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## The Beautiful Lucifer as an Object of Aesthetic Contemplation in the Central Middle Ages

Gerald B. Guest

IN WHAT FOLLOWS I would like to consider how the angel Lucifer's beauty before his fall from heaven was understood and depicted during the central and later Middle Ages. More than the excavation of a relatively obscure apocryphal iconography, such a study will, I believe, have implications for our understanding of medieval aesthetics and ontology. The story of Lucifer and his fall was pieced together by theologians in the early Christian period. As will be discussed below, Lucifer was generally thought to have been among the highest of the angels and a creature of unsurpassed beauty. This beauty, however, was among the most fleeting of qualities, for it later came to be believed by Christians that Lucifer's rebellion took place during the first day of creation, and with his expulsion from heaven his beauty was lost.

This essay will argue that for both writers and artists of the central and later Middle Ages the figure of Lucifer served as an opportunity for the contemplation of both his beauty and his sin and how the two intertwined. Medieval viewers were implicated in this discourse by the fact that Lucifer's fall was widely seen by medieval thinkers as paralleling the fall of humanity; thus, his story functioned as a cautionary tale of free will, sin, and its consequences. Medieval theologians also argued that the fall of Lucifer and his angel-followers left behind space in heaven for humanity to occupy at some later date, thus further aligning the human and the angelic in the medieval period. Special attention here will be paid to developments that occurred in the twelfth century, a period of rapid growth in the field of angelology in the Latin West. It will be argued that many of the standard aspects of prelapsarian Lucifer iconography emerged in this period (or possibly in the late eleventh century), and that for certain authors Lucifer became a figure of fascination.

As we shall see, what is perhaps the most striking representation of the beautiful Lucifer from the twelfth century is to be found in the now-lost *Hortus deliciarum* created under the supervision of Herrad of Hohenbourg. In her compilation Lucifer is presented as a creature whose outward appearance is likened to a glittering assemblage of gold and gems. This metaphoric of Lucifer's beauty can also be found in the writings of Suger of Saint-Denis and Hildegard of Bingen. It will be argued that this shared understanding of the fallen angel as a light bringer, both physically and metaphorically, has implications not only for considerations of beauty but also of both materiality and object agency.

The word *Lucifer* appears four times in the Latin Vulgate, at Job 11:17, Job 38:32, Psalms 109:3, and Isaiah 14:12. In the Douay-Rheims translation the first three passages translate *Lucifer* as "day star." The Isaiah passage also equates Lucifer with the day star and is worth quoting at length as a way into many of the issues that will be considered here:

Thy pride is brought down to hell, thy carcass is fallen down: under thee shall the moth be strewed, and worms shall be thy covering. How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, who didst rise in the morning? How art thou fallen to the earth, that didst wound the nations?



And thou saidst in thy heart: I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God, I will sit in the mountain of the covenant, in the sides of the north. I will ascend above the height of the clouds, I will be like the most High. But yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, into the depth of the pit. (Isaiah 14:11–15)

In its literal sense the passage in question refers to a fallen king of Babylon, but it is the metaphoric of the text that drew the attention of exegetes in the Late Antique and medieval periods.<sup>1</sup> One reads here of a being who was once exalted but who now resides in hell after being brought down because of his pride after having sought to enthrone himself above God. The Latin *Lucifer* literally means “light bearer” or “light bearing.”<sup>2</sup> Like the Job and Psalm verses mentioned above, the Isaiah text equates Lucifer with the morning star Venus, the so-called bringer of dawn. Thus, the designation Lucifer might be thought of as descriptive or metaphoric, a title or an epithet more than a proper name.

A second Old Testament text was also regularly adduced by medieval theologians in discussions of Lucifer. It is a section of Ezekiel 28 also worth quoting at length:

And the word of the Lord came to me, saying: Son of man, take up a lamentation upon the king of Tyre: And say to him: Thus saith the Lord God: Thou wast the seal of resemblance, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty. Thou wast in the pleasures of the paradise of God: every precious stone was thy covering: the sardius, the topaz, and the jasper, the chrysolite, and the onyx, and the beryl, the sapphire, and the carbuncle, and the emerald: gold the work of thy beauty: and thy pipes were prepared in the day that thou wast created. Thou a cherub stretched out, and protecting, and I set thee in the holy mountain of God, thou hast walked in the midst of the stones of fire. Thou wast perfect in thy ways from the day of thy creation, until iniquity was found in thee. By the multitude of thy merchandise, thy inner parts were filled with iniquity, and thou hast sinned: and I cast thee out from the mountain of God, and destroyed thee, O covering cherub, out of the midst of the stones of fire. And thy heart was lifted up with thy beauty: thou hast lost thy wisdom in thy beauty, I have cast thee to the ground: I have set thee before the face of kings, that they might behold thee. (Ezekiel 28:11–17)

As in Isaiah 14 the Ezekiel 28 text concerns itself literally with an earthly ruler, in this case the king of Tyre. Once again, however, the rhetoric is celestial. The text describes a creature extremely close to God (a “seal of resemblance”) and possessing a perfect beauty. It uses the term *cherub*, thus explicitly evoking the angelic, and it speaks repeatedly of the creature’s celestial location before his fall.

It is the bringing together of these two biblical passages—one from Isaiah, one from Ezekiel—and the assertion that they both refer to a fallen angel that constitute the key exegetical moves that created the foundation of the Lucifer legend in the early Christian centuries.<sup>3</sup> Aspects of the story are also reflected in Jewish and Islamic sources. In ancient Jewish sources, for example, there are widespread references to the broader notion of angels who have fallen or been expelled from heaven. In the important apocryphal text the *Book of Enoch* (or *1 Enoch*), these fallen angels marry human women and procreate, resulting in a race of giants.<sup>4</sup> This narrative is related in the section of the text commonly known as the *Book of the Watchers*, which has been dated by scholars to the fourth or third century BCE. This notion of angelic procreation with human women is seemingly reflected in Genesis 6:4 as well. These same angels also were believed to have stimulated the sinfulness of human beings.<sup>5</sup> The basic notion of fallen angels thus predates Christianity.



More specific to the topic at hand, there is also a widespread notion in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam that the devil is a fallen angel who was cast out of heaven for refusing to bow in adoration of Adam. This belief is found, for example, in the ancient text known as the *Life of Adam and Eve* (perhaps dating to the first century CE, and of either Jewish or Christian origins).<sup>6</sup> Verses 14:1–16:2 of the Latin version of the text read as follows:

And Michael went out and called all the angels, saying, Worship the image of God as the Lord God has commanded. And Michael himself worshipped first. And then he called me and said, Worship the image of God. And I answered, I have no duty to worship Adam. And since Michael kept urging me to worship, I said to him, Why do you urge me? I will not worship an inferior and a younger being than I am. I am his senior in creation: before he was made I was already made: he ought to worship me. When the rest of the angels, who were under me, heard this, they too refused to worship him. And Michael said, Worship the image of God; and, if you will not worship him, you will make the Lord God very angry. And I said, If he is angry with me, I will set my seat above the stars of heaven and I will be like the Most High. And the Lord God was angry with me and banished me and my angels from our glory; and on your account were we driven from our dwelling-places into this world and thrown out onto the earth. At this we were overcome with grief, since we had been deprived of so great glory.<sup>7</sup>

This notion also finds its way into the Qur'an: "We created you, We gave you form, and then We told the angels: 'Bow down before Adam.' They bowed, all except Satan, who was not among those who bowed. He said: 'What prevented you from bowing down when I commanded you?' He said: 'I am better than he. You created me of fire but him You created of clay.' He said: 'Descend from it. It is not fit for you to wax proud in it. Depart! You have been disgraced'"<sup>8</sup> (Qur'an 7:11–13).

These texts thus imply that the devil's fall from heaven takes place after the creation of humanity and that the root cause was pride, a notion that will also be central to early Christian discussions, which will tie Lucifer's pride to his beauty (something not explicitly done here).<sup>9</sup> As we shall see, in the early Christian centuries theologians would develop the alternative notion that Satan and his followers fell on the first day of creation before the creation of humanity.

Some of these ideas concerning fallen angels as demons or embodiments of evil are also reflected in the New Testament. In Luke 10:18 Christ asserts that "I saw Satan like lightning falling from heaven." Revelation 12:7–9 also mentions Satan and other angels being cast down to earth in a battle between good and evil, something echoed in 2 Peter 2:4 ("For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but delivered them, drawn down by infernal ropes to the lower hell, unto torments, to be reserved unto judgment") and Jude 1:6 ("And the angels who kept not their principality, but forsook their own habitation, he hath reserved under darkness in everlasting chains, unto the judgment of the great day"). The ideas shared by these texts regarding the rebel angels were developed by Early Christian theologians to flesh out the prelapsarian biography of Lucifer. Among them Justin Martyr (d. ca. 165) was the first to identify the serpent of Eden as Satan and to assert that he was a fallen angel.<sup>10</sup> In this early period Christian theologians commonly reaffirmed the notion that Satan fell because of his envy of Adam, who was created in God's image. This view is found, for example, in writings by Irenaeus of Lyon (d. ca. 200) and Cyprian of Carthage (d. 258).<sup>11</sup>

The works of Tertullian (d. ca. 225) offer a slightly different point of view and more extended analysis.<sup>12</sup> In *Against Marcion* 2.10 (ca. 208) he adduces Ezekiel 28 as an allegorization of Satan.<sup>13</sup>



He describes Satan as having been once "adorned with all angelic glory" but afterward "transposed into evil" by his own free will.<sup>14</sup> Later he connects Satan to Isaiah 14, attributing to Satan that passage's prideful boast, "I will set my throne in the clouds."<sup>15</sup> He thus brings together the two key Old Testament passages upon which the narrative of Lucifer's fall was built by Christian theologians. Importantly for Tertullian Satan before his fall was the wisest of creatures and the highest of the angels. Tertullian also adds Ephesians 2:2 to the list of allegorical scriptural references to Satan: "Wherein in time past you walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of this air, of the spirit that now worketh on the children of unbelief."<sup>16</sup> Satan is that "prince of the power of this air" who drew humanity into sinfulness. Tertullian suggests that Lucifer had fallen from heaven at some point after the creation of humanity and before he lured Adam and Eve into sin.

Among early Christian thinkers it is perhaps Origen (d. ca. 250) who was most influential in forming the long-lasting notion of an angel called Lucifer who fell before the creation of the world to become Satan.<sup>17</sup> His *Principles* (or *Beginnings*) was written in the 220s and survives chiefly in the Latin translation/edition known as *De principiis*. Like Irenaeus and Tertullian before him, Origen adduces both Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28 in his analysis. Here is his discussion of the former:

Again, we are taught as follows by the prophet Isaiah regarding another opposing power. The prophet says, How is Lucifer, who used to arise in the morning, fallen from heaven! He who assailed all nations is broken and beaten to the ground. You indeed said in your heart, I shall ascend into heaven; above the stars of heaven shall I place my throne; I shall sit upon a lofty mountain, above the lofty mountains which are towards the north; I shall ascend above the clouds; I shall be like the Most High. . . . Most evidently by these words is he shown to have fallen from heaven, who formerly was Lucifer, and who used to arise in the morning. For if, as some think, he was a nature of darkness, how is Lucifer said to have existed before? Or how could he arise in the morning, who had in himself nothing of the light? Nay, even the Saviour Himself teaches us, saying of the devil, Behold, I see Satan fallen from heaven like lightning. For at one time he was light.<sup>18</sup>

Concerning Ezekiel 28 Origen writes the following:

Now we find in the prophet Ezekiel two prophecies written to the prince of Tyre, the former of which might appear to any one, before he heard the second also, to be spoken of some man who was prince of the Tyrians. In the meantime, therefore, we shall take nothing from that first prophecy; but as the second is manifestly of such a kind as cannot be at all understood of a man, but of some superior power which had fallen away from a higher position, and had been reduced to a lower and worse condition, we shall from it take an illustration, by which it may be demonstrated with the utmost clearness, that those opposing and malignant powers were not formed or created so by nature, but fell from a better to a worse position, and were converted into wicked beings; that those blessed powers also were not of such a nature as to be unable to admit what was opposed to them if they were so inclined and became negligent, and did not guard most carefully the blessedness of their condition. For if it is related that he who is called the prince of Tyre was among the saints, and was without stain, and was placed in the paradise of God, and adorned also with a crown of comeliness and beauty, is it to be supposed that such a one could be in any degree inferior to any of the saints? For he is described as having been adorned with a crown of comeliness and beauty,



and as having walked stainless in the paradise of God: and how can any one suppose that such a being was not one of those holy and blessed powers which, as being placed in a state of happiness, we must believe to be endowed with no other honour than this?<sup>19</sup>

Origen thus concludes that the figure discussed in Ezekiel 28 must be a celestial being, an angel, but probably a lesser one. Origen stresses that beauty and pride intersected here, again paraphrasing Ezekiel 28 ("your heart was elated because of your comeliness, your discipline was corrupted along with your beauty").<sup>20</sup> For Origen all rational creatures were created by God with free will and thus either remained with God or fell away from him through their own actions.<sup>21</sup>

It is only later, in *Against Celsus* (ca. 240s?), that Origen concludes that the Ezekiel text is indeed an allegorical reference to Satan:

But speaking more strictly, the Adversary is the first of all beings that were in peace and lived in blessedness who lost his wings and fell from the blessed state. According to Ezekiel he walked blameless in all his ways until iniquity was found in him, and being "a seal of likeness and a crown of beauty" in the paradise of God he became, as it were, sated with good things and came to destruction as the Word tells us which mysteriously says to him: "Thou didst become destruction and shalt not exist for ever."<sup>22</sup>

Importantly, Origen notes that Satan was the first creature to fall.

Augustine (d. 430) in his *City of God* (early 5th c.) also pinpoints Lucifer's fall to the period before the creation of humanity, not in response to it, thus solidifying what became the most widespread medieval understanding of Satan's origins. Genesis 1:4 ("And God saw the light that it was good; and he divided the light from the darkness") is understood as a veiled reference to the fall of the rebel angels. In *City of God* 11.19 Augustine asserts: "To me it does not seem incongruous with the working of God, if we understand that the angels were created when that first light was made, and that a separation was made between the holy and the unclean angels, when, as is said, God divided the light from the darkness."<sup>23</sup> Earlier Augustine quotes 1 John 3:8, "The devil sins from the beginning." Nevertheless, as Augustine stresses, the devil was not sinful by nature but chose to stray from his angelic nature out of pride. Following Augustine there is general agreement among Latin theologians concerning the story of Lucifer becoming Satan. The angels were created on the first day when God said, "Let there be light" (Genesis 1:3), but on this same day God divided light from darkness (Genesis 1:4). Thus, in an instant, Lucifer, in an act of free will, strayed from the goodness of his angelic nature, seeking to make himself equal to God; he and his followers were expelled from heaven and transformed into demons.

The visual arts express these various but linked ideas about Lucifer's fall in different ways during the Middle Ages.<sup>24</sup> Strikingly, there is almost no prelapsarian Lucifer iconography before 1000 (an exception will be considered below). Furthermore, it is only in the twelfth century that key iconographic features of the story become widespread in the art of the Latin West; this is perhaps an effect of the remarkable efflorescence in angelology in this period, something considered more fully below. A useful point of entry for our consideration of Lucifer iconography is a miniature found in a manuscript of the *Hexaemeron* of Ambrose (d. 397), created in Bavaria, perhaps in the 1160s (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14399).<sup>25</sup> Its first image (fol. 1v) encapsulates the first day of creation (Fig. 1). Significantly, Ambrose's discussion of the first day contains no mention of Lucifer. This suggests that the manuscript's audience would have accepted Lucifer's fall as having



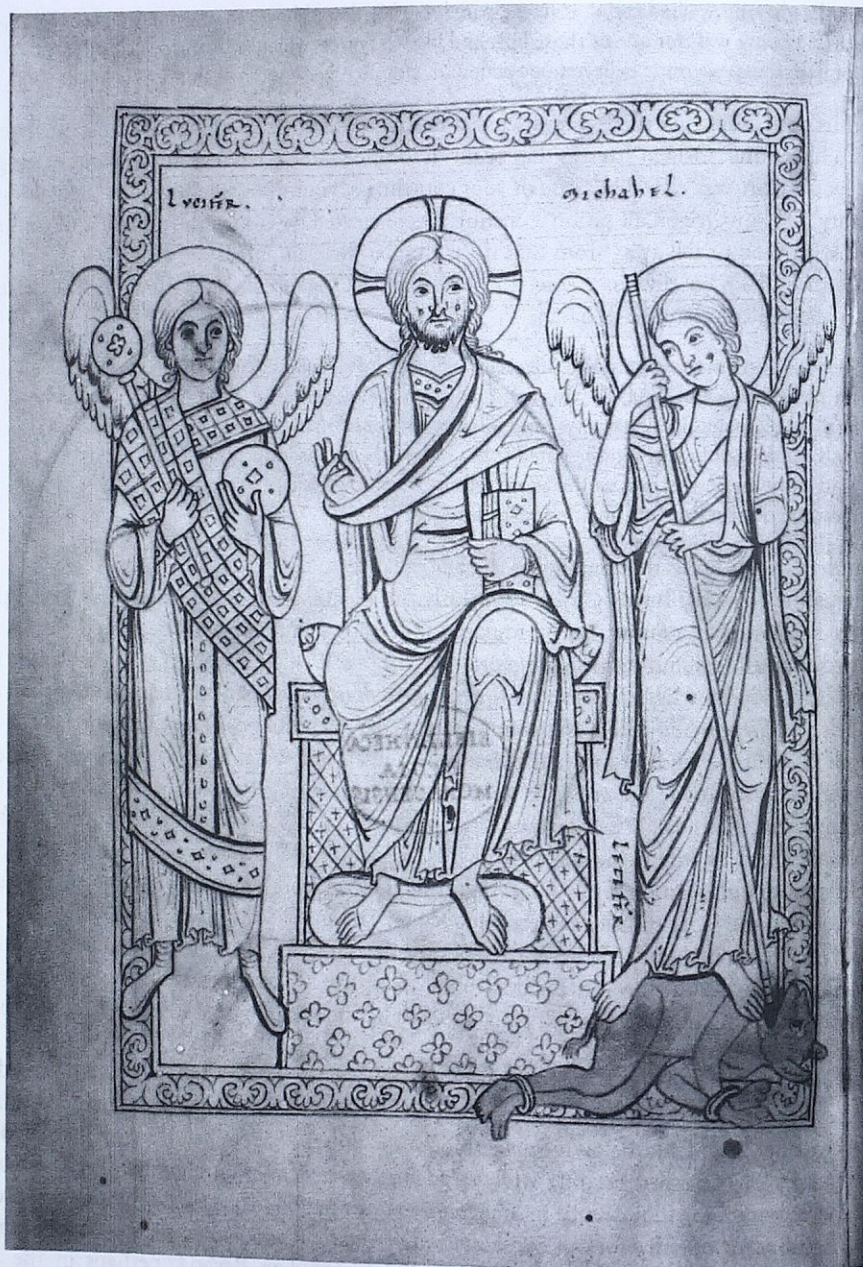


Fig. 1. God enthroned between Lucifer and Michael. Ambrose, *Hexaemeron*, ca. 1160s; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14399, fol. 1v. (Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00046506-2.)



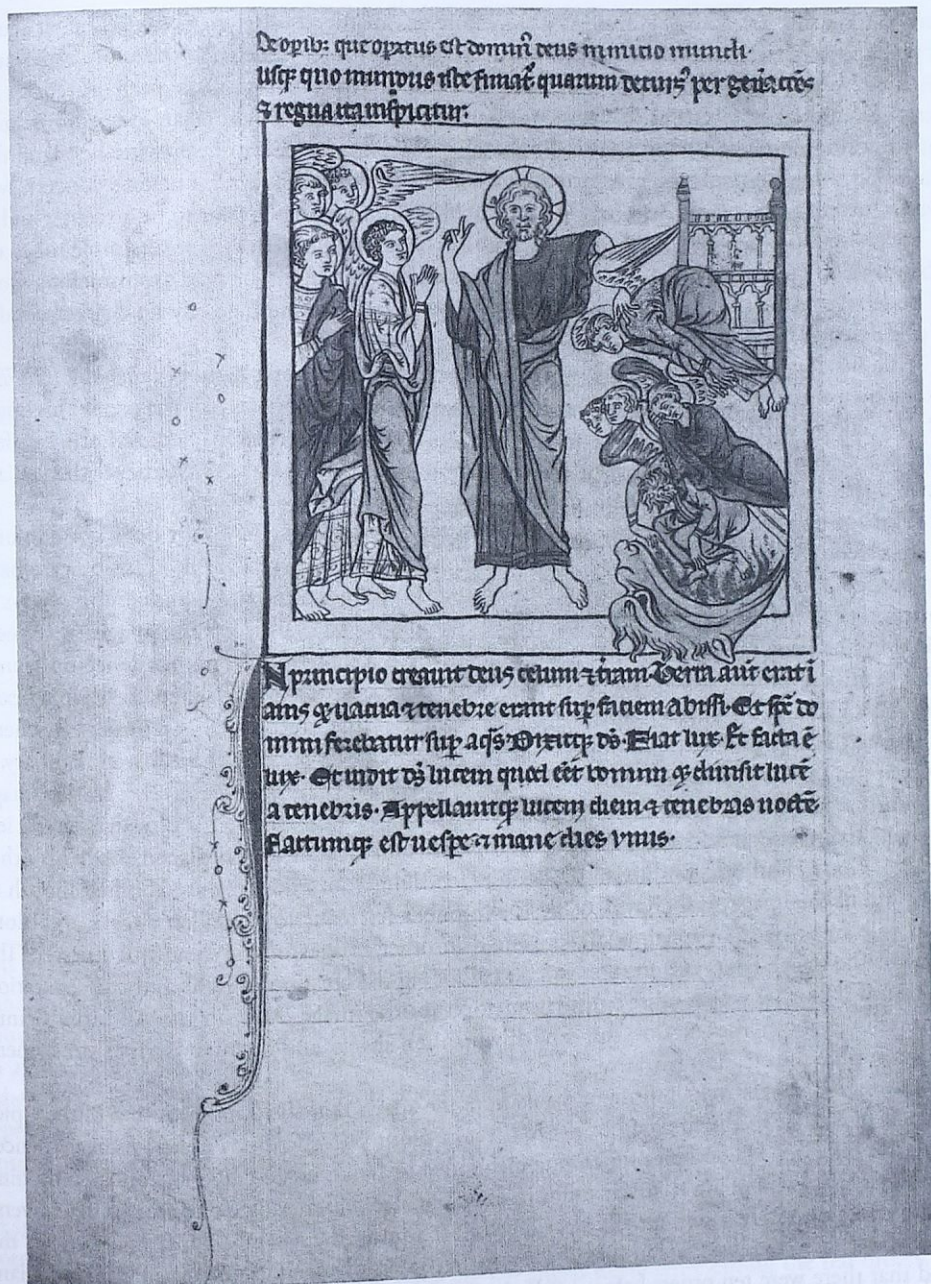


Fig. 2. The fall of the rebel angels. Alnwick Bestiary, ca. 1250s; Los Angeles, Getty Museum, MS 100, fol. 1v. (Photo: Digital image courtesy of the Getty Open Content Program.)



taken place at this time. The figures in the miniature are identified for clarity's sake. Lucifer stands in a place of honor at God's right hand, while Michael is at his left. Lucifer is the more elaborately dressed; he wears what appears to be a Byzantine-style *loros*. His ornate costume perhaps reflects the description in the Ezekiel passage that lists precious stones, but it also might be an index of his ambitions to position himself as God's equal. Beauty and power can be said to intertwine here and that juxtaposition might have been read by medieval viewers in different ways.<sup>26</sup> Lucifer's concern with power is further suggested by his carrying of symbols of authority that appear to be a scepter and an orb. He is also shod. God and Michael, by contrast, are modestly clothed; they wear simple robes and are barefoot. Interestingly, Lucifer's expression and head position might be read as mimicking God's as if he were equating himself with the deity. Michael's pose might alternatively be characterized as one of deference; he leans in toward God.

The instantaneity of Lucifer's fall is represented by the figure of a demon, labeled *LETIFER*, who is shown shackled and trampled under Michael's feet at the bottom right of the page. This image might be said to explain the relative elusiveness of the beautiful Lucifer in medieval art: Lucifer's beauty is a fleeting thing. It was taken away almost as soon as it was given. Medieval theologians estimated that Lucifer's beauty was gone in the blink of an eye.

Perhaps because of its relative rarity, the beautiful Lucifer in medieval art does not conform to a consistent type or appearance but is seemingly re-envisioned by artists on a case-by-case basis when needed. His image occurs almost exclusively in manuscript illumination and almost always in a context that somehow references the first day of creation. As we shall see, some images are closely inspired by the texts they illustrate; at other times, there is a more marked dependence on iconographic tradition and/or artistic interpretation that would seem to be unrelated to written texts. Sometimes, Lucifer is relatively indistinguishable from the other angels in his retinue; elsewhere, he is marked out as different. An example of the former can be seen in the Alnwick Bestiary, a manuscript in the Getty Museum (MS 100) made in England in the 1250s (Fig. 2).<sup>27</sup> In this image God stands at the center. To his right are four obedient angels who receive his blessing. To his left five rebellious angels fall into a hell mouth.<sup>28</sup> It is presumably Lucifer who is placed above his other comrades. God's hand rests on this angel's shoulder, pushing him down toward the hell mouth at the bottom of the image. Just above Lucifer is a throne, a reference to the fallen angel's ambitions toward rule mentioned in Isaiah and represented in other images of the beautiful Lucifer. The text below the image treats the creation story, mentioning the creation of light and the separation of light and darkness, which must be the inspiration for the image. As with the Ambrose manuscript discussed above, the text does not explicitly mention angels, and the manuscript's subsequent images continue the creation narrative.

Lucifer is also relatively indistinguishable from the angels that surround him in a biblical picture book that dates to the first half of the fourteenth century (New York Public Library, Spencer 22, fol. 2v; Fig. 3).<sup>29</sup> He occupies the throne mentioned in Isaiah while being surrounded by nine other angels, all of whom are relatively uniform in appearance. Various angels appear to be conversing with one another. It is not entirely clear how one is to read the assemblage. It may be that the designer has chosen to represent ten angels to signify ten orders of angels. Some medieval theologians argued that there were ten orders before Lucifer's rebellion and nine afterward. This reading would seem to harmonize with the text on this page which discusses the creation of the angels. It is only on the following folio that the text discusses Lucifer's fall, which is also depicted in a large miniature.



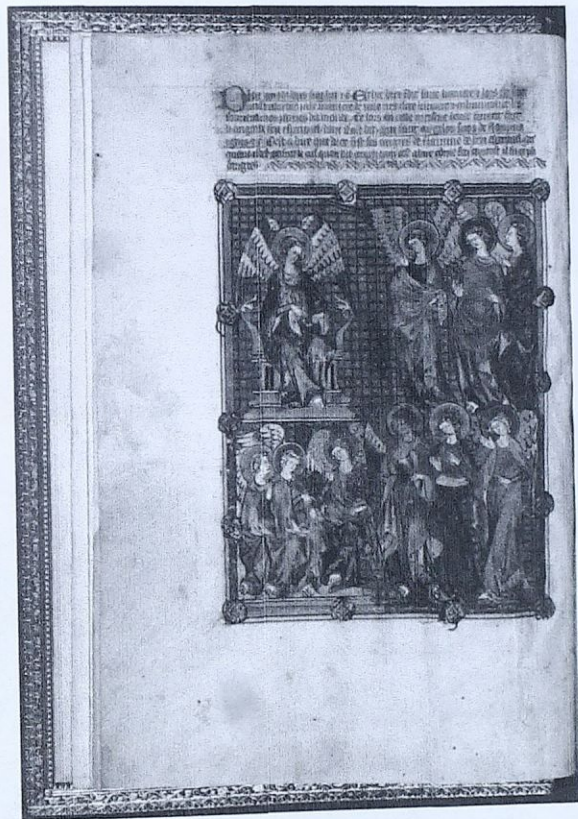


Fig. 3. Lucifer and angels. *Bible historiée*, ca. 1300/1325; New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Spencer Collection, MS 22, fol. 2v. (Photo: NYPL.)

The New York manuscript is a reworking of the so-called First Pamplona Bible (ca. 1197); unfortunately, its opening miniatures are now lost. The so-called Second Pamplona Bible from the early thirteenth century does, however, contain an image of Lucifer before his fall.<sup>30</sup> He is shown frontally in an *orans* pose, and as in the New York manuscript he is relatively similar in appearance to the other members of his cohort who flank and adore him. His frontal pose seems significant. It recurs repeatedly in medieval images of Lucifer and is likely meant to signify his self-aggrandizement, his positioning of himself as a ruler over his followers.<sup>31</sup>

Similar to the composition found in the Pamplona Bible but dating earlier (ca. 1078) is an image of the angels as part of the six days of creation from the Pommersfelden Bible (Gräflisch-Schönborn'sche Schlossbibliothek, MSS 333–334, fol. 1v; Fig. 4).<sup>32</sup> These angels represent the work of the first day; as in the Spencer manuscript there are ten angels likely representing the ten orders. One of the ten stands at the center in an *orans* pose as in the Pamplona Bible and faces the viewer; this is likely Lucifer. The remaining figures may thus represent the angels who did not fall. This idea of a



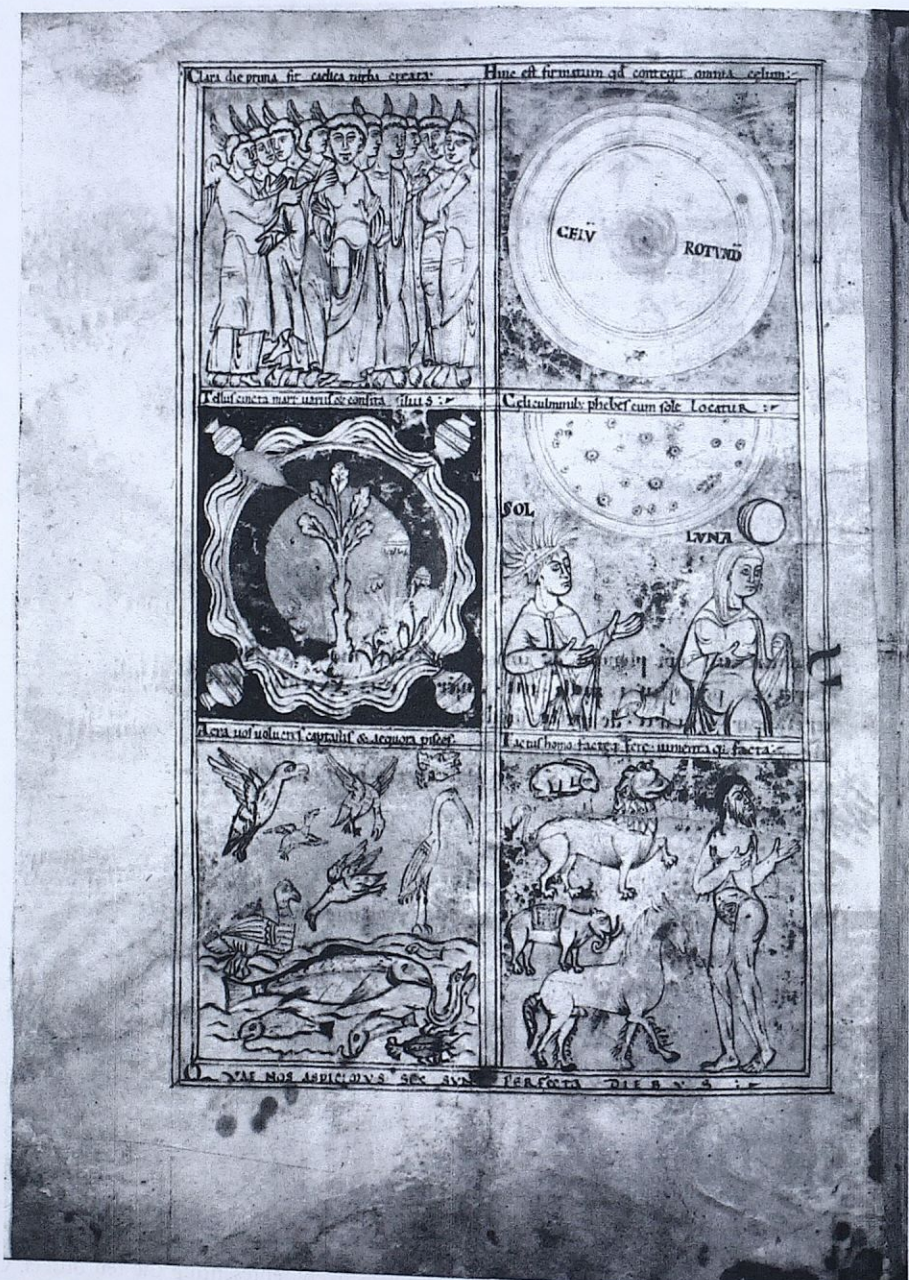


Fig. 4. Days of creation. Pommersfelden Bible, ca. 1078; Gräflich-Schönborn'sche Schlossbibliothek, MSS 333-334, fol. 1v. (Photo: Foto Marburg / Art Resource, NY.)



lost tenth order is also referenced in the creation miniature in the Lothian Bible (Pierpont Morgan Library, M.791, fol. 4v; Fig. 5).<sup>33</sup> The manuscript, created in Oxford around 1220, features a remarkably elaborate opening miniature. At the top is a large image of the enthroned Trinity. Flanking it are nine groups of angels and one conspicuously empty space. The angels in the top four groups appear to have six wings each; below them some groups of angels have four wings, some two. Directly below the Trinity is a group of angels falling from the heavens. It thus appears that the fallen angels have left an empty space in heaven. This is likely a reference to the idea that one day humanity would take the place of the fallen angels, a notion to which I shall return.<sup>34</sup>

Several centuries later the notion of empty spaces left in heaven after Lucifer's fall is seen in a full-page miniature in the *Très riches heures* of Jean de Berry (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65, fol. 64v; Fig. 6).<sup>35</sup> The image was perhaps an addition to the book; it is painted on a separate leaf and inserted before the Penitential Psalms. As Lucifer and his followers fall, they appear to burst into flames as they hit the earth. Above, empty thrones are left in heaven where the rebellious angels once sat. Here the image's placement before the Penitential Psalms is striking, implicating the viewer in the rebel angels' sins and propelling the reader onward toward prayers for forgiveness and likely a desire for salvation.<sup>36</sup>

An inspired version of the "enthroned Lucifer" motif with some similarities to the Spencer 22 image (Fig. 3) can be found in the Holkham Bible of ca. 1330 (BL, Add. 47682, fol. 2r; Fig. 7).<sup>37</sup> God is shown seated and holding a compass, which he uses to create the cosmos. Above him and the circle he traces is a striking crescent filled with angels. The central figure at its apex is enthroned and pointing to himself; he must be Lucifer, literally set above God. The image would seem to gesture to Isaiah, which mentions an ascension and an exalted throne above the stars. One of Lucifer's followers, on his left, prepares to crown him. Elsewhere in this arc of angels, principally among the six angels on the viewer's left, there seems to be a lively debate, possibly about the rebellion unfolding before our eyes. This is probably a visualization of the common medieval notion that the fallen angels were not created evil but were endowed with free will and that Lucifer and his followers chose sinfulness, while the other angels chose to dwell in the good. Three of the five angels to the viewer's right choose sinfulness; they hold their hands together in prayer or homage before Lucifer. At the bottom of the page hell awaits them in the form of a fiery, open mouth.

As we have seen in the examples discussed thus far, the throne and crown are two of the key iconographic motifs found in "first day" Lucifer images in medieval art; images with these motifs stress Lucifer's failed attempt to seize power and equate himself with God. In a related move artists sometimes dress Lucifer with extra splendor that sets him apart from the other angels, as was done in the *Hexaemeron* manuscript (Fig. 1). As was noted above, the use of ornate costume might be understood in two interrelated ways. It might be seen as a sign of Lucifer's beauty, but it also might be seen as a sign of his aspirations, his pride worn on his sleeve, so to speak. Along these lines, an early thirteenth-century prayer book perhaps from Bamberg and now in the Morgan Library (M.739) includes a substantial cycle of images relating biblical history.<sup>38</sup> Spanning folios 9r–24v, the cycle recounts the Creation, numerous Old Testament stories, and the lives of the Virgin and Christ.<sup>39</sup> Lucifer is presented on the very first page of the cycle (fol. 9r; Fig. 8) as a key player in the pre-history of humanity. Similar to what has already been observed in the Munich *Hexaemeron*, Lucifer's ostentation is contrasted with a simpler image of God.<sup>40</sup> Lucifer's dress is more elaborate; there are stars on his clothing (perhaps a reference to Isaiah 14:13). He wears an ornate crown and



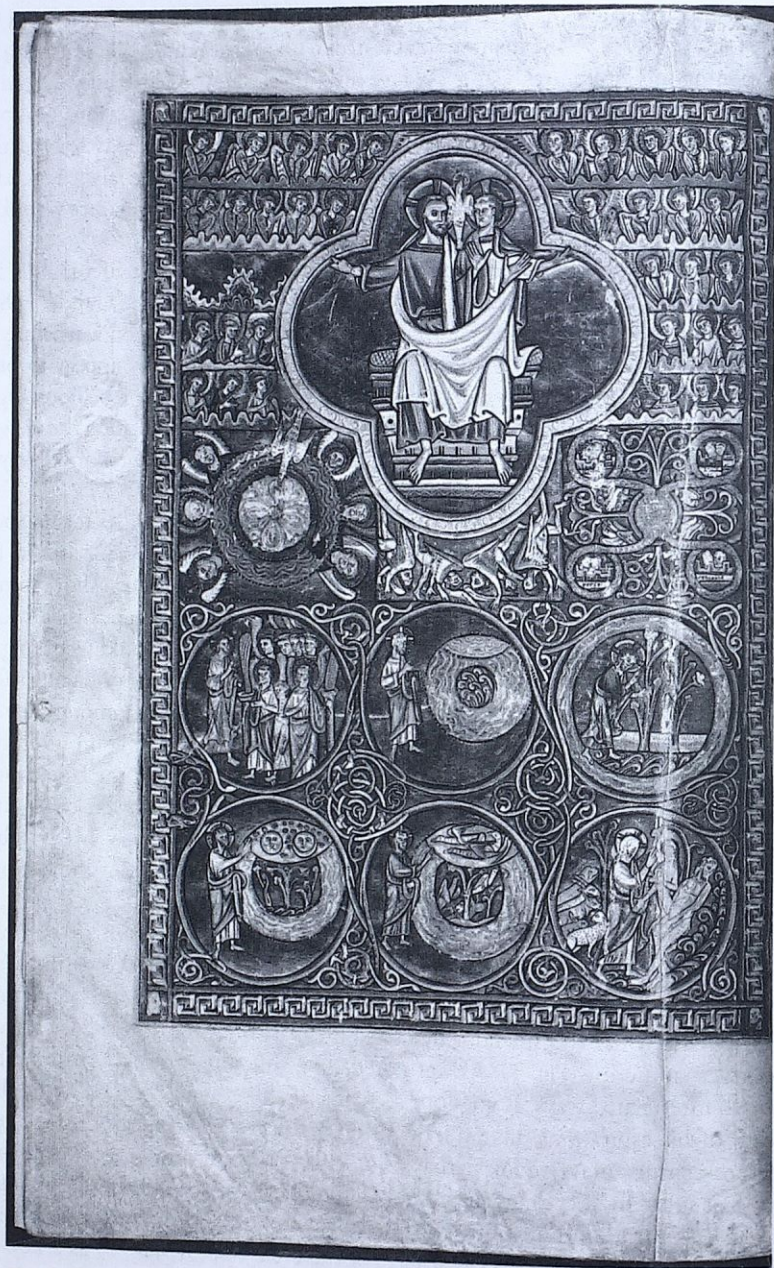


Fig. 5. Genesis frontispiece. Lothian Bible, ca. 1220; New York, Morgan Library & Museum, M.791, fol. 4v. (Photo: Morgan Library.)





Fig. 6. Fall of the rebel angels. *Très riches heures*, before 1416; Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65, fol. 64v. (Photo: Art Resource, NY, © RMN-Grand Palais.)





Fig. 7. God creating the universe. Holkham Bible Picture Book, ca. 1330; London, British Library, Add. 47682, fol. 2r. (Photo: © The British Library Board.)



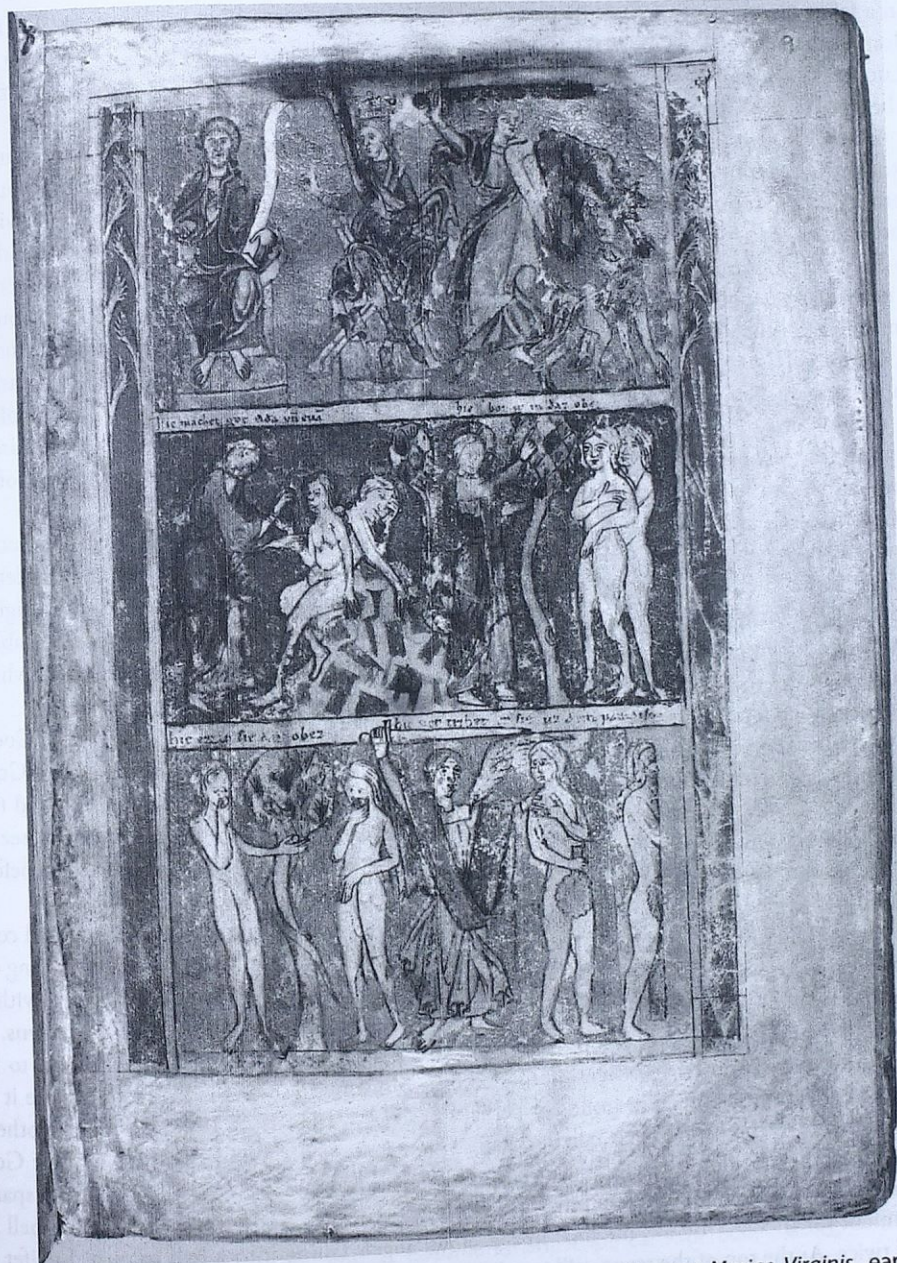


Fig. 8. God and Lucifer; fall of the rebel angels. *Cursus Sanctae Mariae Virginis*, early thirteenth century; New York, Morgan Library and Museum, M.739, fol. 9r. (Photo: Morgan Library.)



sits on a faldstool, signs of his worldly pride. Lucifer is shod, whereas Christ is barefoot. The artist has clearly calculated the details of the figures to emphasize the difference in character between God and Lucifer. To the right Michael (presumably) ejects the rebellious angels, now shown as demons, from heaven.

A similar interest in showing Lucifer with recognizable symbols of rulership can be seen in the well-known Caedmon manuscript (Bodleian Library, Junius 11), perhaps created at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the second half of the tenth century.<sup>41</sup> To my knowledge, this is the earliest surviving Lucifer picture cycle, presenting unique features not seen in later images. The book opens with an Anglo-Saxon poetic text recounting the Genesis narrative up to the life of Abraham. Two separate texts, now referred to as *Genesis A* and *Genesis B*, were combined to create the poem. Both sources recount the fall of the rebel angels (see lines 1–111, 246–441, and 731–60); a later text in the manuscript, *Christ and Satan*, also presents the story.<sup>42</sup> The story is thus related on four separate occasions within the text of the manuscript. Several scholars have argued that this emphasis on the fall of the angels underscores the book's overarching emphasis on the fall of humanity and the promise of redemption for the faithful. Lucifer's fall depicted here might have served as a cautionary tale of sin and damnation for the book's monastic viewers.<sup>43</sup>

*Genesis A*, *Genesis B*, and *Christ and Satan* emphasize time-honored aspects of the Lucifer narrative. He is characterized as being motivated primarily by pride but also by envy and insolence. He is described as a creature of great physical beauty ("radiant and shining, luminous and brightly colored").<sup>44</sup> Referencing Isaiah, the poetic text speaks of the fallen angel as having wanted to establish a throne and a kingdom in the north. In return God "created a man after his likeness, with whom afterward he desires to settle the kingdom of the heavens with pure souls."<sup>45</sup>

These textual motifs are also emphasized in the book's images. At the bottom of page 2, God is shown with four angels (Fig. 9). Two are shown flanking his throne. Two more angels stand to God's right; the lower angel is nimbed, while the other is not.<sup>46</sup> Scholars have traditionally identified this lower angel as Lucifer, who seems to raise his hands in debate with God. The identification seems plausible.<sup>47</sup> The halo might reference Lucifer's status as one of the highest ranking of the angels before his fall; the speaking gesture may indicate his challenging of God's supremacy.

On the facing page (p. 3) a full-page miniature presents a remarkable and unprecedented continuation of the story of Lucifer's fall (Fig. 10). At the top of the page, Lucifer is first seen standing on a dais; he wears a crown and holds a scepter. He shows his adoring angelic followers a throne within a palace that he intends to occupy. Some of the angels around him appear to offer him crowns. A nearly lost inscription at the very top of the folio clarifies the action ("how the angel began to be proud").<sup>48</sup> The second register has been interpreted in two distinct fashions. Some scholars see it as an image of Lucifer receiving palm fronds or perhaps peacock feathers from follower-angels; others see it as an image of the good angels rallying against the rebellion. Below in the third register God moves to quash the rebellion; he hands out spears to his angelic followers. A second inscription spans the second and third zones, perhaps joining them together. It reads, "Here the savior created hell as a punishment for them."<sup>49</sup> Below, the final image shows angels falling into a hell mouth; Lucifer is depicted twice. At the top of the scene, still angelic, he is shown upside-down and falling, his throne is broken into pieces. Below that, he is shown a second time, now transformed into a monstrous creature who is shackled to the hell mouth.<sup>50</sup>







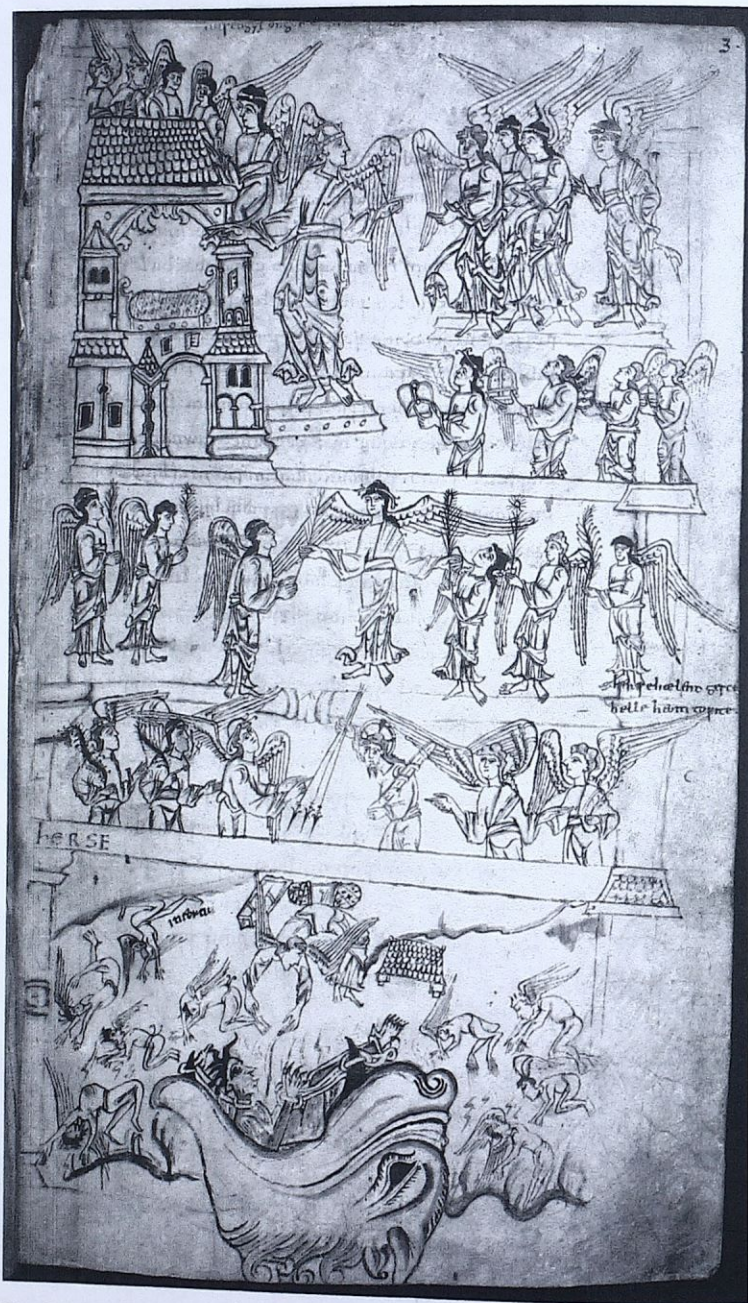


Fig. 10. Lucifer's fall. Caedmon manuscript, ca. 950/1000; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, p. 3. (Photo: The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.)



In a recent article focusing on this image Asa Simon Mittman and Susan M. Kim emphasize the importance of Lucifer's anthropomorphic features at this point in the visual narrative. They convincingly argue that "the tumbling, twisting figure of Lucifer, suspended in mid-fall, most evokes the postlapsarian human."<sup>51</sup> Above this final image is an Anglo-Saxon inscription reading "her se," which may be translated as "here the" or "here that." This verbal fragment opens a space for the viewer to study the image and complete the sentence. Mittman and Kim argue that Lucifer's transformation from angel to demon on this page is activated by the act of viewing and reading; the viewer of the manuscript retraces the narrative moments in her mind and is potentially aligned with the images as another fallen being.<sup>52</sup> Thus, in the Christian economy of salvation the fall of Lucifer's angelic host might be said to be built into the human condition itself as an analogous state.<sup>53</sup> As Mittman and Kim point out, images of the angelic fall also occur on pages 16 and 17, where some of the fallen angels have male genitalia, thus further linking angels and humanity, a theme to which we shall return.<sup>54</sup>

Is Lucifer marked out as especially beautiful on this page? Perhaps not. There is little to separate him visually from the other angels besides his crown and scepter. He is, however, arguably depicted as seductive, more so than in any of the other images considered here. His angel-followers pay eager homage to him. For a monastic viewer Lucifer's visualization on this page, along with the book's later depiction of angels with male genitalia, may have served as a warning against the intertwined dangers of pride and lust. Such an interpretation of the miniatures is supported by David Clark's analysis of the *Genesis A* text, where he argues that unsanctioned sexual desires are presented as a consequence of humanity's fall and as mitigating against its salvation.<sup>55</sup>

Most of the examples considered thus far have presented Lucifer's fall as the result of his desire for power. The images not surprisingly have been structured using traditional signifiers of authority and rule (thrones, crowns, scepters, etc.). Images of homage and acclamation have been common as well; scenes of violence and battle are also widespread. Empty spaces in heaven have served, in part, to suture the pious viewer into the narrative as a soul that might one day occupy a space within the realm of the angels, close to God. Yet, there are other aspects of the Lucifer story that were emphasized by medieval artists and thinkers. As we shall see, the twelfth century is an important period for new considerations of the prelapsarian Lucifer.

This growing interest in depicting the beautiful Lucifer may have been a consequence of the wider growth in angelology evinced by both monastics and scholastics at this time. David Keck in his important survey of medieval angelology has noted that "integrating the angels with particular accounts of the creation and fall was the dominant context for scholastic angelology in the twelfth century."<sup>56</sup> Yet that only begins to tell the story.<sup>57</sup> It might be argued that twelfth-century angelology begins in the eleventh century with Anselm of Canterbury, who in his *De casu diaboli* (ca. 1085/1090) and *Cur Deus homo?* (ca. 1094/1098) argues that humanity will indeed take the place in heaven of the fallen angels, although humanity was likely *not* created for this purpose. Humanity, of course, would not reach heaven without Christ's taking on of human form. The fall of the angels is thus seen as the first stage in the history of salvation. From there, ideas relating to angelic creation and humanity's first stage in the history of salvation. From there, ideas relating to angelic creation and humanity's salvation are debated by authorities such as Rupert of Deutz and Honorius Augustodunensis.<sup>58</sup> Other theologians break from the monastic tradition and move into more scholastic modes of thought. Here the academic study of the angelic nature is incorporated into the first scholastic *summas* composed by Hugh of Saint-Victor and Peter Lombard.<sup>59</sup> Marcia Colish has argued that Peter Lombard's *Sentences*



(probably 1150s) marks an end stage in this development and that there is a subsequent narrowing of interest in the angels after this text becomes a centerpiece of the theological curriculum.<sup>60</sup>

It is within the context of this broader intellectual development that we now turn to three important medieval thinkers (Herrad of Hohenbourg, Suger of Saint-Denis, and Hildegard of Bingen) who arguably made the prelapsarian Lucifer an object of aesthetic contemplation.

Lucifer's fall along with a consideration of his beauty is presented in provocative fashion on the opening pages of the *Hortus deliciarum* ("Garden of Delights"), a well-known manuscript of ca. 1175/1200, which was unfortunately destroyed in 1870 in a library fire during the Franco-Prussian war.<sup>61</sup> This extraordinary book, made in Alsace over many years at the Augustinian convent of Hohenbourg, originally contained 342 large folios.<sup>62</sup> The book was impressive in nearly every way, featuring 136 large miniatures with color.<sup>63</sup> Its creation was overseen by its principal author, Herrad of Landsberg (d. 1195), the abbess at Hohenbourg from 1167.<sup>64</sup> The opening section of the manuscript (fols. 2r–68r) is devoted to a retelling of the Old Testament using images and a broad range of texts.<sup>65</sup> Our knowledge of these images stems from nineteenth-century copies made before the book's destruction. The texts of the *Hortus* were transcribed by Comte Auguste de Bastard d'Estang and Wilhelm Stengel in this period as well.

The manuscript begins with the creation of the universe. Folio 3r presents a striking pair of images inspired by God's words "Let there be light," showing the creation of the angels (Fig. 11). In the picture God is enthroned; angels flank him on either side. Text labels clarify Herrad's intentions. Light is described on this folio as the "angelic nature."<sup>66</sup> Other texts discuss the ranks of the angels; these were on the facing page (fol. 2v), which contained no imagery.<sup>67</sup> The bottom half of the page shows Lucifer standing with an orb and scepter and flanked by four angels similar to those in the upper image (and presumably, here, his followers). An inscription identifies him clearly: "Lucifer, seal of the resemblance of God, full of wisdom and perfect in beauty in the pleasures of the paradise of God, but being inferior to Him."<sup>68</sup> This is clearly a variation on the Ezekiel 28 passage associated with Lucifer but with the added qualification that Lucifer was inferior to God.

Lucifer, as depicted on this page, is arguably a striking embodiment of youthful masculinity and beauty. In appearance he is somewhat reminiscent of the figure in the Munich *Hexaemeron* (Fig. 1). The *loros* worn over his robes reveals a debt to Byzantine art.<sup>69</sup> His clothing is adorned with precious stones, and he is pointedly referred to as more beautiful than the other angels. Another inscription on the page, not seen in the reproduction but also taken from Ezekiel, explains his gemlike radiance: "Every precious stone was the first angel's covering: the sardius, the topaz, and the jasper, the chrysolite, and the onyx, and the beryl, the sapphire, and the carbuncle, and the emerald; because you were leader of the angelic host, in comparison you were more brilliant."<sup>70</sup> The scroll in front of Lucifer is inscribed with another paraphrase from Ezekiel: "Thou a cherub stretched out, and protecting, and I set thee in the holy mountain of God."<sup>71</sup> On this page, then, Lucifer is set up as an exemplum of beauty—bejeweled, radiant, perfect, singular. He is the "seal of the resemblance of God," suggesting that he reflects something of the deity, albeit in some sort of diminished form. This is emphasized further by the parallel placement of God and Lucifer in the two registers of the page.

Beauty turns to ugliness on folio 3v of the *Hortus* (Fig. 12). As seen in other images in this study, the upper zone of this page shows Lucifer frontally and in an *orans* position. He is flanked on either side by a group of his angelic followers. Two of them hold an unfurled scroll in front of him which included the oft-cited Isaiah 14:13–14, which here becomes Lucifer's boast: "I will ascend into



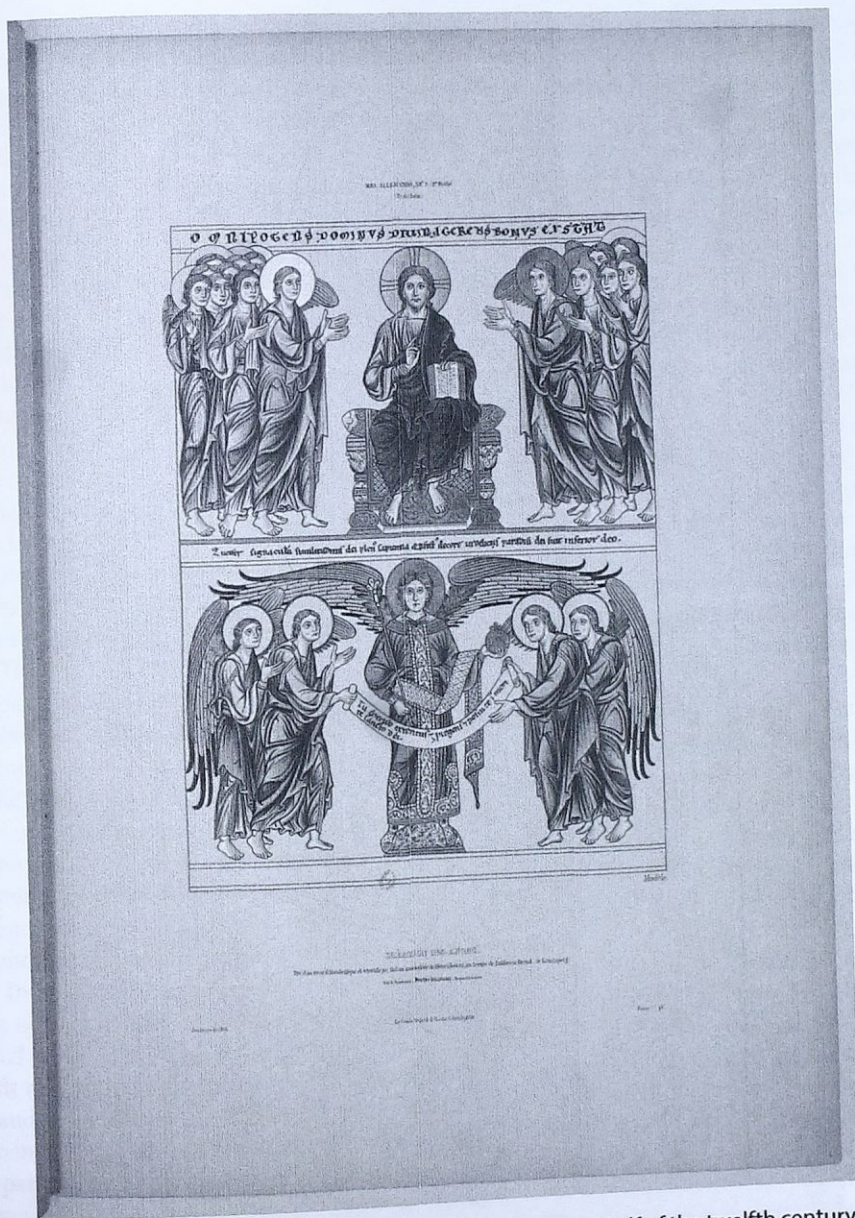


Fig. 11. The first day of creation. *Hortus deliciarum*, second half of the twelfth century; fol. 3r. Reproduction taken from Auguste de Bastard d'Estang, *Peintures et ornements des manuscrits, classés dans un ordre chronologique, pour servir à l'histoire du dessin depuis le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'ère chrétienne jusqu'à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup>, par le comte Auguste de Bastard, ...* (Paris, 1832, 1869). (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.)





Fig. 12. Fall of the rebel angels. *Hortus deliciarum*, second half of the twelfth century; fol. 3v. Reproduction taken from Auguste de Bastard d'Estang, *Recueil. Calques des Miniatures de Hortus deliciarum de Herrade de Landsberg, détruit à Strasbourg en 1870* (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.)



heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of heaven, I will sit in the mountain of the covenant, in the side of the north, I will ascend above the height of the clouds, I will be like the most High.<sup>72</sup> The lower half of the page depicts the fall. Three good angels are shown with spears evicting Lucifer and two of his followers from heaven. Lucifer retains some of his resplendence here. His costume, orb, and scepter from the previous page are still visible. His corporeal beauty, however, has been lost. This is a provocative image, showing some of the angel's beauty (his bejeweled surface), his thirst for power (in the regalia that he holds), and his transformation into a hideous creature. An extended creation cycle then follows.<sup>73</sup>

As presented by Herrad, Lucifer emerges on these two pages as a sophisticated object of contemplation for the canonesses who were the intended audience of the *Hortus*. This has been argued, for example, by Danielle Joyner in her work on the manuscript.<sup>74</sup> She has demonstrated that elsewhere in the *Hortus* other characters embody this same combination of beauty and treacherous deception (e.g., the vices of the *Psychomachia*, the sirens who tempt Ulysses, and the Whore of Babylon). Lucifer, however, is a special case as he is the only figure who is of a celestial nature. His visual representation is therefore special and worthy of consideration. In short, it is arguable (and I believe that the *Hortus* itself implicitly makes this argument) that there is something to be gained from a kind of objectification of the prelapsarian Lucifer and from the contemplation of his beauty. Here, and in other works such as the Munich *Hexaameron*, Lucifer is shown as bejeweled; the Ezekiel text describes him as golden. Metaphorically, then, he is a piece of metalwork, a thing or an object that can be scrutinized in the viewer's mind. This "thing"ness is important and worthy of attention.

The readers of the *Hortus* are encouraged to think of God as having created Lucifer as a sparkling piece of metalwork made of gold and covered in gems. In the manuscript the twelfth-century canonesses, as viewers, were able to apprehend the beautiful Lucifer at a specific instant. For this brief moment of time—on the first day of creation before his fall—Lucifer is made visible and given a metallic, lapidary presence and weight. In this sense the aesthetics of Lucifer as they were presented in the central Middle Ages straddle the ideal and the real, the conceptual (or immaterial) and the material, the metaphorical and the concrete. Lucifer can thus serve as a useful example for gauging the importance of materiality to medieval thought, an area of much discussion in recent scholarship.<sup>75</sup> Contemplation of Lucifer's metaphoric materiality concretized him in the minds of the beholder; metaphors take on the weight of earthly reality in this process.<sup>76</sup>

In this sense Herrad, and by implication her canonesses, become the medieval forerunners of the object-oriented ontologists and speculative realists influencing the fields of philosophy and cultural studies today.<sup>77</sup> The celestial and the historic are objectified in Herrad's great treatise; individuals and ideas are turned into objects of display for the purposes of contemplation and study. Text and image reinforce one another in this dynamic. In his philosophical work on objects, Graham Harman has argued that objects withdraw; they withhold themselves from us, revealing themselves only partially under scrutiny.<sup>78</sup> The *Hortus* does something similar in its presentation of Lucifer. It argues visually that his fleetingness can be resisted; we as viewers of the manuscript can hold the beautiful Lucifer in our minds even though through the turning of the page he recedes and ultimately disappears into his incarnation as Satan. This notion of aesthetic contemplation as a pathway to theological knowledge is not unlike some of the intellectual practices espoused in Victorine texts of the twelfth century that ask readers to hold complex diagrams and/or biblical objects in their minds as models of contemplation.<sup>79</sup>



Such a method, for example, is outlined in the *Mystical Ark* (or *Benjamin Major*) of Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173), perhaps composed in the 1150s or 1160s, around the time Herrad became abbess of Hohenbourg.<sup>80</sup> In this treatise Richard takes as his object of study the Ark of the Covenant as described in Exodus 25. The Ark, however, is considered not allegorically but for the ways in which it can be used as an object of contemplation, the true subject of his text. Richard describes six kinds of contemplation:

- (1) in imagination and according to imagination only,
- (2) in imagination and according to reason,
- (3) in reason and according to imagination,
- (4) in reason and according to reason,
- (5) above reason but not beyond reason, and
- (6) above reason and seemingly beyond reason.

Concerning the third level Richard writes:

But since the investigation of this speculation cannot be led to the knowledge of invisible things without the assistance of corporeal similitudes, reason seems to be following the leading hand of imagination in this part and is shown clearly to hold on to it, the leader of the journey as it were, in the course of its search. For while imagination presents forms of visible things to reason and instructs itself from the similitude of the same things for the investigation of invisible things, in a certain manner it brings reason to that place to which it did not know how to go by means of itself. For reason would never rise up to the contemplation of invisible things unless the imagination, by means of representing the form of visible things, were to show from what it should draw a similitude to those things and form the mode of its investigation.<sup>81</sup>

When Richard turns to the fifth and sixth levels of contemplation (those that lie above reason), he invokes the two gold cherubim that decorate the Ark (Exodus 25:18–20). Not unlike Herrad's image of Lucifer in his initial incarnation, cherubim (as a class of angels) are "supreme and united immediately to God."<sup>82</sup> Richard argues that the figures of the cherubim on the Ark remind us that the last two levels of contemplation go beyond human reason and thus require a kind of "flight" in imitation of the angels.<sup>83</sup> But Richard is not merely interested in what the Ark's angels signify; he is also concerned with their materiality. They are made of solid gold, and this too is significant. Richard counsels his readers "to hammer out the form of angelic similitude" in themselves, a process requiring prudence and foresight.<sup>84</sup> Thus, for Richard, as it arguably is for Herrad, materiality becomes a vehicle for contemplation.<sup>85</sup>

Similarly in the *Hortus* Lucifer's beauty is presented in a visible or corporeal form; he is already "hammered out" by Herrad and her artists in keeping with medieval traditions of angelic iconography. Once brought forth into corporeal form by the imagination, reasoned contemplation can follow. Contemplation at this level allows one to rise potentially to the level of invisible things. In essence such a process is in keeping with much older traditions of medieval thought, such as those set forth by pseudo-Dionysius, who will figure in our discussion below.

Of special import when considering the medieval visualizations of Lucifer and especially those of the *Hortus* are Ezekiel's nine stones. It is no coincidence that these nine are also included in the list of twelve stones mentioned in Exodus 28 as being contained in the priestly breastplate made for



Aaron; those twelve stones stand as material symbols of the twelve tribes of Israel. They are echoed again in Revelation 21, where they decorate the heavenly city of Jerusalem, thus enhancing their status for medieval Christians as earthly signs of the heavenly.

Lucifer's lapidary character in medieval art is thus a crystallization in material form of ideas about what his heavenly appearance might have been; one might argue, however, that the boundaries here are not entirely distinct in this metaphoric economy. Angels, according to medieval theology, are creatures of light and fire, but they might be portrayed by artists as being made of gold and precious stones, materials that evoke the elements of earth and water. Gemstones regularly served as material connectors between the earthly and the heavenly in a variety of contexts in the Middle Ages; for example, some medieval texts assert that gemstones were washed from the rivers of Eden into the rest of the world.<sup>86</sup> Thus, Lucifer's visualization as a gem-encrusted object breaks down the separation between the celestial and the earthly. Lucifer's story (and that of his followers) also blurs the distinction between angels and humans, as we have seen in Junius 11 (Fig. 10) and elsewhere. Thus, Herrad's presentation of the Lucifer story provides a provocative continuity between the heavenly and the earthly, between God and the angels, between the angels and humanity.

Examining the image of the beautiful Lucifer in the *Hortus* demonstrates that materials can have a vitality and an agency of their own; this is, of course, demonstrated by other objects and texts from the central Middle Ages.<sup>87</sup> In a recent study Ittai Weinryb considers the importance of materials for our understanding of medieval art.<sup>88</sup> Weinryb considers materiality as an aspect of presence, a feature of objects that has its own impact outside of the iconographic and the functional, which constitute the usual yardsticks by which we gauge the impact of medieval art.<sup>89</sup> Materials, for medieval viewers, often were imbued with a kind of vitalism, a life and a set of powers of their own. Weinryb also shows that materiality was intertwined with historicity; an object's history, its owners, and its vicissitudes shaped the ways in which medieval viewers understood its material construction. Objects were altered over time by owners; reciprocally, the material presence of art could have a range of effects on viewers. There was even, according to Weinryb, a material (i.e., mineral) continuity between stones and the actual material make-up of human beings. Significantly, Weinryb sees this new attitude toward art objects as coming to the fore in the early twelfth century, an era marked by a new sensitivity to materials in Western Europe.

As is well known, aesthetic contemplation was regularly intertwined with devotion during the Middle Ages. Some of the most striking descriptions of such cominglings are found in the writings of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis. Significantly, his *De administratione* cites the Ezekiel 28 text associated with Lucifer when discussing the Cross of St. Eloi and the so-called screen of Charlemagne of his monastery (Fig. 13). Suger's well-known words powerfully bring together history, materiality, and theology: "Often we contemplate, out of sheer affection for the church our mother, these different ornaments both new and old; and when we behold how that wonderful cross of St. Eloy—together with the smaller ones—and that incomparable ornament commonly called the 'Crest' [or screen of Charlemagne] are placed upon the golden altar, then I say sighing deeply in my heart: 'Every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, the topaz, and the jasper, the chrysolite, and the onyx, and the beryl, the sapphire, and the carbuncle, and the emerald.'"<sup>90</sup>

In his study of Suger's writings, Erwin Panofsky notes that Gregory the Great argued that the nine stones of the Ezekiel text symbolize the nine orders of angels; thus, Suger's quotation of Ezekiel leads into his famous passage on the anagogical method, where he is pulled up in devotion as if into





Fig. 13. Master of St. Giles, *Mass of St. Giles*, ca. 1500; London, National Gallery. (Photo: © National Gallery, London/Art Resource, NY.)



the realm of the angels.<sup>91</sup> Yet, it also seems possible that Suger knew this Ezekiel passage was regularly allegorized as a reference to Lucifer, the most beautiful of the angels. The text might then be read as a lament for the loss of that unsurpassed beauty, which reflected the first angel's closeness to God, which seems desired here. Suger's phrase "sighing deeply within my heart" (*corde tenus suspirando*) seems to reference that sense of loss.

Although not noted by Panofsky, Gregory the Great mentions Lucifer when glossing Ezekiel's nine stones as representing the nine orders of angels, which further suggests Suger may have been referring to the first angel here. As Gregory writes in his *Moralia in Job*:

Hence it is that the same Prophet [Ezekiel], still speaking of the power of his superiority, subjoins; Every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, and topaz, and jasper, the chrysolite, the onyx, and the beryl, the sapphire, the carbuncle, and the emerald. He mentioned nine kinds of stones, doubtless because there are nine orders of angels. . . . And yet this Behemoth [Lucifer] is described as being covered by them, because he had those as a vesture for his adornment, by comparison with whom he was more brilliant, when he transcended their brightness. . . . [H]e was created capable of love. And had he wished to be filled therewith, he would have been able to cling firm to the Angels who stand, as to stones placed in the ornament of a king. For had he given himself up to be penetrated by the gold of charity, when associated with the holy Angels, he would still be remaining, as we said, a stone firmly fixed in the ornament of a king. This stone then had holes, but, through the sin of pride, they were not filled with the gold of charity.<sup>92</sup>

Thus, for Gregory and likely for Suger, Lucifer's beauty was a beauty that was higher than all others before its corruption. Suger's aspiration toward angelic devotion and his apparent contemplation of Lucifer's beauty and its loss open up a space of desire that was familiar to learned Christians in the Middle Ages, evoking the state of exile in which the Christian soul as a fallen entity was condemned to live on this earth.<sup>93</sup> Suger's text, like the actual stones in the actual art that he contemplates, mixes together the earthly and the heavenly in an attempt to overcome, in part, a profound sense of loss and displacement. By invoking Lucifer indirectly through the Ezekiel text, Suger gives that sense of loss a remarkable resonance, for Lucifer was, theologically speaking, as close to God as any created being might be.<sup>94</sup> It might seem unusual to bring the devil into one's devotion, but medieval thinkers such as Herrad and Suger found a kind of ideal in the contemplation of Lucifer's prelapsarian closeness to God and his beauty.<sup>95</sup>

Hildegard of Bingen (d. 1179) provides a corroborating voice for this idea that Lucifer before the fall, as an ideal creation of God, is worthy of aesthetic contemplation. Her *Physica* includes a section on stones, "De lapidibus."<sup>96</sup> She mentions Lucifer at the beginning and the end of her preface. Near the beginning she notes that the devil hates precious stones ("dyabolus pretiosos lapides abhorret") because in his original incarnation as Lucifer he was ornamented with such stones.<sup>97</sup> Hildegard relates that Lucifer beheld his splendor, which was a reflection of the Divinity, and made the choice to attempt to elevate himself above his station; as a result, he lost his beauty.<sup>98</sup> Consequentially, God included precious stones as part of his earthly creation for humanity's benefit.<sup>99</sup>

Hildegard considers Lucifer in other writings as well, in particular in *Scivias*. Book I, vision 2 concerns the creation and the fall. Here, she describes the angels before the fall as "living in great beauty and adornment" and having a "fiery brilliance" and "unclouded splendor."<sup>100</sup> Lucifer, however,



took pride in his beauty and power, feeling no defect in his beauty or in his strength. After his fall, however, Hildegard characterizes him as ugly. In book III, vision 1, Lucifer is described as having an inner beauty and a purer light than the other angels before the fall, but afterwards he and his followers became like black cinders. The lost brilliance was then transferred by God to humanity.

Considering as a whole the ideas of Herrad, Suger, and Hildegard, we can recover something of the complexity and importance of Lucifer's beauty for medieval thinkers. It is an ambivalent beauty: it is a sign of his closeness to God and a reflection of God's splendor, but it also stimulated the pride that proved Lucifer's undoing. In *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages*, Mary Carruthers notes that for medieval rhetoricians, beauty typically resides on the surface of things.<sup>101</sup> This is certainly true for the metaphors of beauty describing Lucifer's prelapsarian essence in medieval art and texts. His bejeweled surface provided the radiant dazzle and colorful variety that were linked to aesthetic pleasure in medieval thought. Yet, Lucifer's beauty, as fleeting as it was, could also be seen as being more than skin deep. It was, after all, God given, even god like or at least god resembling. For medieval theologians Lucifer's fall, as we have seen, paralleled humanity's fall. Thus, for a large number of twelfth-century authors humanity's spiritual goal was a return to God that some authors argued was a kind of angelization.<sup>102</sup> For Herrad and the readers of the *Hortus deliciarum*, for Suger, and for Hildegard, Lucifer's beauty might have stood not only as a symbol of pride and loss, but also as a taste of salvation and of the world-to-come, and thus something not to be entirely repudiated.<sup>103</sup>

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The passage appears in the context of an oracle against this dead king. It is perhaps influenced by Canaanite mythology where the morning star was seen as the god Attar.

<sup>2</sup> In Hebrew, Lucifer is *hêlêl* or *heylel* (לֵיְלִי) ("shining one"); in Greek he is *heōsphoros* (ἑωσφόρος) ("dawn bringer"). The name *Satan* comes from the Hebrew for adversary. The word *devil* comes from the Greek *diabolos* for slanderer or accuser, a designation found in the Septuagint.

<sup>3</sup> The bibliography on Satan's role in religious history is vast. Useful starting points include Philip C. Almond, *The Devil: A New Biography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014); Joseph F. Kelly, *Who is Satan? According to the Scriptures* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2013); Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Satan: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer, the Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); Russell, *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981); and Russell, *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977).

<sup>4</sup> For introductions to the *Book of Enoch* see George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch*, ed. Klaus Baltzer (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001); James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983–85), 1:5–89; Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, *1 Enoch* 12–16 (Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:19–22).

<sup>6</sup> See *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, ed. H. F. D. Sparks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 141–67.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

<sup>8</sup> *The Qur'an: A New Translation by Tarif Khalidi* (New York: Viking, 2008), 118–19.

<sup>9</sup> On the vice of pride in medieval thought, a useful starting point is Lester K. Little, "Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom," *American Historical Review* 76 (1971): 16–49.



<sup>10</sup> See Almond, *The Devil*, 34–38; Joseph Kelly, *Who is Satan?* 123–24; Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Satan*, 175–78; and Russell, *Satan*, 63–72.

<sup>11</sup> For Irenaeus, *Against All Heresies* (ca. 180s), see Almond, *The Devil*, 37; Joseph F. Kelly, *Who is Satan?* 124–25; Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Satan*, 181; and Russell, *Satan*, 80–88. For Cyprian's texts on Lucifer see Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Satan*, 179–81; and Russell, *Satan*, 105–106.

<sup>12</sup> See Almond, *The Devil*, 37–38; Joseph Kelly, *Who is Satan?* 126; Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Satan*, 178–79; and Russell, *Satan*, 88–103.

<sup>13</sup> Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, trans. and ed. Ernest Evans (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972): "In fact until he became the devil he is declared the wisest of all: and I suppose wisdom is no evil. Also if you turn up Ezekiel's prophecy you will easily perceive that that angel was by creation good, and by his own act became corrupt. In the person of the prince of Tyre this pronouncement is made against the devil: *And the word of the Lord came unto me saying, Son of man, take up a lamentation upon the prince of Tyre and say, Thus saith the Lord, Thou art the unsealing of the likeness* – that is, thou has unsealed (or annulled) the integrity of the image and likeness – *as a crown of beauty* – thus he speaks as to the most exalted of the angels, an archangel, the wisest of them all – *in the delights of the paradise of thy God thou was born* – there, he means, where in the second creation, under the figure of the animals, God made the angels. *Thou wast clothed with the precious stone, the sardius, topaz, smaragdus, carbuncle, sapphire, jasper, lyncurium, agate, amethyst, chrysolite, beryl, onyx, and didst fill with gold thy storehouses and thy treasures. Since the day thou wast created I did set thee with the cherub in the holy mountain of God, thou wast in the midst of the stones of fire, thou wast irreproachable in thy days since the day thou wast created, until thine injuries were discovered. Of the multitude of thy merchandise thou hast filled thy garners, and hast sinned*, and the rest, which it is evident properly apply to the castigation not of that particular prince but of an angel, because no one of mankind has ever been born in the paradise of God, not even Adam himself, for he was translated thither; nor has any man been set with the cherub in God's holy mountain, that is, in the height of heaven, from which our Lord testifies that Satan also fell: nor has any man dwelt amid the stones of fire, among the gleaming rays of the burning constellations, from whence also Satan like lightning was cast down. Rather was he, the author of sin, being stigmatized in the person of a sinful man: aforesaid irreproachable since the day of his creation, created by God for goodness, as by a good Creator of creatures without reproach: adorned with all angelic glory: set in God's presence, as good in the presence of the good, yet afterwards by himself transposed into evil" (1:114–19).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:117.

<sup>15</sup> *Against Marcion* 5.17; *ibid.*, 1:617.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:617.

<sup>17</sup> See Almond, *The Devil*, 42–47; Joseph F. Kelly, *Who is Satan?* 127–30; Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Satan*, 191–99; and Russell, *Satan*, 123–48.

<sup>18</sup> *On First Principles* 1.5.5, trans. G. W. Butterworth (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 49–50.

<sup>19</sup> *On First Principles* 1.5.4, trans. Butterworth, 47–48.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 1.5.4, trans. Butterworth, 48.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 1.8.1, trans. Butterworth, 66–75. Origen asserts that before the world was created each angel was assigned individual duties based on merit.

<sup>22</sup> Origen, *Contra Celsum* 6.44, trans. Henry Chadwick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 361–62.

<sup>23</sup> *The City of God* 11.19, trans. Marcus Dods (New York: Modern Library, 2000), 362.

<sup>24</sup> On the iconography of angels in medieval art see Yves Cattin and Philippe Faure, *Les anges et leur image au Moyen Age* (Paris: Zodiaque, 1999). On angels in Byzantine art see Glenn Peers, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Myrto Hatzaki, *Beauty and the Male Body in Byzantium: Perceptions and Representations in Art and Text* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 86–115;



and Bissera V. Pentcheva, "The Performative Icon," *Art Bulletin* 88 (2006): 631–55. On Lucifer in Renaissance art see Meredith Gill, *Angels and the Order of Heaven in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 203–36.

<sup>25</sup> Made perhaps in Regensburg or Prüfening. See Florentine Mutherich and Karl Dachs, *Regensburger Buchmalerei: Von frühkarolingischer Zeit bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1987), 51; and <http://www.wdl.org/en/item/13459/>. For the original text see Ambrose, *Hexaameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel*, trans. John J. Savage (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1961), 3–283.

<sup>26</sup> On aesthetics and notions of beauty in the Middle Ages useful starting points include Mary Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Andreas Speer, "Aesthetics," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Philosophy*, ed. John Marenbon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 662–84; Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*, trans. Hugh Bredin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); Władysław Tatarkiewicz, *History of Aesthetics* (The Hague: Mouton, 1970–74); and Edgar de Bruyne, *Etudes d'esthétique médiévale* (Bruges: De Temple, 1946).

<sup>27</sup> See Nigel J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (London: Harvey Miller, 1982, 1988), 2:85–86; and Eric G. Millar, ed., *A Thirteenth-Century Bestiary in the Library of Alnwick Castle* (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1958).

<sup>28</sup> On the fall of the rebel angels as an iconographic theme in medieval art see Hans Martin von Erffa, *Ikonomie der Genesis: Die christlichen Bildthemen aus dem alten Testament und ihre Quellen*, 2 vols. (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1989), 1:66–70; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 8 vols., ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum with Günter Bandmann (Rome: Herder, 1968–76), 1:642–43; Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 2 vols. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1955–59), 2/1:56–57; and *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1937–87), 5:621–74. Iconographic examples before 1100 are relatively rare, but see the tenth-century Bodleian Library, Junius 11, discussed below. The online Index of Christian Art lists only the Ælfric manuscript (British Library, Cotton Claudius B.IV) and a Gregory Nazianzen manuscript (Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Taphou 14), both dating to the eleventh century. The latter focuses on Lucifer and is inscribed with his Greek name. See George Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 130–32, 223, fig. 101.

<sup>29</sup> For the manuscript online see <http://digitalcollections.nyu.org/collections/bible-historie-et-vies-saints>. For scholarly studies see Julia A. Finch, "Bible en images: Visual Narrative and Translation in New York Public Library Spencer ms. 22 and Related Manuscripts" (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2012); *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250–1500*, ed. Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), 137–40, cat. 14; *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library*, ed. Jonathan J. G. Alexander, James H. Marrow, and Lucy Freeman Sandler (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2005), 97–100, cat. 20; Barbara Bruderer Eichberg, *Les neuf choeurs angéliques: origine et evolution du thème dans l'art du Moyen Age* (Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, 1998), 103 and fig. 70; and François Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 61–75.

<sup>30</sup> The two manuscripts are now in Amiens (Bibliothèque Municipale MS 108) and in the University Library in Augsburg (formerly Harburg, Ottingen-Wallerstein Collection, MS I, 2, lat. 40, 15). Lucifer's fall is depicted on fols. 2r and 2v in the Augsburg manuscript; see Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles*, pls. 1, 2.

<sup>31</sup> See Meyer Schapiro, "Frontal and Profile as Symbolic Forms," in *Words and Pictures: On the Literal and the Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973), 37–49.

<sup>32</sup> See Eichberg, *Neuf choeurs angéliques*, 95, 100, 206, fig. 96; and Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 116–19, 256. For a broader consideration of hexaemeral imagery see Conrad Rudolph, "In the Beginning: Theories and Images of Creation in Northern Europe in the Twelfth Century," *Art History* 22 (1999): 3–55.



<sup>33</sup> See Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 1:79–81.

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, Gregory the Great, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. Dom David Hurst (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990), homily 34: “there are nine ranks of angels, but that the number of elect might be complete humanity was created as a tenth” (p. 285).

<sup>35</sup> See Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries* (New York: George Braziller, 1974); and *The Très riches heures of Jean, Duke of Berry: Musée Condé, Chantilly*, intro. and legends by Jean Longnon and Raymond Cazelles, preface by Millard Meiss (New York: George Braziller, 1969).

<sup>36</sup> Although the Penitential Psalms refer to heaven and hell, it seems somewhat unusual to choose this iconography for this text in a medieval prayerbook.

<sup>37</sup> See Michelle P. Brown, *The Holkham Bible Picture Book: A Facsimile* (London: British Library, 2007); on the manuscript’s opening images see John Lowden, “The Holkham Bible Picture Book and the *Bible moralisée*,” in *The Medieval Book: Glosses from Friends and Colleagues of Christopher De Hamel*, ed. James H. Marrow, Richard A. Linenthal, and William Noel (T Goy-Houton: Hes & De Graaf, 2010), 75–83.

<sup>38</sup> The manuscript is sometimes referred to in the literature as a book of hours; it is also known as the *Cursus Sanctae Mariae Virginis*. See Meta Harsen, *Cursus Sanctae Mariae: A Thirteenth-Century Manuscript, now M. 739 in the Pierpont Morgan Library, Probably Executed in the Premonstratensian Monastery of Louka in Moravia, at the Instance of the Margravine Kunegund, for Presentation to Her Niece, Saint Agnes* (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1937).

<sup>39</sup> The miniature cycle begins with the creation. The Old Testament cycle runs to fol. 19r (both sides of the folios are decorated). The New Testament cycle begins with the birth of the Virgin (fol. 19v) and concludes with Pentecost (fol. 24v).

<sup>40</sup> The inscription reads: “ich wil sezen in minen stul: Neben den obisten unde wil im sin Gelich. Michael.”

<sup>41</sup> The book contains retellings of parts of Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel in Old English verse. See <http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msjunius11>. Useful starting points for Lucifer’s representation in the manuscript include Asa Simon Mittman and Susan M. Kim, “Locating the Devil ‘Her’ in MS Junius 11,” *Gesta* 54 (2015): 3–25; Herbert R. Broderick III, “Metatextuality, Sexuality and Intervisuality in MS Junius 11,” *Word & Image* 25 (2009): 384–401; Catherine E. Karkov, *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England: Narrative Strategies in the Junius 11 Manuscript* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Herbert Reginald Broderick, “The Iconographic and Compositional Sources of the Drawings in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1978), esp. 73–108; Pamela Z. Blum, “The Cryptic Library, MS Junius 11” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1978), esp. 73–108; Thomas H. Ohlgren, “Some New Light on the Creation Cycle in Ms. Junius xi,” *Gesta* 15 (1976): 211–26; Thomas H. Ohlgren, “Five New Old English Caedmonian Genesis,” *Studies in Iconography* 1 (1975): 38–73; Thomas H. Ohlgren, “Five New Drawings in the MS Junius 11: Their Iconography and Thematic Significance,” *Speculum* 47 (1972): 227–33; and Thomas H. Ohlgren, “The Illustrations of the Caedmonian Genesis: Literary Criticism through Art,” *Medievalia et Humanistica* 3 (1972): 199–212.

<sup>42</sup> For the text of the manuscript see Charles W. Kennedy, *The Caedmon Poems* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1916); and Daniel Anlezark, ed. and trans., *Old Testament Narratives* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

<sup>43</sup> See, for example, Ohlgren, “Illustrations,” 208.

<sup>44</sup> See Anlezark, *Old Testament Narratives*, 21.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>46</sup> The nimbed angel is the only nimbed angel in the entire manuscript.

<sup>47</sup> Broderick, “Iconographical and Compositional Sources,” 87, identifies God as angry in this image.

<sup>48</sup> The original Anglo-Saxon reads: “Hu se engyl ongon ofermod wesán,” which is paralleled in the text of the poem (*Genesis B*, line 262).



<sup>49</sup> "Her se haelend gesce(op) helle heom to wite."

<sup>50</sup> Mittmann and Kim note that Jeffrey Burton Russell has pointed out that Satan remains humanoid but with flaming hair and a tail ("Locating the Devil," 9). His skin is darker as he has lost his light, and he is inverted. Both Ohlgren ("Illustrations," 206) and Karkov (*Text and Picture*, 34) note the symbolic use of red ink here.

<sup>51</sup> Mittmann and Kim, "Locating the Devil," 9.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>53</sup> On the relationship between humanity and the angels in this manuscript see also Jeanne-Marie Pont, "Homo Angelorum Decimus Ordo," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 31, no. 121 (1988): 43–48.

<sup>54</sup> Mittmann and Kim, "Locating the Devil," 17.

<sup>55</sup> David Clark, "Destructive Desire: Sexual Themes and Same-Sex Relations in *Genesis A*," in *Between Medieval Men: Male Friendship and Desire in Early Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 111–29.

<sup>56</sup> David Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 18.

<sup>57</sup> In addition to Keck's *Angels and Angelology*, useful starting points include Vojtěch Novotný, *Cur homo? A History of the Thesis Concerning Man as a Replacement for Fallen Angels* (Prague: Charles University in Prague, Karolinum Press, 2014); and Marica L. Colish, "Early Scholastic Angelology," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 62 (1995): 80–109.

<sup>58</sup> For Rupert of Deutz see the useful guide by John H. Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983). For Honorius Augustodunensis see the collected writings in *PL* 172.

<sup>59</sup> See Hugh of Saint-Victor, *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith (De sacramentis)*, trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1951), esp. 74–93. Book 2 of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* concerns creation, with distinctions I–XI showing special interest in angelology; see Peter Lombard, *The Sentences*, trans. Giulio Silano (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2008), 3–49.

<sup>60</sup> Colish, "Early Scholastic Angelology," 91, 98.

<sup>61</sup> On the manuscript, see Danielle Joyner, *Painting the Hortus deliciarum: Medieval Women, Wisdom, and Time* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016); Nathaniel Campbell, "Lest He Should Come Unforesen: The Antichrist Cycle in the *Hortus Deliciarum*," *Gesta* 54 (2015): 85–118; Elizabeth Monroe, "Dangerous Passages and Spiritual Redemption in the *Hortus Deliciarum*," in *Push Me, Pull You: Imaginative, Emotional, Physical, and Spatial Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, ed. Sarah Blick and Laura D. Gelfand (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 39–74; Sara Ritchey, "Rethinking the Twelfth-Century Discovery of Nature," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39 (2009): 225–55; Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Danielle Joyner, "All that is Evil: Images of Reality and Fignments of the Imagination in the *Hortus deliciarum*," in *Imagination und Deixis: Studien zur Wahrnehmung im Mittelalter*, ed. Kathryn Starkey and Horst Wenzel (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 2007), 105–25; Danielle Beth Joyner, "A Timely History: Images and Texts in the 'Hortus Deliciarum'" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2007); Herrad of Hohenbourg, *Hortus deliciarum*, 2 vols., ed. Rosalie Green et al. (London: Warburg Institute, 1979); Gérard Cames, *Allégories et symboles dans l'Hortus deliciarum* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); and Gérard Cames, "À propos de deux monstres dans l'Hortus Deliciarum," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 11 (1968): 587–603.

<sup>62</sup> Most measuring around 500–530 × 360–370 mm (85 folios were half or quarter leaves).

<sup>63</sup> There were five miniatures on half leaves; eleven text pages with pictures; two full-page drawings; one genealogical tree; five calendrical tables; and eight other miniatures that were lost.

<sup>64</sup> The previous abbess, Relinde, may have initiated the project.

<sup>65</sup> There is also an allegorical recapitulation of the Old Testament later in the manuscript (fols. 68r–72r) and a historical recapitulation (fols. 73r–80r).



<sup>66</sup> Herrad writes: "Fiat lux id est angelica natura et facta est lux" (Let there be light, which is the angelic nature, and there was light.). See Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, 1:89 and 2:7. Herrad likely knew the angelological discussions of her time. Throughout, the *Hortus* cites Rupert of Deutz, Honorius Augustodunensis, and Peter Lombard—some of the most important theologians writing about angels at this time.

<sup>67</sup> See Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, 2:6. The text on this folio listed the nine orders of angels and explained their names; their ranks and functions were also discussed.

<sup>68</sup> "Lucifer signaculum similitudinis Dei plenus sapientia et perfectus decore in deliciis paradisi dei fuit inferior deo."

<sup>69</sup> On Byzantine angels see n. 24 above.

<sup>70</sup> "Omnis lapis preciosus operimentum fuit primi angelii. Sardonius, topazius et jaspis, a crisolitus onix et berillum. Saphirus carbunculus et Smaragdus. quia cunctis agminibus angelorum prelati. ex eorum comparatione clarior fuit." An interpolated leaf (fol. 262) also discussed precious stones; see Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, 2:455–56.

<sup>71</sup> "Tu cherub extensus et protegens et posui te in monte sancto dei."

<sup>72</sup> "Ascendam in celum, celum vocat Dei celsitudinem cui parificari volebat, ascendam in celum id est ad equalitatem Dei." See Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, 1:90 and 2:8.

<sup>73</sup> It includes the creation of air and water, personified on fol. 8r, to represent God's work on the second and third days; the creation of luminous bodies then follows on fol. 8v, visualized as personifications of light and shadow, along with the creation of animals. There is a rather striking microcosm image on fol. 16v (labeled "microcosmos"), which is linked to humanity ("man is the world in miniature"); see Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, 1:96, 2:30. It is not until fol. 17r that the creation of Adam and Eve is represented.

<sup>74</sup> See Joyner's scholarship cited in n. 61 above.

<sup>75</sup> On medieval materiality see the articles by Kellie Robertson: "Exemplary Rocks," in *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral: Ethics, Objects*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Washington, D.C.: Oliphant Books, 2012), 91–121; "Medieval Materialism: A Manifesto," *Exemplaria* 22 (2010): 99–118; and "Medieval Things: Materiality, Historicism, and the Premodern Object," *Literature Compass* 5 (2008): 1060–80. See also Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Strange Stone: An Ecology of the Inhuman* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015); Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400–ca. 1204* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), esp. 38–44; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011); Valerie Gontero-Lauze, *Sagesses minérales: Médecine et magie* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2010); Nicolas Bock, *des pierres précieuses au Moyen Age, Sagesse du moyen age 1* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2010); "Reliques et reliquaires, entre matérialité et culture visuelle," *Perspective: La revue de l'INHA* 2 (2010): 361–68; G. Ronald Murphy, S.J., "The World of Precious Stones," in *Gemstone of Paradise: The Holy Grail in Wolfram's Parzival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 41–67; Brigitte Buettner, "From Bones to Stones—Reflections on Jeweled Reliquaries," in *Reliquiare im Mittelalter*, ed. Bruno Reudenbach and Gia Toussaint (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 43–59; Philippe Buc, "Conversion of Objects," *Viator* 28 (1997): 99–143; and Peter Lasko, *Ars sacra, 800–1200* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

<sup>76</sup> See Pentcheva, "The Performative Icon," for a similar argument concerning Byzantine icons.

<sup>77</sup> Useful starting points for this field of thought are two collections by Graham Harman: *Bells and Whistles: More Speculative Realism* (Winchester: Zero Books, 2013); and *Towards Speculative Realism: Essays and Lectures* (Winchester: Zero Books, 2010).

<sup>78</sup> See, for example, Harman, *Towards Speculative Realism*, 160.

<sup>79</sup> See, for example, Conrad Rudolph, *The Mystic Ark: Hugh of Saint Victor, Art, and Thought in the Twelfth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014). More generally see Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) and Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).



<sup>80</sup> See Richard of St. Victor, *The Twelve Patriarchs; The Mystical Ark; Book Three of The Trinity*, trans. Grover A. Zinn (New York: Paulist Press, 1979).

<sup>81</sup> Richard of St. Victor, *Mystical Ark*, 2.17, trans. Zinn, 199.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 259.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 260.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 266, 261.

<sup>85</sup> For a consideration of some of the ways in which the Ark and its cherubim were understood in the early Middle Ages see Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert, "The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés," *Gesta* 40 (2001): 125–39.

<sup>86</sup> See Murphy, *Gemstone of Paradise*.

<sup>87</sup> For a consideration of these ideas in relation to contemporary political theory see Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

<sup>88</sup> Ittai Weinryb, "Beyond Representation: Things—Human and Nonhuman," in *Cultural Histories of the Material World*, ed. Peter N. Miller (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 172–86.

<sup>89</sup> See *Presence: Philosophy, History, and Cultural Theory for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Ranjan Ghosh and Ethan Kleinberg (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013); and Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

<sup>90</sup> See Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), 62–63 (section 33). On these objects see *Le trésor de Saint-Denis* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1991), 56–59 and 92–99; and Panofsky, *Abbot Suger*, 189–91. See also the provocative discussions by Andreas Speer, "Art as Liturgy: Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis and the Question of Medieval Aesthetics," in *Roma, magistra mundi. Itineraria culturae medievalis: Mélanges offerts au Père L.E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération des Instituts d'Etudes Médiévales, 1998), 855–75; and "L'Abbé Suger et le trésor de Saint-Denis: une approche de l'expérience artistique au Moyen Age," in *L'abbé Suger: le manifeste gothique de Saint-Denis et la pensée victorine*, ed. Dominique Poirel (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 59–81.

<sup>91</sup> Panofsky, *Abbot Suger*, 63, 188–91. See also Grover A. Zinn, Jr., "Suger, Theology, and the Pseudo-Dionysian Tradition," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium*, ed. Paula Lieber Gerson (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 33–40; and Dominique Poirel, "Symbolique et anagogique: l'école de Saint-Victor et la naissance du style gothique," in *L'abbé Suger*, 141–70, esp. 147–48, 159–64. Suger experiences here what some scholars of twelfth-century Humanism refer to as an angelization. See, for example, Steven Chase, *Angelic Wisdom: The Cherubim and the Grace of Contemplation in Richard of St. Victor* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 115–28; and *Angelic Spirituality: Medieval Perspectives on the Ways of Angels*, trans. Steven Chase (New York: Paulist Press, 2002), 35–36, 61–62. The notion of angelization is not dissimilar to Hugh of St. Victor's theology of humanity's potential return to perfection; see Boyd Taylor Coolman, *Theology of Hugh of St. Victor: An Interpretation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>92</sup> See Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, 32.23.48, PL 76:665; trans. *Morals on the Book of Job* (Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1844–50), 549–50. See also Gregory, *Forty Gospel Homilies*: "The first angel was adorned and covered with these nine [stones] since when it was set ahead of the whole multitude of angels, it was more illustrious in comparison with them" (p. 286).

<sup>93</sup> On this large topic see Peter Dinzelbacher, "Die mittelalterliche Allegorie der Lebensreise," in *Monsters, Marvels and Miracles: Imaginary Journeys and Landscapes in the Middle Ages*, ed. Leif Søndergaard and Rasmus Thorning Hansen (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2005), 65–112. See also Manuela Brito-Martins, "The Concept of *peregrinatio* in Saint Augustine and its Influences," in *Exile in the Middle Ages*, ed. Laura Napran and Elisabeth van Houts, International Medieval Research 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 83–94; Dee Dyas, *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature, 700–1500* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001),



12–36; Siegfried Wenzel, “The Pilgrimage of Life as a Late Medieval Genre,” *Mediaeval Studies* 35 (1973): 370–88; F. C. Gardiner, *The Pilgrimage of Desire: A Study of Theme and Genre in Medieval Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); and Gerhart B. Ladner, “*Homo Viator*: Medieval Ideas on Alienation and Order,” *Speculum* 42 (1967): 233–59.

<sup>94</sup> As noted earlier, it was a theological commonplace as early as Gregory the Great (*Forty Gospel Homilies*, homily 34) that humans would live in heaven as co-equals with the angels.

<sup>95</sup> It is striking to note that both John Scot Eriugena and Hugh of St. Victor in their glosses on pseudo-Dionysius’s *Celestial Hierarchy* use the word “luciforme” to mean luminous (see *PL* 122:1068 and *PL* 175:1149, respectively). As far as I can tell, the word is rarely used in medieval Latin.

<sup>96</sup> For the Latin see *PL* 197:1247–66; for an English translation see *Hildegard von Bingen’s Physica: The Complete English Translation of Her Classic Work on Health and Healing*, trans. Priscilla Throop (Rochester, VT: Healing Arts Press, 1998), 137–56. Hildegard also discusses Lucifer in *Scivias*, trans. Columba Hart and Jane Bishop (New York: Paulist Press, 1990). In book III, vision 1 she declares that “Lucifer was of purer light than all the other angels” (p. 320). In book I, vision 2 she states that “he felt no defect either in his beauty or in his strength. Hence when he contemplated his beauty, and when he considered in himself the power of his strength, he discovered pride, which promised him that he might begin what he wished, because he could achieve what he had begun” (p. 74). Later in book III, vision 1 she notes that “he destroyed in himself the inner beauty that was his consciousness of good” (p. 318). This lost light, Hildegard argues, was given by God to humanity: “And so I, the God of Heaven, kept the illustrious light, which departed from the Devil because of his crime, and hid it within Myself until I gave it to the mire of the earth, which I had formed in My image and likeness” (p. 320). Hildegard also mentions Lucifer’s beauty and fall in her *Liber divinorum operum*. See *Hildegardis Bingensis Liber divinorum operum*, ed. A. Derolez and P. Dronke, CCCM, 92 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), vision 1.

<sup>97</sup> “The devil abhors, detests, and disdains precious stones. This is because he remembers that their beauty was manifest on him before he fell from the glory God had given him, and because some precious stones are engendered from fire, in which he receives his punishment. By the will of God, the devil was vanquished by the fire of the Holy Spirit when humans are snatched from his jaws by the first breath of the Holy Spirit” (*Hildegard von Bingen’s Physica*, trans. Throop, 137).

<sup>98</sup> “God had decorated the first angel as if with precious stones. Lucifer, upon seeing them shine in the mirror of the Divinity, took knowledge from them and recognized that God wished to do many wondrous things. His mind was exalted with pride, since the beauty of the stones which covered him shone in God. He thought that he could do deeds both equal to and greater than God’s. And so his splendor was extinguished. But, just as God restored Adam to a better part, He sent neither the beauty nor the powers of those precious stones to perdition, but willed that they should be held in honor and blessing on earth and used for medicine” (*ibid.*, 138).

<sup>99</sup> Ritchey, “Twelfth-Century Discovery of Nature,” 246, has also drawn attention to the presence of *gem-mae* or gems in Hildegard’s *Ordo virtutum*. The virtues of the play’s title form the branches of a tree, the Tree of Jesse, which brings Christ into the world. In the *Ordo* Hildegard also compares Christ’s body to a tree that is forever in bloom; however, to describe that physical state Hildegard uses the phrase “plenum gemmarum.” Christ’s body is full of gems, or buds (depending on how one translates the phrase).

<sup>100</sup> See Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias*, 73, trans. Hart and Bishop.

<sup>101</sup> Carruthers, *Experience of Beauty*, chapter 5 (on variety) and chapter 6 (on ordinary beauty, esp. 181–93).

<sup>102</sup> See n. 91 above.

<sup>103</sup> In this regard see Rachel Fulton’s important review of Carruthers’s *Experience of Beauty*, <http://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/18515/24628>.