *The Art of Illumination: The Limbourg Brothers and the Belles Heures of Jean de France, Duc de Berry* (New York: metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 11 – 31 . See Chapter Five for further discussion on the association between Jean Duke of Berry and the painting at Ennezat.

²⁹ Husband, 17.

front of the main entrance of Mont-Saint-Michel. These visual details suggest a noticeable dependence of the French on the saint's guardianship. Another two details that are worth mentioning are the presence of the island of Tombelaine and a shipwreck. The topographic view of Mont-Saint-Michel suggests it was painted from mainland France. While the island of Tombelaine, located to the right of Mont-Saint-Michel, was another fortified island during the Hundred Years War, the shipwreck, to the left, may represent an English ship, which attempted to acquire the site.

The deliberate appearance of St Michael above Mont-Saint-Michel was not without political implication. In fact, throughout the Hundred Years War, the English launched several attacks on the shrine but with no success. Furthermore, Mont-Saint-Michel was the only place in Normandy that remained intact from the hands of the English.³⁰ To the French, Mont-Saint-Michel was beyond a popular site for pilgrimage. It is a manifestation of resistance. Most, importantly, it signified that France was a divinely ordained kingdom and, therefore, it was protected by the saint. Besides being an important fortress abbey to kings of France in the Middle Ages, it was also one of the preferred pilgrimage sites for French kings and princes.³¹ Kings of France, namely Charles VII, Louis XI, Charles VIII and Louis XII, made several pilgrimages to Mont-Saint-Michel. Like other royal members, the Duke of Berry gave his devotion to St Michael. During the later years of his life, he went to Mont-Saint-Michel for pilgrimage.³² Hence, it is not unusual to notice some visual references of the service of

³⁰ *Millénaire du Mont Saint-Michel, 966-1966: Exposition, Paris 18 mars-15 mai, Mont-Saint-Michel, 28 mai – 1 octobre* (Paris: Caisse nationale des monuments historiques, 1966), 303; Mina Martens, André Vanrie and Michel de Waha, *Saint Michel et Sa Symbolique: Ouvrage Publié par la Ville de Bruxelles dans le Cadre de son Millénaire* (Brussels: Editions d'Art Lucien De Meyer, 1979), 82.

³¹ Kings and princess who frequently visited Mont-Saint-Michel are Charles VII, Louis XI, Duke of Berry, François I Duke of Brittany. See *Millénaire du Mont Saint-Michel*, 284 – 285.

³² Buonaccorso Pitti, *Chronica di Buonaccorso Pitti* (Italy: Nella Stamperia di Giuseppe Manni, 1720), 87.

St Michael in the duke's prayer book. The importance of St Michael to the French political situation can also be discerned in a few prayers that belonged to patrons who engaged in the wars with the English.

The scene of St Michael battling with a devil at Mont-Saint-Michel is found in a book of hours commissioned by Jean le Maingre II, known as Boucicaut around c. 1405 – 1408 (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, ms. 2, fol. 11v).³³ Boucicaut was a famous French marshal for his military achievements. He was also one of the commanders during the Hundred Years War. Eventually, he was captured at the Battle of Agincourt in 1415 and died in English captivity six years later. St Michael is one of the twenty-seven suffrages of the saints in this prayer book (fig. 4. 2 – 8). He was depicted as a warrior defeating a devil. His military garb is covered by a red lined blue rope. The saint pushes a cross staff towards the Devil's throat and a shield towards his chest. Standing on the Devil, St Michael is in a conquering position. He lowers his head towards the Devil he has subjugated. Behind the saint, the fortified islands, Mont-Saint-Michel and Tombelaine, can be seen. An unusual phenomenon occurs. An oversized sunburst is placed between the two islands while stars glitter above an azure sky. It seems like a golden shower of divine blessing upon the French land.

Similarly, another miniature of St Michael and Mont-Saint-Michel is in a prayer book, which belonged to Peter de Montfort, Duke of Brittany, known as Peter II (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 1159, fol. 160v). The prayer book was executed around c.1455 – 1457 after Peter II recaptured the Norman town from the English hands in 1449 (fig. 4. 2 – 9).³⁴ An

³³ Albert Châtelet, *Les Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut* (Paris: Presse University de France, 1995), 11.

³⁴ For the dating of the Hours of Peter II see John Harthan, *Books of Hours and Their Owners*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 120 – 121.

image of St Michael as a warrior was painted in suffrage for the saint. He is in full military armour and armed with a sword. His superiority is emphasised by the outstretched wings that are decorated with peacock motifs. St Michael conquers the Devil by grasping his ear and stepping on his foot. At the bottom left of the folio is a topographic view of Mont-Saint-Michel. It was painted as a sacred pilgrimage site of which pilgrims made their way to the site. With the accumulation of the political references discussed above, the exclusive attribute of St Michael in these prayer books seems more likely to have been aimed at setting the protection of the saint in determining French sovereignty. The pairing of St Michael and the Devils above Mont-Saint-Michel might be comparable to the wars between the French and the English. This association could be a reflection of attitude and conviction towards St Michael's protection of the French monarchy.

Thence, it is not surprising that St Michael was fully transformed in the depiction of the Last Judgement in the Hours of Jean de Montauban, the Admiral of France (Paris, BnF, ms lat. 18026, fol. 136). Throughout his life, Jean de Montauban offered a full military service to the French monarchy.³⁵ He was the Chamberlain to King Charles VII, successor to Charles VI. In 1417, he was then appointed by Charles VII as the marshal, and, subsequently, he was appointed as Admiral of France in 1461. Later he became an ambassador to Castile. In the prayer book of Jean de Montauban, datable to around *c.* 1440, St Michael's appearance in the Last Judgement differed greatly (fig. 4. 2 – 10). Below the main miniature that is occupied by Christ in judgement, St Michael is seen painted fighting with a devil in front of a hellmouth. Again, St Michael was depicted as a military warrior with saintly authority. He is dressed in armour and covered with a cape.

³⁵ His service to the French monarchy ceased around 1456 as he was part of the member the League of the Public Weal against Louis XI king of France.

He thrusts his cross staff against the Devil. Here, in the Last Judgement scene, St Michael is neither weighing a soul nor carrying a pair of scales. On the contrary, he seems to be ensuring that the damned are sent to the appropriate destination – Hell. It is not his traditional task on the Last Day. The discretion of confidence and reliance of St Michael's service to the French monarchy was not without any historical support.

Throughout the Hundred Years War, one key person who was closely related to St Michael was Joan of Arc, a heroine of France.³⁶ Joan was a peasant girl who had a divine mission to save France from the English and to help the Dauphin, who later became king of France, Charles VII, to seize the French crown. The relationship between St Michael and Joan in French history can be discerned through numerous occasions. For instance, in one of the public interrogations after she was captured, Joan testified that St Michael was the first among the three saints who appeared in her vision.³⁷ She asserted that during her childhood she had heard voices from St Michael instructing her to be a good child.³⁸ She reaffirmed to the judges that St Michael had taught and guided her.³⁹ A close comrade-in-arms of Joan, Jean of Orléans, known as Dunois, reiterated Joan's visions about St Michael. He once attested that Joan received great comfort from the voices during her prayers.⁴⁰ Joan's incessant affirmation of receiving guidance and help from St Michael, to a certain degree, may have convinced her contemporaries about the saint's apparition in her visions. Evidence for this exists in

³⁶ Germain, Brin and Corroyer, 273 – 283.

³⁷ Fourth Public Examination in *Saint Joan d'Arc's Trial of Condemnation*, The Saint Joan d'Arc Center, <http://www.stJoan-center.com/Trials/#condemnation> accessed 14 July 2007.

³⁸ Germain, Brin and Corroyer, 274; Walter Sydney Scott, *The Trial of Joan d'Arc: Being the Verbatim Report of the Proceedings from the Orleans Manuscript* (London: Folio Society, 1956), 120 – 121.

³⁹ Seventh Private Examination in *Saint Joan d'Arc's Trial of Condemnation*, The Saint Joan d'Arc Center, <http://www.stjoan-center.com/Trials/sec11.html> (accessed 14 July 2007).

⁴⁰ Pierre Duparc, *Procès en Nullité de la Condamnation de Joan d'Arc*, vol. 1 (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1979), 323.

a series of questions posted by Joan's interrogator in the Fifth Public Interrogation.⁴¹ Pierre Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, who was in charge of the examination, raised several questions about St Michael's appearance and particularly asked if the saint carried a scale – a famous attribute of St Michael.⁴² Clearly, the common association of St Michael and his scale were inseparable during the Middle Ages.

Certainly, the conviction in St Michael was not limited to Joan of Arc alone. Besides appearing in Joan's vision, he was also king Charles VII's favourite archangel. St Michael's countless signs of miracle and victory for the kingdom of France and his personal protection of the well-being of Charles VII led Charles to venerate this saint. Charles deeply believed that St Michael would save his kingdom since the Saint had saved him from an incident in La Rochelle. In 1423, Charles VII openly recognised St Michael as his personal defender and keeper of the Kingdom.⁴³ He said "... thanks to the pious intervention of the archangel whom we venerate and to whom we entrust the greatest confidence, we might earn the right to maintain the prosperity of our kingdom and triumph over our enemies...".⁴⁴ In the entry ceremony of Charles VII to Paris in 1429, he deliberately employed St Michael in this heraldic banner although the oriflamme of Saint Denis was finally back to royal France.⁴⁵ A representation of Charles VII's banner can be discerned through the tapestry that features the victories of the French over the English in the Hundred Years War that is datable to 1453 and 1461

⁴¹ For the trial script of the Fifth Private Examination, see <http://www.stjoan-center.com/Trials/sec05.html>

⁴² Karen Sullivan, *The Interrogation of Joan of Arc* (London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 28.

⁴³ Beaune, 158.

⁴⁴ "...afin que, pour nous servir des termes mêmes de la charte de fondation, sous la salutaire direction et grâce à la très pieuse intervention de l'archange que nous vénérons et en qui nous avons la confiance la plus profonde, nous méritons d'assurer la prospérité de notre royaume et de triompher de nos ennemis..." quoted in Siméon Luce, *Joan d'Arc à Domremy: Recherches Critiques sur les Origines de la Mission de la Pucelle, Accompagnées de Pièces Justificatives* (Paris: H. Champion, 1886), 98

⁴⁵ The oriflamme of Saint Denis was in the hand of Anglo-Burgundy. Chartier, 165-166.

(Rouen, Musée Départemental des Antiquités) (fig. 4.2 – 11a & b).⁴⁶ The banner in the tapestry is surrounded by the royal coat-of-arms with encouraging words of praise to celebrate the victory of France. It reads:

This standard is a sign
which teaches the loyal Frenchman
never to abandon it
if he wants to preserve his honour⁴⁷

Because of the accumulation of St Michael's miraculous victories, particularly in the political world, it is likely that Charles' confidence in St Michael may have strengthened.

To a certain degree, the regaining of France in 1451 may have undermined Charles' sceptical nature, especially when the king safely received the French crown and finally saw the English retreat. Whether or not his scepticism upon John's vision was the reason for his silence in relieving Joan when she was captured in 1430, a new trial was called by Charles VII in 1449. In 1456, the trial declared Joan's accusation as null and void. This nullification was significant to French monarchy because it not only proved that the voices which Joan had heard were genuine but also that Joan's duty was indeed a divine mission. The victory of Joan in his gaining the throne of France was important to Charles VII in many ways. First, it verified that Charles VII was the true heir to the French throne. The suspicion of illegitimate birth had much affected him in his early years of life. Second, it signified that the kingdom of France was a divinely favoured kingdom. More importantly, this implied that the crown of France was not secured by a deliberate heretic or witch but a maid that was sent by God. She was seen as a prophesy

⁴⁶ Elisabeth Antoine, 'Les Cerf Ailés', in *France 1500: Entre Moyen Age et Renaissance* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2010), 76; Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, "Les Cerfs ailés et la Tapisserie de Rouen (1453 – 1461)," *Gazette de Beaux Arts* 100 (1982): 93 – 108.

⁴⁷ Cet étendard est une enseigne/ Qui a loyal français enseigne/ de jamais ne l'abandonner/ S'il ne veut son honneur donner.

fulfilment figure by contemporaries.⁴⁸ Joan of Arc's verbal affirmation of her visions through St Michael about the victory of France may not have pledged the trust from Charles VII until he had acknowledged the victory. This further demonstrates that St Michael, through Joan, had great military influence in French political affairs.

Although Joan's life finishes as a political pawn, during her military career, she had fulfilled her visions through numerous victories in the fight against the English and in Charles VII's coronation in Rheims. Joan's success did not overtake St Michael's military supremacy; historical evidence shows that the influence of St Michael as celestial militant was more recognised. According to the Chronicle of Saint-Thibaud of Metz, it was St Michael, instead of Joan, who gained full credit in the victory in freeing Orleans from the English.⁴⁹ The victorious entry of Joan and her companion, including Dunois, into the city of Orleans was described in the *Journal of the Siege* "as if they had seen God Himself descend among them".⁵⁰ St Michael had played an important role in Joan's military excursion and, subsequently, his fame as a military warrior was recognised.

One fifteenth-century prayer book containing an image of St Michael in the Judgement scene belonged to Count of Dunois, an illegitimate son of Louis d'Orléans (son of king Charles VI). This prayer book is dated some time between 1440 and 1450 (London, BL, Yates Thompson MS. 3, fol. 32).⁵¹ Count of Dunois, or Dunois, was a competent

⁴⁸ Deborah Fraioli, "The Literary Image of Joan d'Arc: Prior Influences," *Speculum* 56 (1981): 811 – 830.

⁴⁹ Jules-Etienne-Joseph Quicherat, *Procès de Condamnation et de Réhabilitation de Joan d'Arc*, vol. 4 (Paris: Renouard, 1849), 326.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 40 – 41.

⁵¹ Catherine Reynolds, "The Workshop of the Master of the Duke of Bedford: Definitions and Identities." In *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400*, edited by Godfried Croenen and Peter Ainsworth (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 437 – 472.

military leader, who had been a loyal knight to the kings of France. He was actively involved in the Hundred Years War when he gave his service to Charles VII in 1420. He helped Joan of Arc in freeing Orleans from the English and subsequently the coronation of Charles VII. His fidelity and boldness in wars was later recognised by king Charles VII who then appointed him, in 1436, as Lord Chamberlain, the highest office in the French kingdom. In 1425 Dunois fought against the English in defending Mont-Saint-Michel.⁵² Hence, it is not surprising that in Dunois' prayer book St Michael is depicted as a military archangel rather than as a weigher of souls (Pl. V).

Here, St Michael is painted within the key frame of the miniature which separated the celestial realm with the terrestrial world. In the celestial world, Christ sits on a rainbow with a globe as his footstool. Ray of golden light radiates from Christ that forms a shape of mandorla. Behind him, a group of seraphim with joined him. At both sides, he is flanked by the two intercessors, saints and prophets. St Michael is placed at the lower right of Christ next to an angel who is guiding the blessed souls to Heaven. The appearance of the image of St Michael in Dunois hours indicates a strong visual statement about the saint's military quality. In military garment, he is protected by a breast plate with a cross sign. In his right hand, he carries an oversized cross staff effortlessly and competently thrusting the damned souls to Hell. The souls do not have any chance to defend as they fall directly to Hell. In the Dunois hours, St Michael's militant spirit is undeniable.

The political importance of St Michael was heightened in 1469 when Louis XI, the successor of Charles VII, devoted a chivalric order of knighthood to St Michael by founding the Order of St Michael. This order was significant to Louis XI in many ways.

⁵² Pernoud, 181.

First, it was a political instrument to defy the knightly Order of the Golden Fleece initiated in 1430 by his opponent, Philip the Good. Second, this order was an assurance of the loyalty of dukes to Louis XI after the outbreak of the League of the Public Weal in 1465.⁵³ Finally, it was to keep Charles Duke of Berry, the younger brother of Louis XI, from aligning with Philip the Good or participating in any confederation that was against him.⁵⁴ In the miniature of the *Statutes of the Order of St Michael* that was produced in 1470, St Michael was depicted behind the assembly (Paris, BnF, fr. 19819) (fig. 4. 2 – 12). He is wearing armour and carrying a sword and shield in a fighting position with a dragon. Interestingly, St Michael and the members of the Order of St Michael are dressed in white, the colour signifying good fortune for royal soldiers.⁵⁵ At the bottom of the page, the crowned coat-of-arms of France is adjoined to the collar of St Michael. Two military angels are wearing armour of shells symbolising the military importance of St Michael to the knights and the kingdom of France. In the prologue to the statutes, it reads:

... to the honour and reverence of St Michael the first knight, who in God's quarrel battled against the ancient Enemy of the human race, and cast him out of heaven, and who has always guarded his place, and preserved and defended his oratory, called Mont-Saint-Michel, without ever suffering it to be taken, subjected, or placed in the hands of the ancient enemies of our realms...⁵⁶

To the French king, it is explicit that St Michael was considered to be a princely knight whom God had sent to aid the French and Mont-Saint-Michel from their enemies. This further demonstrates an intimate connection between the French royal family and the service of St Michael. The conviction of St Michael as a protector to the kingdom of

⁵³ For detailed discussion see Paul Murray Kendall, *Louis XI* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1970), 179–192.

⁵⁴ Louis' brother, Charles was one of the members of the League of Public Weal.

⁵⁵ Beaune, 165.

⁵⁶ Quoted in D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 440.

France was inherited from Louis XI to his successor Charles VIII. In the *Counsel to Charles VIII*, Charles was advised to ‘... ask without delay that your patron St Michael, pray so that the entire kingdom may be kept in peace and unity ...’⁵⁷ Some time later, in 1493 – 1494, the brother-in-law of Charles VIII, Pierre II de Bourbon, commissioned Jean Hey for the *Statutes of the Order of St Michael* as a gift to Charles VIII before he exercised his military power in Italy (Paris, BnF, fr. 14363) (fig. 4. 2 – 13). In this miniature, St Michael appears as a military councillor par excellence. He is crowned with a jewelled diadem. He is dressed in white but covered with a golden breastplate and liturgical cape. The cape is brocaded with gold lined green velvet. He seems to be giving advice to Charles VIII by expressively extending his arms. Behind the saint, three angels in a more humble appearance are assisting the warrior saint. One of the angels is carrying a cross staff belonging to St Michael and another is holding the saint’s cape.

One late example of St Michael in his tripartite role is the representation of the Last Judgement in Notre-Dame des Fontaines at La Brigue (Nice). This painting was executed in 1492 according to an inscription in the church (fig. 4. 2 – 14). Although the depiction of the image of St Michael in this region is rare, the portrayal of his latest style was taken into account. St Michael in the Last Judgement in Notre-Dame des Fontaines is fully armed and in an authoritative stance. Above him, Christ is giving the final judgement to the damned while St Michael executes his task. While protecting a blessed soul St Michael is thrusting through a devil’s shoulder who tried to interrupt the balance of St Michael’s scale. A damned soul grasps the scale of St Michael although another devil forcefully carries him towards Hell. Here, was depicted as having two roles. He is

⁵⁷ ‘Faites donc prier sans espace/Par votre patron saint Michel/Afin que se maintienne/Tout le royaume en paix et union,’ quoted in Beaune, 170.

both a weigher of souls and a princely knight. The popularity of this iconography offered a key model to the later representation of St Michael in France in the late Middle Ages.

Conclusions

As a patron saint par excellence, particularly in a time of political distress, different iconographical types of St Michael were produced simultaneously according to varying local social, political and patron's interest. However, his image in the Last Judgement as an armed figure remained. This exclusive iconography manifested in most of the representations of the Last Judgement in France further emphasised his military significance and gradually developed in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. These motifs include his appearance as a military warrior garbed with armour and a cape, armed with a sword or a cross staff, or both. The uniformity of St Michael's features prompts to a wider consideration of his service to France and its society.

The exclusive aid of St Michael through numerous signs of his protection may have had an impact on the French in two ways. On the one hand, it strengthened the belief that France was the chosen kingdom by God. On the other hand, St Michael was indeed sent by God to aid the chaotic situation. The battle of St Michael with a devil in the Last Judgement, to a certain degree, bestows the aftermath of the French victorious spirit over the English in the Hundred Years War. This association may be read in a fifteenth-century chronogram in the chronicle of Mont-Saint-Michel that reads 'By your virtue, Michael, you have tamed the leopards'⁵⁸. To the French, victory of St Michael signified the triumph of France.

⁵⁸ Quoted in Beaune, 159.

There is another perspective worthy of consideration, that is, the religious aspect. The recognition of the service of St Michael to the French kingdom was beyond political affiliation, theologians and preachers such as Denys the Carthusian,⁵⁹ Jean Gerson and Vincent Ferrar acknowledged the saint's protection of the Church. The saint's service to the Church is clearly evident in the sermon given by Jean Gerson, the Chancellor of University of Paris, on the Feast of St Michael Archangel in 1392.⁶⁰ Besides praising the saint's guardianship to common people, Gerson deliberately addressed the issue of schism and believed that the saint will bring the schism to an end.⁶¹ His conviction in St Michael was also revealed through his defence for Joan of Arc. In his apologia in confronting the guilt of witchcraft charge to Joan, written around 1429, Jean affirmed that her vision was a divine mission.⁶² In any case, to secure Joan's vision was to acknowledge St Michael's apparition to her. In fact, Jean's vindication may be a Francocentric one. Nonetheless, his view on St Michael as the protector of the Church was supported by a contemporary preacher, Vincent Ferrer, a Spanish Dominican. Vincent believed that St Michael is the archangel who will defend the Church and his people.⁶³

The profound relationship between St Michael and the Church further intensified St Michael's importance which can be evidenced in most of the large-scale representations of the Last Judgement in French churches. While remaining a weigher of souls in these representations, St Michael is also seen fighting against a devil or a beast. On some

⁵⁹ Denys the Carthusian, in the late fourteenth century, suggested that St. Michael, being *the prince of the Church*, should not be assigned in any angelic hierarchy like any other saint. See, Beaune, 168.

⁶⁰ Brian Patrick McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 58.

⁶¹ Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, quoted in Beaune, 168.

⁶² Jean Gerson, *De mirabilis Victoria cuiusdam puellae de postfoetantes receptae in duces belli exercitus regis Francorum contra Anglicos*, quoted in Pernoud and Clin, 184 – 185.

⁶³ Vincent Ferreir, *Oeuvres complètes*, quoted in Beaune, 168.

occasions, he impels the damned souls towards Hell. Compared to earlier centuries, the importance of the saint and his influence is discernible from his remarkable presence and multifaceted roles in the Last Judgement portrayals.

This visual evidence prompts a further speculative conclusion: in view of the fact that St Michael's his service was possibly differently perceived although his iconography remains the same. Apart from the artistic creativity of the individual artist, the saint's warrior quality became a benchmark image in the representation of the Last Judgement. However, the argument of this visual orientation must remain a matter of conjecture.

4.3 Heaven

Heaven is a distinctive Christian belief. According to the Christian Bible, Heaven is a flawless place filled with joy, harmony and security.¹ It is a truly sublime and impeccable state that God promises to the righteous.² Believers seem to set their heart and faith on this promised place through practising religious rites that offer an assurance for eternal salvation. Sins were confessed, indulgences were purchased, relics of saints were venerated, masses were said, funeral ceremonies were prepared and prayers were recited for just one purpose: to make one fit for Heaven.³ The medieval attitude towards Heaven is unquestionable. In fact, Christianity loses its meaning if Heaven does not exist. Visually, Heaven had always been portrayed as an idyllic state of perpetual happiness where souls can eternally rest in God's grace. Heaven was either depicted as the garden of Paradise or as a fortified city where the righteous rejoiced with the heavenly host. The central question of this section is how medieval artists portrayed the reality of Heaven within the context of the Last Judgement.

More than half of the images of Heaven painted in representations of the Last Judgement demonstrate a certain stylistic way of representing the heavenly city. Instead of exploring the full range of heavenly gratifications, artists followed a similar essential depiction of Heaven – that being of a walled city. These collective representations of Heaven reflect the medieval understanding of Heaven and their attitude to it. Why was Heaven formulated as a projection of a crenellated castle rather than a garden of Paradise? To approach the question of this theology-laden city, a thoughtful examination of both theological and artistic perspectives is required. By placing the concept of Heaven in its

¹ There are many verses in the Bible about joy, harmony and security in Heaven. To name a few, Matthew 5: 48 and 13:20, Luke 15:7, Job 38:37, Psalm 16:11 and Hebrews 12:22.

² 1 Peter 1: 4 – 5.

³ Colleen McDannell and Bernard Lang, *Heaven: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 108 – 110.

proper setting in medieval thought, this section will examine how the depictions of Heaven can be understood as part of eschatological thought with special reference to the medieval death culture. In the interest of depictions of Heaven in representations of the Last Judgement, the thesis will analyse the doctrine of Heaven within the medieval context together with the theological support.

Compared to other iconographies of the Last Judgement, the iconography of Heaven has never lacked theological support from Christian sources. Numerous excerpts from various parts of the Bible, particularly the *Apocalypse of Saint John*, offer key visual sources in depicting Heaven.⁴ Other early canonical literature concerning Heaven includes Saint Augustine's *City of God* and Pseudo-Dionysius's *Celestial Hierarchy*.⁵ Later secular literatures such as visionary literature on journeys of the otherworld and religious treatises that contain assertions of the settings of Heaven contain a fusion of these authoritative works. These include *Voie de Paradis* by Rutebeuf in the thirteenth century and Dante's *Paradiso* in *Divine Comedy*, a prevailing visionary literature in the late Middle Ages.⁶ Depictions of Heaven have been common since the fourth and fifth centuries. Within an iconographical perspective, their features are more varied. These include the four evangelists; the twenty-four Elders; the Lamb of God; a heavenly Jerusalem represented by a twelve-gated city adorned with jewels and surrounded by vegetation; nine orders of angels; and a heavenly host. In most cases, early representations of Heaven were based on the visions of St John in *Apocalypse*.⁷ By the

⁴ Books that contain detailed descriptions on Heaven include the vision of Isaiah and the book of Genesis. Other books are less elaborate.

⁵ Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Celestial Hierarchy*. (London: Shrine of Wisdom, 1935).

⁶ For *Voie de Paradis* see Francis Bar, Geneviève Hasenohr, Georges Keith and Alexandre Micha, "Voies de Paradis", *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises: Le Moyen Âge*, edited by Geneviève Hasenohr and Michel Zink (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 1489-1491 and for *Divine Comedy*, see *The Dante Encyclopedia* ed. by Lansing, R. H. and Barolini, T. (New York: Garland, 2000)

⁷ Jean Delumeau, *Que Reste-t-il du Paradis?* (Paris: Artheme Fayard, 2000), 29 – 31, 91 – 93; Robert Russell, "A Similitude of Paradise": The city as Image of the City', in *Iconography of Heaven*, ed.

fifteenth century, portrayals of Heaven were more varied in meaning. For the purpose of iconographic analysis of Heaven, the discussion on Heaven is strictly limited to a place where the blessed dwell either in a physical or spiritual sense and not where Christ's Judgement takes place.

Commonly, Heaven refers to a holy city, or in the Christian context as seen and prophesied by the Apostle John, the New Jerusalem. It is the most straightforward description of Heaven in the Bible. In the *Apocalypse* the apostle testified that he:

... saw a new Heaven and a new earth. For the first Heaven and the first earth was gone, and the sea is now no more. And I John saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of Heaven from God. (Apocalypse 21: 1 – 2)

He continues with vivid descriptions on architectural details of the New Jerusalem that include its size, materials and a brief construction plan.⁸ For example, the heavenly city is enclosed by twelve-gated walls guarded by twelve angels. Every one of the twelve foundation stones is attached to the walls and enriched with gems. It was foretold by the Apostle John that:

And the building of the wall thereof was of jasper stone: but the city itself pure gold, like to clear glass. And the foundations of the wall of the city were adorned with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper: the second, sapphire: the third, a chalcedony: the fourth, an emerald: The fifth, sardonyx: the sixth, sardius: the seventh, chrysolite: the eighth, beryl: the ninth, a topaz: the tenth, a chrysoprasus: the eleventh, a jacinth: the twelfth, an amethyst. (Apocalypse 21: 18 – 20)

The promise of the reinstallation of a New Heaven and New Earth and the New Jerusalem was reassured throughout the Bible.⁹ Other biblical descriptions of Heaven

by Clifford Davidson (Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994), 146 – 161; McDannell and Lang, 37 – 44.

⁸ Apocalypse 21: 11 – 21

⁹ Isaiah 65: 17, Isaiah 66: 22, 2 Peter 3: 13 and Apocalypse 21: 1 – 2.

include the presence of the water of life, the Lamb of God and its book of life, and, finally the absence of night.

An early portrayal of the New Jerusalem can be found in one of the sixty-nine large-scale narrative cycles of *Apocalypse* tapestry in Château d'Angers (Château d'Angers). It was a large and expensive commission ordered by Louis I Duke of Anjou around 1377 to a Flemish artist, Jean Bondol.¹⁰ They were executed in the Parisian workshop of Nicolas Bataille.¹¹ There was not much known about the use of the *Apocalypse* tapestry but most likely they were used as a partition, as the design of the tapestry can be viewed from both sides. After the death of Louis I, the tapestry was bestowed on Louis II of Anjou who used it for his wedding with Yolande d'Aragon in Arles. The *Apocalypse* tapestry was then donated to Saint-Maurice Cathedral in Angers in 1480 and was made accessible to the laity in the cathedral during the celebration of feast days. It might seem that the subject of the apocalypse was an ever-present religious preference.

Here, in the *Apocalypse* tapestry of Louis I, New Jerusalem is portrayed as a one-gated city with high crenellated walls. Two pointed top towers are elevated at the far end (fig. 4.3 – 1). A richly decorated Gothic church can be seen in the middle of this fortified wall. Above this heavenly city, the image of God appears in a vision-like form. He can be seen giving instruction to the Apostle John whilst pointing his left hand downwards towards the heavenly Jerusalem. According to the vision of Apostle John, the New Jerusalem was formed as Christ had promised.¹² The tapestry contains diverse illustrative visual details. Different materials were representatively depicted with different colours. It seems that

¹⁰ Geneviève F. Souchal, *Les Tapisseries de l'Apocalypse à Angers* (Milan: Hachette-Fabbri-Skira, 1969), 8.

¹¹ Pierre Marie Auzas, *L'Apocalypse d'Angers: Chef-d'œuvre de la Tapisserie Médiévale* (Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1985).

¹² John 14: 1 – 3.

the artist of Angers' tapestries was attentive to biblical descriptions. Different types of materials of the city, as described by Apostle John, were adopted by the usage of different colours and patterns.

A faithful depiction of Apostle John's vision of Heaven can be seen in a late fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript of *City of God* (Mâcon, Bibl. Mun. ms. 1, fol. 7).¹³ A full-page frontispiece of Book One in *City of God* contains a representative visual example of the biblical portrayal of Heaven (fig. 4.3 – 2). This painted folio is divided into three parts with each one representing a different world. Hell can be seen at the bottom, there is the terrestrial world in the middle and the celestial kingdom on top. Heaven is depicted as a holy city of divine hosts. It is a golden gated city with twelve different sized towers and battlemented walls. These walls are inlaid with different types of precious stones with an assortment of colours such as red, blue and green. Inside the city, God is seated and angelic choirs forming the shape of a mandorla can be seen encircling him. The order of angels begins with seraphim in red, cherubim in blue and the rest in different colours and attire. There are angels clothed with clerical robes together with other armoured ones. Rays of golden light are radiating from God who is seated on a rainbow. He is dressed in white and covered by an azure cape. He raises his right hand to bless and the left to condemn. At the gate of Heaven, an angel in green is welcoming the seven personified virtues. Each vice is ushering a righteous soul. The image of the heavenly Jerusalem appears as the fulfilment of God's promise to the faithful. It is an eternal inheritance promised by God as a great reward for believers.

¹³ This manuscript was briefly discussed in Chapter 2.1 The City of God.

Under the broad outline of Heaven as the promise of God, the most common portrayal of Heaven is as a celestial inhabitation. According to the Roman Catholics, Heaven is ‘a definite dwelling-place of the blessed’.¹⁴ To earn citizenship in Heaven, good conduct such as charity, humility and chastity were encouraged by local churches.¹⁵ Religious practices that include confession, praying and attending masses were to shorten the duration of time in Purgatory and to accelerate the journey to Heaven. After all, the ultimate goal of Christian life was to be a citizen of Heaven.¹⁶ One of the early examples of New Jerusalem painted in religious buildings is in the church of Saint-Victor-et-Sainte-Couronne at Ennezat (Riom). Heaven is represented by a simple fortified building with battlements (fig. 4.3 – 3). Three souls, which occupy each crenel, seem to be residing inside it instead of guarding the tower. The representation of Heaven does not seem to have an entrance or a gate. As a result, two angels escort the righteous from the direction of Christ towards the top of the building. The act of escorting the righteous to Heaven was certainly not a new feature but a common medieval perspective. For example, in one of his sermons, Jean Raulin, a renowned preacher in the fifteenth century, claimed that angels will come down to lead the elect into heaven.¹⁷ Although large parts of the image have been lost, the state of Heaven is unambiguous; it is an eternal dwelling place for the righteous.

¹⁴ Bernard McGinn, “Seeing God in Medieval Theology and Mysticism,” in *Envisaging Heaven in Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig and Ad Putter (London: Routledge, 2007), 15 – 33; Carol Zaleski and Philip Zaleski, *The Book of Heaven: An Anthology of Writings from Ancient to Modern Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Jeffrey Burton Russell, *A History of Heaven: The Singing Silence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

¹⁵ Martin Hervé, *Le métier de prédicateur: En France Septentrionale à la fin du Moyen Age (1350 – 1520)* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1988), 346 – 347.

¹⁶ Philippians 3:20.

¹⁷ Quoted in Larissa Taylor, *Soldier of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 155.

A more apparent and well preserved example is in the parish church of Saint-Laurent at Mont-d'Astarac (Gers), painted around c. 1483.¹⁸ The representation of Heaven was placed below Christ on the eastern wall. It is represented by a four-towered cubical castle guarded by St Peter (fig. 4.3 – 4). One immediately recognisable feature is that of the windows that were built around the castle. Each window is inhabited by a righteous soul. They possess a serene smile with a reassured countenance. Some inhabitants can be identified by their physical attributes. There are members from the royal family, such as a king and queen, as well as members from the religious order, which include a pope, a cardinal and friars. Inhabitation of righteous souls in Heaven is not without scriptural precedence. According to the Bible, Heaven is a dwelling place for the righteous ones.¹⁹ A discernible visual reflection from the Bible can be found in John 14:2 while Jesus said that:

“In my Father's house there are many mansions. If not, I would have told you: because I go to prepare a place for you.”

Elsewhere in the Bible, it was made clear that Heaven is an eternal house and an inheritance from God solely for the righteous.²⁰ Residents, who look through the windows from the castle in Saint-Laurent parish church, seem to proclaim their permanent citizenship in Heaven.²¹ Such an idea underlying the vision of Heaven as a dwelling place seemed to be widespread in the fifteenth century.²²

Besides being a state of eternal residency, Heaven was also seen as a place of eternal security protecting the Blessed against sins. An example of the representation of Heaven

¹⁸ Jean Michel Lassure, “Les peintures murales de l'église de Mont d'Astarac (Gers),” *Revue de Comminges Saint-Gaudens* 90 (1977): 477 – 502.

¹⁹ Heaven as a dwelling place was repeatedly narrated in 1 Kings 8, 2 Paralipomenon 6 and 2 Chronicles 6. Other chapters are including Apocalypse 13:6, Deuteronomy 12: 5 and Psalm 132: 7.

²⁰ 1 Peter 1: 4 – 5; 2 Corinthians 5:1.

²¹ Philippians 3:20.

²² Other relative cases are found in parish churches of l'Assomption at Sentein (Ariège) and of St Laurent at Birac (Gironne), and Château Langlard at Mazerier (Allier).

as a highly protective and secure state is in the Chapel of Saint-André at Monêtier-les-Bains (Hautes-Alpes), which dates back to the end of the fifteenth century.²³ The importance of Heaven seems to be emphasised in this chapel (fig. 4.3 – 5a). The image of Heaven occupies two walls: the entire west wall and part of the north wall. Although a major part of the painting has been lost, the remaining part suggests that there may be a representation of the Last Judgement painted on the north wall where the image of St Michael weighing souls is located. To the left of St Michael, another saint in liturgical attire can be seen accepting the blessed soul who just passed the scales of St Michael. While angels are ministering the righteous entering celestial Jerusalem. Among them, some can be identified through their physical attributes. They include members of the clerical order such as a pope, a bishop, a cardinal, a priest, some friars and ordinary individuals. Their facial expression and gesture indicate their longing to walk through the gates, which they would enter through a drawbridge.

One noteworthy characteristic in this chapel is the change of gender of the righteous souls (fig. 4.3 – 5b). After their entrance to Heaven, they appear to become a unisex adolescent since none of their gender can be clearly identified. At the entrance, St Peter greets the souls and three angels welcome them at the entrance's architrave by blowing trumpets. Following their entrance into Heaven, some righteous souls are led to another narrow drawbridge that is affixed between the tower gate and a citadel (fig. 4.3 – 5c). Similarly, the depiction of Heaven in the Chapel of André indicates that Heaven is a highly protected place. Not only is the defence structure of this celestial castle safeguarded by double drawbridges but it is also intensified by both the moat and high

²³ George Sentis, "Les Peintures Murales de La Chapelle Saint-Martin au Monêtier-les-Bains (Hautes-Alpes)," *Congrès Archéologique de France* 130 (1974): 220 – 227; Desvignes-Mallet, Chantal et al. *Peintures Murales des Hautes-Alpes: XV- XVI Siècles* (Cahiers de l'Inventaire 7. Paris: Édisud, 1987), 6.

towered-wall. A sense of security appears to be an important aspect of Heaven. Unfortunately, there are no surviving documents to provide information about its patronage and use. Despite the question of the original use of this image and whether it was intended for veneration or decoration, what is certain is that this enlarged image of Heaven places a strong emphasis on the vision of Heaven.

The depiction of Heaven in the parish church of Sainte-Anne at Cazeaux-de-Larboust (Haute-Garonne) possesses a comparable characteristic.²⁵ The representation of the Last Judgement of the church was painted across the north wall towards the south (fig. 4.3 – 6a). Christ in Judgement is illustrated on the north wall. Below him, the depiction of Heaven is on the left and to the right is hell. Heaven is represented by a gatehouse with an open-door. St Peter receives the righteous souls who have passed through the scale of St Michael. Next to the saint is a hellmouth waiting for damned souls. Empty tombs left by the resurrected souls can be seen before St Peter. What is noticeable is the background that lies against these scenes: a high crenellated, leaden wall. Although no building represented heavenly Jerusalem, this wall signifies the presence of the holy city. The fortified wall of New Jerusalem seems to serve as a clear division between the celestial city and terrestrial world. The representation of the sinful and the damned in the hellmouth placed right in front of this wall indicates that both sin and corruption are intolerable beyond the wall. Similar crenellated motifs are seen on the south wall where saints are standing (fig. 4.3 – 6b). On the top register, twelve haloed male saints are praying in supplication. They stand on battlements facing in the direction of Christ. Below them are twelve female saints who all hold a palm and book. It seems reasonable

²⁵ Robert Mesuret, . *Les Peintures Murales du Sud-Quest de la France du XIe au XVIe Siècle* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1967), 244 – 247.

to suggest that the crenellated motif of the sturdy walls was part of the depiction of a highly protected heavenly Jerusalem.

The depiction of New Jerusalem in the parish church of Saint-Pierre-aux-Liens at Martignac (Lot) is quite established but not original.²⁶ Here, on the south wall, heavenly Jerusalem is represented by a high-rise tower of which the gate is safeguarded by St Peter (fig. 4.3 – 7a). Angels are transporting the righteous from Purgatory to the saint. Before the gate of Heaven, an image of St Michael can be seen. He was painted in a relatively smaller size than the other iconographic elements. Not much can be discerned from the deteriorated state of the mural, however, the saint is in a fighting position with a sword in his right hand that is raised upright. Upon the entrance into the tower, the Coronation of the Virgin is taking place. Christ is at the left, God is to the right and the Holy Spirit, represented by a dove, can be seen between them. Below the dove, the Virgin kneels in gratitude. The iconographic arrangement at Martignac may be considered typical, however, the overall composition of the Last Judgement deserves a close examination.

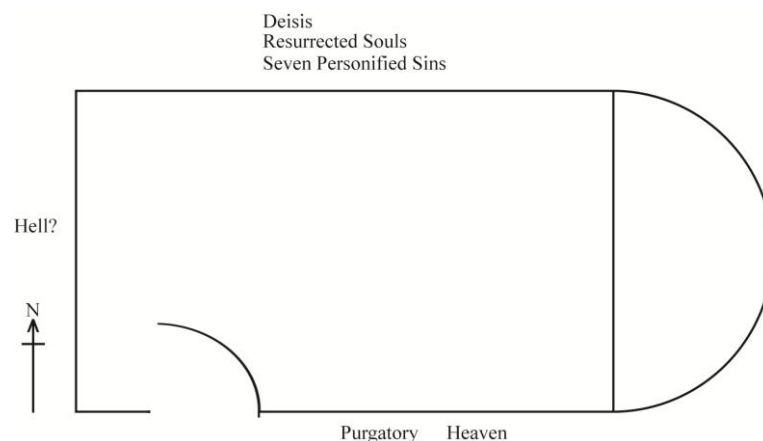


Diagram 4.3 – 1: Floor plan of the parish church of Saint-Pierre-aux-Liens at Martignac (Lot).

²⁶ The iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin inside Heaven resembles Enguerrand Quarton *Coronation of the Virgin* painted at 1453 (Villeneuve-lès-Avignon).

The representation of the Last Judgement occupies both the north and the south wall of the church. Although part of the Deësis was damaged by later architectural work, it is still possible to identify its fundamental composition. Christ is seated on the rainbow, and he is flanked by the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist. Below the Virgin, the righteous souls kneel in supplication. Underneath them, dead are resurrected from their tombs. To the left of Christ are the damned souls in peculiar postures. This scene is unusual (fig. 4.3 – 7a). Some of them are being drawn towards the left by a force and some are being thrown by devils (fig. 4.3 – 7b). The Seven Personified Sins were painted below the judgement court. Each of them is chained and walks leftwards on the west wall. It is likely that a hellmouth was painted on the west wall, where the devils are. The placement of a theme may have reinforced the medieval attitude to sins. As soon as they enter the church, believers will be confronted with Christ's judgement, especially concerning the Seven Deadly Sins, which were painted in life size and placed closer to viewers. However, the iconographic scheme does not leave believers in a state of despondency as they leave the church. Depicted adjacent to the church's doorway, the portrayal of Heaven and the image of St Michael may convey symbolic meaning, as he is the first saint who will escort souls upon their physical death. One way or another, believers are given a glimpse of Heaven upon leaving the church.

Nonetheless, there are a few individual examples of Heaven in representations of the Last Judgement that possess other elements of Heaven that are featured in the Bible. In some instances, Heaven was portrayed as a place for the congregation of saints and the righteous. In other words, it is a City of God. In his influential treatise, *City of God*, Augustine posits a clear preference to the existence of saints in Heaven. He believes that

Heaven is a City of God where the righteous have direct communion with God and the saints.²⁷

The inclusion of God together with a congregation of saints to represent Heaven within depictions of the Last Judgement was not widespread but it was religiously significant. The integration of saints and Heaven is particularly noticeable in the representation of the Last Judgement in the Chapel of Notre-Dame des Fontaines at La Brigue (Alpes-Maritimes).²⁸ The judgement theme was painted on a large wall on the west side of the chapel (fig. 4.3 – 8). The representation of Heaven occupies half of it. Heavenly Jerusalem was enclosed within a towered wall that accentuated the distinction between celestial and terrestrial states. The entrance to Heaven was not depicted but is symbolised by the action of the righteous going towards the direction of Christ where four angelical representatives are located. These angels are supporting a banderol that reads ‘Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world’ (Matthew 25:34). Apparently, the kingdom of Heaven is an inheritance that was prepared for the righteous alone. Groups of saints and Blessed souls were depicted within the compound of heavenly Jerusalem. They are all facing the direction of Christ in a praying gesture. Certain groups of saints are clearly labelled, namely, the holy martyrs, Adam and the holy fathers, Abraham and the prophets and holy confessors. Through their attire and individual attributes, other figures can be identified as patron saints, friars, nuns, and some blessed infants. At La Brigue, Heaven is not merely a fulfilment of God’s promise but a place where saints and the righteous gathered.

²⁷ Nicholas Sagovsky, *Ecumenism, Christian Origins, and the Practice of Communion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 205.

²⁸ See Avena Benoit, *Symbolique Histoire et Sagesse des Fresques de la Chapelle Notre-Dame des Fontaines* (Borgo San Dalmaso-Cuneo: Tipolitografia Martini, 1988).

A comparable example is in Chapel Notre-Dame de Benva at Lorgues (Vars). On the west wall of the chapel, the image of Heaven is represented by an assemblage of saints in the presence of God (fig. 4.3 – 9a & b). Two little angels are sounding trumpets at the tower battlements while righteous souls are greeted by St Peter at the gates of Heaven. The grandeur of Heaven is emphasised by the relatively small size of the righteous compared to that of the elected members in Heaven. In the middle of the composition, God the Father and the Virgin Mary are enthroned and flanked by saints and ecclesiastical members. The last example is in the church of Notre-Dame du Bourg at Digne-les-Bains (Basses-Alpes).²⁹ The representation of Heaven was painted on the south wall of the nave of the church (fig. 4.3 – 10). Heaven is represented by a diamond-shaped wall with four towers, one at each corner. The entrance of Heaven is in one of the towers safeguarded by St Peter. Christ is seated in judgement within an enclosed mandorla. To his right, the Virgin Mary leads some female saints in prayer. Unfortunately, it is impossible to interpret the imagery to his left as it was largely damaged. Outside the walls of heavenly Jerusalem, blessed souls rush through the gatehouse in which St Peter is standing. Along the wall to the left, some infant souls climb to Heaven through a ladder that is affixed to it. Traditionally, these souls were those who died unbaptised in infancy.³⁰ These visual details indicate an alternative view of Heaven in the medieval society. Besides being a place of eternal residency, it is a place where saints and God assemble.

²⁹ Marguerite Roques, *Les Peintures Murales du sud-est de la France: XIIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1961), 156 – 159.

³⁰ Pope Peter Seewald, *God and the World: Believing and Living in Our Time* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2002), 401.

Certainly, Heaven was not always represented in a physical form but by a more conceptual connotation. One early example is the Breviary of Rouen (Walters Art Gallery, ms. W 300, fol. 3) dating back to c. 1412.³¹ The image of Heaven had been painted at the top margin of the manuscript (Pl. III). At the bottom, purified souls, who have just been released from Purgatory, are being transported by angels to the enthroned God. He is seated in a pavilion-like architectural-form, which is elevated above a stack of clouds. Clothed in red and crowned, he lifts his right hand with a blessing gesture and holds a golden globe in his left. Light is radiating from the globe. God the Father is surrounded by a few angels who are presenting the righteous souls to him. The presence of God the Father in Heaven instead of God the Son indicates a close divine kinship between believers and God. According to Pope Benedict XII, to be in Heaven is to ‘see the divine essence with an intuitive vision, and even face to face, without mediation of any creature’.³² This direct perception of God is a beatific vision. He believes that the righteous will experience God in the glory of his transcendence. Here, Heaven appears to be a spiritual realm more than a physical form.³³ Some early Church Fathers testified that Heaven is not a physical place inasmuch as the spirit has no physical form. Instead, it is a realm where the blessed are united with God and see him face-to-face.³⁴ Other medieval theologians argued that Heaven is a concrete physical state as was described in the Apocalypse of John.³⁵

³¹ Lilian M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery: France*, vol. 2 (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 242 – 249.

³² Pope Benedict XII, *Benedictus Deus* quoted in Alister E. McGrath, *The Christian Theology Reader* (U.S.A: Blackwell, 1995), 657.

³³ Medieval theologians have different views on the form of Heaven and its nature. However, it is not the concern of the present study. For detail, see Colleen and Lang, 142 – 244.

³⁴ Saint Augustine discussed at great length about face-to-face visions in the *City of God* for details see Bernard McGinn, “*Visio dei*: Seeing God in Medieval Theology and Mysticism,” in *Envisaging Heaven in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Carolyn Muessig and Ad Putter (New York: Routledge, 2007), 15 – 33.

³⁵ For more theological discussions on the nature of Heaven see Jeffrey Burton Russell, *A History of Heaven: The Singing Silence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Alister McGrath, *The Christian Theology Reader* (U.S.A: Blackwell, 1995); McDannell and Lang’s *Heaven: A History*.

Another variation of the symbolical presence of Heaven is in the Bedford Hours (London, BL, Add. ms. 1885, fol. 157). The representation of the Last Judgement in the main miniature consists of two parts (Pl. IV). At the top, Christ's judgement is taking place. At the bottom, a hellmouth is ingesting damned souls. There is no illustration of Heaven. However, its image is signified by two naked souls flying towards Christ from the secular world to the celestial realm. They are welcomed by angels. Each soul is being crowned as they face the presence of Christ. The image of crowned souls might refer to God's promise that the blessed will receive an eternal crown (1 Corinthians 9:25). Furthermore, Heaven is also referred to as 'crown of life' (James 1:9), 'crown of righteous' (2 Timothy 4:8) and 'crown of glory' (1 Peter 5:4). However, the depiction of righteous souls being crowned is rather rare. In both the manuscript of Rouen breviary and Bedford Hour, Heaven is a spiritual state of joy in which the blessed souls dwell within the presence of God. This celestial happiness was recited by an eleventh-century Church reformer, Peter Damian's *de Gloria paradisi* (On the Glory of Paradise). He stated that '... nothing is lacking of all that a Christian could desire to receive from God upon entering the heavenly joys'.³⁶ The notion of Heaven as a delightful place was conclusive.

Although the joyous nature of Heaven was a common expectation, its depiction within the Last Judgement portrayals is less prevalent. One notable example can be found in a chapel dedicated to St Michael in Chateau de Langlard at Mazerier (Allier), executed for Agnès de Montmorin who received the castle as a dowry upon her marriage with Gilbert

³⁶ Peter Damian, *The Song of S. Peter Damiani: On the joyes and Glory of Paradise* (ed. Stephen A. Hurlbut) (Washington, D.C: The St. Albans Press, 1928).

de Baserne.³⁷ She was left in her second widowhood in around c. 1470.³⁸ Her widowed status may be recognised by her black attire in the painting. The painting is most likely painted at c. 1485 before her nephews tendered it.³⁹ The desire of Agnès to be accepted into Heaven is noticeable in the representation of the Last Judgement. To pledge to Heaven, not only did Agnès de Montmorin and her household entreat for Christ's mercy, they also directed their hope of salvation to the patron saints painted on the south wall. Instead of looking at Christ, some of the donors are looking towards these saints who intercede at the gate of Heaven.

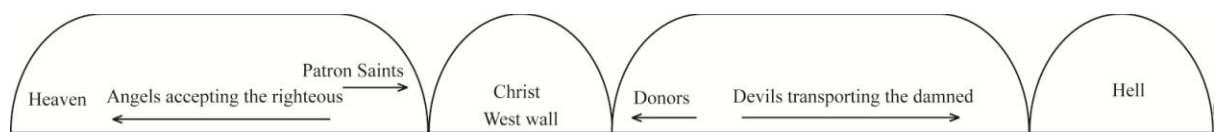


Diagram 4.3 – 2: The iconographic composition of the Last Judgement at Chateau Langlard.

The image of Heaven was placed along the chapel's north wall (fig. 4.3 – 11a). It was portrayed as a securely protected castle built on a green pasture. Before the gatehouse of Heaven, an angel is conducting the righteous in the direction of St Peter who is standing at the gate and welcoming them by giving blessings to each one of them. These souls are kneeling in supplication while waiting for the blessing of the Saint. Behind the main entrance there is a towered-castle with high crenellated walls. Within these walls, there is a hilly forest. Half of the castle is occupied by blessed souls who are serenely looking out of windows and crenels. The celestial exultation in Heaven is further illustrated by angels playing musical instruments. Some are standing at the gatehouse greeting the blessed; others are at the tower of the battlement of the castle celebrating heavenly bliss. These angel musicians play a wide collection of musical instruments, which include a

³⁷ Anne Courtille, *Histoire de la Peinture Murale dans l'Auvergne du Moyen-Age* (Brioude: Watel, 1983), 219.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

rebec, a fiddle, a harp, a lute, a bagpipe, a sackbut, a kortholt, a recorder, and bells (fig. 4.3 – 11b & c). It would seem that upon entering the gates of Heaven, the righteous are also entering a life of worship. The contemplation of the joy of Heaven by the patron in chateau de Langlard is revealed by the extensive depiction of the scene of Heaven that features urban and courtly qualities.

Depictions of angels with musical instruments are not rare in representations of the Last Judgement, particularly in reference to angels who sound the trumpets of resurrection. The representation of angel musicians in chateau Langlard has highlighted the joyfulness of Heaven. Certainly, this portrayal of Heaven was not a single case in France. Other relative examples can be found in the parish church of Saint-Laurent at Birac (Gironne) and Saint-Vincent at Tarnos (Dax).

The mainstream depiction of Heaven in representations of the Last Judgement seems to be that of the depiction of heavenly Jerusalem. The adoption of this concept is evident from many surviving examples in the Last Judgement. For instance, in the chapel of a cemetery at Sepvigny (Meuse), Heaven is a church-like building with stained glass and a rose window (fig. 4.3 – 12). Angels are mounted on turrets that are attached to the church tower. They seem to be safeguarding Heaven. On some occasions, New Jerusalem is represented by only a simple structure of an architectural building. For example, in the parish church of Notre-Dame at Antigny (Vienne), heavenly Jerusalem is merely represented by a two-dimensional door (fig. 4.3 – 13). Similarly, in the parish church of Saint-Martin at Antigny (Vienne), a ladder substituted as the architectural representation of New Jerusalem (fig. 4.3 – 14). The wholehearted embrace of the architectural form of Heaven indicates its religious significance to medieval society.

Conclusions

The certainty of medieval society towards the existence of Heaven is unquestionable. Heaven was not portrayed as a distant ideal. It is physical, tangible and can be visualised. The visual evidence suggests that Heaven was the goal of life and the reward for the righteous, the image of Heaven in representations of the Last Judgement may offer a tangible view of Heaven. The absolute promise of the heavenly city incited the believers' longing to enter the gates of Heaven.

The development of the portrayal of Heaven in representations of the Last Judgement in the fifteenth century substantiates two observations on the society. First, given the consistent depiction of heavenly Jerusalem throughout representations of the Last Judgement, medieval interest in Heaven in late medieval France seems to be directed at spiritual security. Instead of depicting the detailed physical quality of the celestial kingdom, images of Heaven portray the definite purpose of the existence of Heaven. For those who lived a virtuous life on earth, it would be a great reward. As a venerating object of hope and prayer, architectural expressions connote a powerful motivational force of spiritual edification. Upon entering the gate of Heaven, it opens up the gate of salvation. This visual evidence indicates that there was a growing need for spiritual security within a society, which requires further examination. Second, another paradoxical situation arises in connection with the image of Heaven and its society. The image does not seem to be an essential iconographic element in representations of the Last Judgement. Along the line of evoking visual attention, the primary concern governing these representations may be a didactic one: it served as religious instruction for Christians. Without the presence of Heaven, the image of the Last Judgement is reduced to the event of the final judgement and punishments. The deliberate absence of

Heaven on the Judgement Day strongly suggests that there was certain exigency in teaching salvation. While Heaven was the key to Christianity, the exclusion of Heaven leads to serious consideration of the attitude of society with the position of the religious authority.

4.4 Hell

The counterpart of Heaven is Hell. As an extreme contrast, Hell should include elements that are opposed to Heaven, which ought to include the absence of God, eternal darkness, perpetual punishment and ceaseless grief. Despite being a detestable place, depicting the image of Hell was a widespread and popular practice. As demonstrated in the previous section, the depiction of Heaven was occasionally omitted in Last Judgement paintings but this was not the case for Hell. According to Roman Catholic belief, upon the first death, which is physical death, souls will immediately face individual judgement.¹ This judgement will decide if a soul should receive a reward in Heaven or a punishment in Hell. Nobody, living or dead, will escape a general judgement upon Christ's Second Coming.

The medieval notion of Hell was not an abstract doctrine. In addition to the Bible as the authority for its existence, other sources supported its reality; sermons recapitulated its authenticity, preachers addressed its consequences, paintings visualised its condition, mystery plays enacted its process and literature publicised its significance.² This multitude of visual and textual sources acceded that Hell is an ultimate unbearable destination for sinners, and that it should be avoided. Unlike Purgatory in which punishment is temporal, in Hell it is eternal. In order to understand images of Hell in the context of its time, it will be useful to approach the question of how artists interpreted Hell and how they offered glimpses of it to observers. The thesis will consider the extent

¹ "Hell," in *The Oxford Dictionary of The Christian Church* (3rd Ed.), edited by F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 748 – 749.

² Jérôme Baschet, *Les Justice de l'Au-delà: les Représentation de l'Enfer en France et en Italie (XIIe – XVe siècles)* (Paris: Bocard, 1993); Howard Rollin Patch, *The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950); Hérve Martin, *Le métier de prédicateur: En France Septentrionale à la fin du Moyen Age (1350 – 1520)* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1988); Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: the Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture 13th-18th centuries*, trans. by Eric Nicholson (New York: St Martin's Press, 1990); Lynette R. Muir, *Literature and Society in Medieval France: The Mirror and the Image 1100-1500* (London: Macmillan, 1985).

to which the image of Hell was perceived as a moral instruction against the background of the history of salvation.

The existence of Hell is biblically justifiable. It gradually took shape from the inception of Christianity. Early church Fathers and medieval theologians attempted to form a concrete hypothesis on Hell. By the late Middle Ages, the reality of Hell was more than concrete. Detailed aspects of Hell were rarely abandoned by preachers throughout the respective period. For example, Jean Gerson, the chancellor of University of Paris in the early fifteenth century, succinctly described the fundamental message of Hell. He expounded that:

A person who sins mortally denies God by his deed and gives himself to the devil ... A sinner is in the hatred of Our Lord; he is deprived of all the blessings of holy church; he is banished from paradise; he is the serf of the devil and of his sins; if he dies in his sin, he will suffer the pains and torments of Hell.⁴

In explaining the condition of Hell, Jean Gerson was not alone. Likewise, Michel Menot, an influential Franciscan preacher, said that on the last day:

... the earth will open and the mouth of Hell will lie agape and all the devils and the masses of the damned will be shrieking and letting out great sighs. They will put themselves on the earth near the mouth of the inferno, hoping that in the divine judgement they will be taken from the mouth of Hell and eternity without end.⁵

According to Gerson, Hell is not just a place of torture with an immeasurable amount of distress but also a place of hopelessness. Its severity was stressed by Guillaume Pepin, a Dominican, stating that '[in Hell] there is no way out, not for a thousand, nay two thousand, years, for punishment lasts forever'.⁶ Whether these sermons were original or indeed influenced by other pictorial sources, it is certain that the concept of the horror in

⁴ Jean Gerson's *Du Péril Qui est de Celui Qui Pêche mortellement*, quoted in *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 83 – 84.

⁵ Nicolas Denisse, *Tabula sermonum hyemalium de tempore*, quoted in *Ibid.*, 100.

⁶ Guillaume Pepin's *Consiones in septem Psalmos poenitentiales*, quoted in *Ibid.*, 96 – 97.

Hell was well developed. In the sixteenth century, a famous preacher in Paris, François le Picart, recapitulated the notion of Hell with details of horror and torment. He said:

... the damned endure a variety and diversity of punishments, because first they are tormented by fire, and tortured by devils ... what is more, they have continual memory of the fault and offenses they committed, for which they were damned.⁷

The portrayal of Hell as a horrible place with continuous torment has not changed. The message of Hell is clear: sin no more and repent now in order to avoid eternal damnation. It is not surprising that Hell was a common subject matter in medieval sermons even though some contradictory views remain.

In fact, there are two key aspects concerning Hell that lack any biblical support. The first aspect is the geographical location of Hell. As this question remained unsettled, medieval theologians attempted to approach the reality of Hell as closely as possible. Several suggestions were made. For example, in the *City of God*, Saint Augustine expressed that no one is to know the location of Hell unless it is revealed by the Holy Ghost.⁸ However, elsewhere he inferred that Hell is beneath the earth.⁹ Pope Gregory the Great did not attempt to place Hell in a specific geographical location. In his *Dialogue*, he wrote ‘I dare not rashly define anything, for some have been of opinion that Hell was in some place upon the earth; and others think that it is under the earth’.¹⁰ To place Hell beneath the earth was a common postulation. This idea was popularised in the Middle Ages by authoritative theologians such as Thomas Aquinas. Just as Saint Augustine,

⁷ Larissa Taylor, *Heresy and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-Century Paris: François le Picart and the Beginnings of the Catholic Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 168.

⁸ Saint Augustine, Book XX, *City of God*, translated by Henry Bettenson (London: Penguin, 2003), 316.

⁹ Saint Augustine, *Retractions*, trans. By Mary Inez Bogan (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1968), 113.

¹⁰ Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, IV, trans. by Odo John Zimmerman (Washington D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1968), 237.

Aquinas believed that Hell is subterranean.¹¹ Based on this deduction, other theologians went even further. Caesarius of Heisterbach, whose works were widely quoted by later medieval preachers, boldly stated that Hell is in the heart of the earth. In his *Dialogue on Miracles*, Hell is ‘supposed to be in the heart of the earth, so that the wicked may not see the light of Heaven’.¹² Similarly, in the fourteenth century in his famous epic poem, *The Divine Comedy*, Dante located Hell within the earth.¹³ Evidently, despite the exact location, the medieval view concerning the location of Hell corresponded with, in particular, the earth underneath it.¹⁴

The second debatable aspect of Hell is its fundamental structure. The Christian Bible provides brief but vivid descriptions of Hell. According to the Bible, Hell is a dark, fiery and sulphurous place separated from God’s presence where eternal torment takes place.¹⁵ At times, Hell is referred to as an abyss filled with demons.¹⁶ Elsewhere Hell is described as an opening in the earth where the wicked sink down.¹⁷ Intense pain through various torments in Hell was reiterated throughout the Bible. Biblical punishments include being burnt by intense fire, tormented by sulphur and eroded by worms.¹⁸ According to the Bible, Hell is certainly a fearful place.¹⁹ Similarly, early church Fathers, such as Saint John Chrysostom, prompted how it is senseless to ask the location of Hell

¹¹ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, trans. by Timothy McDermott (Westminster: Christian Classics, 1989), 217.

¹² Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. by Henry von Essen Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929), 302.

¹³ Dante, *Inferno*, trans. by Stanley Lombardo (United States of America: Hackett Publishing Company, 2009), 152.

¹⁴ St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Gregory and St. Augustine concurred that Hell is located under the surface of earth. See Francis J. Ripley, *This is the Faith* (Liverpool: Gracewing Publishing, 2007), 279.

¹⁵ Refer to 2 Thessalonians 1:9, Apocalypse 14:11, 21:8, Matthew 13:50, 25:41, 25:46, Job 17:13, Mark 9: 48.

¹⁶ Luke 8: 3; Revelation 11:7, 20:1, 20:3.

¹⁷ Numbers 16: 21, Psalms 54:16, Isaiah 5:14, Ezekiel 26:20, Philippians 2:10.

¹⁸ Mark 9: 44 – 45, Apocalypse 14:10, 20 : 15.

¹⁹ Ezechiel 32:27, Matthew 10: 28.

but it is essential to know how to escape from it.²⁰ Some preachers went further by describing the barbarous condition of Hell. For example, a fifteenth-century anonymous preacher at Bayeux compared Hell to a banquet. He delineated that:

The dishes of the infernal meal are three. The first is hunger. The hunger gnaws them to such a point that they would gladly eat, if they could, some frogs, some toads and snakes, but they can have some very little ... the second dish, the flesh of their own body ... such bitter dish, where everyone, from excessive hunger, eats its own flesh!...²¹

In contrast, Hell in the words of Jean Tisserand, a confessor of Queen Anne of Brittany, was less intense but distressing enough. He stated that ‘... after the Judgement the fire will descend with the damned into Hell, for the earth will open up, and the greatest of horrors will rush to greet the damned. The damned and the fire will descend at the same moment into this pit of filth and sulphur’.²² His metaphor seems to have a scriptural resemblance. In the same way, another authoritative Franciscan, Olivier Maillard, vividly described Hell as:

a lake without measure, deep, without bottom, filled with fire and intolerable stench, a place of unquenchable and innumerable grieves. Here we find misery, shadows, lack of order, eternal horror, with neither hope for goodness nor even despair for evil.²³

Notably, descriptions of Hell in medieval teachings are over the threshold of biblical support. To a certain extent, these differences in opinions provided a platform for artistic expression.

The most distinctive feature of the form of Hell is its entrance: a giant fiery mouth. It is the most common depiction of Hell in representations of the Last Judgement.²⁴ It is

²⁰ John Chrysostom, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom: Archbishop of Constantinople on the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles of Romans* (ed. Philip Schaff) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1851).

²¹ Bayeux, BM, ms. 48, fol 37 r & v, quoted in Hérve, 342 – 343.

²² Jean Tisserand, *Sermones de adventu* (fol. 19 – 20), quoted in Taylor, 99 – 100.

²³ Olivier Maillard’s *Sermones dominicales*, quoted in *Ibid.*, 96.

²⁴ Gary D. Schmidt, *The Iconography of the Mouth of Hell: Eighth-century Britain to the Fifteenth Century* (New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1995); Clifford Davidson and Thomas H Seiler, *The Iconography of Hell* (Michigan: Western Michigan University, 1992); Donald Clive Stuart, “The Stage Setting of Hell and the Iconography of the Middle Ages,” *Romanic Review* 4 (1913): 330 – 342;

exemplified by a side profile of a tempestuous dragon-like beast with infuriated eyes, spiky fangs, and an opened jaw sometimes frenzied with fire. One of the earlier examples of the Hellmouth is in the church of Saint-Victor-et-Saint-Couronne at Ennezat (Riom).²⁵ The Hellmouth was painted at the right of the composition (fig. 4.4 – 1). It is represented by a dark fury beast, emerging from the ground, growling and gushing out ferocious fire. Its jaw is widely opened, expecting prey to be delivered by devils. Besides having humanoid features, they are horned and winged with bodies, and their elongated ears are spouting out fire. A devil loads a damned soul on his shoulder; another devil carries one on his back. They are walking towards the direction of the Hellmouth. At a distance, a devil sits on a female soul with a trident in his hand while waiting for another damned soul who is being expelled by St. Michael. In front of the Hellmouth, two devils rip the throat and stomach of a damned soul. Another damned soul attempts to escape from the tip of Hell. The scene is chaotic. One of the seven sins was depicted in Ennezat was the sins of Lust of which a female soul is forced to contemplate herself in front of a mirror.²⁶ Hellmouth in Ennezat is a generic representation of Hell. Through artistic creation and adaptation, there are other cases where the form of hellmouth was further elaborated upon.

John Marshall, “The Medieval English Stage: A Graffito of a Hell-Mouth Scaffold?” *Theatre Notebook* 24 (1980): 99 – 103; Robert Lima, *The Iconography of the Mouth of Hell: Eighth-century Britain to the Fifteenth Century* (New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1995), 35 – 48; and, Alan Knight, “Hell Scenes in the Morality Plays,” in *Atti del IV Colloquio della Società Internazionale per l’Étude du Théâtre Médiéval: Viterbo 10 – 15 1983*, edited by Maria Chiabo, Federico Doglio and Marina Maymone Siniscalchi (Viterbo: Centro Studi sul Teatro Medioevale e Rinascimentale, 1984), 203 – 213.

²⁵ The original site of the painting is on the back wall of the church choir stalls. It was removed in the nineteenth century. For details, see George Troescher, *Burgundische Malerei. Maler und Malwerke um 1400 in Burgund, dem Berry mit der Auvergne und in Savoyen, mit ihren Quellen und Ausstrahlungen* (Berlin: Mann, 1966), 188 – 19 and Anne Courtillé, *Auvergne, Bourbonnais, Velay Gothiques: Les Édifices Religieux* (Paris: Picard, 2002), 231 – 242.

²⁶ Jérôme Baschet, “Les Sept Péchés Capitaux et Leurs Châtiments dans l’Iconographie Médiévale.” In *Histoire des péchés capitaux au Moyen Age*, edited by Carla Casagrande, Silvana Vecchio and Pierre-Emmanuel Dauzat (Paris: Aubier, 2003), 339 – 385.

A noticeable example is in the parish church of Saint-Martin at Champniers (Montmorillon). The representation of the Last Judgement in Champniers occupies three walls. While the Deësis and Heaven were painted on the south wall, the image of Hell was illustrated on the west and the north walls (fig. 4.4 – 2a). Hell is represented by a hellmouth of an enlarged devil head with pointed ears. It represents not only Hell but also the doorway of Hell. In front of the hellmouth, three devils trundle a cart full of damned souls. Upon entering the hellmouth, a series of punishments are taking place. Inside, a devil is leading other damned souls to the field of punishment. He carries a crosier staff in his hand and a basket of damned souls on his back. Here, devils inflict excessive corporal punishment to the damned. For example, some damned souls are attached to a giant wheel while two devils standing to the side are responsible for the torture.

Part of the painting is badly deteriorated, it is likely that one of the devils is trying to blow a big funnel to move the wheel while another devil is hammering the damned souls as the wheel turns. This method of torture is not exceptional. One textual evidence is from a vernacular literature, *Pèlerinage de l'âme*. It states that the heads of those who were found guilty of sloth will be hit on a stone column as the wheel descends in order to avoid them from falling asleep.²⁷ At Champniers, a devil seems to be implementing a similar activity on a column. He carries a large mallet to ensure that the damned souls are constantly awake. Wheel punishment was frequently known as a torture intended for the Proud especially after the middle of the thirteenth century.²⁸ For instance, in one of the fifteenth-century popular printed books, *Ars Moriendi*, the Proud will 'descend into

²⁷William Richard Gay, *Illumination and Power: Jean Colombe and "Les Douze Perils d'Enfer"* (New York: Cornell University, 2002), 130.

²⁸Baschet, *Les Justices de l'Au-delà*, 501.

Hell and the ardent sulphur... into the abyss of damnation and eternal fire.’²⁹ A life-size depiction of this punishment associated with the sin of Pride is in the cathedral of Sainte-Cécile at Albi.³⁰

Below the giant wheel, two damned souls are being prodded on spits while a few devils are roasting them above a fervent fire. Usually, those who were found guilty of the sin of Lust were tightened and roasted on spits.³¹ In fact, there are other forms of punishment, namely, being cooked in a boiling cauldron or dwelling in a fiery well with snakes encircling around. On the north wall is a devil of considerable size, most likely Lucifer, seated on his throne (fig. 4.4 – 2b). With both hands, he holds a stick pointing to a cavalcade of seven personified sins who are marching towards him. Next to him, two naked souls can be seen in an undistinguishable posture. In front of Lucifer, a devil escorts the seven personified sins into the realm of torture. The devil possesses distinctive animal features. He has the horns of a goat, giant ears, and a pair of horse’s legs and hoofs. The cavalcade is led by Pride who is riding a leopard, followed by Envy on a dog and a fourth figure, probably Lust, represented by a woman tearing her clothes apart. Other personified sins are unidentifiable due to poor preservation. However, it is certain that there is a great difference in the emphasis between the depiction of Heaven and Hell in Champniers. Attention was not placed on heavenly reward but on the consequence of sin and the outrageousness of Hell. Placed on half of the south wall, Heaven is comparatively less excited in the sense of visual depiction. In contrast, not only do scenes of Hell occupy two walls, but also the entrance of Hell had been

²⁹ Mary Catharine O’Connor, *The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars Moriendi* (New York: AMS Press, 1942), 100. This punishment for the sin of pride is also found in the late 15th-century text and images of *Le grant kalendrier et compost of Bergiers*, printed by Nicolas Le Rouge, Troyes, 1496

³⁰Detailed examination of the representation of the Last Judgement in Cathedral of Sainte-Cécile will be discussed in Chapter 4.6 The Seven Deadly Sins.

³¹ Jérôme Baschet, *Les Sept Péchés Capitaux*, 339 – 385.

metaphorically placed on the wall (north) of the church entrance. Believers could hardly avoid seeing such a scene before leaving the church because of the life size depiction of Hell and its eye-catching placement.

Another variation of the hellmouth can be discerned from Sainte-Anne's parish church, at Cazeaux-de-Larboust (Saint-Gaudens), where Hell is represented by a hellmouth with a hanging cauldron in the mouth's palate (fig. 4.4 – 3). The difference between the domain of Hell and the secular world is the clear division of the dark state in the mouth surrounded by boiling fire. In fact, the sinister setting of Hell is manifested not so much through the hellmouth itself but from the menacing appearance of devils who are transporting damned souls. The physical appearance of each devil in Cazeaux-de-Larboust is rather diversified. They are a hybrid of wild animals. For instance, one devil who is standing in front of the hellmouth has an antler on his head, a fox's tail and an eagle's talons. His genitals have been transformed into a face, which has a big nose and mouth. From head to toe, he is halved by two different colours. Another devil, with a vermeil body, and who is trying to disturb the scales of St. Michael, has a pair of bat's wings, a monkey's tail and an eagle's talons. The third devil is composed of an animal head, human face on his chest and an intestine-like tail.

There are certain common features that were used to represent the appearance of devils. These include a black meagre body that contains typical animal features such as horns, hair, tails, claws and scales. Comparable examples of physical depictions of devils can be found in different churches. For example, the parish church at Saint-Sulpice-sur-Lèze (Muret) comprises a representative portrayal.³² Here, Lucifer is a giant horned four-

³² Françoise Tollon, "Les Fresques Saint-Sulpice-sur-Lèze: Etat des Lieux," *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France* 60 (2000): 274 – 279.

headed beast (fig. 4.4 – 4). He is devouring damned souls through different parts of his body such as his elbows and knees. Meanwhile, the limbs of his body are capturing new prey in order to feed the starving ravenous mouths. Another demonic visage on his genital and he is defecating some incarnadine ordure eaten by a two-headed snake-like creature that is entwined around his waist. Although not all the depictions of Lucifer contain similar features, this type of representation of Lucifer is not unusual.

In southern France, it was quite common for Lucifer to be depicted as a chained beast. For example, in the church of Notre-Dame du Bourg at Digne-les-Bains (Basses Alpes), Lucifer is attached to a pillar in a dark confined fiery cell (fig. 4.4 – 5). He is depicted as a giant amber beast with big ears and eyes. His body is covered with the scale of a chameleon and chicken's feet. His hands, neck and waist are securely chained. He munches away at the damned souls who have been delivered by his assistants. Some damned souls kneel before him and are awaiting their turn to be devoured. The church at Chapel of Pénitents Blancs at La Tour-sur-Tinée (Alpes Maritimes) provides another example. Here, a greyish Lucifer whose neck is attached to the hellmouth is sitting enthroned on a prostrated female soul (fig. 4.4 – 6). His arms rest on the heads of other damned souls. He has some anthropoid feature on his face and horns on his head. Two visages also emerge from his chest and another two on his shoulders. However, the depiction of the chained Lucifer was not popular compared to that of his supremacy in Hell. His responsibility as a commander of Hell was prevalent mostly in the north-east of France. Instead of sitting enthroned, Lucifer is riding a hellmouth.

Among the churches containing this feature is the parish church of Saint Pierre at Saint-Parres-lès-Vaudes (Aude). This stained glass can be dated back to the early sixteenth century (fig. 4.4 – 7).³³ The representation of the Last Judgement comprises a judgement court, St. Michael weighing souls and images of Heaven and Hell. At Saint-Parres-lès-Vaudes, Lucifer and the hellmouth represent Hell. Lucifer possesses the compound features of an ox and the horns and hide of a rhinoceros spread throughout his limbs. He carries a fork in his right hand and directs the hellmouth-beast with his left. One exceptional aspect of this hellmouth compared to that of other examples is that it possesses bestial features with big horns and fangs. The depiction of Lucifer sitting on hellmouth was not popular. Two rare cases of Lucifer sitting on a hellmouth are in the parish church at Heuilley-Cotton (Langres) and the cemetery at Sepvigny (Commercy). At Heuilley-Cotton, while sitting on a hellmouth, Lucifer is devouring damned souls, which have been brought to him by his vassals (fig. 4.4 – 8). Likewise, in Sepvigny, a devil, probably Lucifer, is sitting on the bridge of the nose of a hellmouth and blowing a horn. He is summoning other devils to deliver damned souls to the pit of Hell (fig. 4.4 – 9).

Despite the presence of a hellmouth, Hell was painted as a field of collective horrendous punishments. One quick example is in Notre-Dame parish church at Antigny (Montmorillon) dating back to the end of the fifteenth century.³⁴ The representation of the Last Judgement was painted on the vault of a chapel dedicated to Sainte-Catherine (Pl. XX). Here, Christ is seated on a rainbow showing his wounds while the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist kneel at each side. Beside the Virgin Mary, St. Michael is

³³ To date there is no documentation for this stained glass. The dating of this stained glass is a speculation from its iconography style.

³⁴ Joseph Salvini, "Les Ensembles Décoratifs dans le Diocèse de Poitiers entre la Guerre de Cent Ans et les Guerres de Religion," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* 12 (1939): 95 – 125.

weighing souls. The twelve disciples and other saints are surrounding the Deësis. Below Christ and to the right of the composition, the resurrected souls in a praying gesture are standing in front of Heaven. At the gate of Heaven, St. Peter welcomes these blessed souls. Hell was placed underneath Heaven where a physical pillar of the chapel is located. Hell in Antigny is emphasised by various types of punishment painted over three facets of the pillar.

On the front facet, Lucifer sits on a throne guarding the various tortures that are taking place (fig. 4.4 – 10a). He is clenching a female damned soul who is trying to escape from him. Behind Lucifer, three damned souls are being hung on gibbets. Below him, a damned soul is being tied and burned. To the right, in the cradle of a devil another damned soul, facing Christ, is begging for deliverance. On the top of the left facet, a devil is hammering a couple of damned souls who had been placed on an anvil (fig. 4.4 – 10b). Below them, two devils are riding on a crawling soul. On the right facet of the pillar, some souls are wedged inside a cauldron surrounded by devils who are castigating them (fig. 4.4 – 10c). These depictions of punishment in Hell are relatively common.

Nevertheless, there are a few examples in France in which punishments in Hell are categorised into seven deadly sins. One representative example is in the cathedral of Sainte Cécile at Albi. Here, Hell was placed at the very bottom. However, there is neither a hellmouth nor Lucifer. Instead, emphasis is placed on the consequence of sin rather than the existence of Hell. Each cause of sin is labelled and clarified with inscriptions.³⁷

Through the analytical study of the iconography of Hell, it seems that vivid depictions of the scene of Hell are beyond the portrayal of biblical descriptions. Detailed visual

³⁷ A detailed discussion of the punishment of seven deadly sins in Sainte-Cécile cathedral is discussed in Chapter 4.6 The Seven Deadly Sins.

representations of the horrible condition of Hell and the appearance of devils in the Middle Ages seem independent from the bond of ecclesiastical dominion.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, more creative images of Hell emerged. Occasionally, the chaotic nature of Hell was substituted by an active pursuit of devils transporting the damned to Hell. One archetype example is in the chapel dedicated to St. Michael in Château de Langlard at Mazerier (Allier).⁴⁹ Here, the representation of Hell occupies two out of four walls dedicated to the Last Judgement.⁵⁰ The embodiment of Hell on the west wall is represented by three emblematic elements: a fiery hellmouth, Lucifer and a broiling cauldron. The sharp fangs of the hellmouth seem to be guarding the damned souls from absconding. Damned souls are abiding inside the scorching hellmouth from which fire is gushing out incessantly. Inside, one of the damned souls has begun to putrefy while his body was gangrenous. Another corroded damned soul is merely nothing but a skeletal body. A crowned Lucifer is sitting on a throne-like pillar in front of the hellmouth. He is wearing a golden chain and carrying a sceptre (fig. 4.4 – 11a). To his right, a small flying creature is presenting some item of apparatus to him. Next to Lucifer is a big cauldron assisting by two devils who are thrusting the damned souls with pitchforks. An undersized devil is fuelling the fire of the cauldron in order to increase the level of heat.

On the south wall, damned souls are being transported to Hell in various ways (fig. 4.4 – 11 b & c). The first pair of devils dispatches a soul on a wheelbarrow. The neck of the damned is hung with a coin bag. Behind them is a crimson devil who is playing a flute and a drum while riding a donkey. He seems to be summoning another devil to help him

⁴⁹ Anne Courtille and Marie-Pasquine Subes, “Peintures murales de Saulcet et de Langlard, Auvergne,” *Bulletin Monumental* 159 (2002): 261 – 262.

⁵⁰ See Illustration 4.3 – 1 for the composition of the iconography of the Last Judgement.

to put his prey into a basket on his back. Another pair of devils carry a wooden bucket full of male damned souls. The first devil, who is walking in front, has a skeletal body with a prickly back. The devil that follows is a female ochre devil whose knees are composed of two heads resembling a devil. In front of them is another pair of devils safeguarding some damned souls who have been tied together with a rope. The leading devil tries to beat them with spiked clubs because they refuse to move forward. Above them is a black devil who has a pair of bat's wings and duck's feet. He carries two souls in his hand. Meanwhile another female soul rides on his body. A small devil carries a stone and a yellow one carries a damned soul as they prepare to enter Hell.

These damned souls can be identified by specific types of sin. Two immediate examples can be discerned: Avarice is represented by a damned soul with a bag around his neck and Sloth is on a donkey's back. In addition, no devil appears to have a similar appearance. For instance, one devil has an image of a hedgehog at the top together with eagle's talons whilst another is composed of an oxen's horn, a goat's visage and a dog's bottom. Other devils have unidentified features which may be purely artistic invention such as a flying dragon possessing four breasts and two demon heads, which had been implanted on the shoulder of a skeletal beast whose body is covered by scute and spiked. Various types of animal such as snails, snakes, squid and moles were added along the route to Hell. Despite the repulsive condition of Hell in Château de Langlard, the restless feeling of Hell is expressed through the unwillingness of the damned souls being sent to Hell. Transporting damned souls to Hell is a common element in contributing to a chaotic scene in Hell.

Notwithstanding, there are other examples of Hell in representations of the Last Judgement in France, which consist of fewer depictions of devils or types of punishment. A noticeable example is the altarpiece of Beaune that was painted between c. 1443 and c. 1451.⁵¹ Although images of a hellmouth, devils and punishment are absent in this altarpiece, the terror of Hell was not disregarded. Hell is represented by a dark fiery steep-sided abyss the entrance of which is the open surface of the earth that is inhaling the damned (fig. 4.4 – 12a). Christ's decisive verdict of 'Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels'⁵² (Matthew 25: 41) expelled damned souls towards Hell. The damned seem to be drawn by an unseen force from Hell. They are struggling and trying to clamber up by climbing on one another. The gradual decaying of parts of the body of the damned further intensified their frightening manifestation (fig. 4.4 – 12b). What is more terrifying is not the condition of Hell but the expression of the unwillingness of the damned to descend into Hell. It is a punishment that is beyond any physical punishment and mental assault.

In relation to this, Hell was repeatedly described as a place of eternal despair by the author of the sermon of *Les douze perils d'enfer*. He emphasised that the torments in Hell are inconceivable to man. He states "... it is impossible for mortal man truly, if not by revelation, to conceive of or to describe the torments of Hell prepared by divine justice for the evil and unjust".⁵³ The Beaune altarpiece is not a single case. Two late fifteenth-century examples of a similar approach are the image of Hell in Château du Châteaudun (c. 1493) and Chinon (c. 1490). Both images of St. Michael are expelling

⁵¹ Anna Eorsi, "From the Expulsion to the Enchaining of the Devil: The Iconography of the Last Judgement Altar of Rogier Van Der Weyden in Beaune," *Acta Historiae Artium* 30 (1984): 123 – 159; Nicole Veronee-Verhaegen, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Beaune* (Brussels: Centre National de Recherches Primitifs Flamands, 1973), 70 – 74.

⁵² *Discedite a me maledicti in Ignem eternum qui paratis est dyabolo et angelis eius.*

⁵³ Gay, 108.

damned souls towards a hellmouth (fig. 4.4 – 13a & b). As no punishments were inflicted on any of the damned, the distressing countenance of the damned seems to suggest their fear of, what is most likely to be, eternal separation from God. Therefore, although torments in Hell were not painted the consternation of Hell remains effective.

One of the popular translated manuscripts, *City of God*, dated c. 1480 (Mâcon, BM, ms. 2 fol. 217) contains a comparable representation of Hell (fig. 2.1 – 5).⁵⁶ Encircled within a golden mandorla formed by seraphim, Christ gives his final verdict. He lifts his right hand to bless and lowers his left to damn. As soon as the act of judgement takes place, the damned are being engulfed irrepressibly by an invisible force from Hell (fig. 4.4 – 14). No torture is taking place. Only a few black devils are conducting these damned souls to Hell. In the pit of Hell, Lucifer, whose limbs are chained, is serving his thousand-year sentence.⁵⁷ The depiction of Hell that excludes images of torment or devils seems to be theologically supported rather than a form of artistic invention. In fact, it requires great effort in depicting the horror of Hell without cruel punishment and ferocious devils.

In most cases in France, the depiction of Hell is more prominent and vibrant than that of Heaven. In fact, there were times when the representation of Heaven was disregarded. For example, Heaven was not painted in churches such as Allemans-du-Dropt, Montaner, Birac-sur-Trec and Bagnot. Hell was emphasised in not just wall paintings but also in manuscripts. Immediate examples are found in the Bedford Hours, Dunois Hours and Hours of Jean de Montauban (Pl. IV, Pl. V, fig. 4.2 – 11). In fact, this tendency was

⁵⁶ Alexandre Laborde, *Les Manuscrit à Peintures de la Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin* (Paris: Société des Bibliophile François, 1909).

⁵⁷ This depiction reflects the context in the Chapter XX section IX in *City of God* which reads ‘the devil is bound a thousand years and is afterwards loosed for a short season’.

applied to most of the Last Judgement theme including mystery plays as analysed in Chapter Three.⁵⁸ In *lo jutgamen general* no scene was allocated for the blessed to express how pleasant being in Heaven was. In contrast, words of admonitions and warnings were reiterated by devils and the damned to remind spectators about the dreadfulness of Hell and how one should avoid it before there is no way of return. Likewise, exhortations were sometimes included in representations of the Last Judgement.

One of the churches that were painted with an unambiguous instruction in the image of Hell is Saint-Eutrope parish church at Allemans-du-Dropt (Lauzun). The painting was probably painted between the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁵⁹ The representation of the Last Judgement occupies the south wall of the church. The theme of the Last Judgement was divided into three scenes. The first scene is Christ in judgement and he is flanked by two intercessors, the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist, as well as two other female saints (fig. 4.4 – 15a). Christ's pronouncement of the final verdict is represented by two banderols filled with excerpts from the judgement scriptures. To the right it reads 'Come, ye blessed of my Father'⁶⁰ and the left 'You cursed, into everlasting fire'.⁶¹ Below Christ, three resurrected souls are lifting their heads to him. At the top of this scene, it is indicated 'how Jesus Christ on the day of great trial will have each according to his works'.⁶² It is a summarised scripture from Matthew 16:27. The second scene is occupied by the scene of the battle of St. Michael and a devil (fig. 4.4 – 15b). The saint protects, instead of weighing, a blessed

⁵⁸ For a detailed discussion see Chapter 3.2 *The Jutgamen General*.

⁵⁹ Cécile Stalder-Roux, "L'Église et les Fresques: Présentation Générale: Notions Stylistiques et Thèmes Iconographiques à Allemans-du-Dropt," *Revue de l'Agenais* 124 (1997): 123 – 145.

⁶⁰ (Venite benedicti paris mei (Matthew 25: 34).

⁶¹ Discedite maledicti igum eternum (Matthew 25: 41).

⁶² Qualiter jhesus christus in ide magni judici (i) reddet unus quique secundum opera sua.

soul by assaulting a devil who successfully caught his prey. An angel in a white robe, who is standing to the right of St. Michael, seems to comfort a female soul. To the left, a devil with bat's wings carries a basket full of souls walking towards the direction of a hellmouth.

It is impossible to justify the painted inscription as part of it had been washed away. The remaining inscription reads 'How the saint [Michael] combat between a devil and threw him at the bottom of the sea, that is to say...'⁶³ This textual evidence seems to indicate the victory of St. Michael over the evil as opposed to his traditional role as soul weigher. Lastly, the final portrayal is a scene of Hell (fig. 4.4 – 15c & d). Hell is represented by a hellmouth. In front of it, a few activities are taking place. Four devils dispatch damned souls different ways towards Lucifer who is devouring them. Next to this image is a boiling cauldron governed by two devils. At the bottom of this scene, an inscription reads 'Remember your last day and you will never sin, in Hell there is no reproach'.⁶⁴ The inscription is clearly a word of forewarning. The incorporation of the scene of Hell with an inscription offers no ambiguity to the painted subject. Indeed, the inscription in Allemans-du-Dropt cannot be a single case in France. Other churches such as Sainte-Cécile Cathedral at Albi, Saint-Laurent parish church at Birac-sur-Trec and Saint-Victor at Sainte-Couronne parish church of at Ennezat also employ a similar method.

⁶³ Qualiter sanctus pugnavit ad id est dyabolus et projecit eum in profundum maris scilicet in.

⁶⁴ Recordare novissima et non pecabis in aeternum guia in inferno nulla est reprehensio.

Conclusions

Apparently, any iconography of Hell consists of a thoughtful arrangement. Depictions of Hell reflected the medieval society's view of Hell. Hell was not a vision or an abstract realm that was impossible to grasp. The punishment in Hell was not merely derived from artistic innovation nor should it be seen as imagery, but it was a common scene in execution ceremony after a trial is convicted.⁶⁵ Medieval customary punishments include beating, beheading, hanging on a gibbet, burning at the stake, drowning in a river, boiling in a cauldron and a live burial.⁶⁶ These punishments of crimes are not unfamiliar depictions of punishment as seen in the images of Hell within the Last Judgement.

The intention of the image of Hell in the Last Judgement could be better understood with the medieval trial and execution. People should have seen or heard about these punishments as most major executions were publicised. Announcement was made by the use of trumpets before the prosecution takes place. Then the convicted criminal would be dragged and paraded around the city prior to the execution site. The intention of public execution was written in a late fourteen-century manuscript of a recorded trial against Mériqot Marchès, a convicted terrorist, it was to 'preserve a perpetual memory and that all others take warning'.⁶⁷ For this purpose, temporary scaffolding was constructed in communal sites such as a market place, church or cemetery.⁶⁸ To ensure final submission to both the secular and spiritual authorities, in this case, the municipal court and the Church, final confession would be made, willingly or forcefully, at the execution ceremony before the sentence of those who committed a crime.

⁶⁵ Andrew McCall, *The Medieval Underworld* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979), 41 – 81.

⁶⁶ Esther Cohen, *The Crossroads of Justice: Law and Culture in Late Medieval France* (New York: E. J. Brill, 1993), 191.

⁶⁷ *Registre Criminel du Châtelet* quoted in Cohen, 190.

⁶⁸ Cohen, 189.

This is comparable to the image of Hell in the Last Judgement. It is comprehensible. As the place of eternal damnation, this image would serve as an important element to provoke responses both spiritually and physically. A spiritual state may incite a conscientious reaction that requires physical action: to avoid and to confess sin. Knowing that they could repent *now*, the image of Hell may well function as a projection of the eternal life of a sinner.

4.5 Purgatory

The integration of Purgatory in large-scale representations of the Last Judgement is one of the visual developments in the fifteenth century. Compared to other iconographic elements in the Last Judgement, Purgatory is the one doctrine that lacks biblical support. The doctrine was inculcated in the early Middle Ages but only began to gain its fame in the fourteenth century.¹ Besides concurring with the fact that Purgatory is a temporary place of punishment, holding different opinions, early Church Fathers and later theologians attempted to establish a more refined dogma. Religious references concerning Purgatory have hitherto remained debatable.² Despite its contentious nature, the belief of Purgatory was finally decreed by the Council of Lyon in the middle of the thirteenth century.³ This conviction was made explicit in Pope Benedict XII's *De Visione Dei beatifica* (On the Beatific Vision of God) in 1336. In this treatise, he stated that:

... since the ascension of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ into Heaven the souls of all the saint [...] and other believers who died after receiving Christ's holy baptism (provided that they were not in need of purification when they died [...] or, if they did need, or will need, such purification, when they have been purified after death) [...] have been, are, and will be in Heaven, in the heavenly kingdom and celestial paradise with Christ, and are joined with the company of the angels, already before they take up their bodies once more and before the general judgement.⁵

¹ Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 2 – 5.

² The thesis will only focus on the iconography of Purgatory in the fifteenth century within the Last Judgement context. Many efforts have been devoted to the study of Purgatory in southern France. Comprehensive studies have been executed by Fournié's *Le Ciel*; Anca Bratu, "Images d'un Nouveau Lieu de l'Au-Delà: La Purgatoire. Emergence et Développement (vers 1350 – vers 1500)" (Master diss., Paris: EHESS, 1992); A. M. Vaurillon-Cervoni, "L'iconographie du Purgatoire ou Moyen Age dans le Sud-Quest, le centre de la France et en Espagne" (PhD diss., University of Toulouse, 1978) and Michel Vovelle, *Vision de la Mort et de l'Au-delà en Provence d'après les Autels des Ames du Purgatoire* (Paris: A. Colin, 1970); and, Marie-Claude Marandat, *Le souci de l'au-delà* (Perpignan: University of Perpignan Press, 1998), 263 – 89.

³ Le Goff, 130 – 132.

⁵ Pope Benedict XII, *Benedictus Deus*, quoted in Alister E. McGrath, *The Christian Theology Reader* (U.S.A: Blackwell, 1995), 657.

This legislative proclamation clearly declares that Heaven is open to souls who had fulfilled the course of atonement in Purgatory.

In 1439, the Council of Florence reaffirmed its existence and pushed forward the doctrine of Purgatory as an article of faith.⁶ The concept of purification in Purgatory as a detour to Heaven attracted substantial interest in believers.⁷ Providing service for the dead in Purgatory was a great source of funds, in 1476, Pope Sixtus IV extended the sale of indulgences for an immediate release of the souls of a deceased in Purgatory.⁸ The popularity of Purgatory in medieval society was beyond doubt. A large number of mural paintings and retables dated to the third quarter of the fifteenth-century in churches witness the gradual popularity of this doctrine.⁹

For the present purpose, the study will focus on the iconography of Purgatory in relation to the Last Judgement. More emphasis will be given to the way Purgatory was depicted and the method it conveyed to intended audiences. Certainly, it is beyond the scope of the thesis to discuss all paradoxical opinions raised in the doctrine of Purgatory. In the face of such a contradictory situation, the iconographic examination is mainly grounded on theological aspects in relation to the way artists transcended the limits of doctrinal differences to communicate the spiritual need of the believers in their rendering of Purgatory.

⁶ Robert Norman Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215 – c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 38.

⁷ Robert Norman Swanson, "The Burdens of Purgatory," in *Medieval Christianity*, edited by Daniel Ehan Bornstein (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), 353.

⁸ Rodney Stark, *For the Glory of God: How Monotheism Led to Reformations, Science, Witch-Hunts, and the End of Slavery* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 81.

⁹ Michelle Fournié, *Le Ciel Peut-il Attendre ? : Le Culte du Purgatoire dans le Midi de la France, 1320-1520 environ* (Paris: Cerf, 1997), 50 – 59.

Among all the opposing opinions on Purgatory, two are particularly tied with the visual projection of Purgatory. One of the difficult subjects for medieval theologians was the location of Purgatory. There are at least four propositions for its location. The claim that Purgatory is placed above Hell was proposed by the early Church Father, namely, Saint Gregory the Great. According to the Saint, there are two types of Hell: the ‘upper Hell’, which allows souls to Heaven and the ‘lower Hell’ where no one could leave.¹¹ However, some believed that Purgatory was placed next to Hell. For example, a fourteenth-century Statute of the Synod of Mirepoix (*Statuts synodaux de Mirepoix*) described Purgatory as ‘a lower place that is touching Hell, so that the fire which tortures the damned in Hell purges the righteous ones in Purgatory’.¹² This is comprehensible as the nature of both torment places are filled with fire. Other theologians such as Dante Alighieri placed Purgatory closer to Heaven than that of Hell.¹³ He placed Purgatory above ground. Dante’s description of Purgatory is ‘a seven-level steep mountain on an island’.¹⁴ These different views on the location lead to a critical question on Purgatory, that is, its condition.

A great theologian, Honorius of Autun, in the twelfth century, avoided this difficult question by generalising the form of Purgatory. In *Elucidarium*, he pressed on the idea that Purgatory is a place of torture with ‘excessive heat or excessive cold or any other kind of trial...’.¹⁵ Acceding to his opinion, Honorius’ contemporary, Hugh of Saint-Victor, who was also greatly influenced by Saint Augustine, expressed the same opinion.

¹¹ R. R. Atwell, “From Augustine to Gregory the Great: an Evaluation of the Emergence of the Doctrine of Purgatory,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 38 (1987): 173 – 186.

¹² Michelle Fournié, Les Réceptacles de l’âme d’après les Statuts de Mirepoix,” in *La Papauté d’Avignon et le Languedoc 1316 – 1342*, edited by Direction des Archives de France (Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 1991), 300.

¹³ Quoted in Le Goff, 244.

¹⁴ Dante’s Purgatory, quoted in Rachel Jacoff, *The Cambridge Companion to Dante* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 109.

¹⁵ Quoted in Le Goff, 137.

He postulated that Purgatory is a place where pain was tremendous.¹⁶ Along this line, Dante claimed that those who go to Purgatory do not eat and drink because it is a place of suffering.¹⁷ Another physical torment was suggested by Jacobus de Voragine, the author of the *Golden Legend*. Similar to that of the condition in Hell, he envisaged the intervention of devils in Purgatory.¹⁸ This belief was later resumed by a Rodez preacher in his sermon in the fifteenth century. He offered a more soothing view by proposing that these devils ‘torment souls, not to purge the souls, on God’s permission’.¹⁹ This proposition did not receive a favourable response. Thomas Aquinas, disputed the stance of Jacobus de Voragine on the presence of devils in Purgatory.²⁰ In his *Summa Theologica*, he argued that those who are in Purgatory are Christian who died in venial sin and, therefore, these souls are not subjected to any dominion except God.²¹ While there are different forms of torture afflicting souls in Purgatory, Benedict XII inclined to St. Augustine’s premise on fire as the source of torment in Purgatory. He went further to suggest that although the fire of Purgatory is more forceful than any pain in the world, souls will still remain calm and joyful.²² This is because they envisage the joys that await them in Heaven.²³ This enjoyment relieves the pain of the torments of the souls.

Another form of torture in Purgatory that challenged mainstream thought was that in Purgatory there is neither physical heat nor fire. To William of Auvergne, Bishop of Paris, the torment in Purgatory is a spiritual form of torment. According to him:

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 144.

¹⁷ Dante’s Purgatory, quoted in Jacoff, 298.

¹⁸ Jacobus de Voragine’s *Golden Legend*, quoted in Alain Boureau, *La Legend Dorée* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1984), 49 – 52.

¹⁹ Quoted in Fournié, *Le Ciel*, 36.

²⁰ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 488.

²¹ Thomas Aquinas’s Article on Purgatory in *Summa Theologica: Treatise on the Resurrection*, vol. 10. Translated by Dominican Province (London: Burns Oates & Washborne, 1947), 666.

²² ... ille ignis purgatorius durior erit quam quelibet penarum genera in hoc seculo aut videri, aut cogitari, aut sentiri possint (f° 86v) and sunt in certitudine spei quam habent de obtinenda eterna beatitudine (f° 176v), quoted in Fournié, *Le Ciel*, 442 – 449.

²³ Quoted in Fournié, *Le Ciel*, 37.

The human soul burns ... therefore in itself, it contains no heat. You see therefore that the spiritual form impressed by the fire through the body upon the soul, although it is neither fire nor heat, nonetheless scorches the soul and causes it to burn, as the soul itself acknowledges.²⁴

He stated that purgatorial fire will not consume the body but only the soul.²⁵ It may not be a form of physical fire but instead, of unseen torments.²⁶

Among all these contradictory views on the condition of Purgatory, the idea that gained most ground was the existence of fire in Purgatory.²⁷ The fire of Purgatory serves to purify and to cleanse imperfect souls. Detailed description concerning purgatorial fire can be found in the sermon of the anonymous Rodez preacher. According to the Rodez preacher, the fire in Purgatory burned intensely and cruelly and tormented souls.²⁸ Considering the wide acceptance, fire was a necessary substance in Purgatory, and became a common feature in representing Purgatory in art. He expanded his thought by comparing the fire of Purgatory with that of Hell. He laid parallel the fire quality in Purgatory to that of fire in refining gold. He described that the fire burned the purged souls like gold, as it burned away; the fire was bright and sparkled with gold smoke. Conversely, the fire of Hell is dark and dull. It hardened the damned souls as if they were clay.²⁹

²⁴ Alan E. Bernstein, "Esoteric Theology: William of Auvergne on the Fires of Hell and Purgatory," *Speculum* 57 (1982): 513.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ William of Auvergne, quoted in F. Donald Logan, *A History of The Church in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2002), 293 – 294.

²⁷ Le Goff, 133 – 153.

²⁸ Fournié, *Le Ciel*, 36.

²⁹ Quoted in Fournié, *Le Ciel*, 36 – 38 and 219

In relation to the fire of Purgatory at the Last Judgement, Jean Tisserand, a Franciscan friar and French theologian, pronounced that:

The fire will consume you along with your wealth ... It will cleanse the elect who were biding their time in Purgatory ... for after the Judgement there will be no more Purgatory. And after the Judgement the fire will descend with the damned into Hell, for the earth will open up, and the greatest of horrors will rush to greet the damned. The damned and the fire will descend at the same moment into this pit of filth and sulphur. Immediately after the descent of the damned, the purifying fire will return to renew the earth. After the Judgement, the fire will return to its original state.³⁰

He clearly described that fire, in any form, is an element of purifying. As soon as the Last Judgement takes place, the fire in Purgatory will diminish and transform as that of Hell. Tisserand has a strong overtone of St. Augustine's explanation of Purgatory.³¹ He believed that the time of purgation occurs somewhat between death and Last Judgement.³² In conjunction with various arguments on Purgatory, the diverse forms, conditions and durations of Purgatory have made its visual depiction rather challenging. Therefore, the inclusion of Purgatory in the depictions of the Last Judgement is interesting.

Two examples of depictions of Purgatory that possess direct religious reference may reveal the medieval understanding of Purgatory. One of the earliest dated examples of the inclusion of Purgatory in the representation of the Last Judgement is an illuminated breviary owned by a Franciscan house in Rouen (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W

³⁰ Quoted in Larissa Taylor, *Soldier of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 99 – 100.

³¹ Saint Augustine, *City of God*, Book XXI Chapter 13 and 16, trans. by Henry Bettenson (London: Penguin, 2003).

³² Quoted in Larissa Taylor, *Heresy and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-Century Paris: François le Picart and the Beginnings of the Catholic Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 193.

300, fol. 3). It dates back to c. 1412.³³ In the interest of understanding the view of the Franciscans on the form and function of Purgatory, it is necessary to examine the folio as a whole (Pl. III). The judgement of Christ can be seen in the main miniature. He is seated on a double rainbow with outstretched hands. The severe bleeding wounds are particularly visible on his pallid body. Behind him, eight angels, four at each side, carry instruments of passion. Next to him, Christ is flanked by the Virgin Mary and the twelve disciples. Each of them kneels in supplication. Below Christ, two angels surmount the dead with the last trumpets. The dead are resurrected from their tombs. They earnestly implore Christ by raising up their hands towards Heaven. Here, the presence of three paths leading to their destination is notable. To the extreme left of the main miniature, a soul seems to be fit for Heaven.

At both sides of the margin of the main miniature, two groups of virtuous souls are being presented by angels to Christ. The soul is being transported from the terrestrial world to Heaven by an angel who stands at the edge of the miniature. However, the opposite occurs on the extreme right of the miniature. At this end, a devil is carrying a damned female on his shoulder. The devil looks at his acquaintance who is transporting another soul to Hell. It is represented by a hellmouth that is facing right. Inside the hellmouth, fire scorches the damned. Other devils transport damned souls in different ways. One devil carries a basket full of damned souls; another pushes them with a cart. The third path of destination can be discerned in the middle of the main miniature. Two souls are being carried by a devil and another devil, standing above the hellmouth, raises his hands in order to receive the damned. They all seem to be on their way to Purgatory. Purgatory was painted parallel to Hell. Both have been placed at the lower margin. As

³³ Lilian M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery: France*, vol.2 (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 242 – 249.

the depiction of Purgatory and Hell was relatively identical, to avoid possible confusion, the artist attentively identified each location as *Espurgatore* and *Enfer*, respectively. Purgatory is represented by a dark confined abyss filled with blazing fiery flames.

The image of Purgatory does not work on its own. A picture decorated in a historiated initial discloses the conviction of the existence of Purgatory. The initial was decorated with a priest celebrating mass at an altar. Behind him a male figure kneels in supplication. A few golden rays of light emanate from a chalice carried by the priest to souls in Purgatory. Nine souls, in the fire pond, look upwards. They seem to have faith in the mass that will shorten their time in Purgatory. The eye contact of these souls towards the priest demonstrates their urge for prompt release from the suffering in Purgatory. On the left margin, above the fire pond, a soul has just been released from Purgatory. He flies heavenward. The top margin is occupied by God the Father who is blessing the noble souls. Some angels present the cleansed souls to him for his blessing. Here, the miniature indicates that the resolution for the dead would occur if their souls were purified and cleansed by fire in Purgatory before they were allowed to enter Heaven. Purgatory was the final chance for believers who did not die in a state of grace.³⁴ It offers believers a guaranteed gateway to Heaven.

The second fifteenth-century representation of Purgatory that related to another religious order is a retable of the Coronation of the Virgin painted by Enguerrand Quarton in 1454 in the Charterhouse of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon (fig. 4.5 – 1a).³⁷ Recent studies demonstrated that this work may have some influences from the Carthusian foundation

³⁴ For medieval definition of Purgatory see Lewis and Short.

³⁷ Charles Sterling, *Enguerrand Quarton: Le Peintre de la Pietà d'Avignon* (Paris: Éd. de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1983), 39.

that was also a key propagator in the teachings of Purgatory.³⁸ As the retable was intended to be viewed by the monks themselves, the representation of Purgatory is not without a religious reference. This retable was most probably commissioned by Jean de Montagnac, chaplain of the charterhouse.³⁹ His theological reflections on Purgatory are evident in this painting. Upon the execution of this commission, a contract for a fundamental composition and iconography was instructed by Jean de Montagnac to the artist.⁴⁰ Each iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin was carefully described by the patron. In this contract, Purgatory was specially mentioned in items 21 – 23. It reads:

21 Item, on the right will be Purgatory where the angels lead those joyous on seeing that they will go to Paradise from those the devils lead in great sadness.

22 Item, on the left will be Hell, and between the Purgatory and Hell there will be a mountain, and from the part of Purgatory below the mountain will be an angel comforting the souls of Purgatory; and from the part of Hell will be a very disfigured devil turning his back to the angel and throwing certain souls into Hell, given him by other devils.

23 Item, in Purgatory and Hell will be all the estates according to the judgement of the master Enguerand.⁴¹

As stated in the contract, the representation of Purgatory and Hell should be painted at the lower register of the painting. Purgatory was painted on the left and Hell was on the right. These two destinations are divided by a rocky mountain in which the crucifixion of Christ is taking place. At the extreme left, souls of the unbaptised children are

³⁸ Daniel le Blévec and Alain Girard, “Le Couronnement de la Vierge d’Enguerrand Quarton: Nouvelle Approche,” *Comptes-rendus des Séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* 135 (1991): 103 – 126, and Alain Girard, “Le Décor en Chartreuse: la Place de la Chartreuse de Villeneuve-Lès-Avignon dans le Développement de l’Image.” In *Le Décor des Eglises en France Méridionale (XIIIe – mi XVe siècle)*, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Toulouse: Éd. Privat, 1993), 363 – 383.

³⁹ Charles Sterling, *Enguerrand Quarton: Le Peintre de la Pietà d’Avignon* (Paris: Éd. de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1983), 37 and Daniel le Blévec and Alain Girard, “Le Couronnement de la Vierge d’Enguerrand Quarton: Nouvelle Approche,” *Comptes-rendus des Séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* 135 (1991): 103 – 126.

⁴⁰ Document 8, see Sterling, 201 – 202.

⁴¹ Quoted in Carol M. Richardson, *Renaissance Art Reconsidered: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 110.

imprisoned in Limbo.⁴² Next to it is an image of Purgatory. It was depicted as a cleansing place for the expiation of venial sins. It was depicted as a pond of fire, which is governed by devils (fig. 4.5 – 1b). Six devils can be seen disrupting purged souls. One is pulling the head of a soul and another devil is swaddling the body of a second soul. Their presence in Purgatory created a sense of intimidation. It seems that their task in Purgatory was to prevent these souls from receiving any form of comfort from angels.⁴⁴ Each expiating soul is praying in a different gesture. Some clad their hands; others raised their hands to Heaven. The remaining looks rightward to an angel who appears to ease their sufferings. As required in the contract, these souls represent social groups from three different states. They include monks, popes, cardinals, kings, men and women.

Enguerrand's depiction of Purgatory bears a close resemblance to that of the early fifteenth-century Rodez sermon. In addition to the presence of a devil, the distinctive features and forms of fire can also be discerned from the Avignonese retable. In the retable, the fire of Purgatory was painted as light dazzling crystalline flames with clear smoke, while the fire of Hell was red, dull and fummy (fig. 4.5 – 1c). The condition in Purgatory is also less intense. In the image of Hell, devils torture the damned according to their punishment of whichever Seven Deadly Sin they have committed. The different quality of fire between Purgatory and Hell is not always visually depicted. The example in Avignon is a rare case. The flames in other churches studied in this thesis are less animated. Generally, they are long and wavy and mostly in the range of dark brown or dark red in colour.

⁴² In order to avoid further confusion, it is worthwhile to briefly verify the depiction of Purgatory and Limbo. Within the visual context, the only difference between the representation of Limbo and Purgatory is the presence of fire and angels. Limbo was often painted as a confined prison, which keeps unbaptised souls who died in infancy.

⁴⁴ Jacques Chiffolleau, *La Comptabilité de l'Au-delà: Les Hommes, la Mort et la Religion dans la Région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Âge, vers 1320-vers 1480* (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1980), 22.

Just as in the miniature of Rouen Breviary, a representation of a mass celebration was included in an Avignoise retable. Celebrated inside the church, the mass was placed above the Limbo. St. Gregory performs a mass at an altar while two assistants and mourners are trailing him. This inclusion of mass is a conclusive indicator for an ultimate deliverance. In fact, the depiction of the integration of Purgatory and a Gregorian Mass is more common than that of the Last Judgement. Frequently, these images were associated with a prayer of either the Requiem Mass or the Office of the Dead.⁴⁵

As decreed by the Church, prayer in the mass for the dead by the living was the key determination of relieving souls in Purgatory. One example that shows a direct association of celebration of a mass with Purgatory is in the miniature of a French book of hours (Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W 274, fol. 118), datable to 1460.⁴⁶ In the miniature, a mass is celebrated by a priest in a church. Behind him are a communal prayer of mourners and the living. Meanwhile, a rich man is giving alms to the poor in front of the church door (fig. 4.5 – 2). According to medieval Christianity, the act of charity, indulgences and saying prayers to the dead are three requirements for a prompt release of souls in Purgatory.⁴⁷ At the left corner underneath the image of the church, two angels are awaiting the souls' released from Purgatory. Presumably the angels are standing at the gate of Heaven, as a paradisiacal garden can be seen behind the entrance. Here,

⁴⁵ Earlier images of Purgatory were painted mostly in altarpieces and retables that were dedicated to St. Michael and in which its depiction was much influenced by Catalan culture. See Fournié, *Le ciel*, 50.

⁴⁶ *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript in the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 2, edited by Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 157 – 166.

⁴⁷ Swanson, *The Burdens of Purgatory*, 367 – 368.

Purgatory is a dark cell where souls are either resting or sleeping while waiting for their deliverance. Apart from the female soul to the left, others remain inert.

The faith of believers in praying for purged souls can also be found in large-scale paintings. One of which is the representation of the Last Judgement in the parish church of Sainte-Anne at Cazeaux-de-Larboust (Saint Gaudens).⁴⁸ Painted on the north wall of the church, this late fifteenth-century depiction contains three tiers (Pl. XVI). At the top, Christ is flanked by two angels. The middle tier is occupied by the two intercessors – the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist, and some souls. Beside them, two angels, one standing on the far left, escorting some souls; and the other kneeling and blowing a trumpet on the opposite side. The central part of the last tier is an image of St. Michael whereas Heaven can be seen on the left and Hell on the right. St. Peter welcomes a soul in front of the gate of Heaven. Some resurrected souls are rising from their tomb below the ground where St. Michael is weighing souls. Hell is represented by a hellmouth with a boiling cauldron guarded by devils. Curiously, a row of flames was painted at the bottom of the scene. These flames may be best understood by reading the scene on the opposite wall.

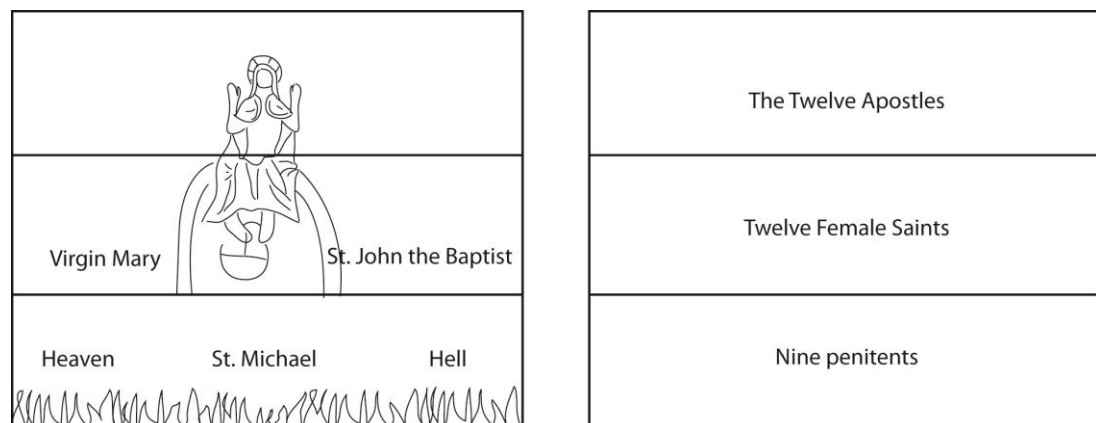


Diagram 4.6 – 1: The Last Judgement composition in Cazeaux-de-Larboust.

⁴⁸ Robert Mesuret, *Les Peintures Murales du Sud-Quest de la France du XIe au XVIe Siècle* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1967), 244 – 247.

Nine figures that were painted visually parallel to the fire may provide some references to this atypical visual (fig. 4.5 – 3). Facing Christ, each figure is carrying a scroll with an excerpt from the prayer from the Office of the Dead chanted during funeral mass.⁴⁹ It reads:

Lord, my God, direct my steps in your presence
Let me touch, Lord, and deliver my soul
In case where, like a lion, he takes my soul
I think that my redeemer is alive and at the last day...
You who give life back to Lazarus, even though he was dead
Lord when you are coming to judge the world
On some pastures, he makes me rest
[Do not remember] some distractions of my youth and of my ignorance
I believe that I will see the goodness of God on earth⁵⁰

According to Christian tradition, the stay in Purgatory can be shortened by caring for souls of the dead, giving alms and saying prayers. These nine figures may be read as mourners or penitents themselves.⁵¹ If these nine figures represent the livings who pray for the dead, it is plausible that the fire on the opposite wall represents the fire in Purgatory. If the fire is in fact fire in Purgatory, the absence of purged souls can be explained by the effectiveness of the prayers recited by the nine penitents on the opposite wall. However, in the absence of further evidence, this reading must remain a matter of speculation.

⁴⁹ Fournié clearly explained the association of these scrolls with the prayers for the dead. For details see Fournié, *Les Ciel*, 91 – 92.

⁵⁰ Dirige domine dues meus in conspectus tuo/ convertere domine et eripe animam meam/ credo quod redemptor meus vivit et in no/ qui lazarus resuscitasti a monument faetidum domine quando veneris judicare saeculum/ in loco pascuae ibi me collocavit/ delicta juventutis meae et ignorant meas/ credo videre bona Domini in terra

⁵¹ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 25.

One noticeable example is in the parish church of Saint-Pierre at Pervillac (Montaigu-de-Quercy). This painting dates back to the end of the fifteenth century.⁵⁵ The theme of the Last Judgement occupied three walls in the church: the Deësis on the eastern wall, Seven Personified Sins on the northern wall and on the opposite wall the images of Purgatory, Hell and Heaven. Although there were many theological disputes on the location of Purgatory, the Pervillac artist had sensibly placed Hell at the bottom, Purgatory in the middle and Heaven on top (fig. 4.5 – 4). Hell is represented by a place where the damned souls are being plunged in a burning fire and tortured by devils. Damned souls are being transported by devils to a field of punishment where devils are executing the chastisement.

Although part of the painting has disappeared, some punishments are still recognisable. For example, a few damned souls are being tied upside down. Above Hell, in Purgatory, imperfect souls are being cleansed by fire.

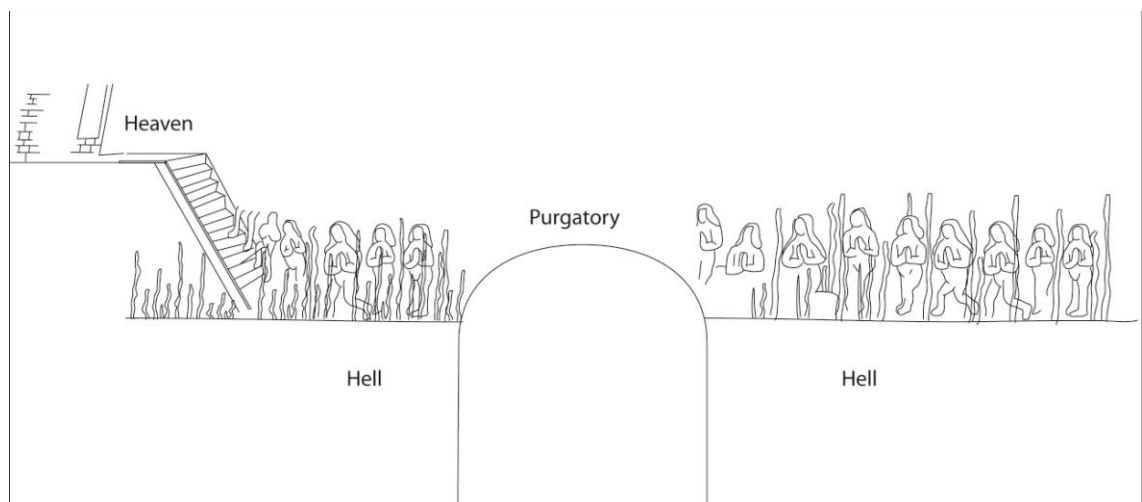


Diagram 4.6 – 2: The composition of Heaven, Purgatory and Hell in Pervillac.

⁵⁵ Mesuret, *Ibid.*, 229 – 230.

The purgatorial flames in Pervillac were painted in dark ochre and deep orange and the burning can be seen at a higher level than the souls. Facing towards the direction of Heaven, they kneel in supplication with joined hands. These souls can be identified as three different states. They include a king, a pope, cardinal, a friar and some ordinary people. Meanwhile, several angels assist the purged souls in completing their expiation. For souls whose expiation is due, they are guided by an angel to a steep staircase, which is attached to Heaven. This visual arrangement suggests that the only access to Heaven was by going through Purgatory. At the entrance of Heaven, St. Peter stands in front of the gate receiving cleansed souls from Purgatory. Three key convictions about Purgatory are particularly apparent in the depiction of Purgatory in Pervillac. First, Purgatory is a transitional state of punishment. Second, it is a guaranteed way to Heaven. And, third, Heaven is an ultimate place for salvation. A straightforward example of an image of Purgatory is in Saint-Laurent parish church at Birac (Gironde).⁵⁶ In Birac, Purgatory was painted as a form of a square fiery abyss filled with souls (fig. 4.5 – 5). Cleansed souls are welcomed by angels from the exit of Purgatory to Heaven.

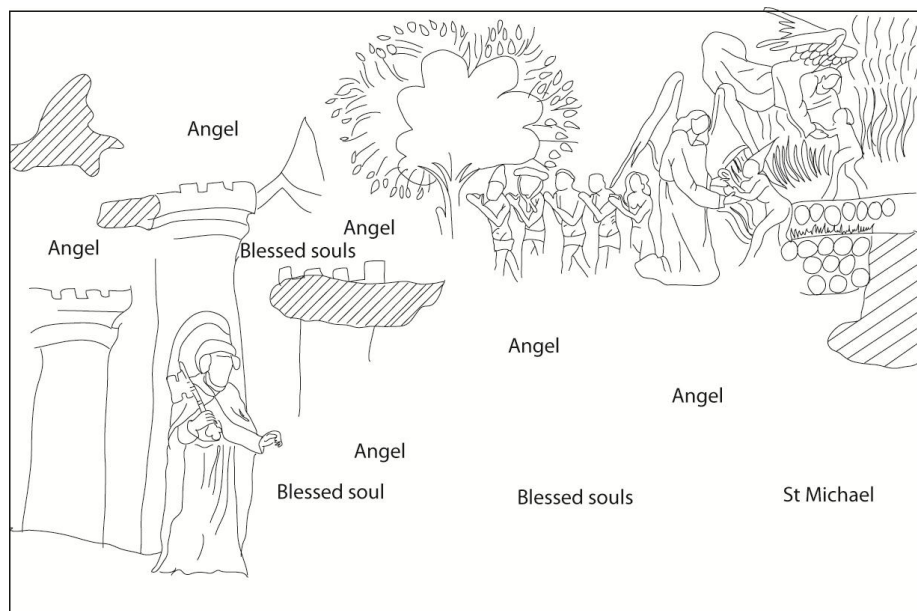


Diagram 4.6 – 3: The composition of Heaven, Purgatory and Hell in Birac.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 247 – 248.

Another identical depiction of Purgatory is in the parish church of Sainte-Quitterie at Massels (Villeneuve-sur-Lot).⁵⁷ Here, the image of Purgatory is placed below Heaven and is juxtaposed to Hell (fig. 4.5 – 6). Similarly, a ladder connects Purgatory and Heaven. What is rather distinctive in Sainte-Quitterie is that a hellmouth is the analogue of Purgatory.

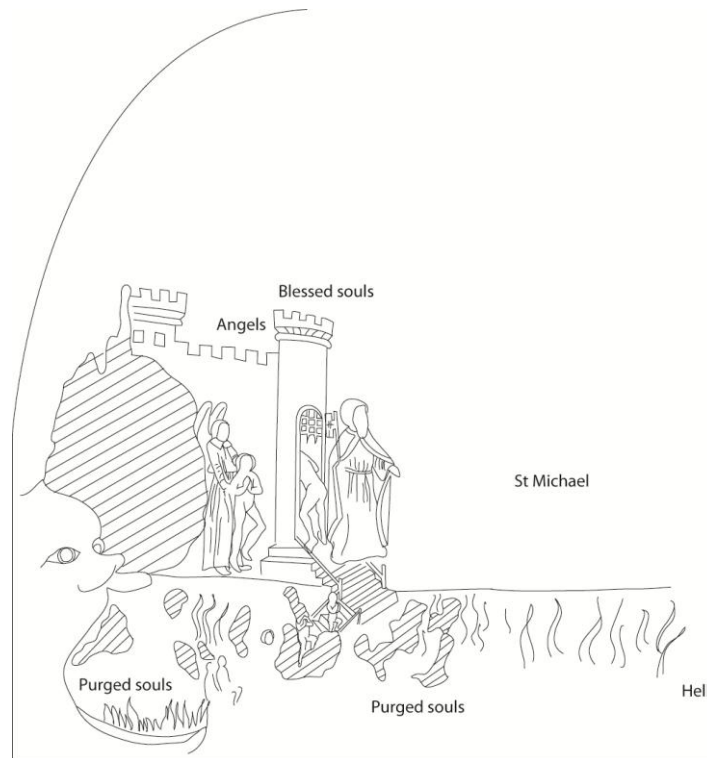


Diagram 4.6 – 4: The composition of Heaven, Purgatory and Hell in Massels.

Purged souls are being cleansed in a cavern. Some within the hellmouth; others submerged by fires. Those who have completed their appointed period of purgation are allowed to go to Heaven and do so by going up a ladder. Heaven is represented by a towered castle with a crenellated wall. Some blessed souls look out through windows, indicating their residency in Heaven. Some angels are guiding blessed souls to Heaven and others are accompanying them at the battlements. It seems that the guardianship of

⁵⁷ Vifginie Du moncel-Czerniak, “Le thème du Jugement Dernier dans la Peinture Murale Médiéval du Lot-et-Garonne,” *Revue de l’Agenais* 124 (1997): 155 – 159.

angels of blessed souls is indispensable. At the entrance to Heaven, Saint Peter stands at a staircase welcoming blessed souls. Another staircase is bridged from Purgatory to the entrance of Heaven. It is an access to Heaven that was made for cleansed souls who completed their expiation. Heaven is not only a directly accessible place for the perfect soul but also a final destination for imperfect souls who had a detour in Purgatory. These souls have an exclusive privilege of not having to be judged for a second time. They are exempted from being weighed by St. Michael. Therefore, this depiction of Purgatory leaves believers in no doubt about the reality of Purgatory as an assurance of salvation. These depictions of Purgatory seem to be widely accepted.

There are other portrayals of Purgatory that may attest to the contradictions of the doctrine. One complete variation of Purgatory was painted on the western wall of the chapel of Notre-Dame-de-Benva (or Ben Va) at Lorgues (Draguignan). This painting was probably painted at the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁵⁸ More than half of the southern wall along the nave of the chapel has been washed. Therefore, it is not possible to conjecture whether the Deësis was once painted. Nevertheless, some remaining fragments may provide some hints to the iconography programme as a whole (fig. 4.5 – 7). Heaven was painted on the north wall where Christ and the Virgin are accompanied by other saints. In front of the gate of Heaven, St. Peter is accepting the blessed souls. St. Michael is weighing souls next to a hellmouth on the south wall. Beside the saint, several devils are torturing the damned. Above the chapel entrance, Purgatory was placed between Heaven and Hell. It was depicted as a burning cage containing souls who are being cleansed. Remarkably, the condition in Purgatory is rather undisturbed. Instead

⁵⁸ Marguerite Roques, *Les Peintures murales du sud-est de la France: XIIIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1961), 377 – 379.

of praying, these souls seem to be longing for physical and spiritual comfort from the two angels who are standing outside the cage.

Uncommonly, the two angels comfort the purged souls in a different way. They stretch their hands that carry a vase and foodstuff, towards the purged souls. They seem to be making further provisions to relieve the souls in Purgatory which may be understood as the Eucharist offering during the Mass of Saint Gregory's celebration for the dead.⁵⁹ In regard to the Eucharist, Thomas Aquinas considered it as a 'special suffrage' for speedy release in Purgatory.⁶⁰ A corresponding response can be found in a late fifteenth-century literature, the *Traité des peines de purgatoire*. It is written:

... the souls which are in the Purgatory's fire are saved after we shared the bread and the wine during the mass for them requesting that God want to restore the souls from Purgatory and they will drink in God's beatitude and glorious vision and He will put them out of the necessity ...⁶¹

It would seem that the offering of bread and wine is to relieve the pain of purged souls in Purgatory. These foods were believed to be able to gain one's favour from God and thus lead to the prompt liberation of souls in Purgatory, which can be seen at the top of the cage where three tiny angels are receiving souls who have finished their purgation time.

Another exceptional iconography is found in the parish church of Montaner (fig. 4.5 – 8).

This painting is dated sometime between the end of the fifteenth century and the first

⁵⁹ Anca Bratu, "Du Pain pour les Âmes du Purgatoire: A Propos de Quelques Images de la fin du Moyen Age," *Revue Mabillon* 4 (1993): 177 – 213.

⁶⁰ Thomas Aquinas, "Of the Suffrages for the Dead." In *Summa Theologica: Treatise on the Resurrection*, vol. 10. Translated by Dominican Province (London: Burns Oates & Washborne, 1947), 354 – 355.

⁶¹ Quartement les dictes ames qui sont ou feu de purgatoire sont secourues quant on offer a la messe du pain et vin pour ells requerant et desirant que Dieu vueille paistre et refectionner les dictes ames de purgatoire et icelles abreuer de sa beatitude et glorieuse vision et les mettre hors de la necessité ou elles sont.

quarter of the sixteenth century.⁶² The theme of the Last Judgement was painted on the west wall of the church, which is also the church entrance. Although, a certain part of the Last Judgement at Montaner has been washed over, it is still possible to identify the fundamental composition. The mural consists of the Deësis, angels, resurrected souls, Heaven and Hell. What is uncommon is the depiction of four naked souls and some fish, which were painted above Hell. These souls seem to be escaping towards the direction of Christ. Unlike the damned souls being carried by the Devil, these souls have a joyful countenance.

A few medieval texts may be used to interpret what the presence of the fish surrounding these souls may signify. One close religious reference is in the prayer of *Offertory* in the *Office of the Dead*, recited in the mass funeral. The introduction of the prayer begins with an imploration to Christ for delivering the souls from the ‘pain in purgatory and deep lake’ (de penis inferni et de profundo lacu).⁶³ Another possible Biblical reference is derived from Apocalypse 20: 13 in which it was written ‘And the sea gave up the dead that were in it, and death and Hell gave up their dead that were in them; and they were judged every one according to their works’.⁶⁴ In fact, this expressive representation resembles Dante’s descriptive of Purgatory in *Il Purgatori*. In the vision, a soul in Purgatory was pleading with a traveller to pray for him and after that, ‘... he vanished through the fire, like fish diving through water to the depths... then he hid himself in the

⁶² For Montaner, see Lucienne Couet-Lannes, “Les Jugement Demiers de Castèra-Loubix et de Montaner.” *Revue de Pau et du Béarn* 18 (1991): 15 – 23, and for Sentein, see Syvie Cazaux, “Le Jugement Dernier et la Vision de l’Au-delà à la fin du Moyen Age d’après les Peintures Murales du Sud-Ouest de la France” (Master diss. Toulouse: University of Toulouse, 1992), 6.

⁶³ In ecclesiastical Latin, the word ‘infemus’ meant ‘hell’ or ‘inferno’. For a more insight definition see Lewis and Short’s Latin Dictionary.

Jean Lauffray, “Montaner. Note sur les Peintures Murales de l’église Saint-Michel,” *Bulletin de la Société des sciences, Lettres et arts de Pau* 17 (1957): 69 – 71; Mesuret, 72.

⁶⁴ Syvie Cazaux, “Du Nouveau sur le Purgatoire: Essai de Relecture Iconographique de Quelques Peintures Murales du Sud-Ouest,” *Annales du Midi* 110 (1990): 528 – 529.

refining fire...'⁶⁶ In any case, due to its deteriorated condition and absence of textual reference, the iconography at Montaner is reduced to a matter of conjecture.

The last example of a typical form of Purgatory may be consistent with William of Auvergne's image of Purgatory, that is, the absence of physical torment. This concept is discernible in the Last Judgment portrayal in the abbey church of Saint-Austremoine at Issoire (Riom) (Pl. VII).

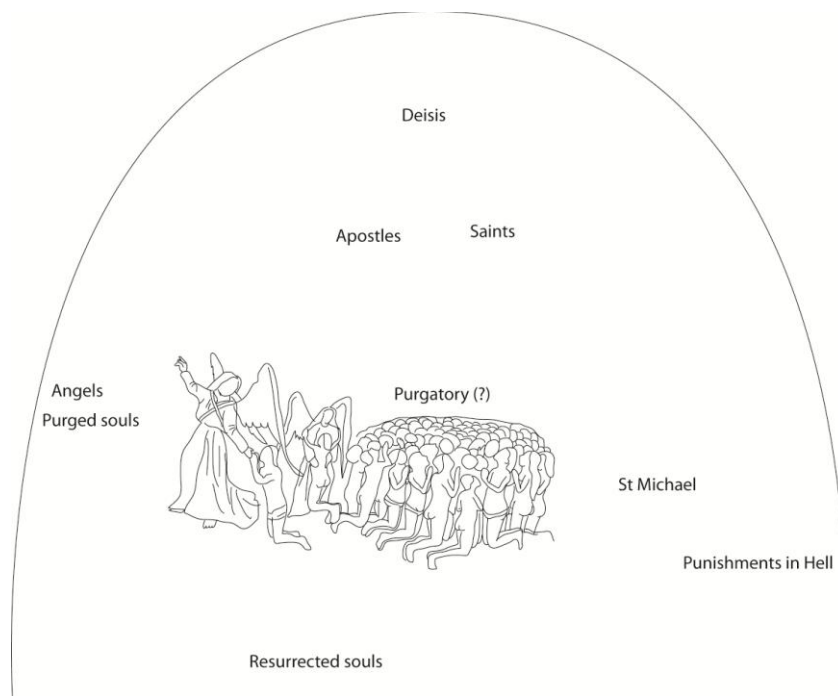


Diagram 4.6 – 5: The composition of Heaven, Purgatory and Hell in Saint-Austremoine.

A group of praying souls can be seen crammed together in supplication. They look upwards towards Christ who is on the judgement seat. Judging from the presence of angels to the left, it is unlikely that they are dead and have just resurrected from their tombs upon the last trumpet. An angel seems to be comforting a male soul who extends his arms and embraces the angel with gratitude. Another two assist other souls on their

⁶⁶ Dante Alighieri, *Divine Comedy*, trans. by A. S. Kline (Ann Arbor: Borders Classics, 2004), 182.

journey to Heaven. This visual reference indicates that these souls may be souls who are awaiting their release from Purgatory.

This inconsistency in depicting Purgatory can be justified by the vague foundation of the doctrine of Purgatory that resulted from the lack of doctrinal clarity and uniformity. As demonstrated in the previous sections, other Last Judgement iconographic elements such as Hell and Heaven are traditional biblical teachings and were relatively more established. As a new doctrine, theological questions such as the formation of Purgatory, the condition in Purgatory, the location of Purgatory and the occurrences of Purgatory are necessary in depicting Purgatory.

Conclusions

Besides theological concerns, the accumulative studies of the iconography of Purgatory, it is obvious that its depictions were responded to local perception and interests and patron preferences. The integration of Purgatory with the representation of the Last Judgement has certainly constituted a new iconography for the theme of the Last Judgement as its existence was not seen before the fifteenth century. Among the representations of the Last Judgment studied in this thesis, only 14 churches are charted with the inclusion of the image of Purgatory, which are mostly centred in southern France. This visual trend leads to the question of why the image of Purgatory gained an unequal fame within the subject of the Last Judgement. The inclusion of Purgatory appears to be less widespread than that of the new feature in iconography concerning St. Michael and Heaven.

In fact, after Pope Sixtus IV's proclamation on the effectiveness of indulgences to relieve a soul in Purgatory in 1476, the conviction of Purgatory experienced a great increase.⁶⁸ Numerous surviving wills made by believers concerning their conviction in Purgatory, and a rich source of archival records on church liturgical activities, such as performances of private and public masses offer for the dead, substantiated its wide recognition.⁶⁹ A number of late fifteenth-century synod statistics shows that, every week, there were six to thirteen masses being celebrated in churches compared to only two or three at the start of the fifteenth century.⁷⁰ The promotion of plenary indulgences was certainly favoured by many believers since venial sins can be atoned for in payment. Ecclesiastical evidence of local churches also indicates that masses were not serviced by a local priest alone, but instead by a whole community.⁷¹ Reflected through both doctrinal texts and visual evidence, the interest and conviction of the society to the revolutionary doctrine of Purgatory is proved incontestably.

The campaign of selling indulgences materialised after the Indulgence Bull issued by Pope Leo X in 1517. In the letter, in exchange for plenary indulgence he urged the believers to contribute to the building of the church with a generous heart.⁷² He wrote:

...full forgiveness of all sins for all Christian believers [from all classes of society] who repent and confess within one year of announcement of [this] letter... Because we want sympathetically to help such souls as much as we can ... we declare that if [anyone] contribute alms to the commissioners for the work of this building out of mercy for the souls in purgatory, the plenary indulgences shall be an aid to these souls for their deliverance from the penalties required by divine justice ...

⁶⁸ Quoted in Imma Penn, *Dogma Evolution and Papal Fallacies* (Bloomington: Authorhouse, 2007), 72 – 73.

⁶⁹ For substantial studies on the will and Purgatory see Fournié, *Le Ciel* and Chiffolleau's *La comptabilité de l'au-delà*.

⁷⁰ Fournié, *Le Ciel*, 284.

⁷¹ For example, an entire village of Pernes (close to Avignon) assembled together to celebrate a mass for the dead souls. See, Chiffolleau, 418.

⁷² Pope Leo X's Indulgence Bull (1517), quoted in Eric Lund, *Documents from the History of Lutheranism, 1517 – 1750* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 11 – 13.

The letter from the Pope implies that forgiveness can be granted to everyone with the condition of monetary payment. In other words, salvation was at a price. While Purgatory was a transitory detour to Heaven, indulgence was not less than *the* passport to Heaven as propagated by the Dominican monk, Johann Tetzel.⁷³ The looseness of the selling of indulgence had eventually sparked the Religious Reformation led by Martin Luther in 1518.

In defending the charge of abusing its spiritual position, the Church took a firm stance proclaiming their ultimate authority. In the papal bull issued at the end of 1518, it was written:

‘... no one will be able to plead ignorance of the doctrine of the Roman Church concerning such indulgences and their efficacy ... by the power of the keys that are able to open the kingdom of heaven and remove impediments in the faithful of Christ ... [the pontiff] can for reasonable causes grant indulgences from the superabundant merits of Christ and the saints to the same faithful of Christ. Therefore all who have truly attained such indulgences, be they living or dead, are freed from temporal punishments that are owed by divine justice for their actual sins, to the amount equivalent to the distributed and acquired indulgence.’⁷⁴

Clearly, this papal bull was a contention for heretics who despised the Church’s absolute power. For the reformers, such as Martin Luther, were declared heretic and excommunicated by the Church. Luther was definitely not the only heretic against the Church’s abusive inclination to their spiritual benefit in the late Middle Ages. In southern France, another group of heretics that was particularly prevalent in the fifteenth century was the Waldensians who were centred in the Alpine regions. They rejected both the doctrine of Purgatory including cult veneration and services performing to the

⁷³ Quoted in Penn, 73.

⁷⁴ Papal Bull “*cum Postquam*” (On Indulgences, 1518), quoted in Lund, 25.

dead.⁷⁵ Equally, they condemned the intention of the Church in selling indulgence and denounced the validity of indulgence.⁷⁶ The pervasiveness of the teachings of the Waldensians in southern France became a critical spiritual threat for the Church.⁷⁷ Several campaigns of extirpation against the Waldensians had been carried out by the Church throughout the fifteenth century.⁷⁸ In the sixteenth century, being considered supporters of Luther led to harsh persecution of the Waldensians in France, and, finally, a massacre in Mérindol in 1545.⁷⁹

In the face of this religious conflict, inclusion of Purgatory in representations of the Last Judgement, which was exclusively centred in southern France, can be understood in a different way. It would seem that the visual inclination of Purgatory was propaganda of the Church in which they held the final decision given by God, to release a soul in Purgatory, just as Christ forgave souls at the Last Judgement. The Church as a representative of Christ on earth, according to Pope Leo X in his papal bull, possesses the key to Heaven.⁸⁰ The propagation of Purgatory and the system of indulgences put the Church in an authoritative position, that is, to have the power in forgiving sins and that the absolute power of the Church should not be questioned. Notably, the visual depiction of Purgatory seems to have declined together with the doctrine of Purgatory, particularly towards the second quarter of the fifteenth century.⁸¹ This is evident by the fewer paintings of the Last Judgement found with the inclusion of Purgatory.⁸²

⁷⁵ Pius Melia, *The Origin, Persecutions and Doctrines of Waldenses* (New York: AMS Press, 1978), 116.

⁷⁶ Euan Cameron, *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 159.

⁷⁷ For more historical setting of the Waldensians in France see Chapter Five.

⁷⁸ Darren Oldridge, *The Witchcraft Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 41.

⁷⁹ Gabriel Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent: Persecution and Survival, c. 1170 – c. 1570*, trans. by Claire Davison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 198.

⁸⁰ Papal Bull “*cum Postquam*” (On Indulgences, 1518), quoted in Lund, 25.

⁸¹ Fournié, 19.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 105.

Having experienced a relapse of the popularity of the doctrine of Purgatory, by the middle of the sixteenth century, a constitutional view on Purgatory was decreed by the Church at the Council of Trent. The Church declared that:

The Catholic Church [...] has taught in the holy councils [...] that *there is a purgatory*, and that *souls detained there are helped by the prayers* of the faithful, and especially by the acceptable Sacrifice of the Altar.⁸³ (my italics)

However, the Church admitted the contradictory opinions on Purgatory and urged the priests to disregard the contradictory nature of this doctrine:

... the *true doctrine on Purgatory* [...] *be preached everywhere*, and that *Christians be instructed in it, believe it, and adhere to it*. But let the more difficult and subtle controversies, which neither edify nor generally cause any increase in piety be omitted from the ordinary sermons to the poorly instructed.⁸⁴ (my italics)

[*Catechism of Trent*]

The repeated declaration of the Church about their absolute position on granting indulgence, in a way, can be seen as a declaration towards the humanists and heretics who began to threaten the Church's spiritual authority at the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

⁸³ Quoted in Anthony Josemaria, *The Blessed Virgin Mary in England: A Mary-Catechism with Pilgrimage to Her Holy Shrines* (New York: iUniverse, 2009), 160.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 160.

4.6 The Seven Deadly Sins

One of the iconographic elements in the Last Judgement that was more apparent in southern France is the iconography of the Seven Deadly Sins (See Map II).¹ There are common pictorial cycles that can be seen: (1) Seven Deadly Sins that are personified into characters (2) A cavalcade of personified Virtues and Vices.² The former is found mainly in Aquitaine and Midi-Pyrenees and the latter in the Alpine region. This integration of the notion of sins with the subject of the Last Judgement was unique to the depictions of the Last Judgement. Before the fifteenth century, the images of punishment for sins are more generalised. Hell is represented by a hellmouth and the damnation of the sinners is often represented by a procession of personified sins chained and led by a devil walking towards a hellmouth or a boiling cauldron. In the interest of understanding this new dimension and expression of the meaning of its representation as a whole, this chapter will focus on the subject of the Seven Deadly Sins within the framework of the Last Judgement. As enough studies have been devoted to the history and development of this subject, the central tenet of this section is to examine how the Seven Deadly Sins were depicted alongside the Last Judgement and why this manner was chosen. This will be accomplished by referring to the medieval sources that have been discussed in Chapter Three, such as mystery plays as well as selective ecclesiastical texts.

As discussed in Chapter Two, after the decree of the Fourth Council of Lateran (1215) effectuating annual confession, preponderance manuals and guidebooks were focused on sin and penitence. The preaching of the Seven Deadly Sins was certainly not a new subject for

¹ This element seems to be absent in the collections of mural imagery in other regions.

² The section will not discuss the visual tradition of the Seven Virtues and Vices in great detail. The focus is mainly on the aspect of punishments of the seven deadly sins in association with the Last Judgement.

believers; however, its visual association with the theme of the Last Judgement remained rare until the second half of the fifteenth century. One of the earliest dated forms of evidence can be found in a fifteenth-century chronicle recorded by a French chronicler, Enguerrand de Monstrelet, and although it may not be a direct reference, it is pertinent to the subject of discussion. He recorded that there was a procession of Seven Virtues and Vices during the triumphal entry of Charles VII, the King of France, into Paris in 1437 through the gate of Saint Denis to Châtelet.³ These personified virtues and vices mounted on horses. Each of them dressed ‘accordingly’.⁴ Another chronicle, Herald Berry, recorded that:

And they arrived at the gate of Saint Ladre. And in front of him [King Charles VII], mounted on different beasts in the manner of the features from Seven Virtues and Vices, very nicely well done and dressed.⁵

[Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 5052, fol. 97]

As they passed through Poncelet, there was a painted panel of St. John the Baptist pointing to the Agnus Dei. Surrounded by singing angels, he seems to herald the coming of Christ. In fact, from the gate of Saint Denis, where the king’s entrance began, to La Châtelet, a series of religious plays were taking place. These plays include the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Passion of Christ, the Resurrection, the Pentecost and the Last Judgement.⁶ When referring to the setting of the Last Judgement, which was set at the entrance of Châtelet, Enguerrand also noted the existence of Heaven and Hell.

³ Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *Chronique d’Enguerrand de Monstrelet*. vol. 1. Edited by J. A. Buchon (Paris: Verdrière, 1826), 303.

⁴ Most likely it refers to their appearances in accordance with their characteristics of sin.

⁵ ‘Et ainsy arriva au porteau Saint Ladre. Et la vindrent au devant de luy, monstés sur diverses bestes, en manière de personnage des VII. vertus et des sept pechiés mortels, moult bien faitz et habilliés’ Le Héraut Berry. *Chronique du roi Charles VII*, in Bernard Guinée and Françoise Lehoux, *Les Entrées Royales Françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1968), 73.

⁶ Le Héraut Berry. *Chronique du Roi Charles VII*, in Guinée and Lehoux, 75.

Between these two contrasting eternal destinations, St. Michael can be seen standing in the middle weighing souls with a scale. These settings seem to resemble a standard depiction of the Last Judgement. Another chronicler, Herald Berry, noted that the Last Judgement was ‘very beautiful, because it was played in front of Châtelet where the Justice of king is’.⁷ Opposite the scene of the Last Judgement, there were judgement-related representations, which include ‘attributes of justice, with divine law, the law of nature, and the law of man’.⁸ Notably, Châtelet was the last point where the procession would end before the king entered the Church of Notre-Dame for his religious blessing. In other words, the procession of the Seven Virtues and Vices came to an end at Châtelet, the scene of the Last Judgement. The religious significance of the arrangement of the procession of the Seven Virtues and Vices together with the sequence of biblical stories that ended with the episode of the Last Judgement should not be overlooked.

One early visual example that could contribute to some understanding of this association is the *Dunois Hours*, dating to *c.* 1440 - *c.* 1450 (London, BL, Yates Thompson, ms. 3). It is a book of hours commissioned by Jean Dunois, Duke of Dunois at Longueville, who fought to save the Kingdom of France in the Hundred Years War. The depiction of the Last Judgement does not couple with prayers of penitential psalms or the office of the dead, which is a usual practice, but instead, it was included as the key miniature for the three prayers to the Holy Trinity, to St. Michael and to the Virgin Mary (fol. 32v). Here, led by his patron saint, St. John the Evangelist, Dunois joins hand in supplication. He lifts and fixes

⁷ ‘et le Jugement, qui estoit très biau, car il se jouoit devant Chastellet ou estoit la Justice du roy’, quoted in Guinée and Lehoux, 72–75.

⁸ *Chronique d’Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, 56.

his eyes upon Christ who also seems to be attentive to his request (Pl. V).⁹ His act of devotion to Christ in Judgement for the remission of sins can be understood by another miniature in which Dunois is kneeling in prayer before the Virgin and Child in the ‘Obsecro te’ (fol. 22v). Together with another prayer to the Virgin, ‘O intemerata’ (fol. 27v), they pledge for the grace and mercy of Mary to intercede on behalf of humankind. The wish of Dunois to be accepted in Heaven is rather apparent. His eagerness for guaranteed salvation is discernible through his faith in the Virgin as a powerful intercessor.

The image that marks the start of the seven penitential psalms is that of King David in prayer (fol. 157) (fig. 4.6 – 1a). Leaving his harp aside, David kneels as he asks for forgiveness. He directs his entreaty to God, who holds a globe in his right hand, a symbol of his authority over the world. To the left of the composition, a shepherd is playing a bagpipe while watching his flocks of sheep and goats. This seems to be a visual metaphor that resembles a vision prophesied by Ezekiel (34: 17 – 22). In his prophecy, Ezekiel foretold the coming of a good shepherd, a reference to Christ, who will come to save his sheep, metaphor for the people, and to judge by separating the sheep from the goats (v. 11 – 22). The good shepherd, or Christ, is identified as “my servant David” (v. 23). This excerpt was recounted in the commentary writings of Erasmus on Psalm 22. He wrote “David ... delivered God’s people from shame, who alone in his wisdom can make a true and certain judgement between sheep and goats ...”¹⁰. Whether or not the shepherd is indeed figurative of David or of Christ, one thing that is certain is that it is referring to a vision of Christ’s

⁹ For the discussion of St. Michael and the Last Judgement see Chapter 4:2 St. Michael.

¹⁰ Desiderius Erasmus and Michael John Heath, *Expositions of the Psalms*, vol. 64 (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2010), 133.

judgement.¹¹ Interestingly, among the flocks, a black goat and a sheep turn to the direction in which God manifests. To some degree, it resembles a Last Judgement in which God will judge between good – symbolised by the sheep; and bad – represented by the goat.

The miniature of King David is followed by six folios painted with the subject of Seven Personified Sins. These penitential psalms are a series of prayers recited to help to resist temptations from committing any of the cardinal sins. The association of repentance of King David and the images of the Seven Personified Sins is not an unfamiliar practice. What is interesting is the visual association of the Judgement, penance, and the seven sins. It is relatively original. In the first painted folio following that of King David, two personified sins precede the rest (fol. 159). To the left, a man dressed in a red gown and holding a sword is riding a lion (fig. 4.6 – 1b). He is adorned with precious jewellery over his shoulder and a richly decorated crown. He is ascribed as Pride (Orgueil). Both the man and the lion are staring disdainfully at a poorly dressed woman with a sword, a personification of Envy (Envie). She, in contrast, is covered with a white wimple and a blue gown. While riding a dog, she behaves as if she is competing with the ostentatious Pride. The third vice, in the next miniature, is Sloth (Peresse) (fol. 162). He is crossing a bridge with a donkey – a typical attribution of idleness (fig. 4.6 – 1c). He is supporting his head with his left hand while the right is directing the donkey. Partially dressed hosiery is further emphasising his lethargic behaviour.

¹¹ A comparable image can be found in a Paris book of hours where King David kneeling in supplication before Christ at Judgement (Philadelphia Free Library, MS, Lewis, E92, fol. 69).

Anger (Ire) is the fourth personified sin that is depicted in this manuscript (fol. 165v). He is represented by a man, who is riding a leopard and stabbing himself with a dagger (fig. 4.6 – 1d). He seems to be bleeding to death. His anger is reflected through two quarrelling men, who are standing far behind him and stabbing one other. The fifth personified sin, Gluttony (Gluoutenie), is characterised by a rather ample wealthy man riding a brown fox (fol. 168v). He has a sword in his right hand and a chalice in the left (fig. 4.6 – 1e). He appears to be annoyed by his servant's incapability to promptly deliver his flagons of wine. In folio 172v, a richly dressed young woman is riding a white goat (fig. 4.6 – 1f). She is a personification of Lust (Luxure). In her left hand, she is carrying a mirror in which she adores herself by looking at it. On the right, she holds a set of darts. Lustful thought is also indicated by a young King David who is ogling at a bathing Bathsheba. The last personified sin is Avarice (Auerrice) (fol. 174). Mounting an ape, a young man has his eyes on a box full of silver and gold coins (fig. 4.6 – 1g). His love of money is evident. This is exemplified by the bag filled with coins which is tied around his waist; a big bag of coins presented to him by a man in blue and a table of coins with a golden scale. Interestingly, all personified sins are armed with different kinds of weapons, which may be read as the fatality of a sin.

A more complex visual scheme can be found in an illuminated manuscript executed in Poitiers around 1475 attributed to Robinet Testard (Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1001, fols. 84r – 98r).¹³ There are seven folios, each painted with seven personified sins that are dedicated to the seven penitential psalms. Among these personified sins, Pride is the first

¹³ William Voekle, "Morgan Manuscript M. 1001: The Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Evil Ones," in *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds: Papers Presented in Honour of Edith Porada*, ed. Ann E. Farkas, (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1987) and John Plummer, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420 – 1530; from American Collections* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 46;

(fol. 84r). He is represented by a well-dressed handsome man who rides a strong lion (fig. 4.6 – 2a). He carries a sceptre in his left hand signifying his social superiority. Having admired himself through a mirror in his right hand, he seems obsessed by his own charm. Below, a devil named Lucifer points with his finger and describes the characteristics of a proud spirit to a man. Both the man and Lucifer are looking at a group of beautiful young noble women who are speaking of men in disdain. Lucifer is decorated with a pair of attractive antlers as a headdress, a chain with a head of mace as a necklace and an iron claw as a sceptre. The artist applied a similar visual scheme to the remaining sins. Each miniature comprises two compartments. On the top, with appropriate attributes, a personified sin mounts a specified animal. Each of the personified sins is assigned with a named devil.

This scene is complemented by an illustrative scene, at the bottom, that is associated with each sin. To avoid confusion in reading and understanding these symbolical associations, they are all named. For instance, Envy is associating with *Beelzebub*; Avarice with *Mammon*; Gluttony with *Berith*; Sloth with *Astarot* and finally, Lust with *Asmodeus*. In fact, some of these personified sins are riding different kinds of animal. While other personified sins remain common, here, Envy is paired with a camel; Avarice a wolf and Gluttony a swine. The metaphorical meaning of an animal being used to mirror a specific human quality has a long tradition.¹⁴ Animal behaviour was often used, especially in moralistic sermons, in association with sinful nature.¹⁵ They usually changed in accordance with changing

¹⁴ This tradition can be traced back to as early as to Aristotle's writing such as *Historia animalium*.

¹⁵ For studies on animals and sins see Simona Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art* (Boston: Brill, 2008) and Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1952).

emphasis at the time.¹⁶ Certainly, there is no concrete association for each metaphor as resemblances went by what was commonly accepted at that time. An example of a common comparison is that of an ass which often refers to Sloth whereas a lion represents the term 'proud'.

What should be noted in this manuscript is the immediate folio after these pairings of personified sins and animals (fig. 4.6 – 2b). It is an image of the Last Judgement (fol. 109). It seems to lead the readers to consider the thought that committing any one of these sins will eventually lead to eternal damnation on judgement day. Within the main miniature, Christ is flanked by the two intercessors, the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist, and two trumpeting angels. A few dead souls are resurrected from their tombs. They make gestures imploring grace and salvation. A group of haloed saints, probably the twelve apostles, are located to the left. A group of elected men can be seen on the right. Below them, a fiery hellmouth is seen. A cart, ablaze with fire, filled with damned souls is being transported from left to right. The purpose of this arrangement is rather subtle. It seems to complement the visual arrangement of the Seven Deadly Sins with the right to left reading sequence. The reading process that begins with the confrontation of the Seven Deadly Sins to the subject of Last Judgement allows the reader to recognise the relation of cause and effect.

The representation of the Last Judgement in Albi was neatly planned. The image of Christ and St. Michael, which would have occupied the central part, is now replaced by an organ installed in the eighteenth century. The entire scene of the Last Judgement consists of four tiers. The upmost is occupied by a group of angels attending to the judgement. The twelve

¹⁶ Cohen, 22.

disciples are placed to the left in the second tier together with the saints; while its counterpart is a scroll flying over the clouds. The third tier includes the blessed and the damned, and the Resurrected are scattered below. Several angels are gathered between the blessed and the damned, which presumably indicates that they are aiding St. Michael in weighing souls. The last tier is the most eye-catching scene since there is neither a conventional image of the hellmouth to represent Hell itself nor Lucifer sitting on the throne as a chief governor of torment (Diagram 4.6 – 1).

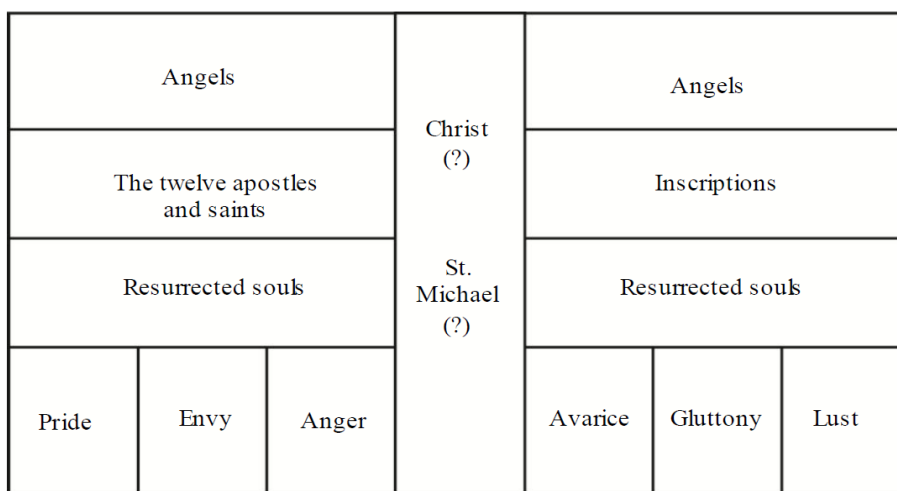


Diagram 4.6 – 1: The Last Judgement composition in cathedral Sainte-Cécile at Albi.

These painstaking arrangements indicate that the composition of the Last Judgment is not of an arbitrary nature. This is because there may have been some degree of certainty in the mind of the person planning them. The placement of each iconographical element and the incorporation of scriptures (painted in the inscriptions) into the composition demonstrate that the arrangement of the Last Judgment in Albi is responsive to religious significance. By reading the painting upright, all celestial members are depicted to the right hand of Christ. Traditionally, the blessed souls are always placed to the right hand of Christ and the damned souls to the left. Therefore, it is credible that the position of the twelve disciples is

at our left although it is not the standard depiction. Given that there are no damned souls to complement the celestial members, a group of dark clouds are painted to counterweight the composition.

The flying scroll, which reads ‘Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels,’¹⁷ (Matt 25:41) is most likely to have derived from where Christ was. The consultation of the scripture reinforced the authority of the message of the Last Day. Another inscription, which stretched out through the entire composition from left to right, divides the celestial members and the Resurrected souls horizontally. Below it, each of the Blessed and the damned souls can be seen carrying a book on their chest and waiting for their turn to be judged. The inscription reads ‘And I saw the dead, great and small, standing in the presence of the throne, and the books were opened; and another book was opened, which is the book of life; and the dead were judged by those things which were written in the books, according to their works’ (Apocalypse 20: 12). As demonstrated, the notion of inter-referencing between visual and text took on a greater importance in excerpting the apocalyptic moment.

Equally interesting, instead of an image of a hellmouth, Hell was replaced by a set of punishments of the Seven Deadly Sins. Each classification of sin is clearly labelled and explained. The image of the punishment of sins is introduced by an inscription, which reads ‘Here are the sentences of the damned according to the Seven Deadly Sins painted below’.¹⁸ It then begins with *Pride* and is followed by *Envy*, *Anger*, *Miserly*, *Gluttony* and *Lust*. Most

¹⁷ *Ite maledicti in ignem aeternum qui paratus est dyabolo et angelus eius.*

¹⁸ *Ensuyvent les peines des damnes selon les sept peches mortels ci-dessus painctes.*

likely *Sloth* was painted in the centre, which was eventually destroyed. These images of the punishment of sins share similar features with the late fifteenth century text *Calendrier des bergers* printed by Antoine Vérard in Paris in 1492.¹⁹ The arrangement of each sin in Albi follows the pattern in *Calendrier*. For the punishment of Pride, according to the text, Lazarus saw ‘some wheels in Hell at the height of mountains located like mills continually turning with great impetuosity: which had iron clamps where the proud (men and women) were hung and tied’.²⁰ Although similar features are found on the wall of Albi, the devils in Albi are more terrifying and forceful (fig. 4.6 – 3a & 3b). The punishment took place on lofty mountains. Not only were the Damned souls being tied around the wheels but others were trapped inside them.

A message below reads ‘the punishment of the Proud are hung and tied on some wheels placed on a mountain, which are like mills continually turning in great fury’.²¹ As for the punishment for Envy, according to Lazarus’ vision in *Calendrier*, ‘I saw a frozen river in which the envious were plunged to the navel and a very cold wind was hitting them and when they tried to avoid this wind they plunged entirely into the ice’.²² Certainly, it is impossible to visually convey the torture of a frozen river and excessively chilly wind (fig. 4.6 – 3c & 3d). Therefore, the Albi artists inventively adjoined petrified facial expressions with various grotesque beasts such as malformed foxes, snakes, scorpions and chameleons

¹⁹ Emile Mâle, *La Cathédrale d’Albi* (Paris: Zodiaque, 1974), 35.

²⁰ Guiot Marchant, *Compost et calendrier des bergiers*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Réserve des livres rares, Paris, 1496 <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb33276909m/description> (accessed 23 February 2008)

²¹ la peine des orgueilleus et orgueilleuses/les orgueilleus et orgueilleuses sont pendus et ataches/sus des roues situees en une montaigne en mainere de molins/continuelement en grande impetuosité tornans, Durliat, 97

²² J’ay vu ung fleuve congelé auquel les envieux et les envieuses étaient plongés jusqu’au nombril et pardessus les frappait ung vent moult froit et quant voulaient celuy vent éviter se plongeaient dans la glace du tout.

all of which were attacking the envious persons. However, at no point does the appended inscription mention these monstrous beasts. The punishment for envy in a person is to plunge ‘into a frozen river, submerged to their navels, and above them blows the chilliest wind; when they try to escape the wind they plunge into the said ice.’²³ It is important to note that the names of the devils in *Calendrier* printed by Antoine Vérard in 1492 are almost identical to those in the sermon preached by Vincent Ferrer, in Albi in 1416.²⁴ The influence of this great Dominican will be further discussed in the next chapter.

The representation of the seven punishments of sins that was incorporated with the Last Judgement in Albi reflects a poignant but provocative message. The placement of the Last Judgement in Albi is practical in nature. The unique architectural setting of Sainte Cecile may have invited believers to gaze upon the painting as they walk into the church. From a distance they may be confronted with general judgement. As they walk closer towards the painting they may be provoked by the punishments of their own deeds. The series of punishments for every sin implies that believers were familiar with the conception of the Seven Deadly Sins. Each deadly sin had been carefully categorised and accompanied by a textual explanation below the image, which can be found at the eye level of the spectator. Notably, these texts are written in French instead of Latin. Apparently, this image was not only intended for the uneducated but for the learned as well.²⁵ Instinctively, this may have reinforced the visual reading in evocating the price they would have had to pay for their sins

²³ Les envieux et les envieuses sont en ung fleuve congelé, plongés jusques au nombril et pardessus les frappe ung vent moult froid et quant veulent icceluy vent éviter se plongent dans la dite glace.

²⁴ For the influence of Vincent Ferrer’s sermon in this play see, Moshé Lazar, *Le Jugement Dernier (Lo Jutgamen General): Drame provençal du XVe siècle* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971), 119 – 121; Mâle has pointed out that Cathedral Sainte-Cecile is ‘n'est qu'une copie agrandie des gravures du livre [Guy] Marchant’ in Mâle, 35.

²⁵ Paul Saenger, “Silent Reading: Its impact on Late Medieval Script and Society,” *Viator* 13 (1983): 398.

and emphasising the specific place that was destined for the torture of sinners. Subsequently, this would easily catch one's attention in the realm of self-vigilance.

Another example is the representation of the Last Judgement in Saint-Pierre-ès-Liens parish church at Martignac (Lot). The painting is datable to the end of the fifteenth-century and the start of the sixteenth-century.²⁶ The subject of the Last Judgement and seven personified sins occupy three walls: the north, the west and the south. Although some parts of the painting were washed out and damaged by later architectural work, it is still possible to identify the fundamental elements of the Last Judgement iconography (fig. 4.6 – 4a). On the north wall, the *Deësis* group is placed in the middle of the composition. To the right of Christ are the Blessed souls kneeling in prayer and below them are the Resurrected souls. To the left of Christ are the Damned souls. The image of Hell is absent. However, judging from the remaining paintings on the west wall, it is most likely that the image of Hell was painted on the west wall where the devils can be seen (fig. 4.6 – 4b). In addition, seeing as the seven personified sins are walking towards the direction of the devils, it may indicate that the west wall is also being portrayed as a place of punishment. Another point to consider is that the placement of Heaven is on the south wall. Taking into account the iconographic composition and elements seen in the neighbouring churches, it would be a rare case if Hell was not depicted at all.

²⁶ Robert Mesuret, *Les Peintures Murales du Sud-Quest de la France du XIe au XVIe Siècle* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1967), 273; Francis Salet, "Les Fresques de Martignac (Lot)," *Bulletin Monumentale* 32 (1944): 147 – 148; Fournié, *Le Ciel Peut-il Attendre ? : Le Culte du Purgatoire dans le Midi de la France, 1320-1520 environ* (Paris: Cerf, 1997), 65.

Here, each sin is paired with a specified devil and an attributed animal. They are all named. To give a quick example, Gluttony is named as GOULA (fig. 4.6 – 4c). He is personified by a richly dressed corpulent man riding a swine. He has a big piece of meat in his right hand and a giant glass of wine in his left. He does not seem to be eating voluntarily. He is being forced to munch by a devil who has pressed the glutton's head towards his food. However, due to its deteriorated stage, the name of the devil can hardly be read. It should be noted that these personified sins occupy the lower register of the wall. In other words, they were painted at the eye level of the viewers and closer for them to contemplate the action in each respective scene. In fact, this arrangement may not be unintentional since the representation of the judgement and seven personified sins is placed on the opposite wall of the church entrance. Believers will be confronted by the subject as soon as they enter the church. It would be almost impossible for this scene to be overlooked. The absence of the cavalcade of virtues accentuated the underlying pedagogy of vices and their ultimate destiny. Other neighbouring parish churches consist of a similar arrangement, namely, Saint-Pierre parish church at Pervillac and Les Junies.²⁷

These examples of evidence indicate that the associations of the subject of the Seven Virtues and Vices and the Last Judgement was considerably common. Nonetheless, there is an exceptional case in France of which only the punishments of the seven sins is depicted. One of the remarkable fifteenth-century portrayals of the Last Judgement and the seven punishments is painted on the interior west facade of Cathedral of Sainte-Cécile in Albi (Pl.

²⁷ The subject of Seven Personified Sins is the only remaining image in the church of Les Junies. It is painted on the south wall. However, its iconography and compositional style seem to accede to that of Martignac and Pervillac. It is most likely that the Last Judgement may have once been depicted.

VIII). The mural painting was probably painted between 1474 and 1503.²⁸ It was commissioned by Louis d'Amboise, Bishop of Albi and counsellor of King Louis XI.²⁹ The influence of his preference in this subject is evident from a similar commission ordered by his younger brother, George d'Amboise, for the choir stalls in his private chateau at Gaillon.³⁰

4.6.1 *Seven Virtues and Vices*

It was not until the third quarter of the fifteenth century that the association of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Last Judgement began to witness some change. They developed into a fashionable subject on large-scale painting. One of the earliest surviving mural paintings is the representation of the Last Judgement in the parish church of Notre-Dame-du-Bourg at Digne-les-Bains. It dates back to c. 1480.³¹ The theme of the Last Judgement and the Seven Virtues and Vices is placed on the south wall of the church, which is to the right of the church entrance (fig. 4.6 – 5a). This painting consists of five parts: Heaven and Hell to the left; and the personified vices, personified virtues and punishments of each sin to the right, in three registers. It begins with seven virtues on the top register, followed by seven personified vices in the second, and seven infernal punishments in the last. They are also arranged vertically parallel by which each virtue is associated with a vice and an assigned

²⁸ The dating of this painting has caused a great dispute. See Marcel Durliat, "Le Jugement Dernier de la Cathédrale d'Albi," *Congrès Archéologique de France* 140 (1982): 92 – 101.

²⁹ Jean Larry, *La Cathédrale d'Albi* (Paris, 1972), 87; Clément Compayré, *Études Historiques et Documents Inédits sur l'Albigeois, le Castrais et l'Ancien Diocèse de Lavaur* (Albi: M. Papaihiu, 1841) 90 – 91.

³⁰ Recent study demonstrates that Louis d'Amboise may have had commissioned a *City of God* manuscript. See Marc-Edouard Gautier, *Splendeur de l'Enluminure le Roi René et les Livres* (Ville d'Angers: Actes Sud, 2009), 80 – 83.

³¹ Marguerite Roques, *Les Peintures Murales du sud-est de la France: XIIIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1961), 156 – 159; Emile Ollivier, "Dignes et ses Environs," *Annales des Basses-Alpes* 1 (1881): 38 – 48, 76 – 96 and 131 – 144.

punishment. For example, Chastity is represented by a woman dressed in a nun's habit (fig. 4.6 – 5b). She lowers her head meditating upon the Bible in her hand. The vice that corresponds to Chastity is Lust, which is placed below her. Lust is represented by a young fashionable woman who is riding a sow. She is showed exposing part of her leg while looking at herself through a mirror. The punishment that is assigned to the sin is rather appalling. A naked woman is seen being tortured by a devil.³² Her body is lifted up into the air as her breasts are tightened by a rope that is attached to a hook on a ceiling. Both of her hands are fastened with two big rocks.

Another example is the sin of Anger (a personified sin placed next to Lust). Anger is personified by a young man riding on a leopard while stabbing himself with a sword (fig. 4.6 – 5b). Above him is a noble woman in a green dress. She raises both of her hands in prayer. In the lowest compartment, a man's limbs are bound backward and hung on a hook. A devil, sitting on a stool, tortures the man's chest with an unidentified apparatus. Each torture in Hell is oppressive and unbearable. The composition of the representation of the Last Judgement in Notre-Dame-du-Bourg is quite interesting: the arrangement of the iconographic elements can be comprehended in different ways (Diagram 4.6 – 2).

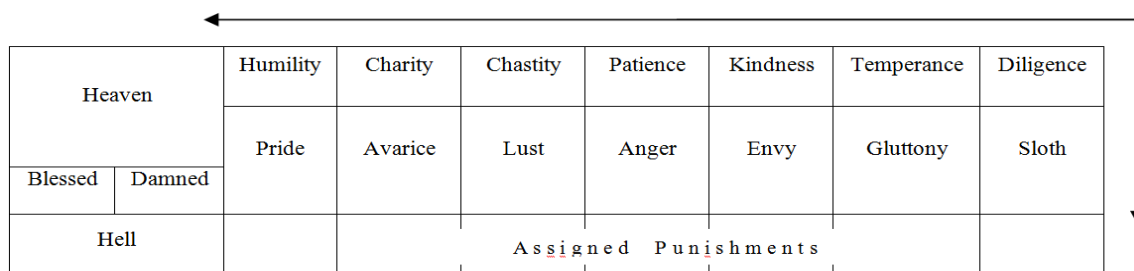


Diagram 4.6 – 2: The Last Judgement composition in Notre-Dame-du-Bourg at Digne-les-Bains.

³² Some of the elements in the mural painting in Notre-Dame-du-Bourg are impossible to read as large part of the painting has deteriorated.

As the diagram above illustrates, each of the personified vices and virtues are facing to the left where Heaven was painted. Placed at the top register, the seven personified virtues are closer to Heaven. Conversely, the seven personified vices are marching towards the direction of the damned. Meanwhile, the punishments of each sin is placed parallel to Hell. Heaven is represented by a diamond shaped castle. It also serves as a judgement court. Christ, seated at the centre, carries two standard judgement inscriptions. To the left, it reads ‘Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world’ (Matthew 25: 34). And, to the right ‘Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire which was prepared for the Devil and his angels’ (Matthew 25: 41).

It is impossible to read what was painted on the left as a great part of the wall has been destroyed (Pl. XII). However, judging from the remaining paintings on the wall, the Damned might be painted to the right. At the gates of Heaven, St. Peter is receiving the Blessed who have been resurrected from their tombs. Below this scene is the image of Hell. Satan and his companions are torturing the Damned in various ways. Interestingly, to the extreme left, three beast-like devils are imprisoned in a confined dungeon. They seem to be witnessing the punishments inflicted on the damned. This horizontal and vertical reading of the mural painting in Notre-Dame-du-Bourg provides a noticeable moral association between the chain of circumstances that leads to eternal punishment and the day of judgement.

To a certain extent, depictions of the Seven Virtues and Vices are consistent. This uniformity is particularly referring to the association of sins with appointed animals and

devils that can be distinguished by particular virtues. Nonetheless, its compositional arrangement is often at variance according to the larger visual scheme. An instant example can be discerned in the chapel of Pénitents Blancs at La Tour-sur-Tinée (Villars-sur-Var), which is dated 1491.³³ It is a small chapel that is decorated with key episodes of the Passion and the Last Judgement and are attributed to two Niçois painters, Curraud Brevesi and Girard Nadal.³⁴ The subject of the Last Judgement was painted on the east wall in two registers: the Deësis is on the top and at the bottom there is Heaven to the left and Hell on the right (Pl. X). Seven Virtues and Vices were placed separately but in accordance to the direction of their eternal fate (Diagram 4.6 – 3).

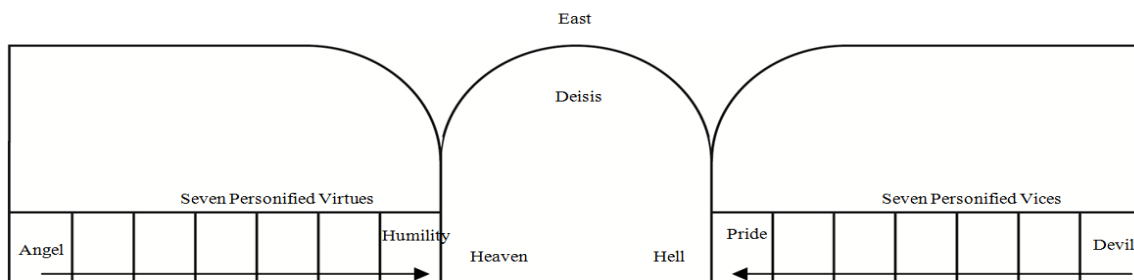


Diagram 4.6 – 3: The Last Judgement composition in Pénitents Blancs Chapel at La Tour-sur-Tinée.

This arrangement is noticeable given that Heaven is the reward for the virtues and, in contrast, Hell is the penalty for the vices. Here, each personified vice has been grouped with an animal and a devil. It begins with Pride and is followed by Avarice, Lust, Anger, Envy, Gluttony and Sloth. They are all chained together neck to neck. Unlike other contemporaneous depictions, these personified vices are escorted by a little devil. These devils seem to entice these personified vices to commit more sins. For instance, a devil assigned to Avarice was painted on Avarice's shoulder (fig. 4.6 – 6a). Avarice's eyes

³³ Roques, 334.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

focuses on a chest of coins that the little devil, in red and winged, is offering. Another personified vice, Envy, riding an ape, appears to be attentive to advice given by a grey devil, which emerges from his back (fig. 4.6 – 6b). Nonetheless, at the end of the cavalcade, a life-size devil is guarding them with a pitchfork. Meanwhile, each virtue corresponds to an appropriate sin. For example, Humility contrasts with Pride and Diligence to Sloth. An angel, with a pink gown and coloured wings, is standing next to Diligence. Both of his hands are pointing towards the left. He seems to be apprising spectators about the ethical quality of virtues.

The iconography and composition in the chapel of Pénitents Blancs is indeed sensible. However, certain iconographic detail reveals its resemblance with contemporary mystery play. Juxtaposing the representation of the Last Judgement of La Tour with the Provençal play, the *Jutgamen general*, whose focus is on the Last Judgement, would be of interest.³⁵ Another common feature that can be associated with representations of the Last Judgment is the occurrence of the seven personified sins and devils. Every vice in the *Jutgamen General* is staged with a dedicated devil. More than one third of the play is engaged with the confrontation of devils with the seven personified sins. In the play, their tasks are significant, particularly in introducing each sin to the audience by associating their sinful characters with the respective sin. For instance, Avarice is coupled with Mamona, Anger is paired with Belial and Envy is teamed with Satan.

³⁵ The structure of the play is analysed in Chapter 3.2 The *Jutgamen General*.

A subtle but key identical characteristic is also found in both the play and the image. It is the chain that is shackled around the neck of each personified vice in the cavalcade. In the *Jutgamen general*, following the torture of Lust, Anger, Envy and Sloth have been dragged out by devils with heavy chains around their neck (the *Jutgamen general* ll. 2290 – 2318). These personified vices were pushed towards the direction of Hell as they were about to be tortured. Similar to the image in La Tour, these personified vices are being brought towards a hellmouth where Lucifer is stationed. This image of Lucifer also has a chain, which is attached to the hellmouth around his neck. Notably, representation in La Tour is not a single case but exclusively limited to depictions in alpine regions. Other regions such as Aquitaine and Midi-Pyrenees, in which representations of the Seven Virtues and Vices are found, have a different feature. Instead of the chain being shackled around their necks, the personified vices either have it around their waist or nothing at all. Indeed, the employment of the Seven Deadly Sins in the *Jutgamen General* was not an exclusive case. It can also be found in other mystery plays.

One comparable manuscript of the early sixteenth century that contains the scene of the temptation of the Seven Deadly Sins was the *Histoire de Sant Anthoni de Viennès*.³⁷ This manuscript was a copy from an original text that was being played.³⁸ In the play, Saint Anthony was tempted by each deadly sin, all of which had offered different earthly pleasures to him (ll. 2783 – 3316).³⁹ In order not to fall into temptation, Saint Anthony sought for God's help in order to resist from committing these sins. Other plays that consist

³⁷ Nadine Henrard, *Le Théâtre Religieux Médiéval en Langue d'Oc* (Geneva: Droz, 1998), 234.

³⁸ Henrard, 234.

³⁹ See Paul Guillaume *Le Mystère de Sant Anthoni de Viennès 1503* (Munich: Verlag der Gesellschaft, 2002).

of the subject matter of the Seven Deadly Sins include the morality plays of *Homme Pécheur, Bien Advisé et Mal Advisé* and *Homme Juste et Homme Mondain*.⁴⁰ The whole notion of the awareness of the existence of sins and the urgency of repentance was concomitant with the eschatological inclination. The analysis of the play of *lo jutgamen* has demonstrated its importance.⁴¹ It is certain that the subject of the seven personified sins was very popular in this region and it is most likely that the alpine inhabitants were familiar with this concept. The popularity of the theme of the Seven Deadly Sins can be justified by numerous depictions of this theme.⁴² Furthermore, in many cases, they were painted without the subject of the Last Judgement (See Appendix: Map II and List of documented representations of the Seven Deadly Sins).

Types of punishments inflicted on the damned in Hell are also comparable between the play and representational arts. Retributions, such as being cooked in a boiling cauldron, whipped, or stretched around a wheel are typical punishments in Hell within representations of the Last Judgment. Likewise, these forceful scenes were described in the *Jutgamen General*. One interesting description in the play explains how the devils prepare, guide and torture the vices. It reads:

‘We put Lust in the deep well, [...], and the devils make a big smoke under the pulpit [...]. Then we prepare the well and the wheel, and when everything will have been prepared, we shall bring from Hell Anger, Envy and Sloth decked out by heavy chains around the neck, dragging them through the trestle. Having dragged them for a while, we put them at the edge of the well and we torture them.’ (Blocking before l. 2280)

⁴⁰ Alan E. Knight, *A Companion to the Medieval Theatre* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 138 – 139.

⁴¹ See Chapter Three 3.2 *Lo Jutgamen*.

⁴² Gabrielle Sentis, *L’art du Briançonnais: La Peinture au XVe Siècle*, vol. 1 (Grenoble, 1970), 121 – 138.

Damned souls that are fixed to wheels are whirled by devils. The condition of torment is intensified by the continuous chastisement of the damned. Due to the violence of the act and limitation of the stage action, a painted canvas of the punishment on such wheels substituted the actual torture during the play.⁵⁷ Other torments executed in Hell during the play included: Envy who was placed in a grill room full of hazardous animals, Pride who was forced to drink scoops of lead, Avarice who was shook by devils after he had consumed melted silver, Gluttony who was fed with snakes until he suffocated, Anger was cooked in a well of resin, and Sloth was placed in a fiery well with snakes. Torture apparatus such as pitch-forks, tridents and hooks were common devices in castigating the damned. Towards the end of the play, in Hell, a blocking reads:

‘The devils are pulling wheels, in the presence of Lucifer and of all the others, carrying iron forks and hooks to torture souls inside; when damned souls will take out the head outside the well, we shall push them inside; and those of inside will throw to the fire and a smoke of sulphur... And there will be souls attached around some wheels’ (Blocking before l. 2648)

Torments in Hell are expected to be realistic and its consequence as something to be terrified of. Dynamic scenes of hell and its dominance in the play reflect a great familiarity with the depiction of punishments in Hell in representational art. In accounting for the resemblances, spectators can hardly fail to recognise the significance of the horrendous scene of Hell as the consequence of sins.

These descriptions are similar to the representation of the punishments of sins in the Chapel of Saint-Gausbert in the Saint-Étienne Cathedral at Cahors, which can be dated to c. 1494 –

⁵⁷ Lazar, 165 and 195.

1502.⁵⁹ The representation of the Last Judgement was painted on two adjacent western walls of the chapel (Pl. IX). The south-western wall consists of a Last Judgement iconography whilst the north-western wall is dedicated to the punishment of sins. Despite there being two separate walls, they are interconnected. Christ is seated on a golden rainbow and enclosed by a mandorla. Instead of having a globe as his footstool, Christ's feet are placed on the halo of St. Michael who stands below him. The saint is weighing souls while conquering a devil who has tried to disturb the balance of the scale. At each side of Christ, the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist can be seen kneeling in supplication. The dead are resurrected from their graves as they join their hands. Each soul has a book on his chest. Although the major part of the painting of the southern wall was whitewashed, no trait of the image of Heaven seems to be included.⁶⁰ To the bottom right a devil carries a soul towards a monstrous hellmouth. By entering through this hellmouth, a series of punishments are inflicted on those damned souls who have committed one of the Seven Deadly Sins (Diagram 4.6 – 4).

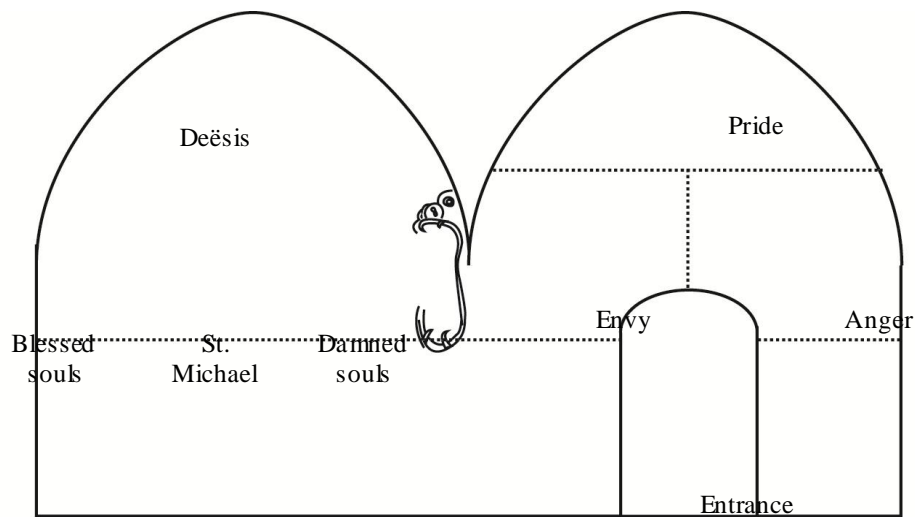


Diagram 4.6 – 4: The Last Judgement composition in Cathedral Saint-Étienne at Cahors.

⁵⁹ Durlat, 92 – 101.

⁶⁰ Mireille Bébéjean-Lère, “La cathédrale Saint-Étienne de Cahors,” *Congrès archéologique de France* (147): 9 – 69.

On the north-western wall the punishments of three sins are discernible. These are Pride, Envy and Anger. Being the ‘root of all evil’, the punishment for Pride can be seen as having been painted above Envy and Anger.⁶¹ Saint Gregory the Great (d. 604) considers pride, *superbia*, as ‘the Queen of the Vices’.⁶² He arranges the Seven Deadly Sins from the most severe to the least. They start with Pride, which is then followed by Envy, Anger, Sloth, Greed, Gluttony, and Lust.⁶³ The arrangement of the Seven Deadly Sins in Cahors seems to be similar to that adduced by Gregory the Great. Both the arrangement and depiction of the punishments of sins are identical to that of *Calendrier*. The punishment for Pride was to be tied to the wheels; for Envy, to be plunged in icy cold water and for Anger is to be butchered. Judging from this visual scheme, it is most likely that the remaining sins were painted on the north wall but are now destroyed (fig. 4. 6 – 7a & 7b).⁶⁴ Notably, these torturing images are placed on the wall in which the entrance is. To a certain extent, this visual positioning method invites viewers for self-examination of the consequence of sins as they leave the chapel.

In fact, not all of the seven vices are displayed according to what Saint Gregory had proposed. Because the needs of moral values were constantly being changed according to the development of society, in the late thirteenth century, Henri de Suze proposed the need

⁶¹ Lester K. Little, “Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom,” *The University of Chicago Press* 76 (1971): 16 – 49.

⁶² Saint Gregory, *Moralium libri*, quoted in Francesco Maiolo, *Medieval Sovereignty: Marsilius of Padua and Bartolus of Saxoferrato* (Delft: Eburon Academic, 2007), 136. For more discussion on the sin of Pride see Matthew Baasten, *Pride According to Gregory the Great: A Study of the Moralia* (New York: E. Mellen Press, 1986).

⁶³ Richard Newhauser, *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 64 – 66.

⁶⁴ No documentation of the presence of Heaven has been discovered. See Bébéjeam-Lère, 60.

for a new order of sins.⁶⁵ He arranged these sins in a set of mnemonic letters: SALIGIA. Again, Pride (superbia) remained the root of all sins. It was followed by Avarice (avaritia), Lust (luxuria), Anger (invidia), Gluttony (gula), Envy (ira) and ended with Sloth (acedia). This arrangement of seven vices was popular and widespread.⁶⁶ One of the many examples can be discerned from the exterior of the parish church of Saint-Étienne or San Stefano in Giaglione (Jaillons), Piedmont (today belongs to Italy) (Diagram 4.6 – 5).⁶⁷ This painting was painted sometime between 1493 and 1508.⁶⁸ The mural painting in Giaglione consists of three tiers. The top tier is occupied by Christ in Judgement, Heaven and seven personified virtues.

Heaven, placed to the extreme left, is represented by an architectural building with two high towers. St. Peter, with the silver key in his hand, stands at the gate of Heaven receiving the cavalcade of the seven personified virtues. In front of him, an angel is assisting him by greeting the arrival of Humility. Instead of a standard Last Judgement, an iconic Last Judgement is painted. Christ is placed above the Heavenly Jerusalem. In a judgement gesture, he is enclosed by a mandorla and flanked by two angels. The Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist are in their intercessory position. The image of the Deësis is relatively smaller than any other iconography. The image of hellmouth and seven personified vices were depicted in the second tier. Escorted by a devil, each personified vice is mounted on a specific beast. The cavalcade of personified vices is being led by a devil who is pulling a

⁶⁵ Mireille Vincent-Cassy, “Un Modèle Français: Les Cavalcades des Sept Péchés Capitaux dans les Églises Rurales de la Fin du XV^e Siècle,” in *Artistes, Artisans et Production Artistique au Moyen Age. III, Fabrication et Consommation de l'œuvre* (Picard: Paris, 1990), 473 – 481.

⁶⁶ Christiane Prigent, *Art et Société en France au XV^e Siècle* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, Paris, 372).

⁶⁷ No image is available.

⁶⁸ Elena Rossetti-Brezzi, *Percorsi Figurative in Terra Cuneese. Ricerche Sugli Scambi Culturali Nel Basso Medioevo* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'orso, 1985), 192 – 193.

chain that is tied around the neck of the seven personified vices. Meanwhile, the devil celebrates their arrival by playing a drum. The first personified vice to follow the devil is Pride. The remaining personified vices form the mnemonic letters of [S]ALIGIA.

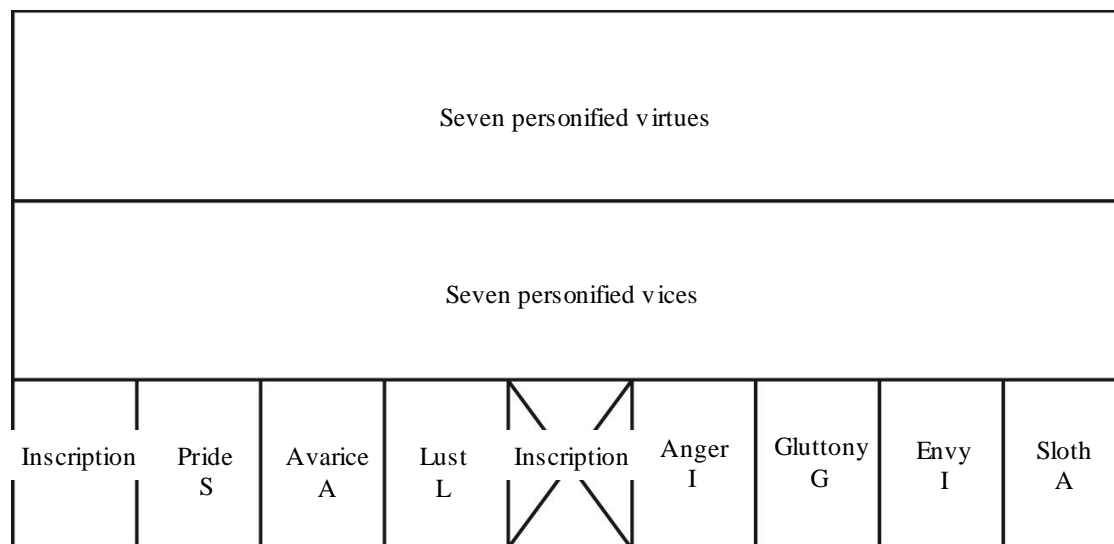


Diagram 4.6 – 5: The Last Judgement composition in Saint-Étienne parish church at Giaglione.

In the third register, an inscription, which can be read from left to right, introduces the seven punishments for sins. It reads ‘Like Lazarus, brother of Mary Magdalene and Martha, who was resurrected from the dead, about which Simon was doubtful, our Lord ordered Lazarus to tell in front of everyone what he saw in the other world so he told the punishments which were in Hell and which you see and will be seen by any man who will go there (Hell)’.⁶⁹ Then a series of familiar tortures were depicted according to the arrangement of the sins. Jaillon’s painting is rather faithful to the *Calendrier*’s depiction compared to that of Albi. For example, for the punishment of Pride, three demons are torturing Pride on wheels; and

⁶⁹ Comnt le lazare frere de Marie Magdeleine et Marthe qui étoit resucité de mort à vie de laquelle chose doubtoit le dit Symon comada Nostre Seigneur audit Lazare quil dit devàt toute la compagnie ce que avoit veu en lautre (monde) adoc il racota le peines qui etoient en enfer lequeles vos voyes et vera tot home qui pour ici passer.

Lust, is being boiled within scorching cauldrons. However, the ambience in Jaillons, which exists within Hell, is less daunting.

However, the moral dimension of the seven vices is inevitably both comprehensible and educative. Not only are all the vices and virtues labelled, but inscriptions are also included to avoid any misinterpretation by spectators. The purpose of the depiction of these images was made lucid. Another inscription, placed above a side door of the church, advocates spectators that ‘You, who see these stories, keep well in your memory...’⁷⁰. Obviously, this was to urge the spectators to remember the consequence of each sin pronounced by Christ on the last day. The composition of Saint-Étienne in Giaglione found some resonance in other churches such as Santuario Della Madonna in Montegrazie⁷¹ (dated in 1483) and San Bernardino in Albenga⁷² (which are located around the regions of Alps and Piedmont). They share a similar instructional approach. These churches emphasise the punishment of sins rather than the reward of being in Heaven.

Conclusions

The inclusion of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Virtues and Vices in the Last Judgement offers a straightforward interpretation supportive of the salvation message as analysed in other chapters. The subject of the Seven Deadly Sins was not just found in religious or pseudo-religious texts, but surviving mystery plays and images that related to the notion of sin was particularly profound in southern France. While juxtaposing the

⁷⁰ Vous qui regardes ceste istoire, mete la bien en vos memoire...

⁷¹ M. P. Aquarone, “Tommaso e Matteo Biazaci a Montegrazie e Piani di Imperia,” paper presented in *Argomenti di Storia dell’Arte*, University of Genoa, 1980), 75 – 96.

⁷² Jérôme Baschet, *Les Justice de l’Au-delà: les Représentation de l’Enfer en France et en Italie (XIIe – XVe siècles)*(Paris: Boccard, 1993), 656 – 658.

structure of the *Jutgamen General* with the representation of the Last Judgement, certain key elements of the play reveal a close relationship between theatrical plays and representational art. In fact, the close resemblance between the mystery places and these paintings testify to its popularity and the acceptance of society. The representations of the Last Judgement in southern France reveal a noticeable thought-provoking characteristic that calls for a conscientious response. These representations make more of an emphasis on the punishment of sins rather than the rewards obtained by the virtues. Therefore, depictions of a cavalcade of the seven personified vices and their punishments are in a stronger position than those of the virtues. Not only had the chain of circumstances been clearly depicted, but their depictions were a lot more dynamic. Thus, this seems to reflect an authoritative sense of experiential reality.

In many cases, the seven sins were emphasised. No doubt, the primary concern governing these representations is straightforward – to forewarn spectators not to commit to any of the Seven Deadly Sins since they will eventually lead to eternal damnation. This representation was an idea incorporated with the underlying conception of prompt penitence. Although there are cases where the Last Judgement was not included, its eschatological reference is beyond question. More often than not, the placement of these mural paintings is always within a prominent place. Many are found on the exterior of a church whilst some others occupy some of the walls within a church. One can hardly overlook these instructional images as they enter or leave the church. Another interesting aspect that should be noted here is that the association of these images of the theme of the Last Judgement and the Seven Virtues and Vices concentrates within a specific geographical location with a limited

timeframe. While the production of representations of the Last Judgement continued to increase in the sixteenth century, no religious buildings were detected as having any works that represented the Seven Deadly Sins. This visual development forms a significant amount of evidence in reflecting medieval thought towards the doctrine of final judgement and the punishment of sins which deserve further consideration.

Conclusions

Through the collective examination on the iconographic elements of the Last Judgement representations in fifteenth-century France, two visual inclinations are apparent.

First, there is a clear indication of universal change on specific iconography throughout the representations of the Last Judgement. This particularly refers to the iconography of Christ's multifarious nature at the Judgement court, the intensified intercessory role of the Virgin, the military obligation of St. Michael and the sense of security in Heaven. The image of Christ features all his biblical characteristics. In addition to the judgement role assigned to Christ on his Second Coming, he retains the responsibility in securing human salvation. Through the mark of the Five Holy Wounds and the instruments of the Passion, the offer of salvation was made available. Christ's severely bleeding wounds can be seen as an indication of his passionate love towards sinners. The essence of repentance was accentuated by the presence of the Virgin Mary. She assumed a unique position whose intervention was seen as being efficacious. The image of her desperate act in exposing her breast and pressing her milk reflects the desire of believers to have their entreaty accepted.

The military service of St. Michael was incorporated in his assistance to Christ on the Last Day. Prior to his numerous political victories in France, most of the Last Judgement paintings abandoned the depiction of the traditional archangel angel who is the weigher of souls. Instead, much emphasis was placed on his attribute as a triumphant knight who undertakes the spiritual guardianship of believers. It would seem that the transformation of the saint's physical aspect at the Last Judgement was a reflection of society's need for spiritual protection from St. Michael. This sense of spiritual security is evident by the

depictions of Heaven as a highly sheltered place. These nationwide changes in representation of the Last Judgement in France seem to be converging to one point: there was a critical national necessity for spiritual welfare and salvation.

Second, there are three iconographic elements in the Last Judgement seem to be more apparent in southern France than other regions. These elements include the intense punishment inflicted in Hell, the integration of Purgatory and the cavalcade of the Seven Deadly Sins and the assigned chastisements. Compared to other representations of the Last Judgement in France, the image of Hell in the south was more forceful. Hell was projected as a place where various punishments were executed not by human beings but by deformed devils and beasts. Adoption of familiar punishments imposed on medieval criminals into the Hell scene suggests its exemplary purpose to the contemporary.

To evoke moral consensus, the inclusion of the Seven Deadly Sins underpinned the confrontation between virtues and vices. The awareness of sin and judgement is reflected through the arrangement of each sin with the corresponding virtue and punishment. As such, the interpretation of the cavalcade of the Seven Personified Sins towards a hellmouth was a direct reference to Hell as the final destination of sin. In addition to the repulsion of Hell and punishment of sins, in south-west France, a new element – Purgatory – was added to the subject of the Last Judgement. In fact, it did not offer the same purpose as Hell and the Seven Deadly Sins. Conversely, it was a doctrine of hope for the despondent. Despite the unidentified duration of purifying, being in Purgatory is comparable to possessing a guaranteed pass into Heaven.

The study of the iconography of the Last Judgement alone cannot provide a complete analytical explanation of this visual development. The uneven popularity of iconography across geographical regions of France prompts to a fuller consideration of the possible religious connection with the depictions of the Last Judgement against the socio-political background of French society in the fifteenth century.

Chapter Five:

Conclusions

This research was based on collective observations and interpretations of the Last Judgement theme through a comparative study of visual representations. Three main parameters have been addressed in this thesis: the reception of textual materials, the staging and didactic element of medieval mystery plays and the visual motifs in the Last Judgement iconography. One key conclusion can be formulated from these chapters is that the subject of the Last Judgement was unified in theme but varied in expression.

Chapter Two adequately demonstrates the prevalence of the theme under study in medieval literary culture. Canonical texts, pseudo-religious texts, visionary literature, moral manuals and confession guides in relation to death and judgement were reproduced so as to fulfil an increasing demand. Devotions, mediations and religious aids for acquiring the spiritual needs for dying well and favourable judgement can be detected in these writings. Together with the increase of the number of visual production of the Last Judgement, these texts seem to reflect the medieval concern and their interest in living righteously for a good death.

The two surviving mystery plays, *le jour du jugement* and *lo jutgamen general* examined in Chapter Three offers an insight into the medieval understanding and attitude on the theme of Last Judgement. All key aspects covered including the passion of Christ, the Seven Deadly Sins, and the punishment of Hell have been emphasised with varying degrees of religious support that focused on the doctrine of salvation. The inclusion of the interrogation of the Seven Deadly Sins at Christ's Judgement Court and their

subsequent confession and contrition were expressed through staged dialogue. The idea of pain and suffering in Hell and remorseful had been reiterated throughout the play.

The study of each iconographic element in the Last Judgement in Chapter Four reveals a few noticeable facts. The first and main aspect is that a new style of development surfaced. Familiar iconography of the Last Judgement was replaced by the individualistic expression of an artist. Modelled upon the traditional framework, this artistic expression was incorporated with diverse architectural settings, and ranged from a wall to multiple walls of depictions. At other times, it is found in a vault, a chancel, an apse or even in a crypt. These architectural settings offered artists a new visual challenge, particularly in conveying the teachings and tenets of religious faith to their intended audience. In connection with this, the depictions of the Last Judgement possess a diverse emotional appeal and visual tone namely intimidating depictions of Hell, portrayals of a bare-breasted Virgin Mary, and the association of the Seven Personified Sins and the Last Judgement.

Nonetheless, there are other collective changes in the iconography of the Last Judgement. This particularly refers to the emphasis of St. Michael as both the soul weigher and a mighty warrior archangel. In a cultural setting saturated with visual imagery, these visual disparities may reveal contemporaneous historical domination upon the artistic endeavour. Whether it was a visual manifestation of emotion in divine judgement or a preparation for the final stage of life, it raises questions on the culture that promoted these visual productions.

The survey of large-scale representations of the Last Judgement in France, which the thesis has brought to light, has revealed that there are three distinct approaches to the iconography of the subject, and which has a regional basis. In the northern regions of France, the iconographic elements of the Last Judgement remain traditional as depicted in tympana in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which included the Deisis, indication of a heavenly Jerusalem, a hellmouth, St. Michael, and resurrected souls. This iconography is particularly noticeable in regions such as Lorraine, Alsace, Champagne-Ardenne, Burgundy, Centre and Pays-de-la-Loire.¹ In southern France, a contrasting iconographic scheme is evident. In the south, in depictions of the Last Judgement, Hell and horrific depictions of its punishments were always featured.

In the south-west of France, a new iconographic element – Purgatory – was often added to this feature.² Although the doctrine of Purgatory was a familiar one by the fifteenth century, its integration into the Last Judgement iconography was essentially new.³ This development is particularly evident in Aquitaine and Midi-Pyrénées. In the south-east of France, Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur, depictions of the Seven Deadly Sins (seven punishments and/or seven personified sins) were incorporated into representations of the Last Judgement; this feature is not necessarily ubiquitous. Indeed, this inclination is not entirely universally applicable. Notably, one interesting discovery prompted in the current study is that of these charted paintings none are found in Languedoc-Roussillon or the western part of Provence-Alps-Côte d’Azur. Likewise, the cause of this visual exception without new research as all these iconographic developments raises many questions about why such distinctions arose.

¹ Division of these regions is according to the classification of the modern state of France.

² The doctrine of Purgatory is explained in the later part of this chapter.

³ As far as the thesis is concerned, the feature of the iconography of Purgatory was not known before the fifteenth century.

Last Judgement portrayals have seen a rapid development in artistic favouritism. This growth of interest has moved beyond the context of religious institutions as it has extended amongst private occupancy. The rise in interest in the subject of the Last Judgement appeared not only in the cathedrals and greater churches of the wealthy cities of France; it also appeared in rural areas, in parish churches, chapels, private chateaux and cemeteries. Such locations require comment. A brief example is the representation of the Last Judgement on the western wall of the Sainte-Cécile cathedral at Albi.⁴ This is a huge wall painting, measuring 164cm x 156cm, that had been commissioned by the Bishop in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.⁵ Being one of the biggest paintings of the Last Judgement, why did the bishop commission an expensive and extensive image at this time? Was it used as a theme of public worship?

Likewise, Agnès de Savoie had ordered the same theme for the Sainte-Chapelle chapel at the chateau of Châteaudun around c. 1493.⁶ Could it be that it served as an object of veneration? If so, would an image of the Last Judgement be more comforting than that of a merciful Madonna? Furthermore, not all of these works were expensively commissioned and skilfully executed. The quality of the works ranges from works evidently by novices to those of highly skilled experienced artists. Although the names of a few are documented, most are anonymous. Some were clearly travelling artists. A number of these paintings were commissioned in newly constructed buildings in the fifteenth century.

⁴ For a detail description of the Last Judgement representation see Chapter Four in the Seven Deadly Sins section.

⁵ Marcel Durliat, "Le Jugement dernier de la cathédrale d'Albi," *Congrès Archéologique de France* 140 (1982): 92 – 101.

⁶ Monique Martin-Demézil, "La Sainte-Chapelle du Chateau de Châteaudun," *Bulletin Monumental* 130 (1972): 113 – 128.

For example, an unusual commission was for depictions of the Last Judgement in three chapels in separate locations by Jean de Moussy, seigneur de Boismorand and Contour, at the end of the century.⁷ Similar pictorial schemes, including the Last Judgement, were painted in these chapels in a short time span.⁸ Under what circumstances were the decorative schemes determined by a noble patron? Was it his personal preference or did it have other purposes? The last example is the work of Giovanni Canavesio, a well-documented painter and priest, who painted the church of Notre-Dame-des-Fontaines (La Brigue) in 1495. Here, as the culmination of a series of biblical narratives, he emphasised the Last Judgement by featuring it on the main doorway to the church. When leaving the church, there is no way that the painting would be passed without being noticed. Why did he choose to emphasise this theme? What was his intention? Within a religious network, these unusual exigencies, while significant, invite another layer of questions. What historical appeal drove this religious fervour of moral urgency? What were they intending to convey within religious belief and personal moral codes? These and other questions listed are not meant to be inclusive but rather to indicate those aspects of the subject that seem especially worthy of future study. The question of regional variation and patronage can only properly be understood in context through the study of the social and historical context in which these *Last Judgements* were created.

⁷ The will of Jean de Moussy, made in 1502, indicates that he was the donor of the chapel of Jouhet. The three locations that consist of the painting of the Last Judgement are his château in Boismorand, the chapel of St. Catherine in the parish church of Notre-Dame-de-l'Incarnation, the mortuary chapel at Jouhet. The close resemblance of the Last Judgement suggests that these paintings were painted within the same period. For detailed studies see Melena Hope, "Painted Domestic Chapels and Oratories in the Households of Fifteenth-Century France" (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, 2009) and Joseph Salvini, "Les ensembles décoratifs dans le diocèse de Poitiers entre la guerre de cent ans et les guerres de religion," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* 12 (1939): 95 – 125.

⁸ The construction of these paintings may have been taken place after 1470 (the construction of the chateau de Boismorand) and 1510 (before Jean de Moussy's death).

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Document I

La Somme le Roi – Lorens d’Orleans [BnF, ms. fr. 1895, fol. 400]

(Rosemond Tuve, “Notes on the Virtues and Vices.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964): 55)

Cy fenis le tretiez des vices / Cy doit avoir ymagez premierement nostre seigneur en seant a forme de Jugement & une espee en sa bouche entreverse & ung homme & une femmea genoux Jointes mains lung dune part lautre de lautre / et derrierz chascun doit avoir ung angez [sic] en estant lung tient une lance lautre une coronne despines & de soz ces ymages doit avoir iiij anges cornans & de sepultures tant come en puet fere dont les mors resuscitent et apres par desoz doit estre enfer / la chaudiere sus le feu & les armes dedens & deuers destre doiz avoir angez qui enmayne ceulx de la part nostre seigneur et deuers senestre ii deables lung qui pent les armes a son col & les giete en la chaudiere / lautre qui les tient en une chayne estrains.

Document II

L’Horloge de Sapience – Heinrich Seuse [Brussels, Bibl. Royale, ms. IV 111, fol. 25v]

(Taken from Peter Rolfe Monks, *The Brussels Horloge de Sapience: Iconography and Text of Brussels*, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 111 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 95 - 96)

Et tantost me fust monster[e] une vision de prophecie par une tres subtile maniere, et disoit: Les sieges et les trosnes sont mis et le plus ancien se siet sus. Son vestement est blanc comme nege et les cheveulx de son chief sont nets et purs comme blanche laine. Son trosne estoit feu ardent et de sa face yssoit ung fleuve de feu roide et violent, et de sa bouche ysoit une espee trenchant de deux parties. Quant je le vy, je fus monlt (sic) esbahy et fus feru de paour jusques au cuer en tant que mes cheveulx se leverent de la grant horreur que j’euz ; et plus fort car en la presence de tout le monde, je veoie, et chascun le veoit, devant moy en escript tous les pechiez et tous les deffaulz que j’avoie fais tout le tempz de ma vie et fu constraint par force de messages de moy représenter triste et dolent et paoureux devant la face du juge qui me sembloit tout forsené d’ire et de courroux. Et quant le juge fut assiz et son siège de maiesté et il me vit devant lui, il leva la teste, et sembloit que feu lui yssist des yeulx. Lors par grant courroux et indignacion parla et demonstra l’ire et la desplaisance de son cuer. Quant je l’ouy parler, je chey de paour, tout pasmé a terre ; je mis mon chief feble et esp[er]a]joury enclin sur mon bras si comme je peus mieulx, et me taisi bien par l’espace de une heure pour la tres grant paour que j’avoie.

Document III***Les Sept articles de la Foi – Jean Chapuis*** [BnF, fr. 804]

(Frédéric Duval, *Lectures françaises de la fin du Moyen Age : petite anthologie commentée de succès littéraires* (Genève: Droz, 2007), 74 - 80)

Cest article est de la venue nostre seigneur Jhesuscrist au jugement. vii

Cest article qui est derrains
Si doit estre ly premerains
En cuer d'omme et de femme saige,
Car quant homs pense qu'il n'est riens
Fors pourreture et vieulx merriens
Et qu'il lui estuet ce passage
Passer et paier le peage,
Et qu'il aura au fuer l'emplage
Et trop plus de mauulx que de biens,
Cuer qui la fin de ce dommage
N'a tousjours devant son visage
Est prezqu'enseveliz en fiens.

En fiens de parfaite ygnorance
Est enseveliz sans doubtance
Cuer qui partout se sent pecheur,
Et en vieillesce et en enfance
Est en doute de vieille dance :
Ne sçay comment il est asceur
Et oze vivre sans paour,
Car il sent son accuseour
Qui tout poise à juste balance ;
Et se sent courant moureour
Par force et mourant coureour,
Car Mort de toutes pars le lance.

Mort, vieux et jeaunes, nous queurt seure.
Mort nous prent, nous ne gardons l'eure.
Mort nous est de necessité.
N'est nulz qui à la mort ne queure
Ne qui nullement y sequeure,
Car ly juges de verité
Pugnira nostre iniquité
Par la balance d'equité
Qui ou val de la Chantepleure
Nous boute en grant adversité
Sans fin à perpetuité ;
Et y persevere et demeure.

Jhesuscrist, le filz Dieu le pere,
Moru pour nous, c'est chose clere,
Et au tiers jour ressuscita.
Si estuet pour certain mistere
Que sa resuretion pere
En ceulx où sa grace habita,
Car mort par mort desconfit a,
De ce que noz parens getta
De povreté et de misere,
De quoy sa mort acquitté a.
Qui bien croit, saint Esperit a
Et en tous temps y persevere.

Pense dont chascun qu'il mourra
Et que mort fuir ne pourra,
Et ne scet quant ne de quel mort ;
Et que Dieu jugier le venra
Ne rien ne l'en destournera,
Car nul sur son pouoir ne mort
Ne par appel ne par ressort,
N'il n'y a saveur ne deport,
Car sans fin en enfer plourra.
Qui aura bien fait, si le port,
Et qui mal, tiengne soy pour mort,
Car sa roe tout droit courra.

Chetiz pécheurs que feront,
Quant tous les angels trembleront
Et les archanges precieux
Et les busines corneront
Qui la venue annoceront
Du tresdoulz filz Dieu glorieux,
Qui se monstera si crueux
Et si trespetit gracieux
A ceulz qui en pechié seront
Que le feu d'enfer sur yceulx
Courra fouldroiant par my eulx
Ne jamais mieulx n'espereront ?

Las ! où est cil qui attendra
 Quant Dieu au jugement vendra ?
 Car pure verité s'accorde
 Que, quant son jugement tendra,
 Tous et toutes nous reprendra
 Du deffault de misericorde,
 Qu'il nous reprouvera par ordre,
 Si com l'Euvangille recorde, [Mathieu 25 : 31 – 46]
 Que bons et mauvais comprendra,
 N'il n'iert qui à ses mos remorde
 Ne qui son accort desaccorde,
 Car rien fors droit ne maintendra.

Premierement, de ce me vant,
 Mettra les bons ou front devant
 Et leur dira : « My tresdoulz frere,
 Mes tresdoulz filz, venez avant
 Et acceptez dorenavant
 Le royaume mon tresdoulz pere,
 Car bien est droys que l'amour pere,
 Que vous à moy en ma misere
 Monstrates aux miens recevant.

J'euz fain et vous me saoulastes
 Et si euz soif, vous m'abuvrastes ;
 Hoste fui, vous me receuillistes ;
 Nuz fui, à vestir me donnastes
 Et enferme me visitastes.
 EN chartre fui, à moy venistes.
 Toutesfoiz que vous me veistes,
 A meschief vous me pourveistes
 Et du vostres m'amenistrastes.
 Tous ce qu'en mes povres meistes,
 A moy meismes le feistes.
 Or cueilliez ce que vous semastes. »

Aux mauvais dira par contraire :
 « Fuiiez de cy, gent de pute aire.
 Mal fustes onques conceu.
 Onques donner ne vous pot plaire
 Ne des miens n'eustes que faire
 Et avez-vous assez eu.
 En ma fain ne m'avez peu
 N'en ma soif n'ay vostre vin beu,
 Tant sceusse crier ne briare.
 Or crierez tousjours heu !
 Sans jamais estre receu,
 Et tout est adez à reffaire. »

Mil ans seront et plus assez
 Autant com le jour d'yer passez
 Et tousjours recommenceront.
 Ainsi est ly temps compassez
 Pour tousjours, c'est trop plus qu'assez,
 Et adez les tourmenteront
 Ceuls qui du faire pouoir ont.
 Tousjours crieront et brairont :
 C'est ly estas des trespassez
 Qui en pechié trespassembleront
 Et qui aumosnes ne feront.
 Mal fu tel avoir amassez !

Braire, crier, hurler, complaindre,
 Forcenner et maudire et plaindre
 Est ly usages des dampnez,
 Car leur feu ne se peut estaindre
 Ne leurs tourmenteurs reffraindre,
 Qui les tiennent enchainnez
 Mal furent onques d'Adam nez,
 Car leurs fais les ont condampnez,
 Qui les font punnir et contraindre ;
 Et si sont si fort ahanez
 Que cilz qui moins y est penez
 Cuide avoir des paines la graindre.

Ceste terreur, ceste merveille
 Qui des autres est non pareille
 Et qui est du tout veritable
 Me corne si fort en l'oreille
 Qu'il me semble, quant je m'esveille,
 Que j'oy l'archange esperitable
 De l'avant de Dieu exitable,
 Et la busine espouventable
 Qui les mors suscite et esveille,
 Et la venue inevitable
 De Dieu qui est si redoubtable.
 Haro, las, vez en cy la veille !

Dieu venra en grant poësté
 En sa trespuissant majesté.
 Tuit le verront, grant et menu,
 Percié en piez, mains et costé ;
 N'y aura ne mis ne osté.
 Tuit ly signe sont avenu :
 Nous sommes tuit, jenne, chanu,
 Depure grace soustenu
 Et avons ja grant temps esté
 De quanque Dieu a maintenu ;
 N'y fault fors antecrist venu
 Par qui nous serons tempesté.

Estoilles et solei et lune
Prise en terre de gent commune
Nous monstrent par signe evident
La fin du monde, car rancune,
Fain et guerre qui tout esgrune
Sont d'Orient en Occident,
Terre meue par accident.
Ja ne s'en ouvrissent my dent,
Mais on revoit en terre aucune
Flos yssans de mer incident
Es lieux où ilz sont president ;
Ce ppuet voir chascun et chascune.

Ceste chose n'est pas contreuve
Car Dieu meismes le nous preuve
Et saint Mathieu en l'euvangille. [24 : 6 – 8]
Si est raison qu'on le reçoive
Et que nulz cuers ne s'en deçoive,
Ains croie fermement que qui le
Croit com ces bonnes gens de ville,
Qui sont sans barat et sans guille
Et croient quanque on leur reuve,
Maint en yra en cel concille
Où l'en ne forge ne ne fille,
Où l'en a tousjours joie neuve.

A celle joye douce et tendre
Nous maint cil qui se lascia prendre
Pour nous de la mort delivrer,
Qui pour le feu d'amour esprendre
En la croix se lascia estendre,
Pour nous soy à la mort livrer ;
De s'amour nous veulle enyvrer
Si que nous puissions eschever
L'arsure d'enfer et la cendre
Et que nous puissions arriver
Aux biens de lassus sans priver,
Que cuer ne peut ycy comprendre.

Document IV*Livres de Bonnes Mœurs – Jacques Legrand* [fols. 85 - 90](Evencio Betran, *Livre in Archiloge Sophie. Livre de Bonnes Meurs. Jacques Legrand* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1986), 297)*Comment on doit penser au jour du jugement*

Se tu pense au jour du darrenier jugement tu doubteras moult a mal faire, comme nous monstre experience de plusieurs gens qui laissent a mal faire pour paour de justice. Et se tu me demandes quant sera le jour du jugement, je te respons comme fait saint Augustin en un sien sermon qu'il fist des Innocens, et respont a ceste meismes question en disant que le jour du jugement sera par aventure maintenant ; car, comme dit l'Apostre, en un moment, en un coup d'ueil l'ange sonnera sa trompe et resusciteront et vendront au jugement. La sera moult esbahi celui qui sera en peché, car riens ne vaudra le plorer ; nul ne pourra faire chose qui prouffite a son sauvement ; les prieres des sains ne te pourront prouffiter ne aydier. Si te dois en ton vivant sagement avisier car lors tu verras ton fait, ta sentence devant tes yeulx tu sera livrez sanz remission et a tousjours mais. Et dit Hugues en son livre de l'Arche Noé. VIIIe. Chapitre, que les elemens et etoutes creatures qui t'auront fait services demanderont justice de toi : la terra dira « Je t'ai porté, je t'ai nourri ». L'yaue dira « Je t'ai lavé ». L'air dira « J'ai ton souspir reconforté »/ Et ainsi toutes creatures te reprocheront les courtoisies en disant qu'elles ne t'ont servi fors tant seulement pour ce que tu servisses Dieu, lequel tu n'as mye servi. Et pour tant nous demandons raison de toi, comme de celui qui a mal recongneu les biens que Dieu lui a faiz.

Mais tu pourras dire que le jour du jugement ne sera de grant temps, car il est escript en l'Euvangile que plusieurs signes vendront avant lesquelx nous ne veons point. Il sembleroit donc que le jour du jugement ne deust venir de grant temps. A ce je te respons et di que les signes du jugement sont presque tous acompliz. Ne voions nous comment luxure règne, laquele jadis fu cause de deluge et de la perdicion du monde ? Et m'est avis que luxure semblablement nous peut donner cause de doubter que le jour du jugement en soit prochain : car en mariage a pou de loiauté, en gens d'Église pou de chasteté, des quelx parle l'Apostre en son epistre aux Ephesiens disant que gens luxurieux n'ont point de partie ou royaume de paradys.

Oultre plus je te respons et di que plusieurs autres signes sont acompliz : car le soleil et la lune ont perdu leur clarté, et les estoiles sont cheutes du ciel. Ce n'est autre chose a dire fors que l'Église, qui devoit tout le monde comme le soleil enluminer, est de present obscurcie et divisiee, et de plusieurs mauvais vices antechiee. Et la lune, c'est assavoir la seigneurie temporele, est eclipsee et plaine d'orgueil et de tyrannye. Et les estoiles, c'est assavoir les clers, les prescheurs, et conseillers, sont chez du ciel : car ilz ont delaissé vérité pour suivre flaterie. Par quoi il appert que les signes du jugement sont assez acompliz

Et se tu me demande se Antecrist est enu, je te respons que soit venu ou non, toutesvoies sont ilz plusieurs vivans qui font les œuvres dissimuleurs et mauvais ypocrites, et de teles gens Antecrist est ou sera le père. Bien est vrai que aucuns pourroient dire que l'en peut savoir naturellement le jour du Jugement. Aux quelx je respons qu'il n'en est riens, car Dieu ne l'a point revellé a homme ne a ange, comme il appert ou livre des APostres. Et ce meismes tesmoigne saint Augustin ou Psaultier ou premier ver de sept pseaulmes ; mais neantmoins en ensuivant aucunes auctoritéz et raison l'en pourroit en ceste matière aucune chose dire sanz riens determiner : car Dieu est tout seul, qui puet le jour et l'eure du jugement ordener. En ceste matière doncques il sembleroit de prime face que le monde devoit finer en la fin d'aucuns milliers d'ans. Et pource qu'il y a VIM a VIC et III. Ans que le monde commença, pource convendroit il qu'il eust quatre cens ans ou environ jusques au jour du jugement. Et qu'il soit ainsi je ne le di pas, mais aucunes auctoritéz parlent de milliers d'ansen parlant du jugement. Et de fait le prophete David dit que mil ans sont devant tes yeulx comme le darrenier jour, comme se il voulist dire que le monde finira sus la fin d'aucuns milliers d'ans. Oultre plus, saint Jehan en son Apocalipse ou XIXe. Chapitre dit que Sathanas seroit lyéz mil ans jusques en la fin du monde. Et le prophete Helye dit que le monde dureroit VIm ans en comptant depuis le temps qu'il vivoit. Et Platon en son Thimeon dit que le monde se devoit renouveler dedans XXXVIm ans. Par lesqueles choses il

Et Albumasar, en son second livre des conjunctions, en la VIIIe différence, dit que les seigneuries du monde se muent selon la mutacion de Saturne et singulièrement quant il a fait dix revolucions lesqueles montent a trois cens ans ou environ. Et de ce avons nous aucunes experiences : car après X revolucions de Saturne vint Alixandre, et fu destruit le royaume de Perse. Et après X autres revolucions ou environ vint Jhesucrist qui fu, quant a l'humanité, nouvel roy au monde. Et après X autres revolucions vint Meny qui controuva encontre les paysans une loy nouvelle. Et après X autres revolucions vint Mahomet, le controuveur de fausse loi. Et après X autres vint Charlemagne qui conquist l'empire. Et après X autre revolucions vint Godefroi de Billon qui conquist la Terre sainte. Et ainsi pourroient dire aucuns que telle mutacion, comme est le definement du monde, l'en pourroit savoir par astrologie ; mais je ne sui pas de ceste oppinion, car Dieu tout seul le sceit.

Et en ceste matiere ne doit on rien affermer, si comme dist saint Augustin en son second livre de la cité Dieu, second chapitre.

Après il me semble que ja soit ce que tu ne saches le jour de jugement et qu'il ne soit jusques a grant temps, pource n'est ce mye que tu ne doies autant doubter comme se il devoit estre bien brief : car le jour de ta mort, qui sera bien brief, sera la jour de ton jugement : car en icelle heure sera du tout fait de toi, et jamais ne sera la sentence muee. Et si n'est mye doute que se tu muers en mauvais estat, en icelle heure seras tu condempné ; et si tu muers en grâce de Dieu en icelle heure seras tu sauvé ou en voie de sauvement. Par quoy il appert que pou vault l'esperance de ceulx qui dient que le monde durera moult longuement. Cy fine la tierce partie de ce livre. Deo gracias.

Document V

La Voie de Povreté ou de Richesse or le livre du Chastel de Labour (Widener 1, fol. 49; English translation taken from Peter Arrell Brown Widener's *Le Livre du Chaster de Labour*, pp. 36 - 37)

Chapter XXXIII

First, in serving Wisdom, you may live securely, fearing none but God, "mon père," and secondly, after death you will enter into Paradise and live forever. Both these benefits will be lost in serving Fraud, who can give nothing but the pleasure of acquiring wealth ; and often when it has been acquired it will suddenly be lost, and then none will be sorry for you, but all will rejoice, and say,

His fortune from the Devil rose,

And to the Devil back it goes.

Keep, therefore, your heart clean and pure ; and have humility in yourself, as well as loyalty, faith, and truth. And see that your humility is real and not feigned. For some make pretence of humility, and seem to the world to be worthy men, while they are full of hypocrisy and foxiness. They deceive men indeed, but not God ; and will be manifest at the Day of Judgment.

He will sit middle on the throne,

His wounds to all the people shown,

The crown of thorn, the spear, the nails ;

And every soul shall to the scales ;

No king nor emperor but then

Shall quake for fear, like common men ;

The cobbler and the count shall be

Exactly of the same degree ;

And cheap-budge-wearers equal all

With any king and cardinal.

The good, the followers of Reason, will be separated from the bad, the followers of Fraud; and will go to joy, while the others have grant pleur, grant cri, et grant doieur. Now, therefore, she says, do me homage ; and continue in my service henceforth. The author hesitating, Reason attacks him sharply:— Then quoth she, Answer !—Not one word.

Have you, methinks, perceived or heard.

But he defends himself by reminding her that she herself had instructed him always to listen well before replying, and not be in haste to answer. And she commends him for his obedience to her injunctions.

Plates	Images
Pl. I	<i>Saint-Laurent</i> parish church. Pressiat.
Pl. II	<i>Saint-Victor-et-Sainte-Couronne</i> parish church. Ennezat.
Pl. III	Franciscan Breviary (WAG. ms. W.300, fol. 3)
Pl. IV	The Hours of Bedford (BK, Add. ms. 1885, fol. 157)
Pl. V	The Hours of Dunois (BL, Yates Thompson, ms. 3, fol. 32)
Pl. VI	Altarpiece at Hôtel Dieu. Beaune.
Pl. VII	<i>Saint-Austremoine</i> parish church. Issoire.
Pl. VIII	<i>Sainte-Cécile</i> cathedrale. Albi.
Pl. IX	<i>Saint-Étienne</i> cathedral. Cahors.
Pl. X	<i>Les Pénitents Blancs</i> chapel. La Tour-sur-Tinée.
Pl. XI	<i>Notre-Dame-des-Fontaines</i> parish church. La Brigue.
Pl. XII	<i>Notre-Dame-du-Bourg</i> cathedral. Digne-les-Bains.
Pl. XIII	<i>Saint-Eutrope</i> parish church. Allemans-du-Dropt.
Pl. XIV	<i>Chateau du Châteaudun</i> . Châteaudun.
Pl. XV	<i>Saint-Mexme</i> parish church. Chinon.
Pl. XVI	<i>Sainte-Anne</i> parish church. Cazeaux-de-Larbourst.
Pl. XVII	<i>Saint-Martin</i> parish church. Champniers.
Pl. XVIII	<i>Saint-Vincent</i> parish church. Tarnos
Pl. XIX	<i>Saint-Michel</i> parish church. Castéra-Loubix.
Pl. XX	<i>Notre-Dame</i> parish church. Antigny.

Chapter 2: Literary Sources for the Last Judgement in France in the Late Middle Ages

Fig. 2.1 – 1	Christ sits on the throne. <i>Cité de Dieu</i> . (BnF, ms. fr. 172 – 173, fol. 2)
Fig. 2.1 – 2	The Last Judgement. <i>Cité de Dieu</i> . (BnF, ms. fr. 172 – 173, fol. 253v)
Fig. 2.1 – 3	The Last Judgement. <i>Cité de Dieu</i> . (BnF, ms. fr. 27 – 28, fol. 2)
Fig. 2.1 – 4	The Last Judgement. <i>Cité de Dieu</i> . (BnF, ms. fr. 19, fol. 190)
Fig. 2.1 – 5	The Last Judgement. <i>Cité de Dieu</i> . (Mâcon, Bibl. Mun. ms. fr. 2, fol. 217)
Fig. 2.2 – 1	The Last Judgement. <i>La Somme le Roi</i> . (BnF, fr. 938, fol. 37)
Fig. 2.3 – 1	The Last Judgement. <i>L'Horloge de Sapience</i> . (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS. 76.E.19, fol. 1)
Fig. 2.3 – 2	The Disciple's vision on the Last Judgement. (BR, ms. IV 111, fol. 46v)
Fig. 2.3 – 3	The shipwreck. (Brussels, Bibl. Royale, ms. IV 111, fol. 47)
Fig. 2.4.1 – 1	The Last Judgement. <i>Les Sept Articles de la Foi</i> (Ada Turnbull Hertle Fund, 1957.162)
Fig. 2.4.2 – 1	A living and a dead. <i>Livre de Bonnes Meurs</i> . (BnF, ms. fr. 1023, fol. 74)
Fig. 2.4.2 – 2	The universality of Christ's judgement. <i>Livre de Bonnes Meurs</i> (Princeton University Library, Garrett 130, fol. 25)
Fig. 2.4.2 – 3	God in judgement. <i>Livre de Bonnes Meurs</i> . (BR, ms. 11063, fol. 3)
Fig. 2.4.2 – 4	Christ's Second Coming and the signs of doomsday. <i>Livre de Bonnes Meurs</i> . (MC, ms. 297, fol. 153)
Fig. 2.4.2 – 5	The Last Judgement. <i>Voie de Fovreté ou de Richesse</i> . (The Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department, Widener 1, fol. 49)

Chapter 3: Mystery Plays

- Fig. 3.1 – 1 The Last Judgement. *Le Jour du Jugement* (Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 579, fol. 2v)
- Fig. 3.1 – 2a Christ on the judgement seat.
(Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 579, fol. 33v)
- Fig. 3.1 – 2b St Andrew and St James aided Christ executing his judgement.
(Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 579, fol. 34r)
- Fig. 3.1 – 2c Christ in judgement assisting by St Simon.
(Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 579, fol. 35r)
- Fig. 3.2 – 1 The Last Judgement. From the series of the *Histoire de la Redemption de l'Homme* (Paris, Musée de Louvre)
- Fig. 3.2 – 2b Hell. Detail. *The Last Judgement*. Digne-les-Bains.
- Fig. 3.2 – 2b An heretic (?) Detail. *Hell*. Digne-les-Bains.

Chapter 4.1.1: The Deisis

- Fig. 4.1 – 1 The Trial of John I, Duke of Alençon held by Charles VII.
Le Lit de justice de Vendôme in *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*
(Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, God. Gall. 6, fol. 2v)
- Fig. 4.1.1 – 1 Christ. Detail. Allemans-du-Dropt.
- Fig. 4.1.1 – 2 Christ. Detail. Ennezat.
- Fig. 4.1.1 – 3 Christ. Detail. Épinal.
- Fig. 4.1.1 – 4a Christ in judgement. Mazerier.
- Fig. 4.1.1 – 4b Donors. Detail.
- Fig. 4.1.1 – 4c Patron saints. Detail.
- Fig. 4.1.1 – 5 Christ. Detail. La-Tour-sur-Tinée.
- Fig. 4.1.1 – 6 Christ. Detail. La Brigue.
- Fig. 4.1.1 – 7 Christ. Detail. Countances.
- Fig. 4.1.1 – 8a Christ and angels. Detail. Tarnos.
- Fig. 4.1.1 – 8b Crucifixion of Christ.
- Fig. 4.1.1 – 9 Deisis and Christ's crucifixion. Detail. Pont-sur-Yonne.
- Fig. 4.1.2 – 1 The Virgin Mary. Detail. Issoire.
- Fig. 4.1.2 – 2 The Virgin Mary. Detail. Coutances.
- Fig. 4.1.2 – 3 The Virgin Mary and Christ. Detail. Lorgues.
- Fig. 4.1.2 – 4 The Virgin Mary. Detail. Chinon.
- Fig. 4.1.2 – 5 The Virgin Mary. Detail. Cahors.
- Fig. 4.1.2 – 6 The Virgin Mary. Detail. Antigny.
- Fig. 4.1.2 – 7 The Virgin Mary. Detail. L'hôpital-sous-Rochefort.
- Fig. 4.1.2 – 8 The Virgin Mary. Detail. Cazeaux-de-Larboust.
- Fig. 4.1.2 – 9 The Virgin Mary. Detail. *L'Horloge de Sapience*. (BR, ms. IV 111, fol. 62)
- Fig. 4.1.3 – 1 St. John the Baptist. Detail. Beaune.
- Fig. 4.1.3 – 2 St. John the Baptist. Cahors.
- Fig. 4.1.3 – 3 St. John the Baptist. Issoire.
- Fig. 4.1.3 – 4 St. John the Baptist. Mont d'Astarac.
- Fig. 4.1.3 – 5 St. John the Baptist. Châteaudun.
- Fig. 4.1.3 – 6 St. John the Baptist. Ennezat.

Chapter 4.2: St. Michael

- Fig. 4.2 – 1 Christ and St. Michael. Detail. Beaune.
 Fig. 4.2 – 2 St. Michael slaying a dragon. Detail. Pressiat.
 Fig. 4.2 – 3 St. Michael fighting a devil. Issoire.
 Fig. 4.2 – 4 St. Michael protecting soul. Allemans-du-Dropt.
 Fig. 4.2 – 5a Last Judgement. Front. Holy Thorn Reliquary. (Trustees of the British Museum)
 Fig. 4.2 – 5b St. Michael and St. George. Back.
 Fig. 4.2 – 6 St. Michael casting the damned. Detail. Ennezat.
 Fig. 4.2 – 7 St. Michael thrusting a dragon above Mont-Saint-Michel. *Très Riches Heures*. (MC, ms. 65, fol. 195r)
 Fig. 4.2 – 8 St. Michael defeating a devil. *Hours of Jean le Maingre II*. (Musée Jacquemart-André, ms. 2, fol. 11v)
 Fig. 4.2 – 9 Suffrage of St. Michael. *Hours of Peter de Montfort* (BnF, ms. lat. 1159, fol. 160v)
 Fig. 4.2 – 10 The Last Judgement. *Hours of Jean de Montauban* (BnF, ms. lat. 18026, fol. 136)
 Fig. 4.2 – 11a Inscriptions surrounded a unicorn. The Winged Stags Tapestry. (Musée départemental des Antiquités de Rouen)
 Fig. 4.2 – 11b St. Michael slaying a dragon.
 Fig. 4.2 – 12 Louis XI surrounded by members of the Order of St. Michael. 1470. *Statues of the Order of St. Michael* (BnF, fr. 19819)
 Fig. 4.2 – 13 St. Michael appears in front of Charles VIII. 1493 – 1494. *Statues of the Order of St. Michael* (BnF, fr. 14363)
 Fig. 4.2 - 14 Christ and St. Michael. Detail. La Brigue.

Chapter 4.3: Heaven

- Fig. 4.3 – 1 St. John's vision of Heaven. Apocalypse tapestries. Château d'Angers.
 Fig. 4.3 – 2 Celestial and terrestrial worlds. *Cité de Dieu*. (Mâcon, Bibl. Municipale, ms. 1, fol. 7)
 Fig. 4.3 – 3 Heaven. Detail. Ennezat.
 Fig. 4.3 – 4 St. Peter standing in front of the gate of heaven. Mont-d'Astarac.
 Fig. 4.3 – 5a St. Peter welcoming the blessed in heavenly Jerusalem. Monétier-les-Bains.
 Fig. 4.3 – 5b The blessed souls entering heaven. Detail.
 Fig. 4.3 – 5c The blessed souls crossing a drawbridge. Detail.
 Fig. 4.3 – 6a Heaven and hell. Detail. Cazeaux-de-Larboust.
 Fig. 4.3 – 6b Saints in heaven. Detail.
 Fig. 4.3 – 7a Coronation of The Virgin in heaven. Martignac.
 Fig. 4.3 – 7b The Seven Deadly Sins.
 Fig. 4.3 – 8 Heaven. Detail. La Brigue.
 Fig. 4.3 – 9a St. Peter at the gate of heaven. Detail. Lorgues.
 Fig. 4.3 – 9b Heavenly court. Detail.
 Fig. 4.3 – 10 Heaven. Detail. *The Last Judgement*. Digne-les-Bains.
 Fig. 4.3 – 11a Heavenly Jerusalem. Detail. Mazerier.
 Fig. 4.3 – 11b Angel musicians at the gates of heaven. Detail.
 Fig. 4.3 – 11c Angel musicians on the towers. Detail.
 Fig. 4.3 – 12 St. Peter standing in front of the gate of heaven. Sepvigny.
 Fig. 4.3 – 13 St. Peter receiving blessed souls at the gate of heaven. Antigny.
 Fig. 4.3 – 14 St. Peter standing in front of the gate of heaven. Antigny.

Chapter 4.4: Iconography – Hell

- Fig. 4.4 – 1 Devils and the damned souls at hellmouth. Detail. Ennezat.
 Fig. 4.4 – 2a Hellmouth and punishments. Detail. Champniers.
 Fig. 4.4 – 2b Lucifer torturing the damned. Detail.
 Fig. 4.4 – 3 Hellmouth and punishments. Detail. Cazeaux-de-Larboust.
 Fig. 4.4 – 4 Hellmouth and punishments. Saint-Sulpice-sur-Lèze.
 Fig. 4.4 – 5 Lucifer in hell. Detail. Digne-les-Bains.
 Fig. 4.4 – 6 Damned souls and Lucifer at the hellmouth. Detail. La Tour-sur-Tinée.
 Fig. 4.4 – 7 Lucifer rides a hellmouth. Saint-Parres-lès-Vaudes.
 Fig. 4.4 – 8 Hellmouth. Langres.
 Fig. 4.4 – 9 Devils transporting the damned to hell. Sepvigny.
 Fig. 4.4 – 10a Hell. Front facet. Antigny.
 Fig. 4.4 – 10b Hell. Left facet.
 Fig. 4.4 – 10c Hell. Right facet.
 Fig. 4.4 – 11a Lucifer in front of a hellmouth. Mazerier.
 Fig. 4.4 – 11b Devils transporting the damned. Detail.
 Fig. 4.4 – 11c Distressed souls. Detail.
 Fig. 4.4 – 12a Hell. Detail. Beaune.
 Fig. 4.4 – 12b Damned souls falling into hell. Detail.
 Fig. 4.4 – 13a Hell. Châteaudun.
 Fig. 4.4 – 13b St. Michael in front of a hellmouth. Detail. Chinon.
 Fig. 4.4 – 14 Hell. *Cité de Dieu*. (Mâcon, BM, ms. 2, fol. 217)
 Fig. 4.4 – 15a Christ in judgement. Detail. Allemans-du-Dropt.
 Fig. 4.4 – 15b St. Michael weighing souls.
 Fig. 4.4 – 15c Devils walking towards hell.
 Fig. 4.4 – 15d Punishment in hell. Detail.

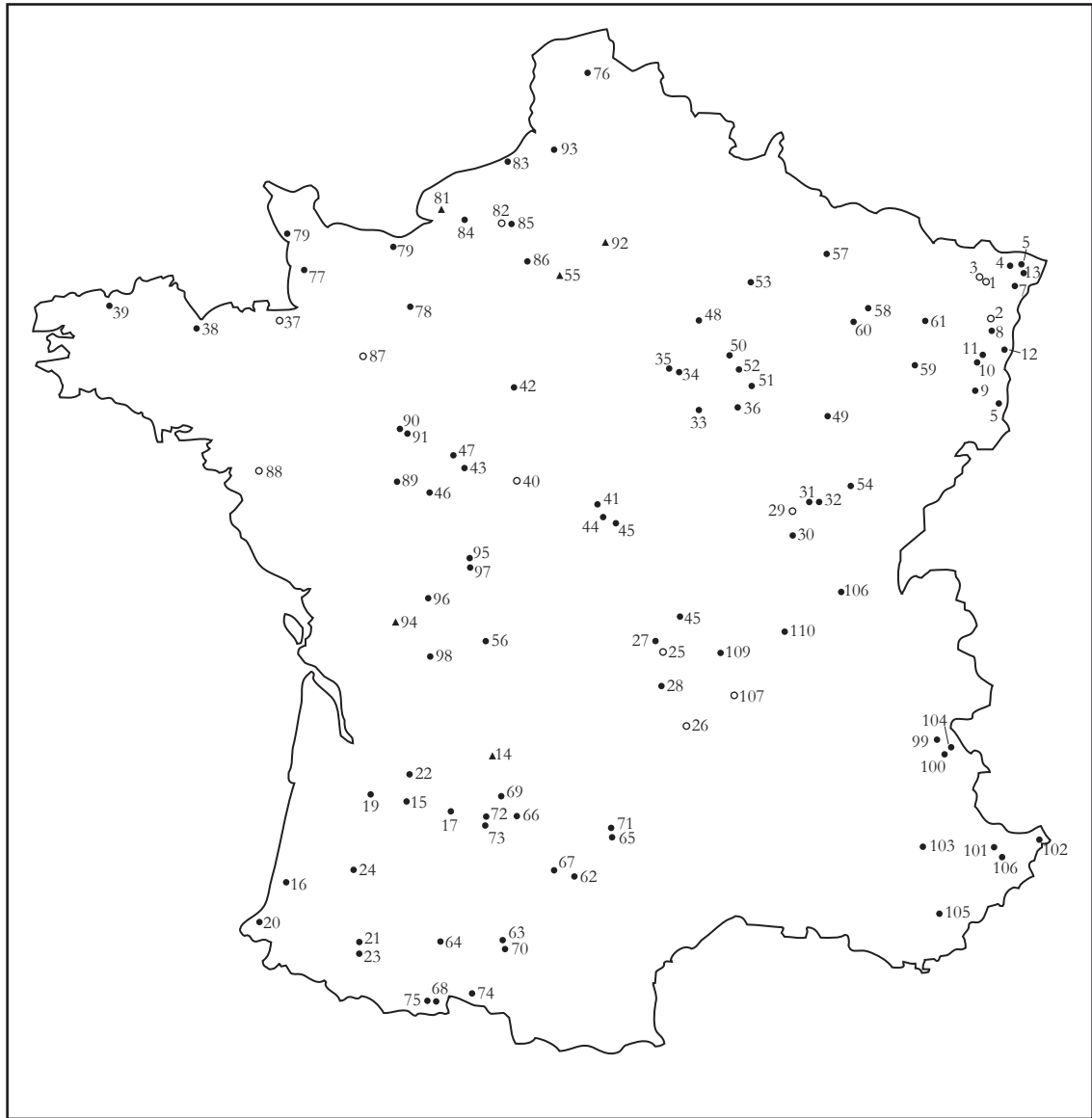
Chapter 4.5: Iconography – Purgatory

- Fig. 4.5 – 1a Coronation of The Virgin (1454).
 Charterhouse of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon.
 Fig. 4.5 – 1b Purgatory. Detail.
 Fig. 4.5 – 1c Hell. Detail.
 Fig. 4.5 – 2 Book of hours. (WAG, ms. W. 274, fol. 118)
 Fig. 4.5 – 3 Saints in heaven. Cazeaux-de-Larboust.
 Fig. 4.5 – 4 Heaven, purgatory, and hell. Pervillac.
 Fig. 4.5 – 5 Purged souls approaching heaven. Birac.
 Fig. 4.5 – 6 Purgatory. Massels.
 Fig. 4.5 – 7 Souls in purgatory. Lorgues.
 Fig. 4.5 – 8 Purgatory. Montaner.

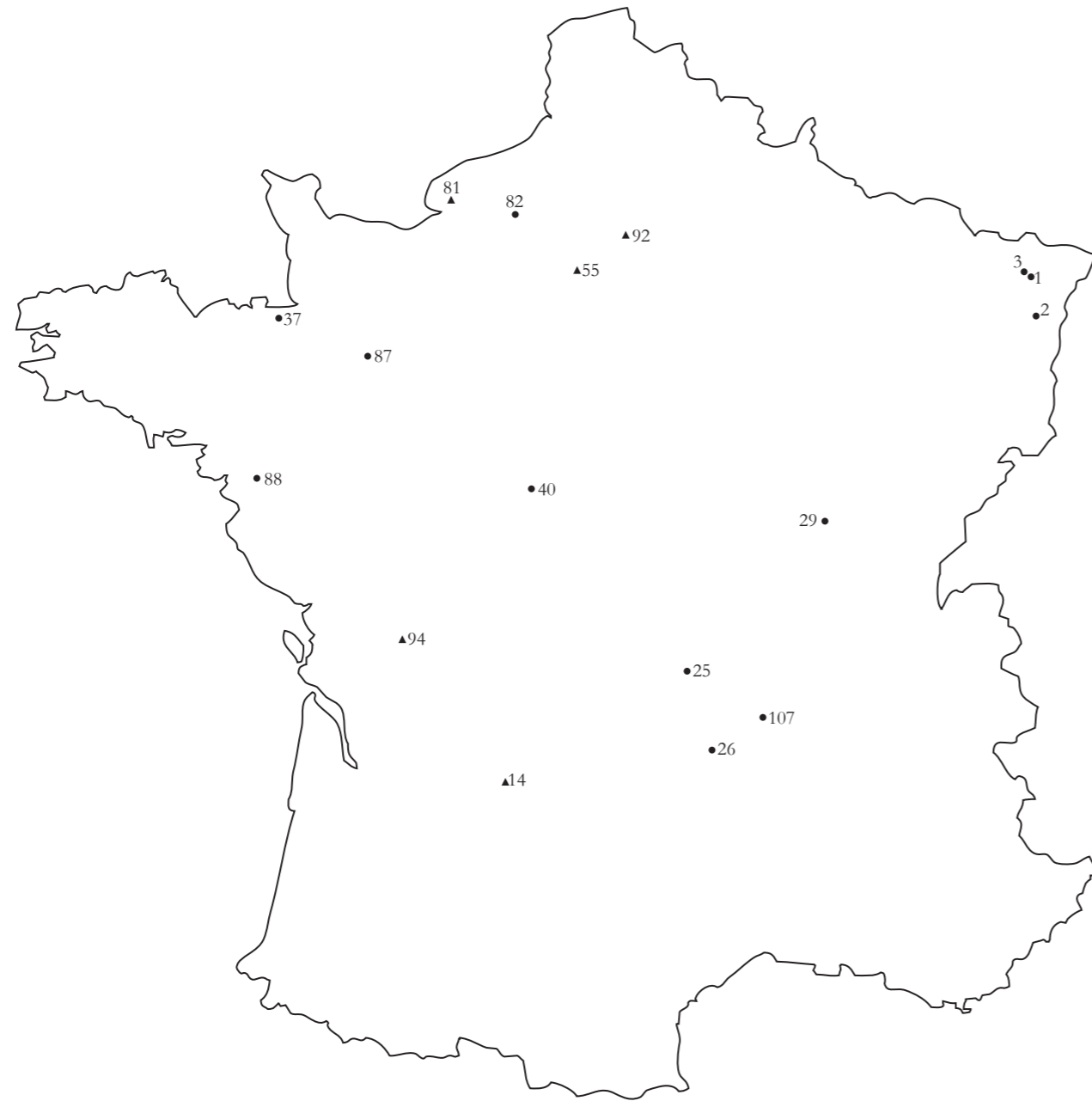
Chapter 4.6: Iconography – Seven Deadly Sins

- Fig. 4.6 – 1a King David in prayer. Hours of Dunois.
 (BL, Yates Thompson, MS. 3, fol. 157)
 Fig. 4.6 – 1b Personification of Pride and Envy. (fol. 159)
 Fig. 4.6 – 1c Personification of Laziness (fol. 162)
 Fig. 4.6 – 1d Personification of Anger (fol. 165v)
 Fig. 4.6 – 1e Personification of Gluttony (fol. 168v)

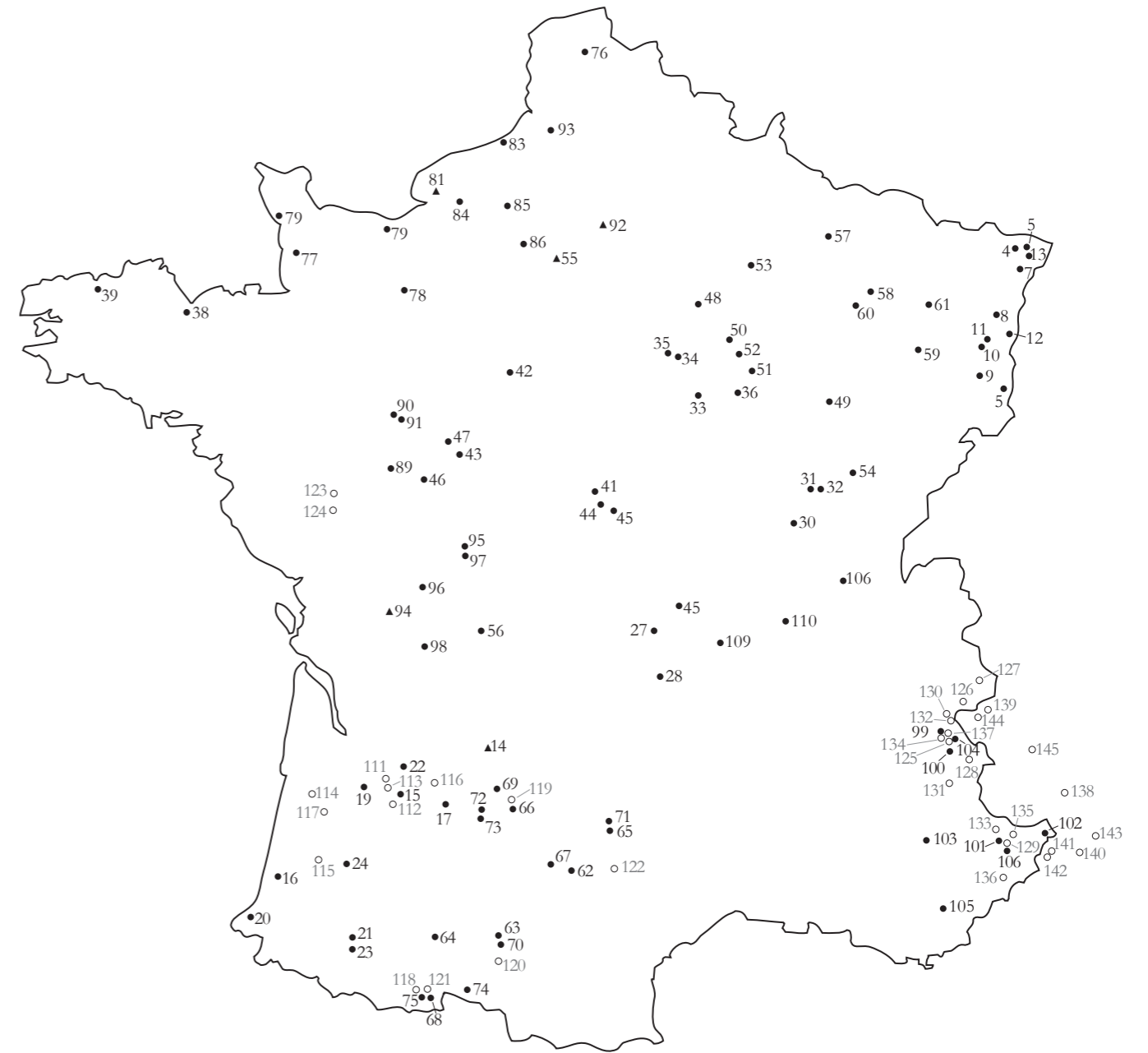
- Fig. 4.6 – 1f Personification of Lust (fol. 172v)
Fig. 4.6 – 1g Personification of Avarice (fol. 174)
Fig. 4.6 – 2a Personification of Pride. *Book of hours*.
(Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1001, fol. 84r)
Fig. 4.6 – 2b The Last Judgement (fol. 109)
Fig. 4.6 – 3a Punishment of the proud. Albi.
Fig. 4.6 – 3b Punishment of the proud. *Calendrier des Bergers*.
(printed by Antoine Vérard)
Fig. 4.6 – 3c Punishment of the envy. Albi.
Fig. 4.6 – 3d Punishment of the envy. *Calendrier des Bergers*.
(printed by Antoine Vérard)
Fig. 4.6 – 4a Deis and resurrected souls. Detail. Martignac.
Fig. 4.6 – 4b Seven personified sins. Detail. Martignac
Fig. 4.6 – 4c Personification of Gluttony.
Fig. 4.6 – 5a Placement of the image of the Last Judgement. Digne-les-Bains.
Fig. 4.6 – 5b Punishments for Lust and Anger. Detail. Digne-les-Bains.
Fig. 4.6 – 6a Avarice and a devil. Detail. La Tour-sur-Tinée.
Fig. 4.6 – 6b Envy riding an ape. Detail. La Tour-sur-Tinée.
Fig. 4.6 – 7a Punishment of the Pride. Detail. Cahors.
Fig. 4.6 – 7b Punishment of the Envy. Detail. Cahors.



- | | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 Weiterswiller | 28 Issoire | 55 Mantes-la-Jolie | 82 Rouen (Saint-Maclou) |
| 2 Rosheim | 29 Beaune | 56 Sainte-Marie-de-Vaux | 83 Saint-Romain-de-Colbosc |
| 3 La Petite-Pierre | 30 Sennecey-le-Grand | 57 Verdun | 84 Saint-Maurice-d'Etelan |
| 4 Goersdorf | 31 Bagnot | 58 Toul | 85 Rouen (Saint-Vincent) |
| 5 Ottmarsheim | 32 Pagny-le-Ville | 59 Epinal | 86 Gaillon |
| 6 Soultz-sous-Forets | 33 Saint-Bris-le-Vineux | 60 Sepvigny | 87 Lassay-les-Châteaux |
| 7 Haguenau | 34 Sens | 61 Saint-Clément | 88 Nantes |
| 8 Gertwiller | 35 Pont-sur-Yonne | 62 Albi | 89 Brézé |
| 9 Buhl | 36 Rugny | 63 Saint-Sulpice-sur-Lézé | 90 Auvers-le-Hamon (Notre-Dame) |
| 10 Kaysersberg | 37 Dol-de-Bretagne | 64 Mont-d'Astarac | 91 Auvers-le-Hamon (Saint-Pierre) |
| 11 Riquewihr | 38 Langast | 65 Flavin | 92 Mogneville |
| 12 Saasenheim | 39 Saint-Pol-de-Léon | 66 Cahors | 93 Abbeville |
| 13 Betschdorf | 40 Saint-Aignan | 67 Cahuzac-sur-Vère | 94 Paizay-le-Tort |
| 14 Saint-Leon-sur-Vezere | 41 Bourges | 68 Cazeaux-de-Larboust | 95 Antigny (Notre-Dame) |
| 15 Birac-sur-Trec | 42 Châteaudun | 69 Martignac | 96 Antigny (Boismorand) |
| 16 Levignacq | 43 Orchaie | 70 Lézat-sur-Lézé | 97 Jouhet |
| 17 Montferrand-du-Perigord | 44 Vorly | 71 Rodez-Nord | 98 Champniers |
| 18 Massels | 45 Bussy | 72 Saux | 99 Le Monétier-les-Bains |
| 19 Birac | 46 Chinon | 73 Pervillac | 100 Prelles |
| 20 Tarnos | 47 Villiers-au-Bouin | 74 Sentain | 101 La Tour-sur-Tinée |
| 21 Castera-Loubix | 48 Fontaine-Denis-Nuisy | 75 Mont | 102 La Brigue |
| 22 Allemans-du-Dropt | 49 Heuilley-Cotton | 76 Saint-Omer | 103 Digne-les-Bains |
| 23 Montaner | 50 Troyes | 77 Coutances | 104 Villar-Saint-Pancrace |
| 24 Vert | 51 Buxeuil | 78 Heugon | 105 Lorgues |
| 25 Ennezat | 52 Saint-Parres-lès-Vaudes | 79 Bénouville | 106 Ilonse |
| 26 Polignac | 53 Châlons-en-Marne | 80 Canville-la-Rocque | 107 Pressiat |
| 27 Mazerier | 54 Châteinois | 81 Fresles | 108 Saint-Bonnet-le-Château |
| | | | 109 Liergues |
| | | | 110 L'Hôpital-sous-Rochefort |



Painted between c. 1380 - c. 1450



Painted between c. 1450 - c. 1520

Legends

- Locations of the documented representations of the Last Judgement
- ▲ Undocumented representations of the Last Judgement datable to the fifteenth century
- Images of the Seven Deadly Sins without the representations of the Last Judgement