

Spring 4-30-2015

# Herrad of Hohenbourg and her Garden of Delights

Alyssa M. Hughes

Follow this and additional works at: [https://scholar.umw.edu/student\\_research](https://scholar.umw.edu/student_research)



Part of the [History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Hughes, Alyssa M., "Herrad of Hohenbourg and her Garden of Delights" (2015). *Student Research Submissions*. 96.  
[https://scholar.umw.edu/student\\_research/96](https://scholar.umw.edu/student_research/96)

This Honors Project is brought to you for free and open access by Eagle Scholar. It has been accepted for inclusion in Student Research Submissions by an authorized administrator of Eagle Scholar. For more information, please contact [archives@umw.edu](mailto:archives@umw.edu).

## **HERRAD OF HOHENBOURG AND HER GARDEN OF DELIGHTS**

An honors paper submitted to the Department of Art and Art History  
of the University of Mary Washington  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Departmental Honors

Alyssa M. Hughes

April 2015

By signing your name below, you affirm that this work is the complete and final version of your paper submitted in partial fulfillment of a degree from the University of Mary Washington. You affirm the University of Mary Washington honor pledge: "I hereby declare upon my word of honor that I have neither given nor received unauthorized help on this work."

Alyssa M. Hughes  
(digital signature)

04/30/15

University of Mary Washington

Herrad of Hohenbourg and her *Garden of Delights*

*By: Alyssa Hughes*  
*Faculty Advisor: Professor JeanAnn Dabb*  
*Spring 2015*

## Abstract

Herrad of Hohenbourg was a major contributor to the visual culture of 12<sup>th</sup> century European monastic tradition. She was the abbess of a female convent known as the Hohenbourg Abbey located on the eastern slope of Mount Odilienberg in the Vosges mountain range of modern day Alsace, France. Herrad succeeded her mentor Relinde as Abbess of Hohenbourg in the year 1167; her reign would last from this year until her death in 1195. Amidst the suppression of a patriarchal society, Relinde and Herrad were able to instill the necessity of education within the convent. With the passing of Relinde, Herrad perpetuated the practices of Relinde with the creation of her own illuminated manuscript, the *Hortus deliciarum* (*Garden of Delights*) in order to supply a spiritual exegesis for the women of Hohenbourg. The text within focused mainly on the Salvation History with sections throughout that focused on making the text more relatable in an earthly sense; text was accompanied by brilliant illuminations, which warned, not only against mortal sin, but also the malevolence of men. Herrad was a scholar in a time when the patriarchy of Europe ruled without the understanding of the necessity for the education of women. She was greatly influenced by not only contemporary materials but also by philosophical texts of classicism; this allowed her to create the *Hortus*: A text that would not only educate the women of the Hohenbourg Abbey, but also break the stereotype of ignorant women in the 12<sup>th</sup> century monastic tradition. The *Hortus* was destroyed in a fire that took place in the Strasbourg Library in the year 1871 resulting in the wake of the Franco-Prussian War. Luckily, there were copies made of the text prior to its loss. Therefore, scholars may examine the text and image synthesis and realize the intentions of Herrad of Hohenbourg in her secluded female convent in Alsace. This woman has hardly been spoken for amongst the realm of feminist art history; her contributions to the visual culture of the 12<sup>th</sup> century are simply too great to overlook. This research hopes to map out the historical context of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and to explore the *Hortus deliciarum* in order to further convey the excellence of Herrad's contributions to female monastic tradition.

## Preface

I felt connected to the study of art history from the very moment I sat in on my first lecture. Maybe it was way it made me look at things, and not just at art. We discussed the lives of artists and their inspirations; they became real. When I began to decide what I would like to write my art history individual study on, I initially thought that I would like to focus on art created in the northern European tradition. I was set on completing research on the art of the Northern Baroque period, more specifically on the artist Rembrandt. I was, and still am enamored with his use of light and dark in illuminating the subjects of his paintings. With a sparked interest in terms of illumination in art I set out on a semester-long journey in Berlin where I would study at Humboldt Universität surrounded by a rich history of art and the founders of the discipline known as Kunstgeschichte. It was at Humboldt where I gathered an interest in the art of the Middle Ages. I began to see beauty where previously I had mistakenly seen incompetence. I began to understand and condone the motivations of artists and patrons, rather than condemning them and labeling them as weakness. While I was in Berlin, I was not only enlightened in the field of Medieval art; I also became fascinated with the study of feminist art history.

Upon my return to Mary Washington I decided to focus my energies on the female monastic tradition of the medieval period. In doing so, I took on the task of completing two individual studies based on influential female monastic women. Being an art history and German double major, I have found that there is a great deal of source material in the German language. Thus, I chose to exploit my knowledge of the German language in order to create a sort of archetypal paradigm within my research. To my surprise I found that there has been a lack of

research done in the English language on the contributions of women, more specifically monastic women, in medieval Europe in comparison to the men of the Middle Ages. The purpose of my research has been to find a woman (or women) who contributed to the visual culture within her sphere of existence no matter how big or small. It had become apparent to me that there exists an overarching stereotype of the monastic female of the Middle Ages. This woman, if she was of any interest at all, was most likely a mystic; meaning she communicated with God through visions. If she was not a mystic she was a pious hermit who largely kept to herself, making no real impression on the cultural substance of the age; much less the visual culture of the era.

Using the guidance of Jeffery Hamburger, author of important texts pertaining to female monastic tradition such as: *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (1997) and *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (1998), I was led to a woman known as Herrad of Hohenbourg: a clerical woman born in the 12th century.

Like Hamburger, I was drawn to study this woman due to a lack of general knowledge on her contributions. She was abbess of the Hohenbourg Abbey located in modern day Alsace, France, and she reigned as abbess from 1167 to 1195. I approached her illuminated text, the *Hortus deliciarum (the Garden of Delights)* created between 1167 and 1185, with much curiosity as to how it was made and how it functioned amongst the women of the Hohenbourg Abbey. It seemed rather clear to me that Herrad of Hohenbourg had achieved what most medievalists had previously defined as impossible, for she was able to obtain an education that allowed her to create an influential illuminated manuscript that was unfortunately destined to remain isolated within the secluded female convent at Hohenbourg. Herrad of Hohenbourg was both an abbess and a prolific scholar in 12<sup>th</sup> century monastic tradition. She created the *Hortus deliciarum* as a

pictorial encyclopedia for the women of the Hohenbourg Abbey, and in her manuscript she never identifies herself as a female; she names herself a bee in the *Garden of Delights*.

For my German individual study I chose to research Hildegard of Bingen. She was also a product of the 12th century; a well-known abbess amongst the hierarchy of the Church.

Hildegard, unlike Herrad, was a mystic, and she was quick to downplay her intelligence, thus completing the paradigm most frequently employed to describe female monastics. I decided to focus on the patriarchal influence on the completion of Hildegard's text known as the *Scivias*. In doing so, I was able to create a sort of contrasting model of research in order to speak for the ambient stereotypes given to women in 12<sup>th</sup>-century Europe. What was most stimulating in researching the two women was the fact that they both contributed to the visual culture of the time. Both the Herrad and Hildegard's manuscripts present many illuminations; it is as if the manuscripts are centered on the illuminations. This is peculiar because, "...manuscripts that emphasized the illustrations were unusual at this time and the *Hortus deliciarum* along with Hildegard von Bingen's *Scivias* (1140s), was considered innovative in the 12th century."<sup>1</sup>

Whether this innovation was recognized within the lifetimes of the two women is debatable. Although they never came in contact with one another, I have found their individual experiences as medieval monastic women a source of much intrigue. The juxtaposed studies proved to be fruitful in the search for a fuller understanding of the position of the "female" within the Church of the 12th century.

In terms of the study of feminist art history, I believe it is important to speak for women such as Herrad. She made a difference in the lives of the women she cared for at the Hohenbourg Abbey as a result of her own tenacity. She was an independent scholar who seems to have been overlooked by previous generations of art historians. She must be included in the study of female

monastic contribution of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, for she, unlike many women of her time was able to break free of gender stereotypes in order to create a powerful text used to educate the women of the Hohenbourg Abbey. Her illuminations are intricate manifestations of raw talent. I would like to bring her textual, and even more specifically her visual contributions to the larger discussions of monastic tradition of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. She will serve as a valuable role model not only for women of our generation, but also for the women to come. Herrad of Hohenbourg must be added to the canon of medieval artists and scholars; her contributions are simply too great to be overlooked.



## Part 1: Introduction

St. Odilia, patroness of Alsace, founded the Hohenbourg Abbey in the late 7th century. Scholars believe that the foundation year was 690, however, there still remains speculation on the accuracy of this date.<sup>2</sup> As the first abbess of Hohenbourg, St. Odilia chose to locate the Abbey on the eastern slope of a mountain known as the Odilienberg situated within the Vosges Mountains in Alsace, France. The first building was initially meant to serve as a hospice, but it quickly developed into a convent for women of the nobility.<sup>3</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that the Hohenbourg Abbey was in close proximity to a neighboring male monastery at this time; it seems as if it stood as a secluded female convent even in its earliest years as a monastic structure.

By the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the convent at Hohenbourg was in a state of decline. The Gregorian Reform proved an influential development that would motivate a large number of individuals to join the monastic profession, for historically, convent life was a favored path of noble women who, for whatever reason, were not destined to marry. As a result of the reform movement, which began in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, noble women were now not the only ones joining convent life, and the growth of monastic communities inspired a need for a greater attention to the education of new members. Visual and lingual competencies were issues presented to convent leaders during the evolution of monastic life in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and there lacked a focus on the education of nuns at the Hohenbourg Abbey until the election of the abbess Relinde of Bergen in the year 1140.<sup>4</sup> During her time as abbess, Relinde inspired a new sort of spiritual pedagogy within the convent at Hohenbourg. Under her supervision, the Abbey would come to be known as a community of women bound together under strict discipline as well as a place of great education for nuns.<sup>5</sup> Relinde would act as a mentor to Herrad of Hohenbourg when she joined

the convent. Perhaps Relinde's rigorous educational program acted as the catalyst in Herrad's inspiration to create the *Hortus*. Herrad was Relinde's pupil, and she was also the woman who succeeded her as abbess beginning in the year 1167 and ending with her death in 1195. Indeed, Herrad took into account the scholastic inspiration of her mentor in the education of her fellow nuns. As a great educator, Herrad achieved what most medievalists had previously defined as impossible in regards to female monastic tradition; a comprehensive text arranged in a manner that synthesized both word and image authored by a woman for women. Herrad was able to obtain an education, initially through Relinde, that would allow her to create an influential illuminated manuscript.

The *Hortus deliciarum* was created without the assistance of a male, a rather unusual feat for the 12th century within the spectrum of female monastic contribution; it manifested itself as an encyclopedic text containing: 324 folios, sixty poems by various medieval Latin poets such as Hildebert of Lavardin, Petrus Pictor, and Walther of Châtillon. It also contained a number of songs with their musical notations, various prose texts excerpted from the Bible, biblical commentaries, historical chronicles, church laws, the liturgy, as well as scholarly studies.<sup>6</sup>

The fate of the manuscript is quite possibly one of the reasons there has been a significant lack of research done. The original text was destroyed in a fire that took place in Strasbourg as a result of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871; a large portion of the text survives as facsimile.<sup>7</sup> A fire destroyed the Abbey in the year 1546; this event displaced nuns, sending some back to their families and leading others to become Protestants and marry.<sup>8</sup> As a result of the fire, the *Hortus* was transported to the library of the Bishop of Strasbourg sometime in the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>9</sup> It was in this location that it perished in flames. However, while the *Hortus* was in the Central Registry of Strasbourg it became well known; for a time it was revered as a work of

scholastic genius. Scholar Mary Ellen Waithe stated concerning the manuscript's reception at the Central Registry, "So great was the esteem for its achievements that they were elevated almost to mythic proportions, and the author of the *Hortus deliciarum* was unofficially revered as a saint."<sup>10</sup> Herrad was recognized as a woman in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, who had successfully created a comprehensive pictorial encyclopedia.

After the destruction of the manuscript several convoluted copies were left behind. Notable copyists involved in the preservation of the *Hortus* include: Alexandre Straub, Gustave Keller, Canon Joseph Walters, and Christian Maurice Engelhardt.<sup>11</sup> Rosalie Green directed the most contemporary reconstruction of the *Hortus*, which was published in 1979. Her reason being, "...Straub and Keller's publication gave no true impression of the illustrations themselves or their order, and almost none of the substantial text which accompanied them, and its placing *vis-à-vis* the miniatures. Nor was the gap satisfactorily filled by the publication of Canon Joseph Walter's *Hortus deliciarum* in 1952."<sup>12</sup> Preparations for the most contemporary edition began in 1968 as a result of, "an enquiry from dr. Michael Evans of the Warburg Institute to Professor Rosalie Green of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University."<sup>13</sup> Having previously studied the manuscript, Green assembled a team of scholars who could create the most accurate depiction of the lost *Hortus deliciarum*. Her goal was to organize the various folios and miniatures relative to the text, which was not included in previous attempts to copy the manuscript.<sup>14</sup> Although Green presents the most orderly representation of the *Hortus*, there are some shortcomings of her volume. She chose to use folio numbers, plate numbers, as well as individual image numbers; this makes locating illuminations and line drawings rather problematic, especially because the text accompanying the visuals is primarily Latin. Without an

understanding of the Latin language, interpretation of the 1979 recreation of the *Hortus deliciarum* proves to be difficult.<sup>15</sup>

Oftentimes, the content and order of the original *Hortus* are called into question. Mary Ellen Waithe reiterated, “ Green emphasized the extent to which the work goes beyond encyclopedic organization, while others note that unlike the encyclopedias, which follow a generally static plan, the organization of the *Hortus deliciarum* allows for both personal and historical development. In spite of encyclopedic elements, it recalls even more strongly the intellectual organization of the emergent *Summa* tradition of the twelfth century, the divisions of the *Sentences* of Peter the Lombard, and the order of Apostles Creed.”<sup>16</sup> The *Summa* tradition refers to a convention of scholasticism that became prevalent around the time of the foundation of universities in Europe; it was a tradition formed around the interest of investigating the intellect. The *Summa* tradition provided the basis for modern day scholarship. Herrad organized the manuscript in a manner that not only referred to Biblical history, but also to intellectual traditions of the time. Peter Lombard was a founding scholar of the university tradition in Europe; many of his texts were included in manuscripts in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. He focused primarily on the perpetuation of medieval exegesis and theology; much of his work, although described as dry, allegorical, and even overtly methodical, was included in manuscripts made by men for men.<sup>17</sup> The *Hortus deliciarum* was created with male precedents in mind. Unable to attend university courses herself, Herrad used available texts, supposedly on loan from the nearby male monastery at Marbach, in order to create not only an encyclopedic text with reference to Biblical tradition, but also a text that was accurately enlightened by the philosophical and theological beliefs of the day.<sup>18</sup>

Christine Bischoff, colleague of Rosalie Green and contributor to the most recent reconstruction of the *Hortus* described the organization, "...as comprising four sections treating salvation history from the standpoint respectively of the Covenant, redemption through Christ, the Church as the mystical body of Christ, and contemplation of the last ends."<sup>19</sup> Mary Ellen Waithe provides Green's hypothesis on the organization of the *Hortus*, she, "...describes it as a triptych of material from the Old Testament, the New Testament and a final didactic section on the application of the Biblical story to the Church and its members."<sup>20</sup> The largest majority of the manuscript focuses on the salvation history. Although Herrad used the narratives of both the Old and New Testaments, she focused primarily on the stories of the Old Testament. She used these stories to relate intellectual ideas and apostolic morals back to the women of Hohenbourg. In this sense, she systematically retold the stories of the Old and New Testaments. In addition to her original rendition of the salvation history, she also included sections between areas of Biblical text to relate the concepts of the exegesis back to the women of Hohenbourg; these sections include some of the most well known illuminations created by Herrad. The leading examples include: *Philosophy, the Liberal Arts and the Poets* (Fig. 4), and *The Ladder of Virtues* (Fig. 7). She used these areas between Biblical story-telling to introduce not only theological but also philosophical concepts; such as the importance of education, or the affects of sin on day-to-day life. In essence, she included breaks between the salvation history to explore the pedagogy of the liberal arts through the use of didactic illuminations.

Herrad of Hohenbourg was born between the years 1125 and 1130.<sup>21</sup> She is often referred to as Herrad of Landsberg, and her origin can be determined based on her preliminary last name. Landsberg is a part of the larger city known as Strasbourg, forty-five minutes from the site of the Hohenbourg Abbey; therefore the Hohenbourg Abbey was situated close to the origins of

Herrad. There is little information to illuminate her biography, for there are no records that document the existence of her parents or any potential siblings. It is interesting, however, to note that one may not only determine her geographical origins based on the last name; one may also determine her class as well. In the case of Herrad, the “of” like the German “von” marks a member of the noble class. Convents in the early Middle Ages were favored by the nobility as a sort of refuge, and before the Gregorian Reform, monasteries (both male and female) were inhabited almost exclusively by members of the nobility. Willing participants of the aristocracy were needed in order to finance the monastic tradition of the Middle Ages, through provision of the necessary financial support for the houses. Members of the upper class were often, at least minimally, educated prior to their arrival in a convent. These people not only provided intellectual advantages within convent walls, they also delivered a sort of monetary allowance upon their arrival in the form of a dowry. A dowry in the Middle Ages was a contribution by the family of a member of the noble class that would go towards their daughter’s anticipated union with Christ. This union was to be with the Church via the symbolic bridegroom, Christ. Thus, the dowries provided a sense of stability to the convents themselves, allowing for a sort of essential homeostasis. Prospects of both intellectual and monetary advantages were seen as favorable assets, brought by the women joining various convents especially in the wake to the Gregorian Reform. As more non-aristocrats joined convents, the wealthy and well educated continued to hold leadership positions in the various houses. With a surge of individuals interested in monasticism as a profession, aristocrats rose to positions of influence in convents.

With the assumption that Herrad arrived at the Hohenbourg Abbey having come from a noble lineage: it can be presumed that she was of immediate interest to the abbess Relinde. Without an exact knowledge of the date of Herrad’s arrival at Hohenbourg, it can be assumed

that she, like many young women of the 12th century noble class, came to the convent sometime in their adolescence before being promised in marriage. Due to the fact that Herrad would eventually succeed Relinde as abbess, it can be speculated that Relinde favored Herrad as a pupil. She would have taught Herrad the importance of education within the convent walls. Also, assuming Herrad had a previous background in the understanding of language (more specifically the Latin language), Relinde would have been able to further her comprehension of texts and images, perhaps even organizing a course of study for her young pupil. For Herrad, education would be the one outstanding feature of her resolve that would set her and her achievements apart as a medieval monastic woman. Relinde could have inspired Herrad to ask questions to which she did not yet know the answers. Relinde most likely acted as the spark that ignited the scholarly passion of Herrad, whatever relationship the two women had, Herrad would go on to provide intellectual guidance to the women under her care. Within her secluded sphere when she became abbess, Herrad not only began the creation of the *Hortus deliciarum*, but she also contributed to the expansion of the convent in terms of its political and economic independence.

## **Part 2: Historical Context**

Europe was changing rapidly in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. There was an increased interest in trade; which led to the development of new roads, and the foundation of new towns. Humans previously secluded in small towns began to come into contact with each other via travel pilgrimage and crusades. Herrad was a product of this rapidly changing environment.

It has been assumed by some scholars that the female monastic tradition of the 12th century faced spiritual and intellectual hindrances as a result of the adoption of the Gregorian Reform.<sup>22</sup> As a result of reform all women were subsequently separated from men. Although

women had been in separate houses before the reform, an interest in recreating the Biblical precedent of male and female separation triggered a widespread lack of trust in the capabilities of women operating on their own terms. The idea of a “double monastery” was reinforced with the belief that the male clergy members should not be eligible to marry; as a result, contact with the opposite sex was now even more limited than before. Fiona J. Griffiths proclaimed, “For many, the answer was total segregation.”<sup>23</sup> Conventional double monasteries were a product of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, however they became more prevalent following the Gregorian Reform. As a result of the separation, females were allegedly subjected to a sort of intellectual regression. They were subject to *cura monialium*, a term encompassing the process of “caring for nuns”.<sup>24</sup> With the shifting paradigm of the Church, the belief that women could not educate themselves without male intervention became standardized. This is why it has previously been assumed that the female monastic tradition of the 12th century was subjected to a decline in intellectual growth.

Pope Gregory VII envisioned a revitalized church based on traditional moral values in conjunction with an untainted clergy.<sup>25</sup> His reign as Pope began on April 22, 1073 and lasted only until May 25, 1085. The perpetuation of the desire for a return to earlier monastic ideals was continued by his successors into the 12th century. The institution of Gregorian Reform would last from the mid-eleventh century until the Concordat of Worms, which occurred in the year 1123.<sup>26</sup> The demands of the movement were outlined in the *Dictatus papae* (1075).<sup>27</sup> For this document contains 27 “demands” of the Papacy.<sup>28</sup> This document outlined the powers of the Pope. It defined the authority of the Church and the rules that the members of the Church and clergy had to obey. In redefining the regulations of the church, the *Dictatus papae* was able to fortify current orders of Christianity while allowing for the foundation of new orders under the premise of strengthening the papal presence. Along with the restoration of the church came



people interested in joining the monastic profession. The raising number of women taking the veil, "...prompted a surge in monastic foundations: throughout the period new communities were established and old ones revived in order to house the crowds of new converts."<sup>29</sup> Some of the newest orders with the Church were the Cistercians, Carthusians, Augustinians, Premonstratensians, Gilbertines, and Grandmonotines, as well as others.<sup>30</sup> When Herrad joined the convent at Hohenbourg she entered a house of the Augustinian order.

Founded with the Rule of St. Augustine functioning as its essential premise, the order established male clergy known as canons regular who were ordained.<sup>31</sup> The canons of St. Augustine were committed to pursue the goals of celibacy, poverty, and obedience without withdrawing from the world; these same principles were enforced widely amongst many orders of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. Cistercians and Benedictines.<sup>32</sup> The Augustinian order was extremely flexible in that it had many foundational principles in common with orders such as the Benedictines and the Cistercians. C.H. Lawrence stated regarding the organization of the Augustinian order, "...in the twelfth [century] it was gradually accepted as the identity card of the regular canonical life. One of the curious things about it [the Augustinian order] was its generality. In the attenuated form which gained universal acceptance it gave little practical guidance on how to organise a monastery or construct a timetable."<sup>33</sup> These principles allowed Herrad to form her own educational structure within her convent. Perhaps the flexibility of the Augustinian order allowed Herrad to break away from the hinderances brought on by the Gregorian Reform.

In examining the relation between the Augustinian rule for male and female houses Kevin J. Hughes stated, "Some have argued that a Rule for Nuns, i.e., the same rule applied to communities of women, precedes the Rule of Monks. The Rule for Nuns is found within

Augustine's Letter 211, which is now believed by many to be authentic. However, recent scholarship tends to conclude that the masculine form preceded the feminine and that Augustine himself adapted the Rule for Monks to meet the needs of the community of women whom he addressed."<sup>34</sup> Whatever the case, Hughes further observed, "...it should be added that the ease with which the Rule shifted from masculine to feminine while preserving the same basic shape is one of its distinctive characteristics."<sup>35</sup> This is, conceivably, one of the reasons the order was so readily adopted in the expanding monastic world of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>36</sup>

Augustine of Hippo grew to be a major Christian theologian.<sup>37</sup> His biography in conjunction with the story of Herrad is unavoidable in the since both greatly valued growth in intellectual understanding. Born in the year 354, he lived in a region of North Africa known as Tagaste (modern day Algeria). In his youth, he devoted his time to the understanding of a wide variety of religions and philosophies; his mother was a Christian and his father was a pagan.<sup>38</sup> Their spiritual dichotomy influenced the religious pursuits of Augustine. At the age of fifteen, he was sent to continue his studies in Italy where he experienced, "...a crucial epoch in state and church," in the late Roman Empire.<sup>39</sup> Augustine was present in Italy during an era of declining political stability of the Empire. During this period of decline, Augustine focused on becoming a rhetorician and lawyer. These fields of study allowed him not only to come into contact with the weakening structural aspects of the Empire, it also led him to a large number of philosophical texts; some of his most valued sources included Cicero's *Hortensius*, *The Categories* by Aristotle, and nearly all of the works by the philosopher Plato.<sup>40</sup> As a result of his interest in philosophy in juxtaposition with Christianity Augustine began to write his own literature. Philip Schaff observed that Augustine, "...enriched Latin literature with a store of beautiful, original, and pregnant proverbial sayings."<sup>41</sup> Indeed, Augustine wrote many texts that could have been

available to Herrad for examination: such as *De Doctrina Christiana*, *Retractationes*, and *De civitate Dei*.<sup>42</sup> In fact, Augustine frequently communicated his preference of philosophical texts over the Bible, as R. P. Russell stated, in regards to the goals of Augustine, “Augustinianism represented an attempt to reach an ever fuller understanding of revealed truth through supernatural graces and gifts, aided by the principles of philosophical inquiry.”<sup>43</sup> Herrad derived her theological and philosophical interest from the foundation Rule of St. Augustine. Through his writings, Augustine gave philosophical principles a near-Christian likeness and *vice versa*; he described being disillusioned with the Book of Genesis, therefore he wrote about it as if it were a philosophical topic. As a writer and a teacher of the Christian faith, St. Augustine provided a type of *Vorbild* for abbess Herrad; she used his principles as a sort of “ideal” for her own manuscript.<sup>44</sup> Judging from the organizational program of the *Hortus*, with the juxtaposition of Old Testament, New Testament, and didactic narratives, Herrad, like St. Augustine did not gather as much value from the stories of the Bible without some sort of philosophical reference. Her interest not only in the piety of the women of Hohenbourg, but also in the transcription of philosophical principles can be seen as a derivative of the Rule of St. Augustine. Herrad was certainly influenced by the founding principle of intellectual growth from the Augustinian Rule.<sup>45</sup>

As a result of the diversification of monastic tradition in 12<sup>th</sup> century Europe a marked number of laypersons were inspired to become a part of cloistered life. Fiona J. Griffiths, author of *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* explained that, “During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, growing numbers of men and women converted to the religious life, abandoning the world and all its temptations for the rigors of the monastery,” for it was an age of rejuvenated spirituality.<sup>46</sup> Such individuals sought a life of faith,

devotion, and greater meaning. They wanted to adhere to an apostolic example that was unachievable within the secular sphere, and many devoted themselves to monasticism as a result of the fear that accompanied everyday life, for fear is the beginning of knowledge in the Christian faith. Once the presence of fear is known, one may receive the promise of unconditional love of the Lord, this being a belief held in high regard in the Catholic tradition.<sup>47</sup> These individuals, more importantly women who joined the monastic profession, were searching for ways to escape the secular realm of existence and become a part of the newly rehabilitated sphere of religious life in the Church. The focus of these people was to achieve a version of *vita apostolica*, or apostolic life on earth.<sup>48</sup> They craved a life untainted by the sins of worldly existence. Ernest W. McDonnell of Rutgers University stated, “The concept *vita apostolica* embraced three basic principles: imitation of the primitive church, poverty and minimalistic lifestyle, penitential behavior, with interests and activities restricted to the spiritual domain; a passionate love for souls at home and far afield; and evangelical poverty in common, either predicated on mendicancy or mitigated by the work of one’s own hands.”<sup>49</sup>

Griffith presented an exhaustive account of the life, work, and contemporary time period of the abbess Herrad of Hohenbourg, but she called into question the role of *vita apostolica* in the lives of the women of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. She posed the question, “Did the *vita apostolica*, the apostolic life, include women, and if so how?”<sup>50</sup>

In order to understand the answer to this question, one must examine the *Hortus*. Griffiths alluded to the abbacy of Herrad in order to answer the question; she declared Herrad’s success in succeeding from the obligation of male observation and creating a manuscript of encyclopedic mastery qualified Herrad and the women of Hohenbourg as active members of the *vita apostolica* movement.<sup>51</sup> It is clear within the details of the manuscript that Herrad aimed to

educate the women of her convent. Her main goal was to educate and govern without the interference of male priests. Some of the women undoubtedly entered into the Abbey as a result of the push towards a *vita apostolica*; this was a cultural movement that affected the entire Church and all of its members, including women.<sup>52</sup>

With the help of Relinde, Herrad began work on the *Hortus deliciarum* as means to enlighten her sisters on their path to salvation. When Herrad began to work on the *Hortus* in the year 1175, the Hohenbourg Abbey was a newly reformed community of canonesses.<sup>53</sup> The community at Hohenbourg was faced with the necessity of restoration due to the lack of attention given to the surrounding buildings and the chapel prior to the age of reform.<sup>54</sup> On top of a disturbed living environment, based on the need for reconstruction, the women of the Hohenbourg Abbey had to deal with the presence of the institution of pastoral care.<sup>55</sup> The convention of pastoral care or *cura monialium* was of great concern to the women of the Hohenbourg Abbey especially during Herrad's abbacy.<sup>56</sup>

The term *cura monialium* is used to describe the pastoral care of nuns brought on by the reform movement. Jeffrey Hamburger, scholar of female monastic tradition and visual contributions, stated, "Above all else, the *cura monialium* was designed to ensure that women and the images produced for them were anchored to systems governed by men."<sup>57</sup> The presence of pastoral care within convents led to a hindrance in the written history of female monasticism of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. With this rule women were not free to express themselves, let alone educate themselves. In order to understand the reasons why enclosure and the subsequent practice of *cura monialium* have hindered the study of female monastic tradition; one must first understand the limits of enclosure.<sup>58</sup> The male clergy members would observe the women and administer communion as well as take confession on a regular basis; in some cases the women were not

even allowed to converse with one another, and if they were then it was never in a private space. Many female convents (like the convent at Admont *see footnote 58.*) were severely segregated. If these women were allowed to create art within the convents walls, it was subsequently labeled *Nonnenarbeiten*.<sup>59</sup> Thankfully, with the progressive nature of the Augustinian order, Herrad of Hohenbourg was able to escape the oppressive nature of steady male presence in the convent. She even went so far as to warn against the interaction with malevolent clerical men in the *Hortus*.

The Hohenbourg solution to *cura monialium* is by far the most innovative for women of 12<sup>th</sup> century Europe. During Relinde's abbacy however, she worked to promote good relations between monasteries. The symbiotic relationship with the nearby male monastery at Marbach was less than threatening as Griffiths described, "Relinde's actions offer a persuasive challenge to the model of female passivity that is so often associated with the *cura monialium*. Her decision to ally herself with the canons at Marbach suggests that the Hohenbourg women recognized Marbach's reputation for the care of women and were strategic in securing the attention of the canons there."<sup>60</sup> Relinde's approach was passive, however, "When Herrad succeeded Relinde as abbess her most immediate task was to find a workable solution to the problem of pastoral care at Hohenbourg."<sup>61</sup> Herrad decided to establish two new foundations from regular canons near Hohenbourg; both of the canons would be dependent of the female community for resources (lands, revenues, and material goods like wheat and wine).<sup>62</sup> Herrad's solution to *cura monialium* freed her dependence on male chaplains and monks. Griffiths further stated, "It also made Hohenbourg the focal point of a small circle of reform houses and added to Herrad's prestige as the abbess of Hohenbourg."<sup>63</sup>

The *Hortus deliciarum* was created by a woman for women. It was a great synthesis of image and text that allowed for the exclusive education of the women of the Hohenbourg Abbey. It is clear when analyzing the images of the *Hortus*, the illuminations hold just as much importance as the text so eloquently included within them, and that the resolve of the abbess Herrad was to ensure the women of the Hohenbourg Abbey with a well rounded education.

Not influenced by visions, Herrad took the approach of a scholar in the creation of her illustrated manuscript. Instead of down-playing her intelligence, like Hildegard of Bingen and many women involved in the monastic tradition of the 12th century, Herrad authored a comprehensive text based on contemporary understandings of theology, philosophy, as well as literary themes to communicate religion and the presence of “good” and “evil” to her sisters in a manner that would connect with their own experiences and understandings of the world. This *Hortus* defeats previously held stereotypes of female intellectual decline in the 12th century; or within the entire tradition of female monasticism. So little research has been done, on this topic, therefore that provides an opportunity to expand the realm of feminist art history.

### **Part 3: Visual Culture**

“ The feminist approach to art history is predicated on the idea that gender is an essential element in understanding the creation, content, and evaluation of art.”<sup>64</sup>

-Laurie Schneider Adams

The significant lack of recognized works created by women in the medieval monastic tradition mirrors the subordination of women at this time in history. The Middle Ages are in

serious need of attention; especially from the realm of feminist art history. Leading scholar of female monastic tradition and visual contributions, Jeffrey Hamburger, has helped to begin the process of understanding the female monastic experience. Although he focuses mainly in the late medieval era, he also makes references to previous centuries, such as the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

Hamburger questioned the equalization of male and female monasticism, “No consideration of female monasticism in the Middle Ages would be complete without some consideration not only of the degree to which female monasticism was in fact distinctive, and what respects, but also of how and to what extent its study should be integrated into the study of medieval monasticism in general or, more broadly still, medieval culture as a whole.”<sup>65</sup> Certainly, since the traditions of males and females in monasticism were inherently separated, the question of whether or not they should even be associated with one another comes to question. It is not a factor of influence; it is a factor of gender, and in this vein of thought the two traditions should be presented together in tandem.

Adams defines the twofold challenge of feminist art history, “First, it considers ways in which women have been discriminated against as artists and as subjects of art.”<sup>66</sup> Second, feminist art historians have been instrumental in recovering information about the contributions of women- both as artists and patrons.”<sup>67</sup> This fundamental approach to the gender issues of the Middle Ages, more specifically the gender issues of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, could lay the foundations for the examination of female monastic contributions to visual culture. A study like this would certainly enhance the accomplishments of women such as Herrad. The focus on her gender will not cause further segregation; rather it will call for an earned equality. Jeffrey Hamburger notes the difficulty of such a task:



It is difficult, however, to deconstruct the art history of female monasticism, which has yet to be assembled, even in a rudimentary fashion. The principal construction, if one so wishes to state the issue, has been one of exhaustion and disregard. If, however, we set aside established historiographical frameworks and grant these overlooked drawings our regard [not in direct reference to the *Hortus*], we see how images that supposedly make up the prehistories of later genres turn out to have histories all their own. *Nonnenarbeiten* can be seen as their makers saw them, as ends themselves, not as antecedents or analogues. No work of art speaks directly in the manner once assumed for all so-called primitives. Yet, the articulate images from the...medieval convents express with an uncommon immediacy the aspirations of the nuns who made them.<sup>68</sup>

Although Hamburger is not directly referencing the *Hortus deliciarum*, he does speak for the greater study of female monastic contributions to visual culture, a category within which the *Hortus* belongs. Hamburger notes further, “ I found myself confronted with an almost complete absence of serious or systematic research on the art of female monasticism.”<sup>69</sup> He found that he was unable to answer straightforward questions regarding, “...how nuns lived and worshiped, what they saw and read.”<sup>70</sup> He recognized that the understanding of women and their contributions to literature of the Middle Ages has become a sort of franchise; however, there still is a lack of a fundamental understanding and drive to uncover the art of females during this time. He noted that there is nothing even close to a survey of art and architecture of female monasticism of the medieval West; however he also states that any attempt to create such a thing would be premature at best.<sup>71</sup> It would be premature due to the lack of comprehension, still, of the female monastic experience.

The dimensions and binding of the *Hortus deliciarum* are noted in the Green facsimile. Its material was thick vellum, described by Engelhardt as *wollig*, the German term for woolly.<sup>72</sup> There were 255 folios that measured approximately 50-53 x 36-37 cm.<sup>73</sup> The binding of the *Hortus* is a topic of much interesting debate. Both Straub and Keller recognized that the manuscript was most likely originally unbound. They noted that the first and the last pages were

noticeably abraded.<sup>74</sup> This could mean that the manuscript was likely handled frequently. It was bound later in the 17<sup>th</sup> century in a sort of tooled pigskin over wooden boards; they also speculated that both the red-velvet slipcase and the gilded edges were a seventeenth century construct.<sup>75</sup> The question is, why was the manuscript originally unbound? In answering this question, assumptions about the function of the manuscript might be made. It is quite possible that Herrad intended the manuscript to remain unbound. In this way she could insure the circulation of portions of the manuscript around the convent. The piecemeal fashion of the manuscript may have been an original construct of Herrad. With her experience a female scholar she was certainly aware of the difficulties in acquiring source material. Why would she want to deny access to the *Hortus*, when it was such a fundamental part of her pedagogy?<sup>76</sup> Since texts were so rare, a bound volume would mean a limited readership at any given moment.

#### **Part 4: Visual Analysis**

The visual analysis of images will be organized in a chronological fashion; viewing the illuminations in order as they appear in the manuscript. The first folio functions as a title page with no illumination (fig. 1) The inscription states, “*Incipit Ortus deliciarum, in quo collectis floribus scripturarum assidue jocundetur turmula adollescentularum,*” which translates to: Here begins the garden of delights, where glorious scripture blossoms assiduously from the house of women.<sup>77</sup> The calligraphic text presented in a rather painterly manner with a larger “I” initial along the left side that begins the first word. Script style also varies across the eight lines of text. It is clear that Herrad was making aesthetic decisions from the start of the *Hortus*. There are also no clear line breaks, meaning she did not start a new line with the ending of a word; rather, she continues the words in a “snake-like” fashion down the length of the page identifying the space

between words with punctuation; which is rare in 12<sup>th</sup> century text. In this page Herrad refers to her convent at Hohenbourg as a garden-like space. Hohenbourg is a place of growth, knowledge, and prosperity; it is her *Garden of Delights*. She cleverly states that with the beginning of each new day the women (or damsels) of Hohenbourg pour over the word of the Lord. They quite literally did do so through the study of the *Hortus deliciarum* among other texts that would have been available to them. This folio is important because it is a statement of intent and dedication to the education of the women of Hohenbourg. This was their book; Herrad makes that clear on this opening page.

The manuscript next proceeds to present the salvation history. The first illumination beginning on folio 3r deals with the subjects of the first day of Creation (*The First Day: Fiat Lux (God creating the angels); Lucifer in Glory; Lucifer Plotting Rebellion; Fall of the Rebel Angels*); the salvation history model continues, with didactic interludes of poetic and scientific information, up to the story of *Cain and Abel Bringing Offerings to God*.<sup>78</sup> Immediately afterwards Herrad's subject matter shifts dramatically to folio 31r or the *Nine Muses* (fig. 2), in one of the many didactic intermissions of the *Hortus*. In Greek mythology the muses originated as only three, but the ancient anecdote says they eventually grew to be nine.<sup>79</sup> By the medieval era it was standard to identify nine muses, Herrad would have been aware of this tradition. The fact that they were all female was also likely a reason why Herrad chose to depict them in such a favorable way. The nine women sit arranged in three rows of circular medallions stacked on top of one another. The medallions are connected like vines; they intertwine with each other from every direction. In fact, "The vine is one of the most vivid symbols in the Bible and is used to express the relationship between God and His people. The vine sometimes refers to the vineyard as being the protected place where the children of God (the vines) flourish under the tender care

of God (the Keeper of the Vineyard).”<sup>80</sup> The nine muses as they appear in the vine-like structures are identified with inscriptions as follows (left to right), “Clio hystorie, Euterpe tybie, Talie comedie, Melpomene tragedie, Tersicore psalterium, Erato geometria, Polimnie rethorica, Uranie astronomia, Calliope littera.”<sup>81</sup> There are very few attributes to identify the individual muses; except for the muse of astronomy who seems to be holding a disk-like astrolabe. One common characteristic is that they are all looking in on the three central muses of music/ lyrical poetry, oratory/ sacred poetry, and astronomy. Perhaps, these disciplines provided Herrad with the greatest source of inspiration and are therefore given pride of place in the center. It is evident with the use of the vine motif in juxtaposition with the representation of the nine muses, Herrad was following in the footsteps of St. Augustine. She mixed Biblical subject matter with secular subjects. Her use of female personifications alludes to her interest in creating a sort of *Garden of Delights*: an area where the children of God may be nourished under the care of the keeper of the Garden. The central garden theme highlights the importance of intellectual growth as well as the variety of disciplines in an academic curriculum.

The next illumination on folio 32r closely follows *De novem musis*. It is titled *De poetis quorum opus poema dicitur; Item de philosophia et poetis; Quod mundi Gloria falsa sit et transitoria* (fig. 3). This illumination is one of the most recognizable images of the *Hortus deliciarum*. It is the subject of, *Philosophy, the Liberal Arts and the Poets*. Copyists Keller and Straub felt the need to do a color recreation of this particular folio, perhaps due to its significant theme.<sup>82</sup> The large circle of text encompassing the outer composition states, “*Hec exercicia que mundi philosophia/ Investigavit, investigate notavit.*”<sup>83</sup> This indicates that, “...the arts are the fruits of their investigations of pagan philosophy, written down and preserved for their pupils.”<sup>84</sup> Here Herrad recognized the importance of the liberal arts, and their role in the education of the

women of Hohenbourg. She placed a particular emphasis on the central figure: Philosophy, and she is represented as the centerpiece of this illumination. Mary Ellen Waithe described the page by noting that, “In the full-page illustration, Philosophy sits in the center of a large medallion encircled by an arcade in whose arched niches stand traditional figures of the arts. Philosophy wears a tripartite crown bearing inscriptions, which show the three platonic divisions of philosophy – logic, ethics, and physics. She holds a scroll stating that all wisdom comes from God, and that only the wise can do as they desire.”<sup>85</sup> In this sense, Herrad displayed her belief of the connection of divine awareness and philosophical thought in order to allude to the divinity of Philosophy. Waithe further clarified the inscription encircling the inner composition, “Ruling by art things divinely inspired, I Philosophy divide the subject arts into seven parts.” The seven liberal arts are referred to as follows: Grammatica, Rethorica, Dialectica, Musica, Artithmetica, Geometria, and Astronomia. Each of the seven women are represented with iconographical features that allude to their specialties. The most intriguing iconographical device is the barking dog in the hand of Dialectica. The inscription surrounding her figure states, “I let arguments attack, like dogs.”<sup>86</sup> Perhaps this is Herrad’s way of opening the door for debate. The two philosophers Socrates and Plato sit at the feet of Philosophy; they share a bench designated with the inscription “*Philosopher*”. Seated below the entire circular composition are four poets and musicians who remain nameless; they sit at desks as black birds whisper inspiration into their ears.<sup>87</sup> Waithe clarifies that these are, “the inventors of fables of the false Gods. Their unsanctioned knowledge does not derive from a true art – the divinely inspired knowledge which is available to both pagan and Christian.”<sup>88</sup> The black birds signify the presence of pagans; if the birds were white, like doves, the assumption would lead towards divine inspiration for knowledge. The juxtaposition of arts and religion are central to the exegesis of the *Hortus*

*deliciarum*. Through this method of direction, Herrad focused attention on the goal of a detachment from the contempt of the world, to open oneself to the spirituality of the Creator.<sup>89</sup>

Herrad was consistent in representing a large number of females as her use of metaphor in her compositions. They were employed as female personifications. Perhaps, the most effective way to analyze the contributions of females to the visual culture of the monastic tradition of the 12<sup>th</sup> century is to compare illuminations produced by two women. In doing so, one may recognize central ideas that were of great importance to religious women during this time; thus, leading to a further understanding of the female monastic experience. Such a comparison could also shed light on stereotypes of women in the medieval monastic tradition. Hildegard of Bingen was an influential female of the 12<sup>th</sup> century; both Herrad and Hildegard were abbesses. Hildegard, unlike Herrad who was an Augustinian, was a member of the Benedictine order. She was also different in that she was a mystic. She received visions from what she perceived to be the Holy Ghost. Herrad on the other hand was not a mystic; she was an intellectual interested in the spiritual and practical education of women. Hildegard was the tenth child of noble family, and although her family was noble, they still had financial difficulties. Therefore, Hildegard was given to the church at the age of eight.<sup>90</sup> Like Herrad, Hildegard was proficient in Latin. Although documentation confirmed Hildegard's intellectual proficiency, she was dependent on a male scribe, named Volmar, when it came to the transcription of her many visions into manuscript form such as the *Scivias*.<sup>91</sup> Herrad, on the other hand, did not depend on male assistance in order to write the *Hortus deliciarum*. Although Herrad and Hildegard encountered different levels of difficulty in the creation of their texts, they both created the illuminations.

The fifth vision in the second book of the *Scivias* (fig. 4) depicts Hildegard receiving a vision from God. She sits underneath a church-like structure while five snake-like appendages

grasp the top of Hildegard's head. This was her way of depicting the receipt of her wisdom of the word of the Lord. Her male scribe, Volmar, sits at her side as she dictates the vision. Hildegard holds what looks like a wax tablet as Volmar pokes his head through the barrier between them. Compared to the illuminations of the *Hortus*, Hildegard focuses on the mystical nature of monasticism, while Herrad takes an interest in shedding light on the importance of both philosophical and Biblical subjects.

The salvation history of the *Hortus*, Herrad tells the Old Testament story of *Jacob's Ladder* (fig. 5). The line drawing focusing on the narrative of Jacob climbing the ladder is located on the folio 36v. The story of Jacob and his ladder is located in Genesis 28: 10-17:

But Jacob, being departed from Bersabee, went on to Haran (10) And when he was come to a certain place, and would rest in it after sunset, he took of the stones that lay there, and putting them under his head, slept in the same place. (11) And he saw in his sleep a ladder standing upon the earth, and the top thereof touching heaven; the angels also of God ascending and descending by it (12); And the Lord, leaning upon the ladder, saying to him: I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the god of Isaac. The land wherein thou sleepest, I will give thee and to thy seed. (13) And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth: Thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and the east, and the north, and to the south. And thee and thy seed all the tribes of the earth shall be by blessed. (14) And I will be thy keeper whithersoever thou goest. And will bring thee back into this land: neither will I leave thee, till I shall have accomplished all that I have said. (15) And when Jacob awaked out of sleep, he said: Indeed the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not. (16) And trembling he said: How terrible is this place! This is no other but the house of God, and the gate of heaven. (17)<sup>92</sup>

In this line drawing, Jacob lies sleeping at the foot of a hill while two angels ascend the ladder. God's head is also present at the top of the ladder as stated in the Genesis text. Herrad would further use the ladder motif in order to communicate the consequences of sin and virtue for the nuns of the Hohenbourg Abbey, i.e. how to stay of the ladder, and what happens when one falls off.

A corresponding illumination is located further ahead in the manuscript on folio 215v (Fig. 6). It is called, the *scala virtutum* or the *Ladder of Virtues*. The ladder in this composition is located in the immediate center; members of the clergy ascend and descend the ladder as the angels did in the story of Jacob and his ladder. Those ascending the ladder are moving towards a hand holding a crown with the inscription *Corona vite* or the Crown of life. In other words they are moving towards salvation, the end goal for Herrad in her education of the women of Hohenbourg. Similar to the story of Jacob, two angels ascend the ladder while fighting off demonic creatures that hold bows and arrows. Those descending the ladder seem to be falling off of it. Based on inscriptions of the falling figures, they seem to also be members of the Church. There is a monk dressed in green carrying a sort of bag that may have some local significance for Alsatians; there is also a man labeled *cleric* in blue who falls over backwards with his feet still firmly planted on the ladder. A long bearded hermit seems to slip off the ladder just as he was about to reach the top. While a young woman dressed in pink and blue attempts to begin the journey towards salvation from the bottom of the ladder, a clerical man holds her hand potentially preventing her from being saved. After having previously included the story of Jacob and his heavenly dream, Herrad related the moral of the Biblical text through this exaggerated illumination of “good” and “evil”. The ladder is used as a metaphor for the path to salvation. It is also known that Herrad used the *Hortus* as a warning for the nuns of Hohenbourg, so that they were able to distinguish between “good” and “bad” monastic individuals, especially men i.e. the labels for those that have succumbed to sin and fall from the ladder. Perhaps this is the reason why only women seem to be ascending, while all of the men are falling.

The ladder motif was widely used in the monastic tradition. Herrad, receiving her sources from the Marbach monastery, was likely influenced by a number of manuscripts written by men



for men or by men for women. The most significant manuscript, when referencing the ladder motif is the *Speculum virginum*; a manuscript completed around the year 1140 created as a guidebook for nuns by men. Griffiths stated in reference to the *Speculum*, that it was, "...a text presented as a dialogue between a male teacher, Peregrinus, and his female pupil Theodora, in which the woman is characterized as illiterate, regardless of her ability to read."<sup>93</sup> The tone of the *Speculum* suggested that women were too incompetent to understand scripture; reasons for their incompetence being strictly as a result of gender.<sup>94</sup> This manuscript was written in response to the needs of priests in concern for their responsibility of *cura monialium*. It is hard to believe that Herrad, in any way, agreed with the spiritual pedagogy of the *Speculum virginum*. However, it is quite likely that she knew a copy of the manuscript and was influenced by a number of motifs within it. One folio (fig. 7) displays the ladder motif in the *Speculum*. Major differences between the *Speculum* ladder and the *Hortus* ladders are the directions in which they point. Herrad chose to position the ladder in a different manner, adding a horizontal tilt to her ladders; this is potentially because she wished to maximize space for both illuminations as well as the surrounding text. The ladder in the *Speculum* on the other hand defines a stark vertical line. Solely female figures ascend the ladder, with the exception of one demonic creature impeding the paths of a few of the women. It seems as if the artistic abilities of Herrad prevail in the case of comparison of the two motifs, and although Herrad may have valued the visual reference for its practical qualities, her views definitely did not line up with the ones presented in the *Speculum virginum*. The text is represented differently in both of the manuscripts as well. The text in the *Speculum* is all located on the right-hand side. It is represented in a more orderly manner, while the text in the *Hortus: Ladder of Virtues* is used more as a labeling device.

Herrad shows the Baptism of Jesus on folio 100r (fig. 8). In this line drawing Jesus stands in the center of the composition, clearly covered by water, although his nude body is apparent. We see him being blessed by John the Baptist, who stands on the right side. Three angels witness the baptism as they kneel down on the right side to acknowledge the event. As stated in Luke 3:21:

“Now it came to pass when all the people had been baptized, Jesus also having been baptized and being in prayer that heaven was opened, and the Holy Spirit descended upon him in bodily form as a dove, and a voice came from heaven, ‘Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased.’”<sup>95</sup>

Although this story now only exists as a line drawing, the mastery of both technique as well as content shines brightly. This manner of representing Jesus as a nude figure covered by a layer of transparent water was one not only present in earlier illuminations, but also in mosaic; for example, the 5<sup>th</sup> c. Arian Baptistery mosaic located in Ravenna, Italy (fig. 9). Jesus is represented with the same layer of water, but in glass; and the composition includes similar actions by John. It also contains a dove. Such a comparison reinforces Herrad’s knowledge of the visual tradition that reflects her appreciation of solutions invented by earlier artists.

Folio 150r is the Crucifixion scene (fig. 10) with episodes including Christ standing before the cross, as well as his body on the cross. The top half of the illumination shows Christ standing next to the cross. This is a rather peculiar representation, because usually he is depicted carrying the cross before his Crucifixion. In Herrad’s rendition of the scene, however, this is not so. The clothing worn by Christ also seems to allude to a Byzantine tradition of the robe that implies greater modesty. His robe is unlike the clothing worn by the men standing opposite him. The difference in clothing could illustrate Herrad’s many influences that contributed to her visual sources including those from an eastern or Byzantine scene. The bottom half of the illumination

shows Christ dying on the cross; although it can be assumed that he is not dead yet, due to the fact that the sun and the moon are still present in the scene, and not covered by the drapery at each side. It is possible that Herrad wanted to depict the moment before Christ's death in order to foreshadow what was to happen after. As stated in the Acts of the Apostles; Acts 2: 19-21:

“And I will show wonders in the heavens above and signs on the earth beneath, blood and fire and vapor of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the day of the Lord comes, the great and manifest day. It shall come to pass that whoever calls upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.”<sup>96</sup>

Herrad also represents what appears to be Ecclesia and Synagoga. There are several instances of anti-Semitic material in the illuminations of the *Hortus*. This would be one such instance.

Ecclesia receives the Eucharist from the wound on Christ's side; while Synagoga sits with her eyes covered atop an ass. She represents the betrayal of Jesus Christ by Judas. Herrad uses varying iconographical devices to depict the Crucifixion. She broke free of traditional representations of the Biblical event. Thus, retelling the narrative in her own words.

Folio 255r represents a Hell scene (fig. 11). This narrative is potentially one of the most violent narratives of the entire manuscript. It represents four layers of Hell. The illumination itself was given a border through which small pits perpetuate. In the fire pits of the border burn sinners. Inside the borders, there are four layers of Hell each with horrific punishments taking place. In the first layer, the figures suffer the most minor punishments. It appears as if the grouping of four people on the left includes two men and two women. It appears as if they are lusting after one another as snakes engulf them. The two human figures on the right could be either male or female. Whatever the case, they hang upside-down as demonic creatures torture and strangle them. In the second layer there are two women dressed in white on the left-hand side. One woman eats, what looks like a small human; while the other seems to be being hoisted

through the second layer to the first or visa versa. One man next to the descending or ascending woman is getting his ear cut off while another is being stabbed in his side. The third layer of Hell is perhaps the most important. Here the anti-Semitic tradition of the Middle Ages can be observed. There is a steaming pot full of Jews; the inscription of the pot is labeled *Juden*. They wear white pointed hats, a symbol of Judaism during this time. One demonic creature stirs the pot while another throws in more Jews. On the one hand this image is helpful in order to understand the long-standing discrimination against the Jewish religion; while on the other it is a heavy reminder that such prejudices still exist in the modern world. The fourth layer of Hell contains a large Lucifer figure. He sits with unsuspecting humans on his lap as mortals die around him. On the far left a demonic creature leads what looks like a pious monk into the fourth layer. Herrad used this terrifying image to create a sense of fear in the nuns of Hohenbourg. It was a reminder of what might happen if they were to succumb to a sinful life. Although this illumination is terrifying, it is aesthetically beautiful. The detail of each figure in juxtaposition to the border that allows the illumination to thrive quietly in its own little sphere of existence.

Folios 322v and 323r (fig. 12 and 13) act as dedication pages located at the end of the *Hortus*. In 322v St. Odilia receives the key from a monarch. Herrad depicts the congregation during the foundation of the Hohenbourg Abbey in 690. To the right of St. Odilia and her congregation stands Relinde, the mentor of Herrad of Hohenbourg. All of the women stand in a garden labeled *Mons hohembure*: meaning the Hohenbourg Abbey. Above the women and the monarch sits Jesus Christ the Savior flanked by the Virgin and St. Peter on the left, and John the Baptist and St. Odilia on the right. This illumination affirms Herrad's knowledge of the history of the convent. She recognized the roots of the establishment at Hohenbourg as being founded on the education and strengthening of women. In folio 323r (fig. 13), Herrad takes the liberty to

represent her own congregation. Each of the women are uniquely individualized. They all have their names displayed above their heads, and if they were of noble birth their origins were also noted. An example would be; Ita, Juta, Richinza de Trennelen. Herrad depicts herself in the right corner of the page stating that she was the abbess who succeeded Relinde, the woman who greatly influenced her as a leader. Herrad represented the women in this dedication page not only as individuals, but people who have something to offer the world despite the fact that their gender fundamentally made them the minority in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Part 5: Conclusion**

In conclusion, Herrad used the *Hortus deliciarum* as a sort of pedagogical tool. She saw the Hohenbourg Abbey as a garden. She used the motifs of vines and flourishing foliage in order to suggest that the women, like flora, were sprouting from the garden with a new understanding of this world and the next as a result of the *Hortus*. Through the poetics of her role as abbess of Hohenbourg, Herrad acted as a bee, pollinating the lavish garden known as the Hohenbourg Abbey through one of the most distinctive illuminated manuscripts of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. This work is unprecedented in its synthesis of word and image. The *Hortus* is in need of attention. Further research into Herrad's intent, will lead to a fuller understanding of 12<sup>th</sup>- century female monastic tradition and its visual contribution to an understanding of female experience in the Middle Ages; an area of art history, neglected due to a lack of foundational works. Beginning with the *Hortus deliciarum*, an enlightenment of female monastic contributions to the visual culture of the 12<sup>th</sup> century will follow.

### **Figures**

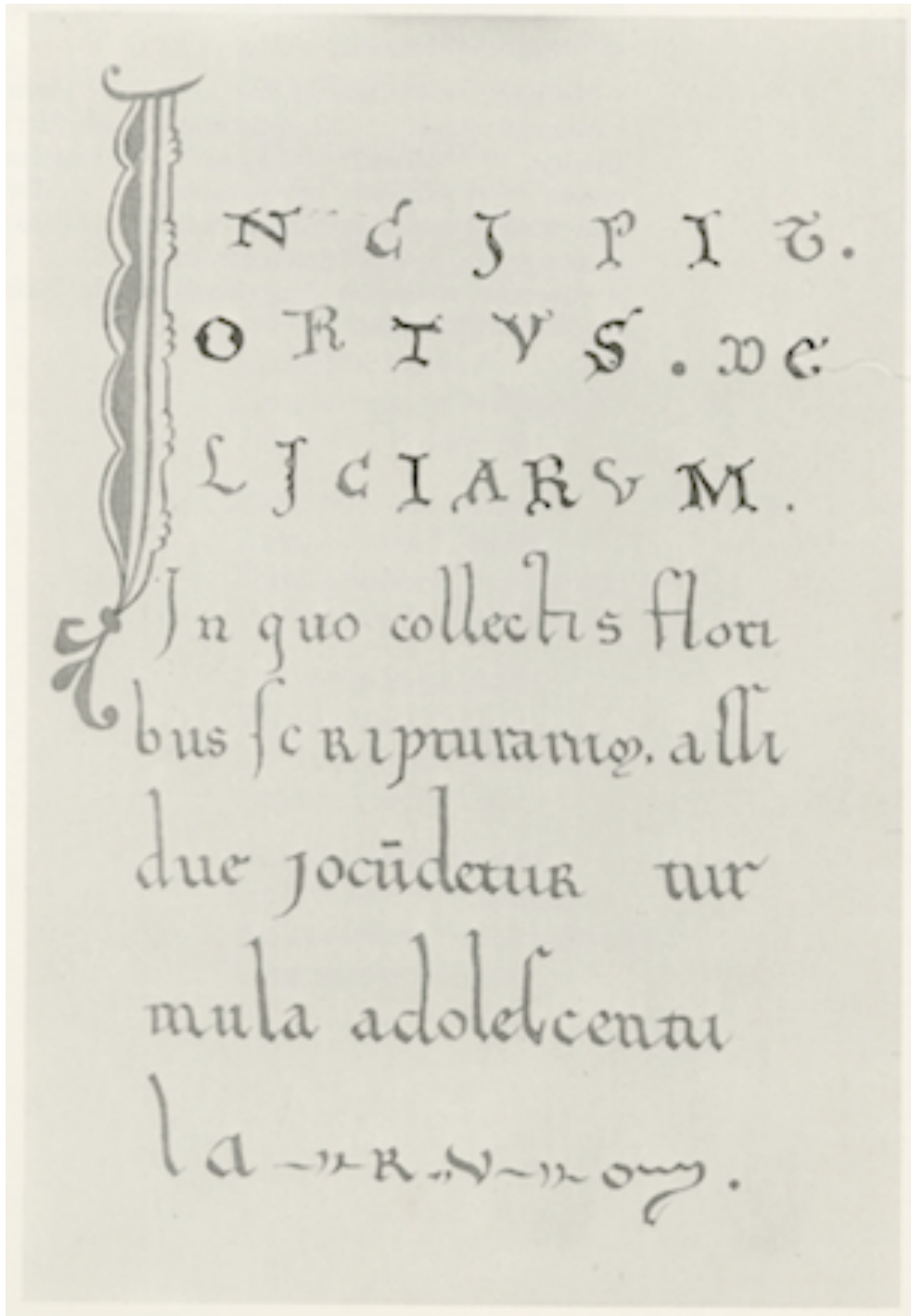


Figure 1 *Opening page*, fol. 1v

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)

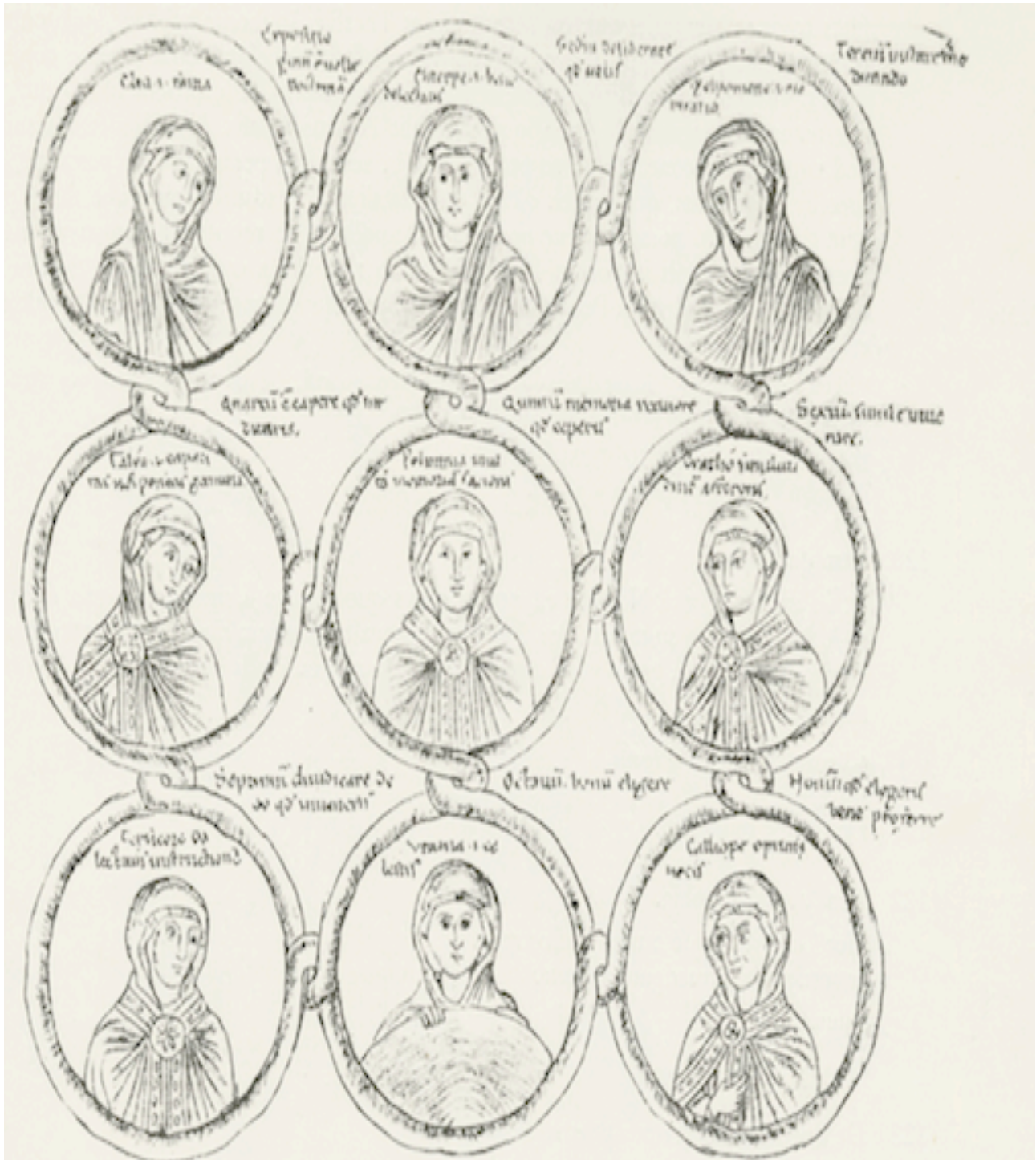


Figure 2 *The Nine Muses*, fol. 31r

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)

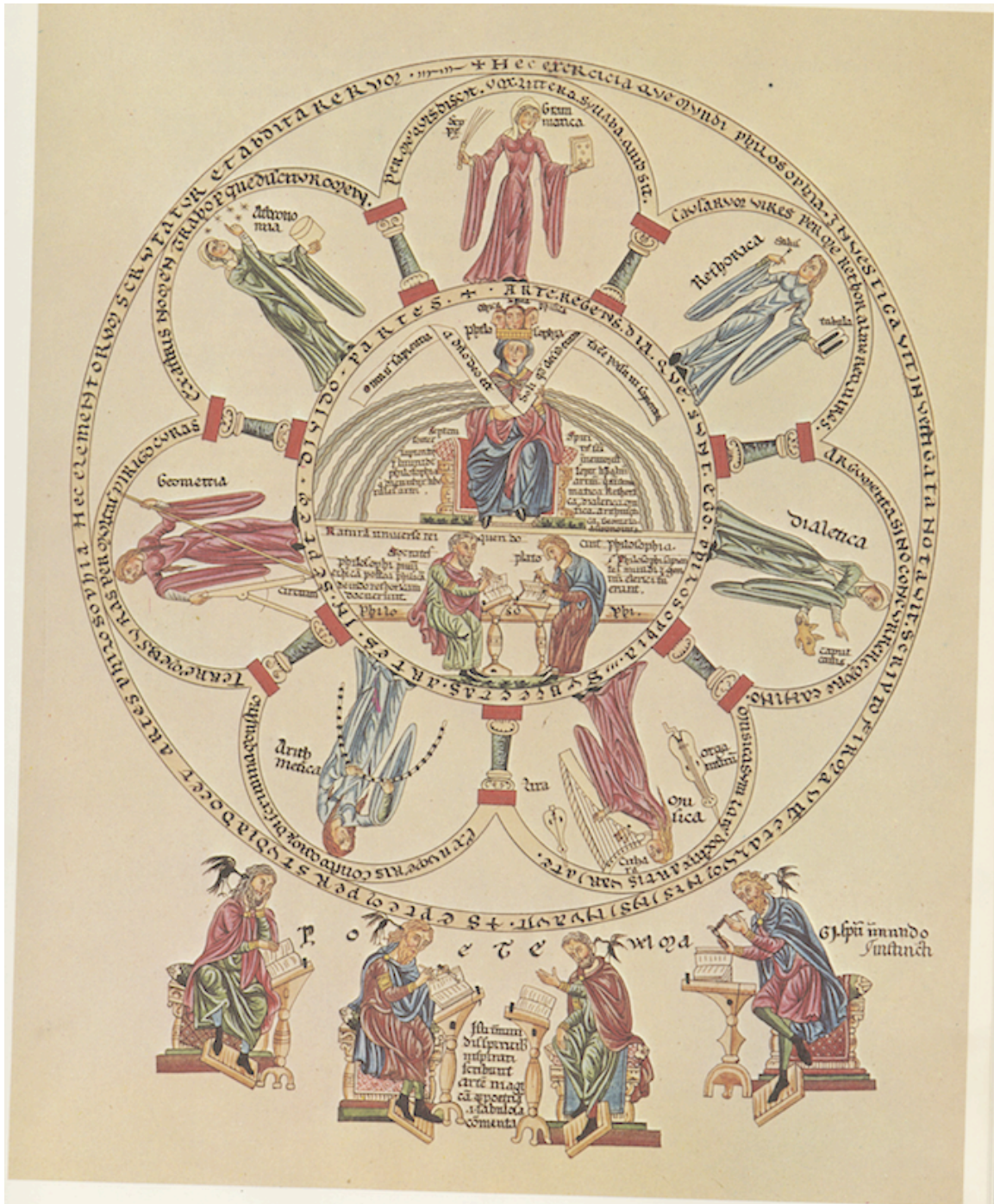


Figure 3 *Philosophy, the Liberal Arts and the Poets*, fol. 32r

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)





Figure 4 *Hildegard's Vision*, Illumination from *Liber Scivias (Know the Way)*, ca. 1165

(Artstor)

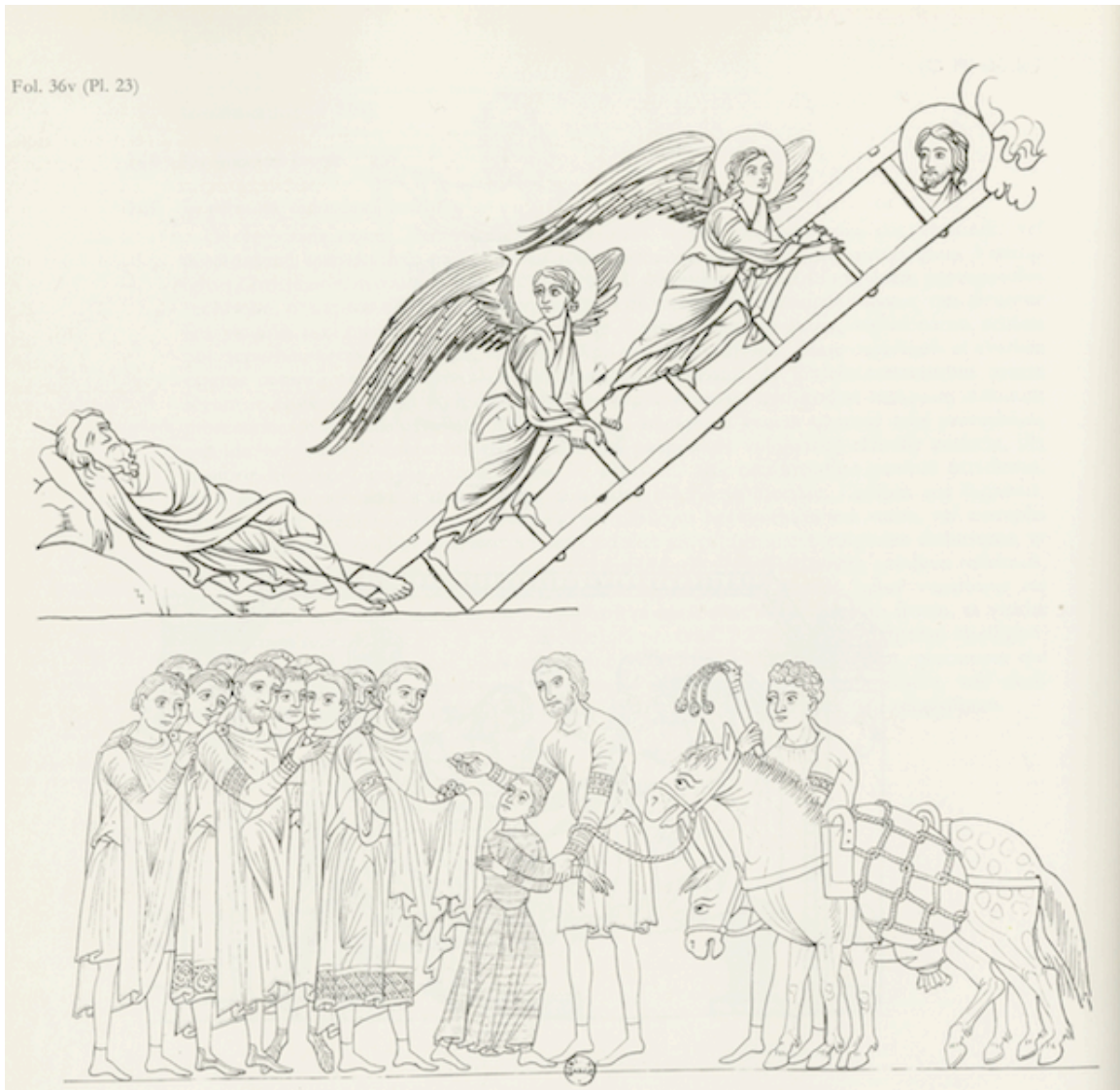


Figure 5 *Jacob's ladder*, fol. 36v

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



Figure 6 *The Ladder of Virtues*, fol. 315v  
 (Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)

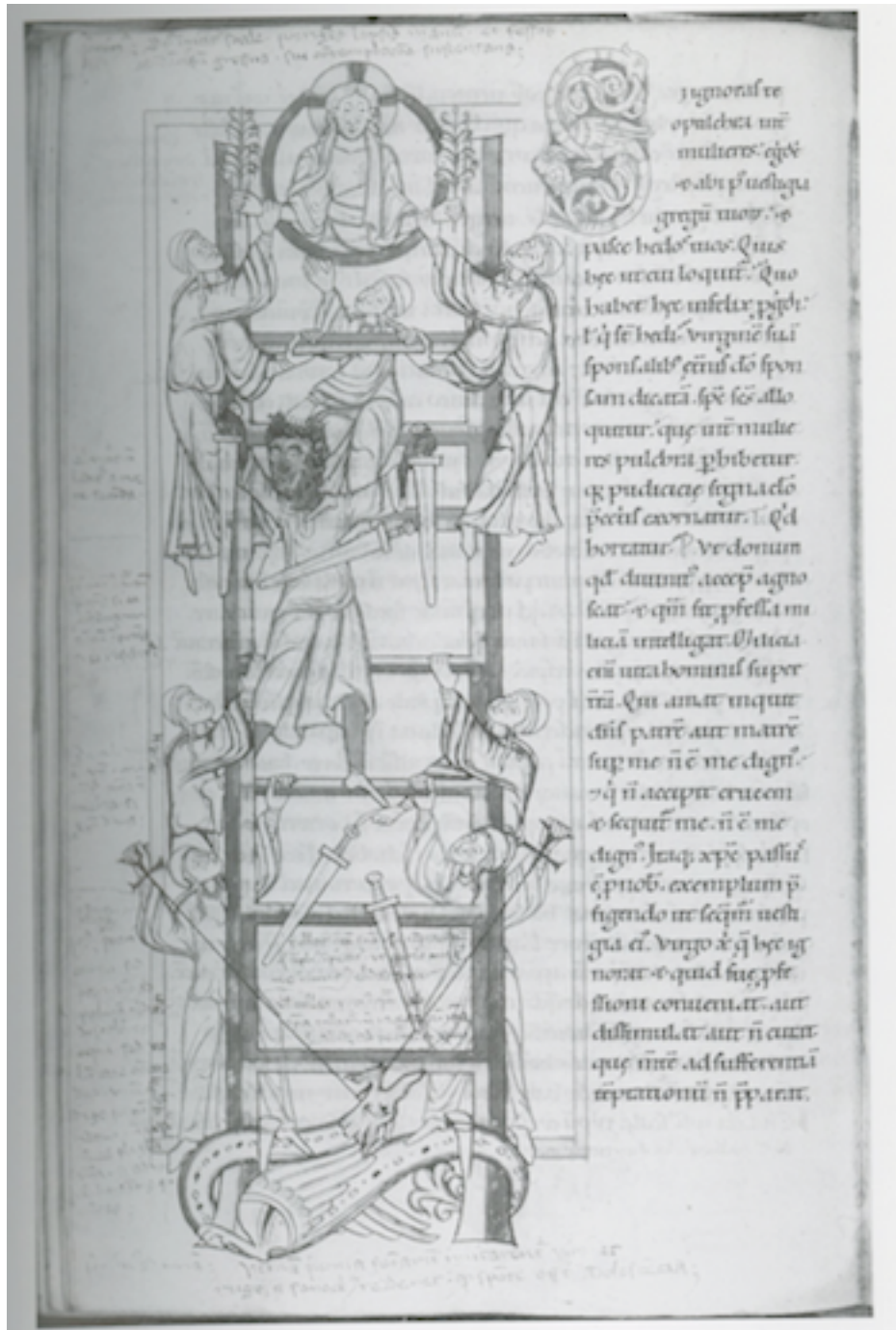


Figure 7 *Ladder*, *Speculum virginum*, fol. 78v

(Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights*, Philadelphia, 2007, plate 6)

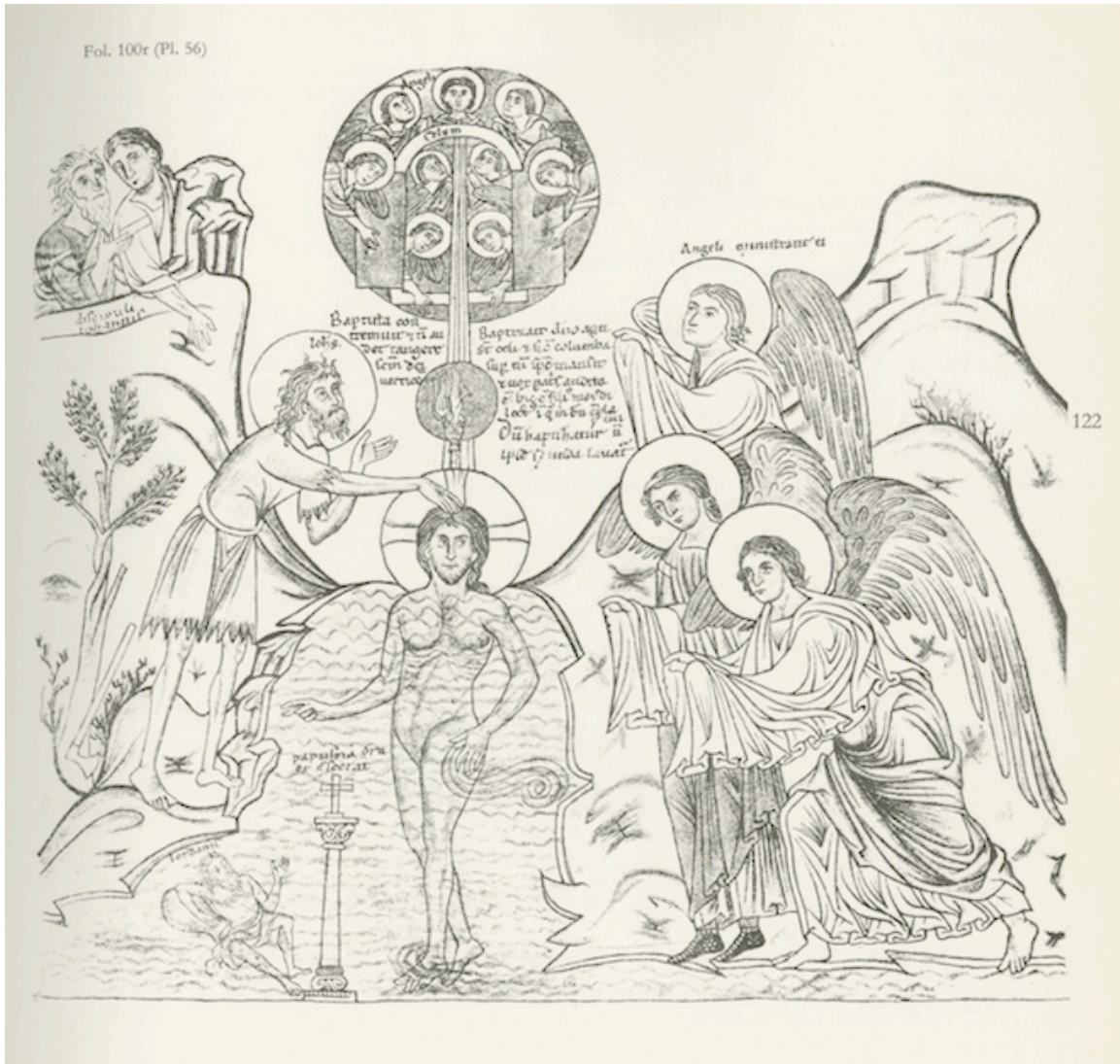


Figure 8 *The Baptism*, fol. 100r

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



Figure 9 *Christ and John the Baptist*, 5th C. A.D. mosaic, Ravenna: Arian Baptistery  
(Artstor)

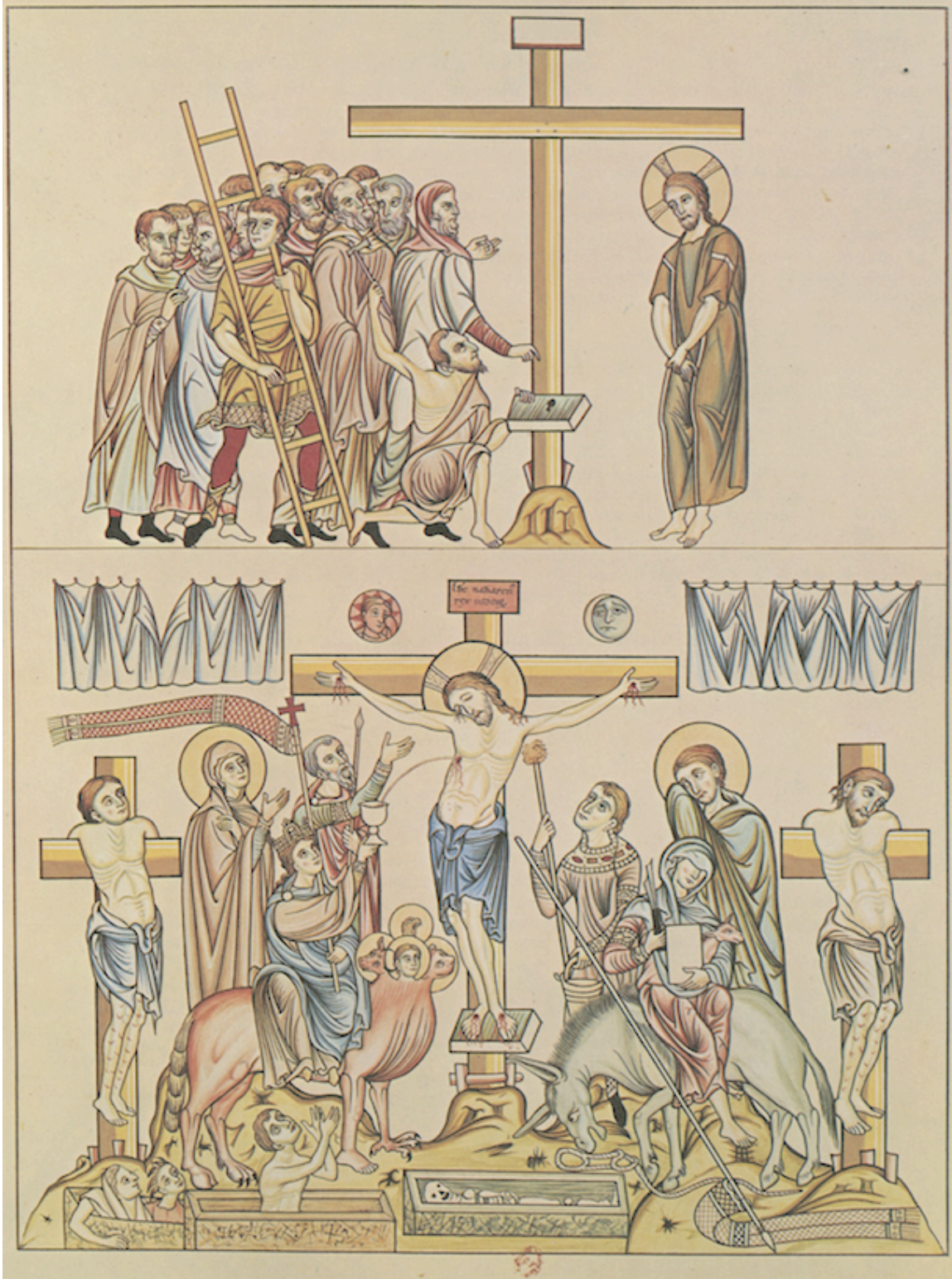


Figure 10 *The Crucifixion*, fol. 150r

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



Figure 11 *Hell*, fol. 255r

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)





Figure 12 Monastery of Hohenbourg, 1: Foundation, fol. 322v

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



## Appendix

Herrad's Introductory Poem and Prologue, fol. 1v  
(Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights*, Philadelphia, 2007)

Rithmus Herradis abbatisse per quem Hohenburgenses virgunclas amabiliter salutatur et ad very sponsi fidem dilectionemque salubriter invitat.

Salve cohors virginium  
Hohenburgiensium  
Albens quasi lilium  
Amans Dei Filium.

Herrat devotissima  
Tua fidelissima  
Mater et anchillula  
Cantatur tibi cantica.

Te salut milies  
Et expotatur in dies,  
Ut leta victoria  
Vincas transitoria.

O multorum speculum  
Sperne, sperne speculum,  
Virtutes sponsi turmula.

Insistas luctamine  
Duros hostes sternere,  
Te rex regum adjuvat  
Qui ate desiderat.

Ipsetuum animum  
Firmat contra Zabulum,  
Ipse post victoriam  
Dabit regni gloriam.

Te decent deliciae  
Debentur divicie  
Tibi celi curia,  
Servat bona plurima.

Christus parat nupcias  
Miras per delicias,  
Hunc expectes principem  
Te servando virginem.

Interim monilia  
Circumdes nobilia,  
Et exornet faciem  
Mentis purgans aciem.

Christus odit maculas,  
Rugas spernit vetulas,  
Pulchras vult virgunculas  
Turpes pellit feminas.

Fide cum turturea  
Sponsum istum redama,  
Ut tua formositas  
Fiat perpes claritas.

Vivens sine fraudibus  
Es monenda laudibus,  
Ut consummes optima  
Tui graduas opera.

Ne vacilles dubia  
Inter mundi flumina  
Verax Deus premia  
Spondet post pericula.

Patere nunc aspera,  
Mundi spernens prospera,  
Nunc sis cruci socia  
Regni consors postea

Per hoc mare naviga  
Sanctitate grava,  
Dum de navi exeas  
Syon sanctum teneas.

Syon turris celica,  
Bella tenens atria,  
Tibi fiat statio, Acto vita spacio.

Ibi rex virgineus  
Et Marie Filius  
Amplectens te redamet  
A merore relevet

Parvipendens Omnia  
Temptatoris jacula,  
Tunc gaudebis plentier  
Jubilando suaviter.

Stella maris fulgida,  
Virgo mater unica,  
Te jungat Filio  
Federe perpetuo

Et me tecum trahere  
Non cesses precamine,  
Ad sponsum dulcissimum  
Virginalen Filium.

Ut tue victoriae  
Tuae magne glorie,  
Particeps inveniar  
De terrenis eruar.

Vale casta contio,  
Mea jubilation,  
Vivas sine crimine  
Christum semper dilige.

Sit hic liber utilis,  
Tibi delectabilis  
Et non cesses volvere  
Hunc in tuo pectore.

Ne more strucineo  
Surrepat oblivio,  
Et ne viam deseras  
Antequam pervenias

Amen amen amen  
Amen amen amen  
Amen amen amen  
Amen amen amen.

The poem of the abbess Herrad, in which she lovingly salutes the Hohenbourg virgins and with good wishes invites them to the faith and love of the bridegroom.

Hail, virgin band  
Of Hohenbourg  
Who, white as a lily,  
Love the Son of God.

Herrad,  
Your most devoted and faithful  
Mother and little handmaid,  
Sing songs for you.

She greets you a thousand times  
And prays each day  
That, in happy victory,  
You shall overcome all things that pass.

O mirror of many,  
Scorn, scorn the world!  
Pile up virtues,  
Little troop of the true Bridegroom.

Persevere in the struggle  
To overthrow the terrible enemies  
The King of kings aids you  
Since he longs for you.

He himself strengthens your soul  
Against Zabulon  
After death, which is our victory,  
He himself will give you the glory of his kingdom.

The delights of the celestial kingdom become you  
The riches of eternity are your due  
For you, the heavenly court  
Reserves many blessings.

Christ prepares a wedding  
Wonderful in delights,  
May you await this prince  
By keeping yourself a virgin.

Meanwhile, gird yourself  
With noble necklaces

And let Christ adorn each face  
Purifying the min's power,

For he hates the blemishes of sin  
And scorns the aged wrinkles of a guilty soul,  
His desire is for beautiful little maidens  
Ugly women he drives away.

With faith like a dove,  
Love your Bridegroom in return  
So that your beauty  
May become an everlasting brightness.

You who are living without deceit  
Be admonished by my praises,  
That you may complete the best works  
Of your rank.

But lest you should waver with uncertain faith  
Amidst the streams of this world,  
A truthful God pledges rewards  
After the dangers are past.

Suffer bitterness now  
Despising the fortunes of the world  
Be now a partner in Christ's cross,  
And thereafter sharer in his kingdom.

Navigate through the sea  
Pregnant with holiness,  
When you leave this mortal vessel  
May you attain holy Syon.

Syon of the celestial battlements  
With its beautiful courts  
May it be your home, your rest,  
When life's course has been run.

There in Syon, may the Virgin King,  
Christ, the Son of Mary,  
Return your love and, embracing you,  
Comfort you from the grief of this world.

Then counting as little  
All the darts of that tempter the Devil,  
You will be filled with delight

Sweetly chanting the song of the Lamb.

Then may Mary, the sea's shining star,  
The only virgin mother,  
Join you to her son  
With her personal pledge of love.

And you may never cease to pull me with you  
By your prayers  
To Christ, the sweetest Bridegroom,  
The Son of the virgin.

So that I may be found a sharer  
In your victory and great glory,  
Let me be rescued  
From earthly peril.

Farewell chaste assembly,  
My joy,  
May you live without reproach  
And always cherish Christ.

May this book be useful  
And delightful to you  
May you never cease to study it  
In you thoughts and memory.

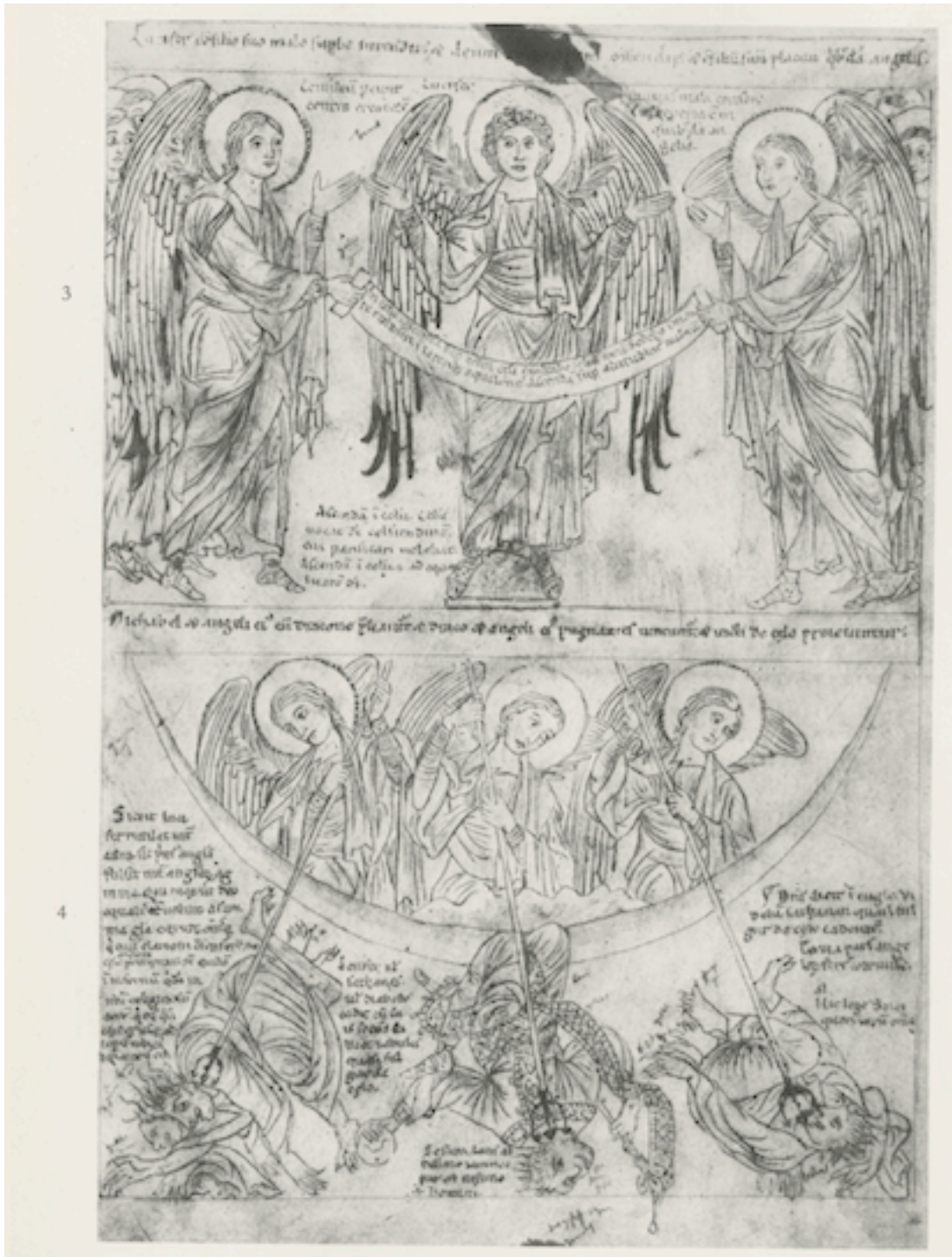
Lest like an ostrich  
Forgetfulness should steal upon you  
And you should forsake the way  
Before you have reached Christ.  
Amen.





*The First Day: Fiat Lux (God creating the angels) & Lucifer in Glory, fol. 3r*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



*Lucifer Plotting Rebellion & Fall of the Rebel Angels, fol. 3v*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



*Trinity & The Second and Third Day?: Creation of Air and Water, fol. 8r*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



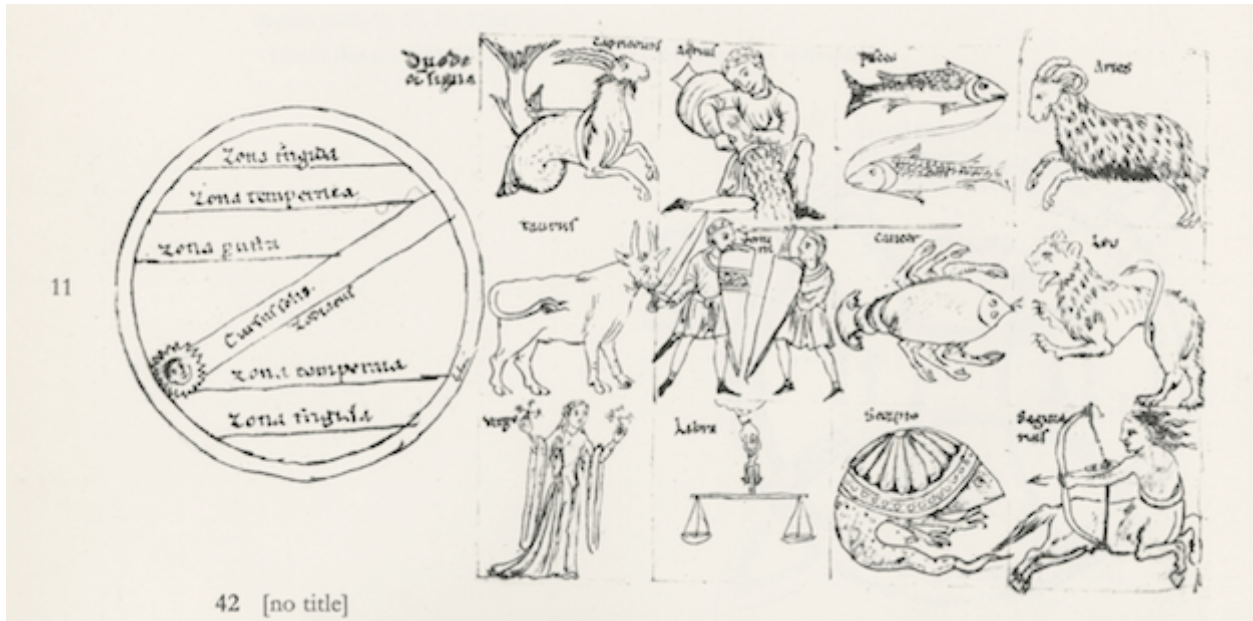
*The Fourth Day: Creation of Sun and Moon & The Fifth and Sixth Days: Creation of Animals, fol. 8v*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



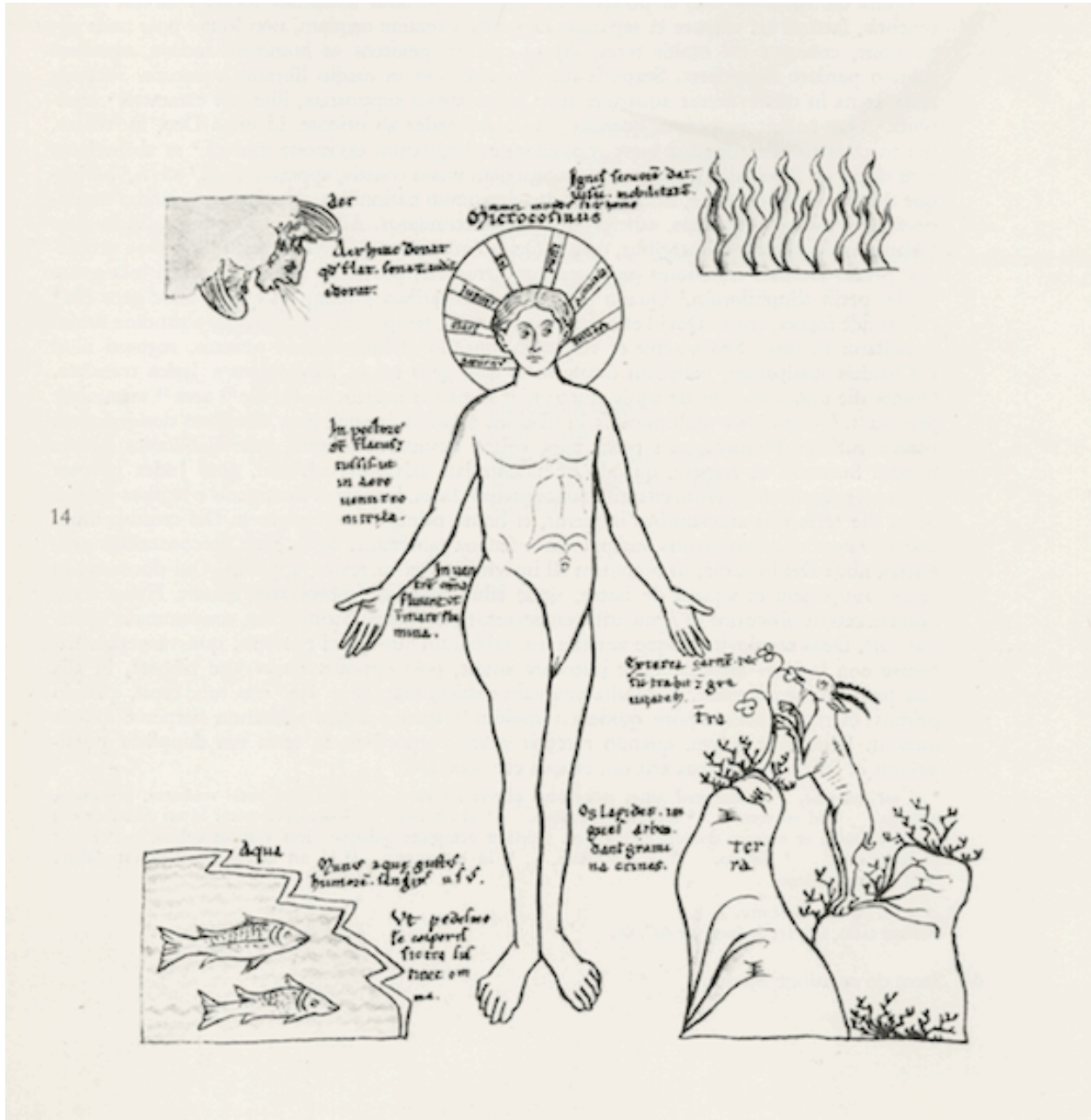
*Celestial Sphere*, fol. 10r

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



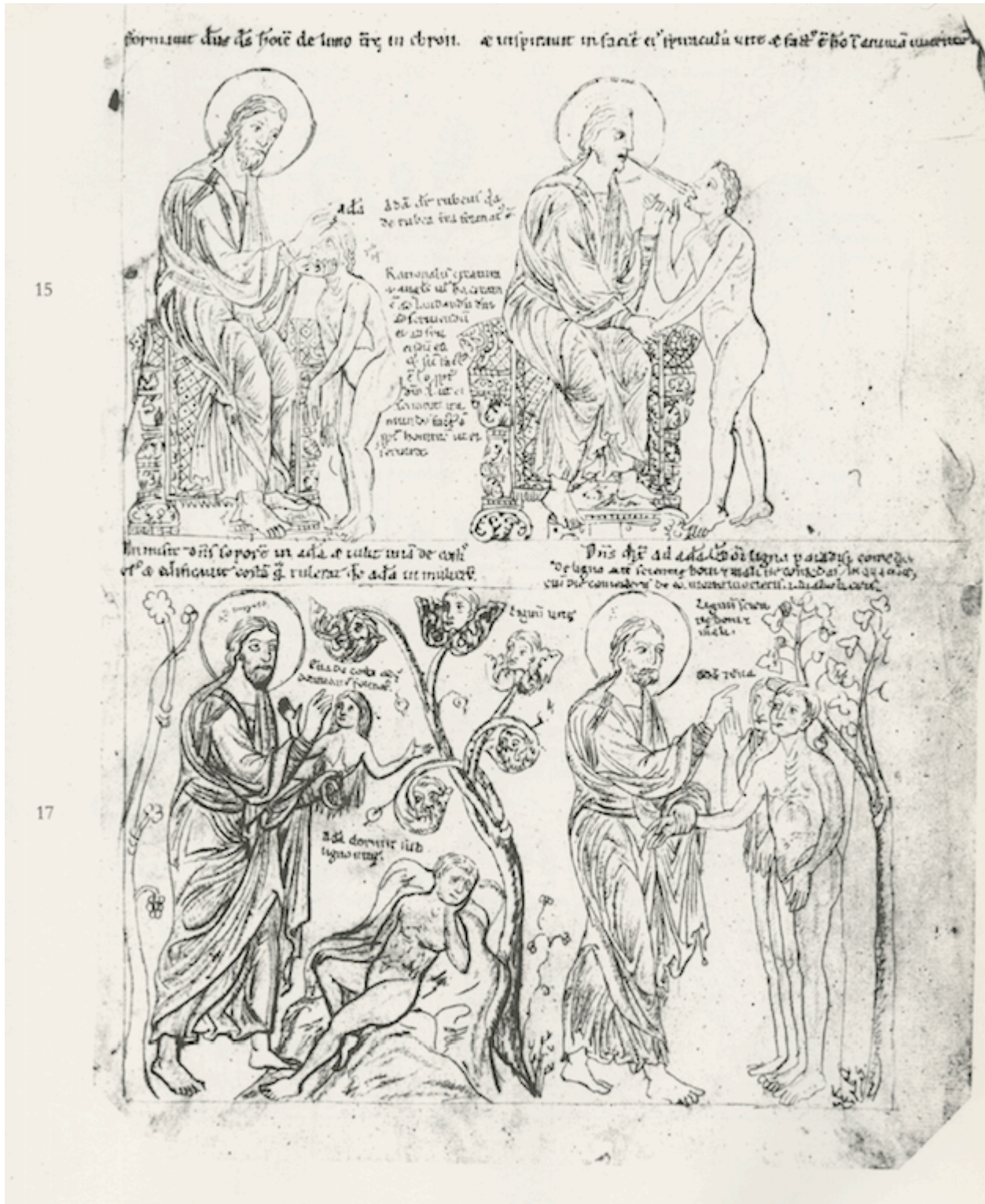
*Zones of Earth and Zodiac Signs, fol. 11v*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



*Microcosm*, fol. 16v

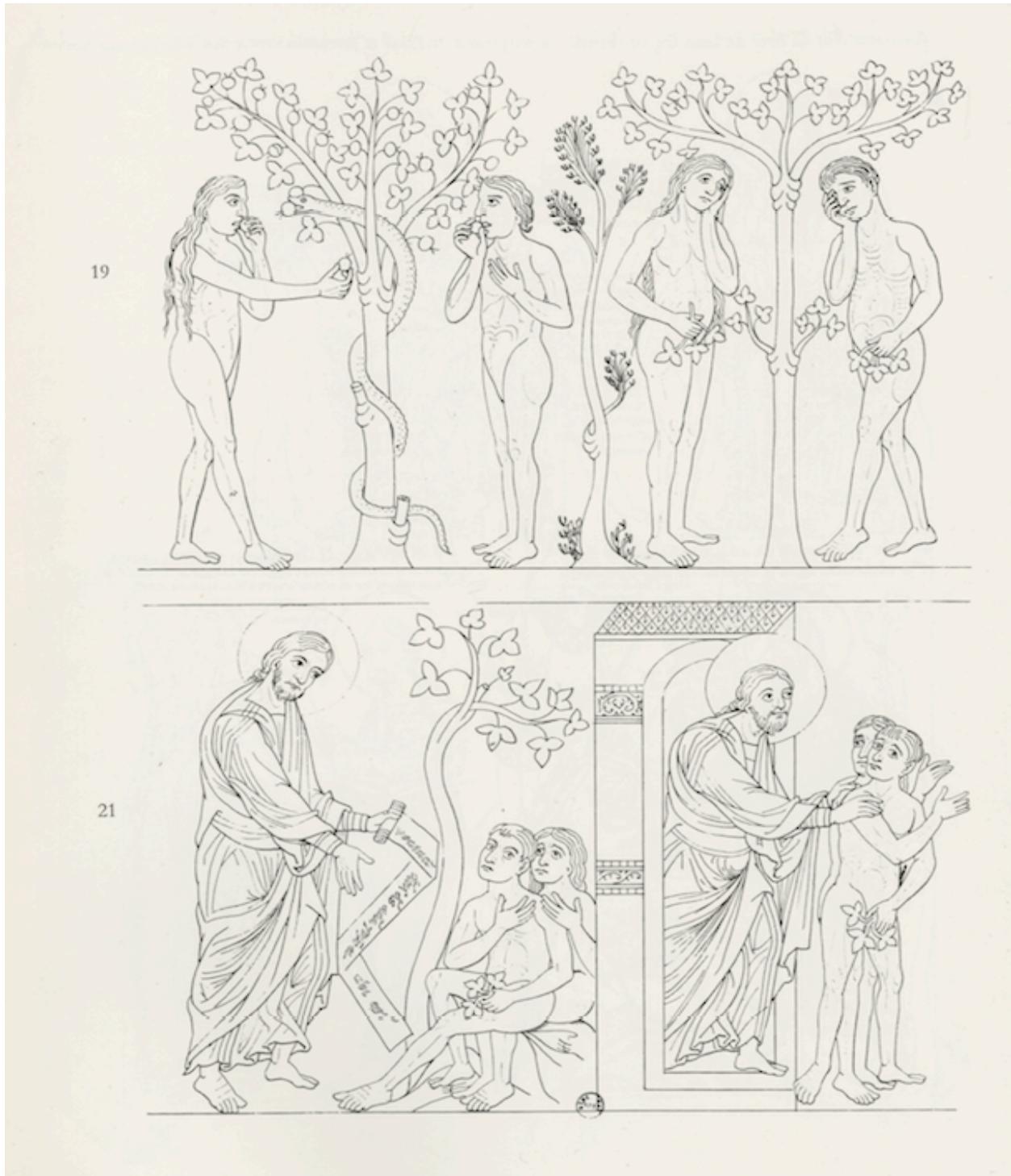
(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



God Forming Adam, God Enlivening Adam & God Creating Eve, God Instructing Adam and Eve, fol. 17r

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)





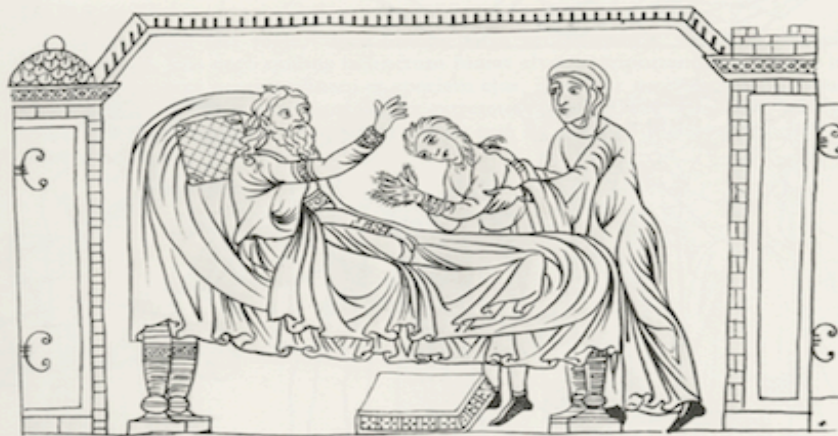
*Fall of Man, Adam and Eve Knowing their Nakedness & God Reproving Adam and Eve, God Expelling Adam and Eve , fol. 17v*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)

Fol. 36r (Pl. 22)



45

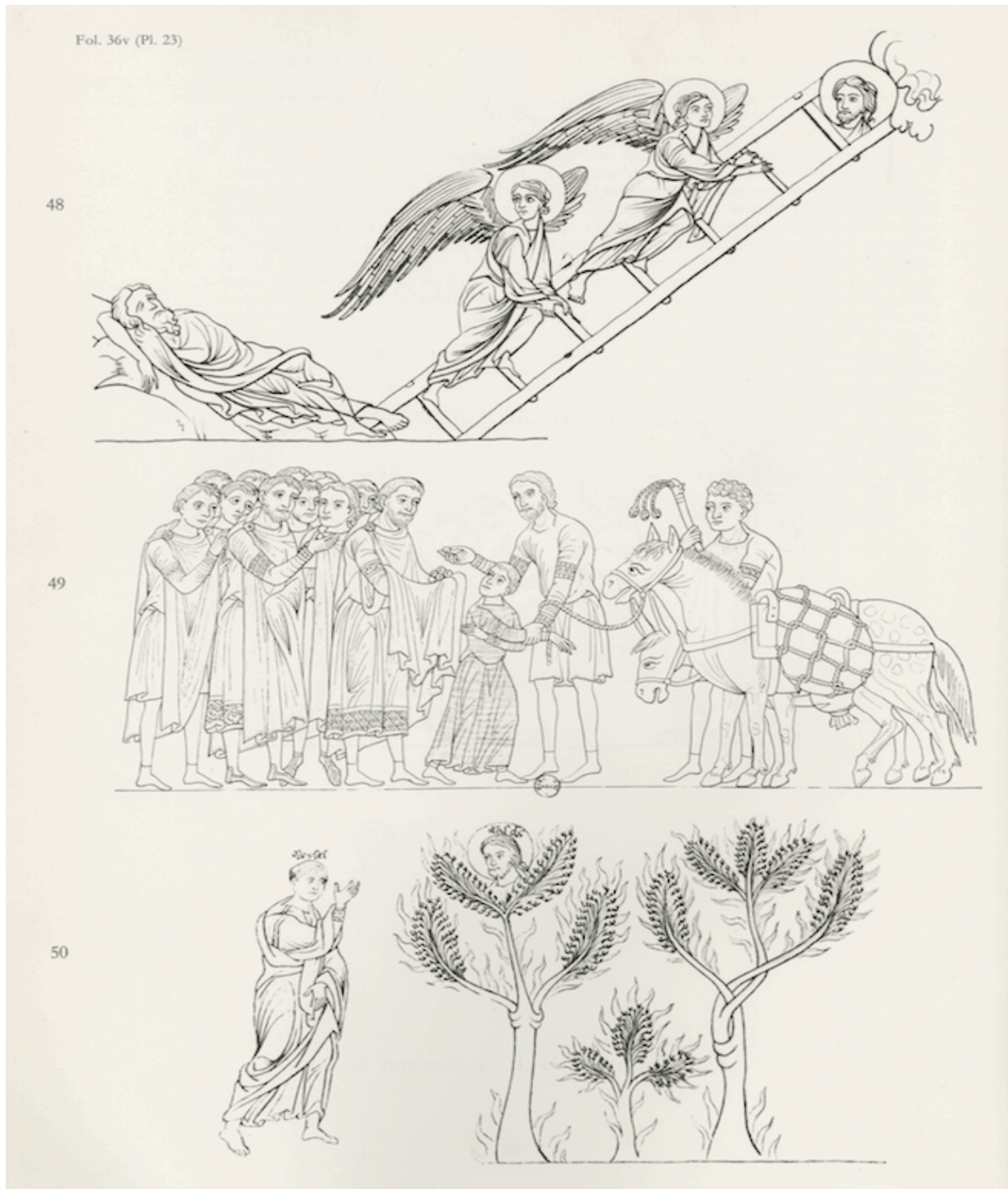


46



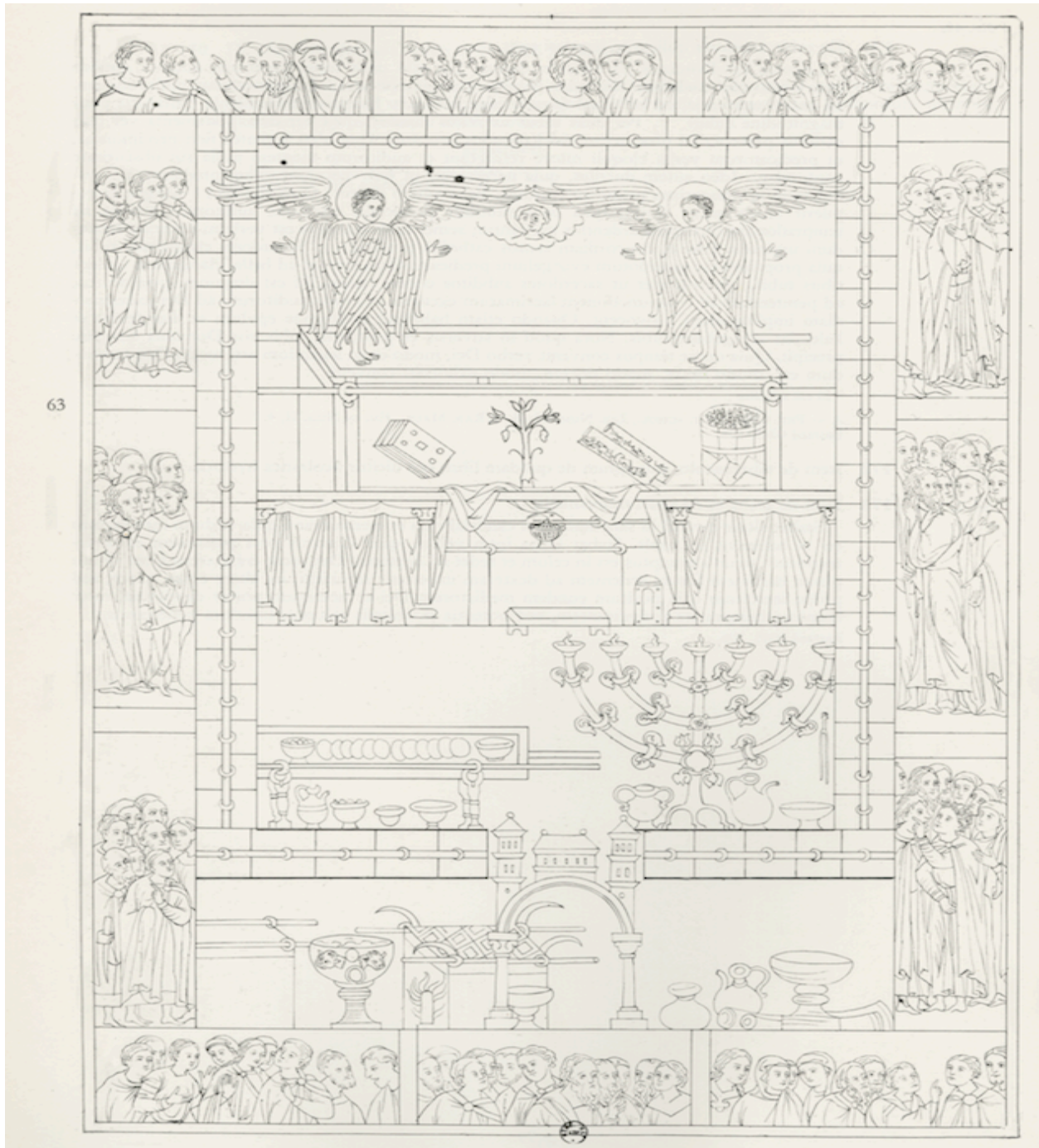
47

*Abraham Sacrificing Isaac, Issac Blessing Jacob, and Esau Bringing Venison to Isaac fol. 36r*  
(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



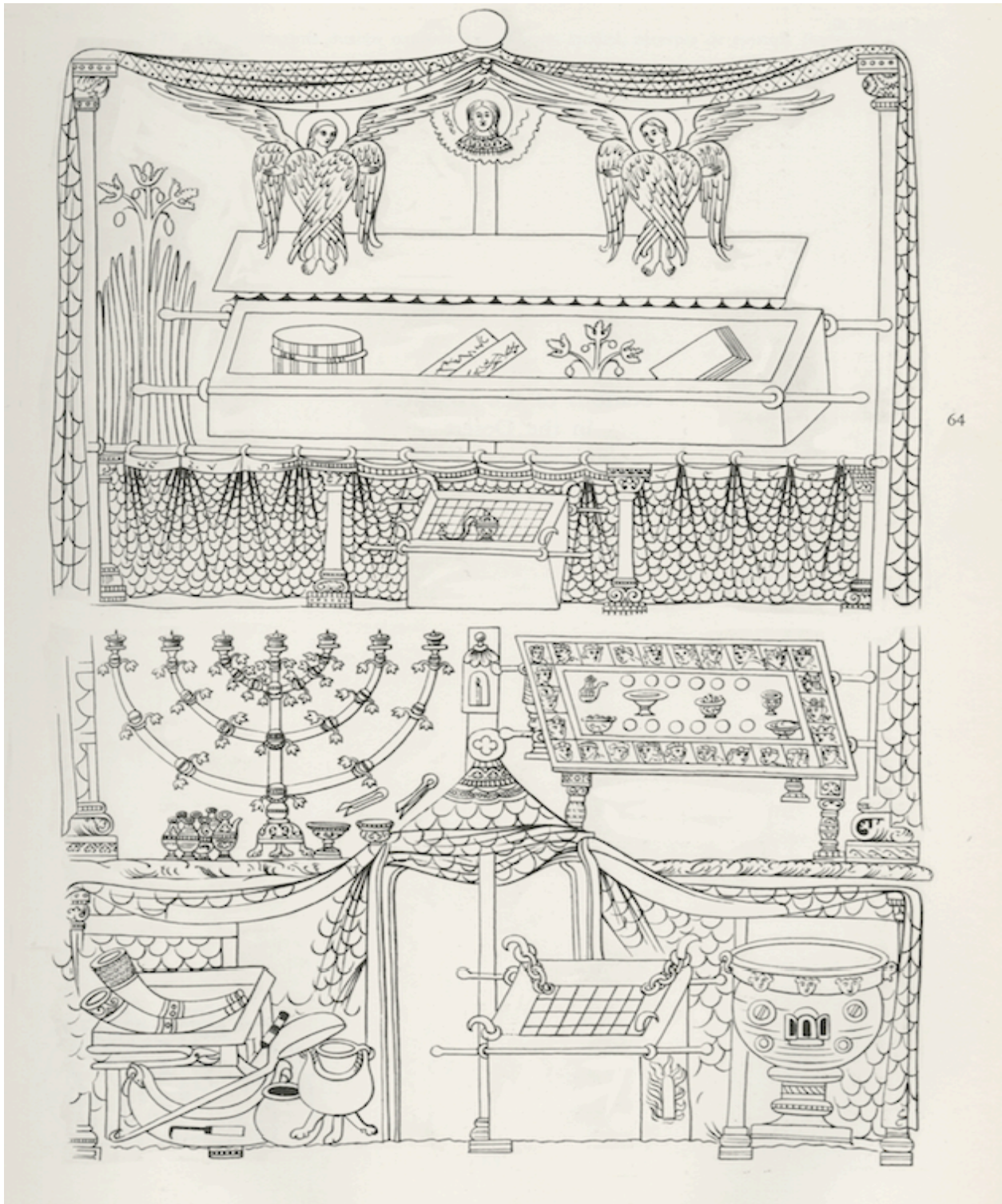
*Jacob's Dream of the Heavenly Ladder, Joseph Sold by his Brothers to the Ishmaelites, and Moses Before God in the Burning Bush, fol. 36v*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



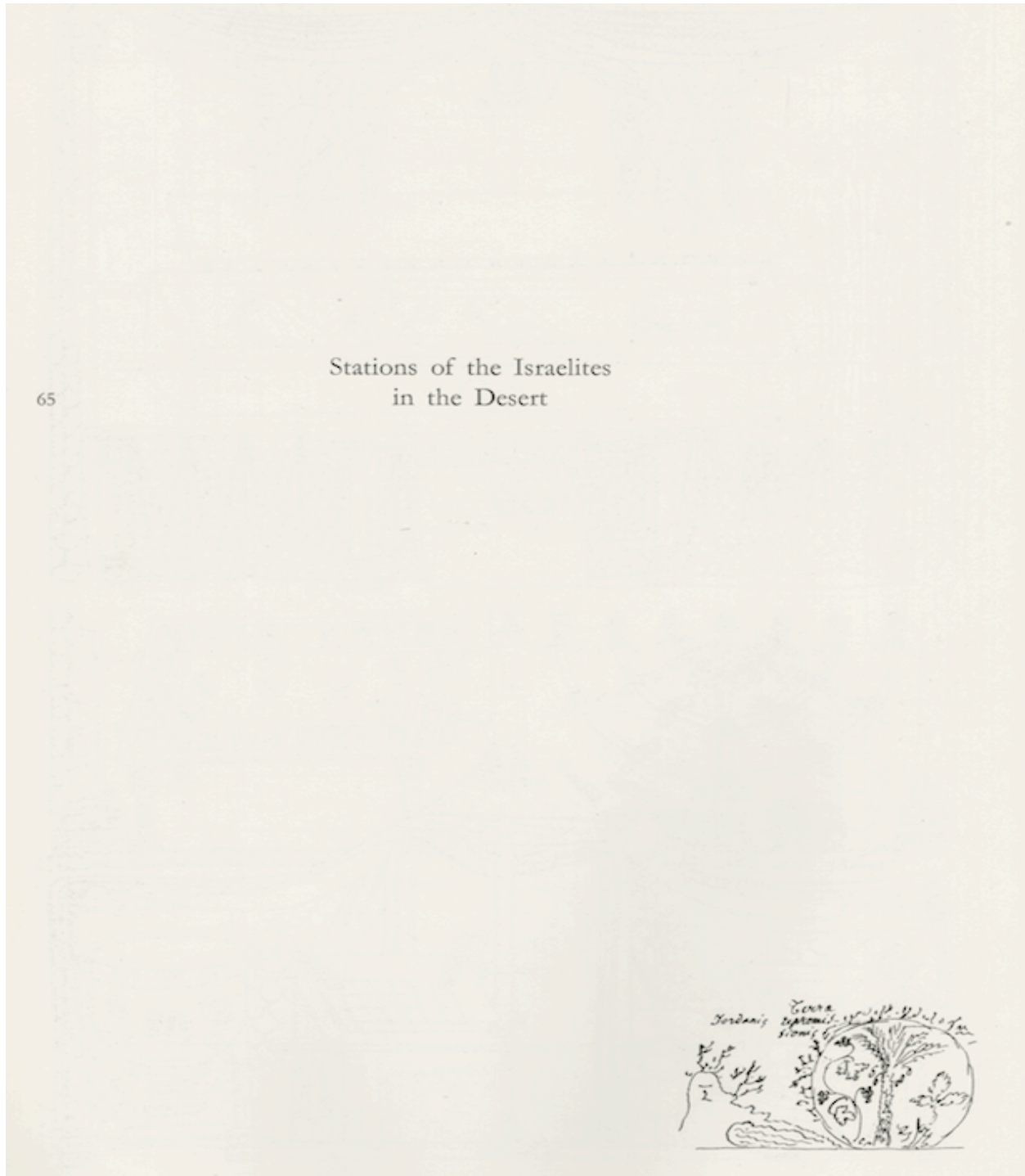
*Tabernacle of Israel*, fol. 45v

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



*Tabernacle of Israel*, fol. 46r

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



*Stations of the Israelites in the Desert*, fol. 46v

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)

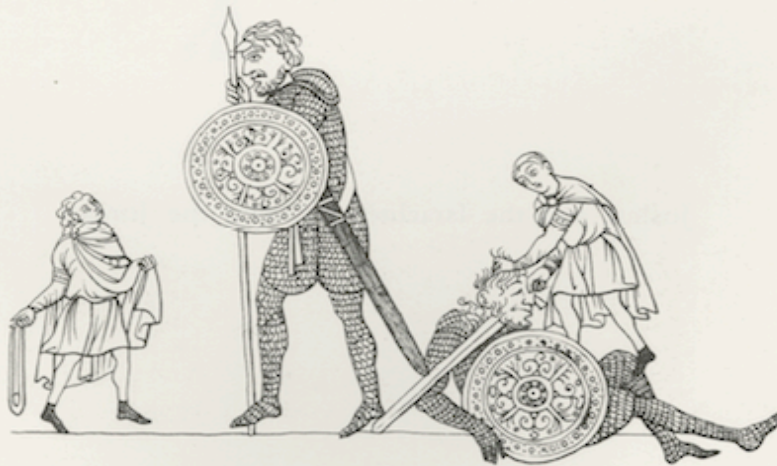
78

Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza

79

Samson Destroying the Philistine Temple

80



*Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza, Samson Destroying the Philistine Temple, and David  
Combatting and Beheading Goliath, fol. 54v*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)

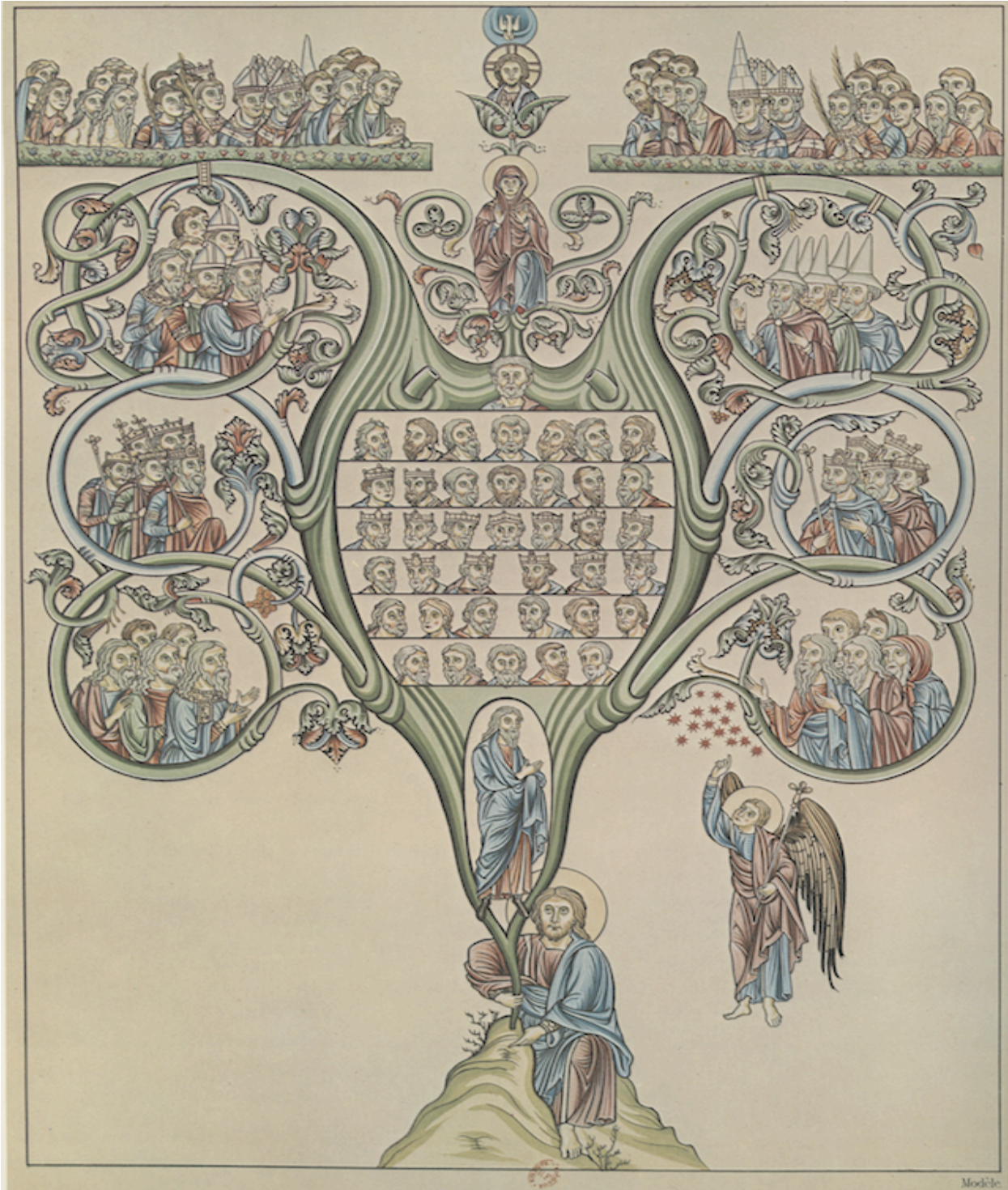


*Eight Prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel; Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, fol. 63r*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)

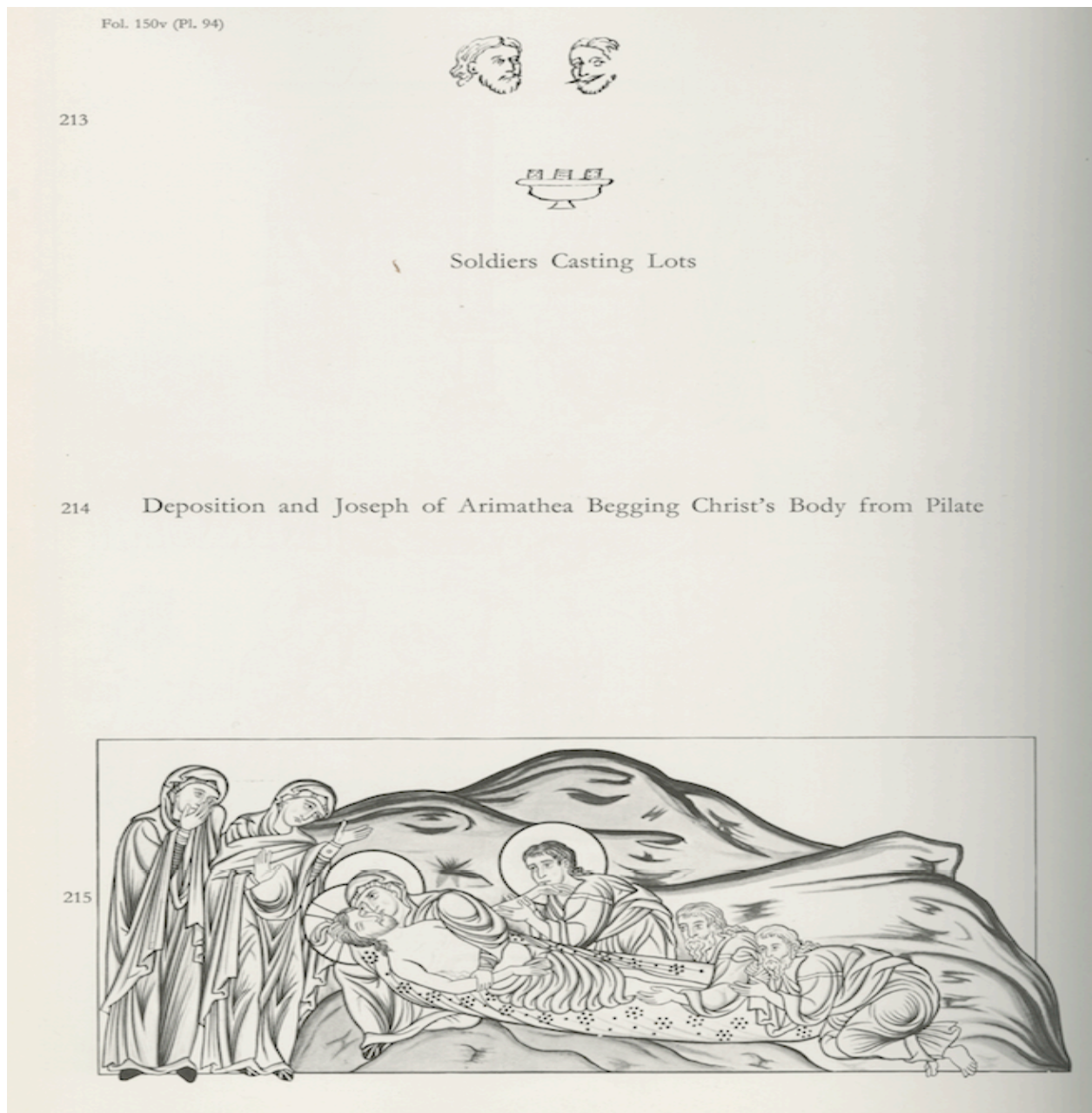






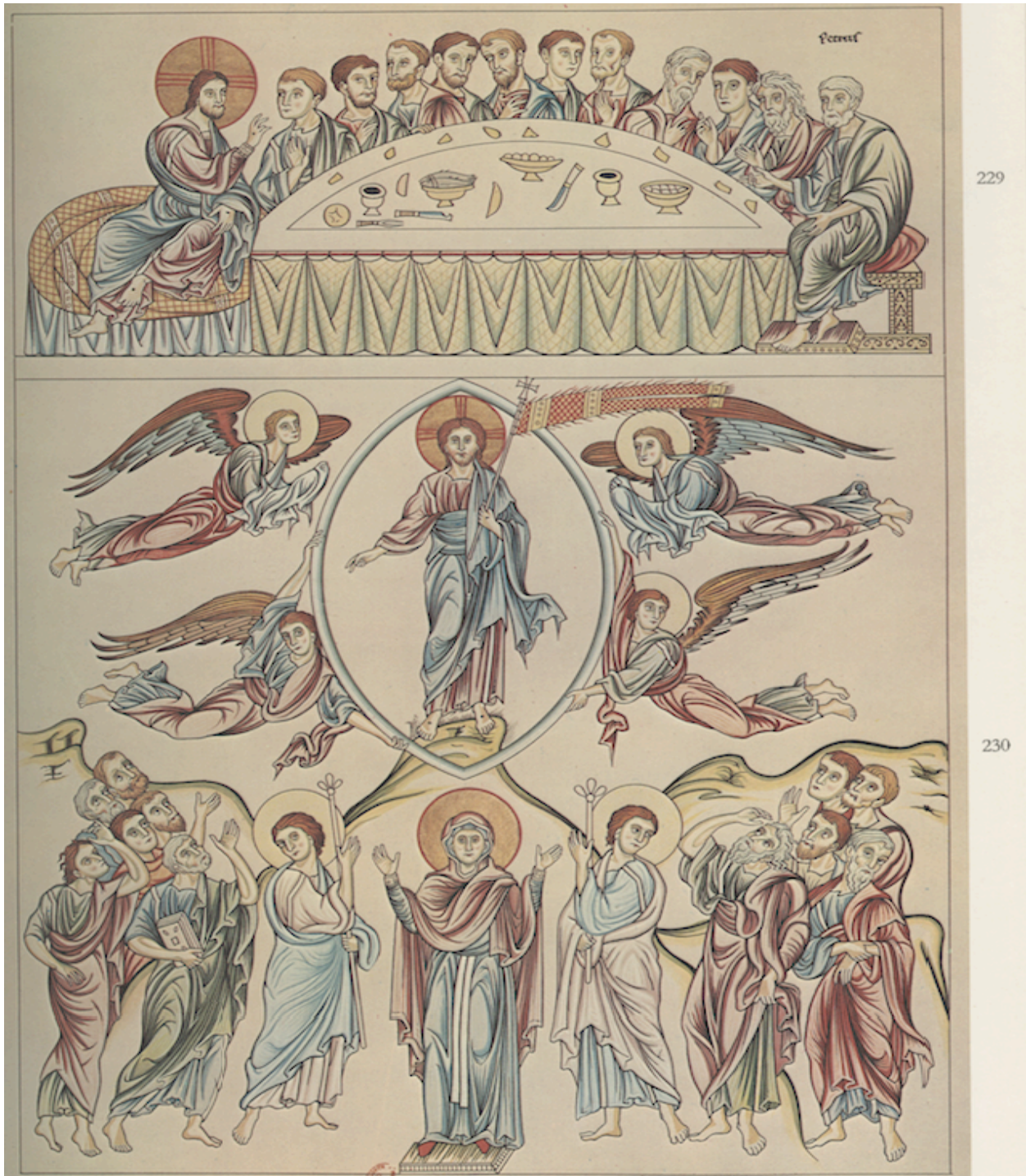
*Tree of the Ancestry of Christ, fol. 80v*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



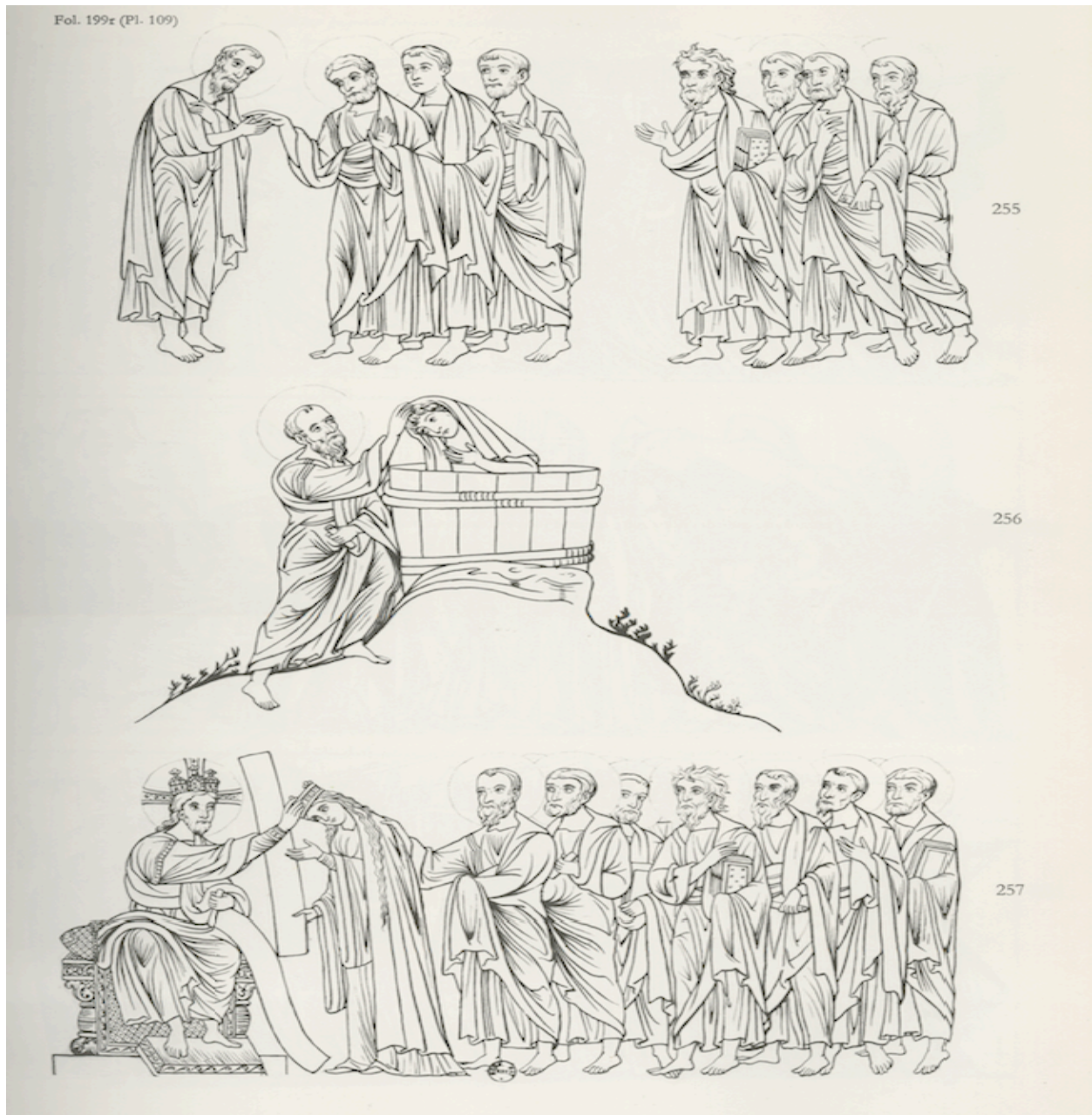
*Soldiers Casting Lots at the Crucifixion, Deposition and Joseph of Arimathea Begging Christ's Body from the Pilate, Lamentation over Body of Christ, fol. 150v*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



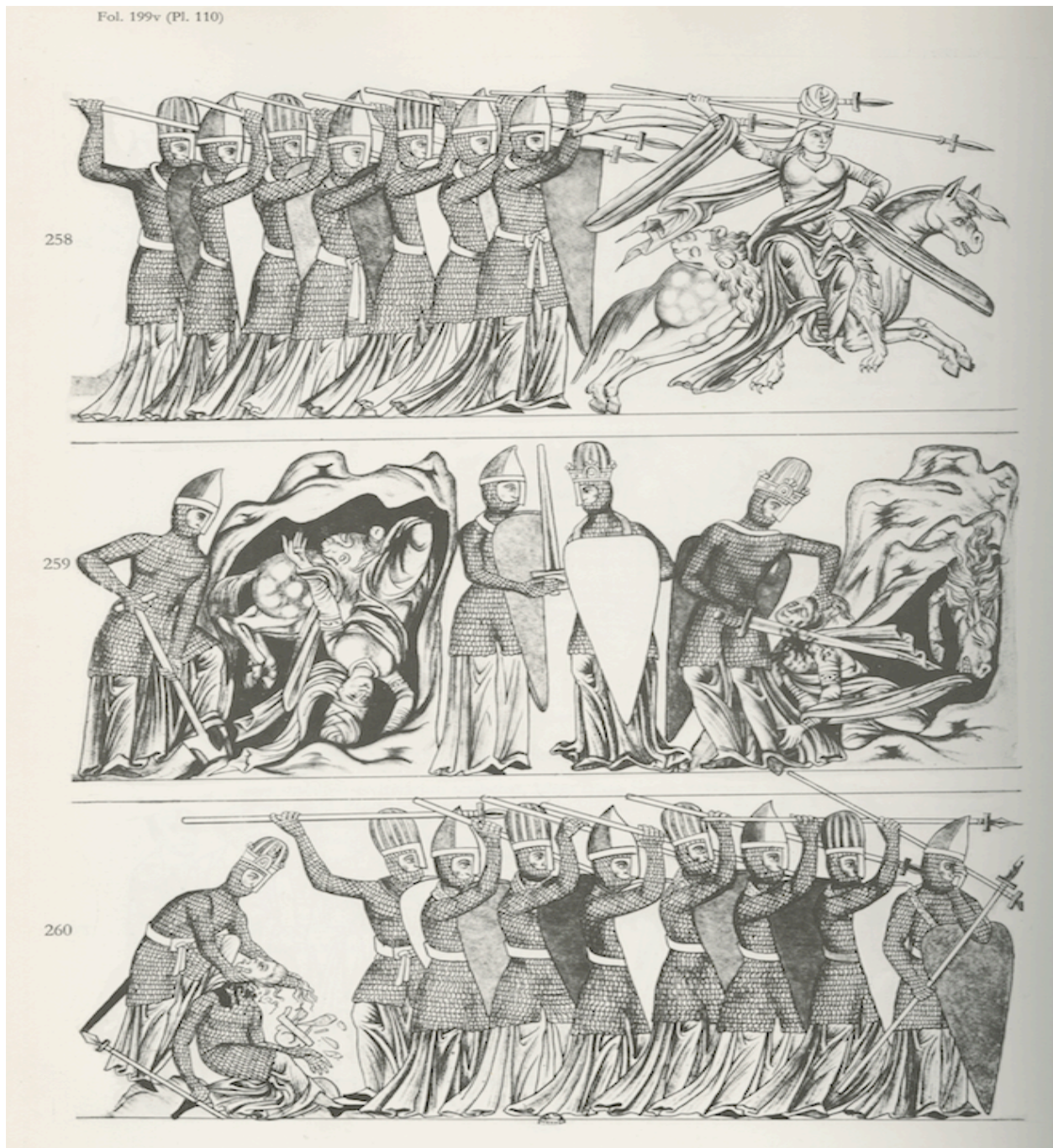
*Pentecost, Apostles Addressing the Jews, Peter Baptizing the Synagogue, fol. 167r*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



*Apostle Paul Sent by Peter, James, and John to Preach to the Gentiles; Apostle Paul Baptizing and Ethiopian Woman; Christ the King Crowning: the United Church Presented by the Apostles,*  
fol. 199r

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



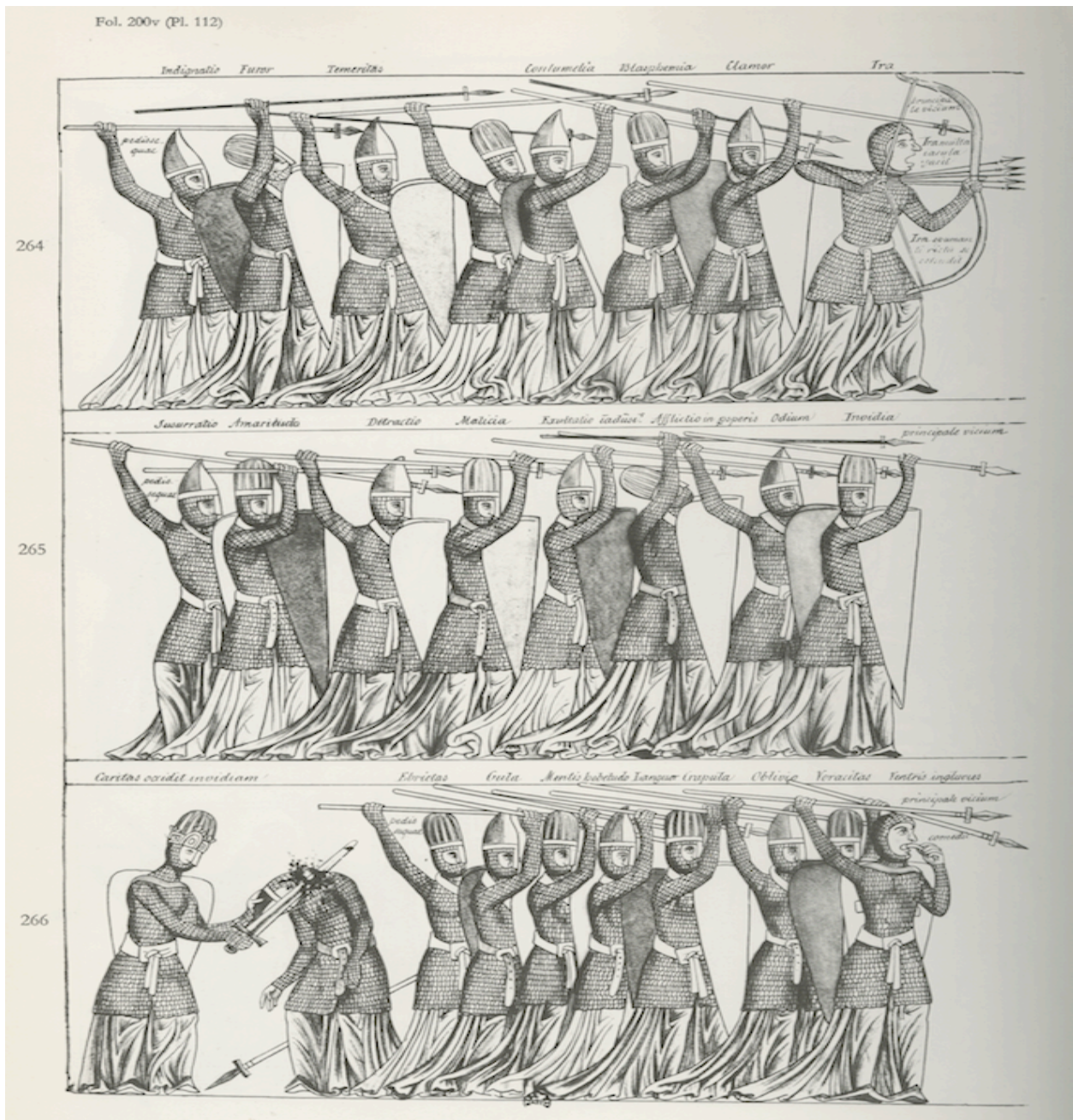
*Virtues and Vices in Combat Superbia and Humilitas, Idolatria and Fides, Tristica, and Spes* ,  
fol. 199v

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



*Virtues and Vices in Combat: Superbia and Humilitas, Idolatria and Fides, Tristica, and Spes* ,  
 fol. 200r

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



*Virtues and Vices in Combat: Ira and Paciencia, Invidia and Caritas, Ventris Ingluvis and Sobrietas, fol. 200v*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)





*Virtues and Vices in Combat: Ira and Paciencia, Invidia and Caritas, Ventris Ingluvis and Sobrietas, fol. 201r*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



*Virtues and Vices in Combat: Vana Gloria, and Prudentia, Fallacia and Justicia, Luxuria in her Chariot, fol. 201v*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



*Virtues and Vices in Combat: Vana Gloria, and Prudentia, Fallacia and Iusticia, Luxuria in her Chariot, fol. 202r*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



*Virtues and Vices in Combat: Luxuria Overthrown by Temperantia, Followers of Luxuria  
 Fleeing, Avaritia Gathering the Spoils, fol. 202v*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)

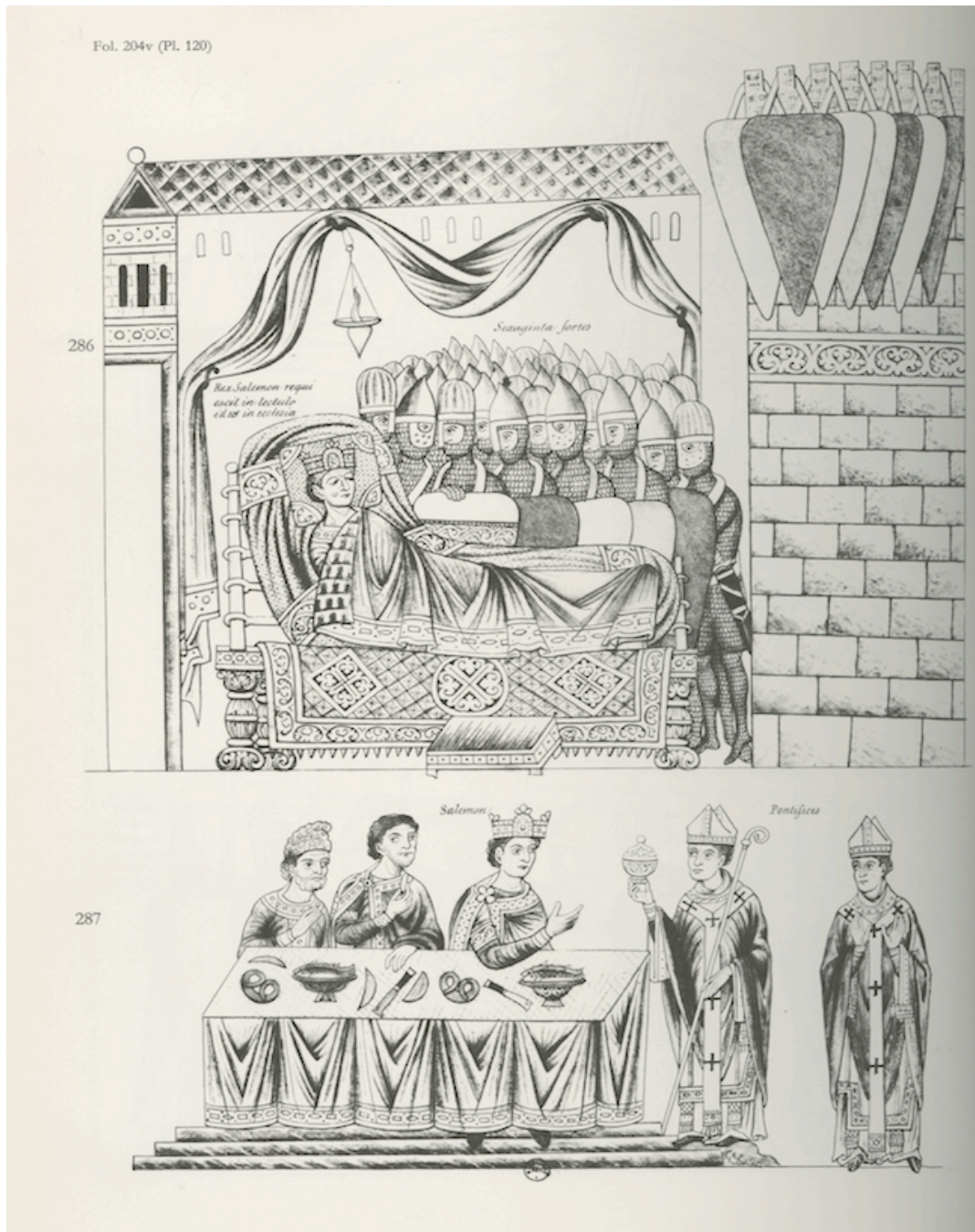


*Virtues and Vices in Combat: Acts of Rapina, Avaritia, Blasphemia and her Followers, fol. 203r*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)







*Solomon in Bed Attended by the Threesome Valiant; Solomon's Feast, fol. 204v*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)





*Whore of Babylon on the Scarlet Beast, fol. 258r*

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)



*Whore of Babylon Overthrown*, fol. 258v

(Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, London, 1979)

## Endnotes

---

<sup>1</sup> No author cited, “Herrad von Landsberg [Hohenbourg],” *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (New York: Grove, 1996), 467-68.

<sup>2</sup> *New Advent*, s.v. “Hohenbourg,” last modified 2012, [www.newadvent.org/cathen/07384b.htm](http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07384b.htm); This source is a Catholic Encyclopedia.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Albrecht Classen, “Herrad von Hohenbourg (fl. Late 12<sup>th</sup> c.)” *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John M. Jeep (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 2001), 355. Unlike the *Hortus deliciarum*, the *Scivias* by Hildegard of Bingen was a text largely based on the visions she received from the Holy Spirit. The *Scivias* was not an educational text in that it did not display academic influence like the work of Herrad. Hildegard also relied on the transcription of a male assistant, Volmar. Volmar listened to Hildegard as she dictated her visions. Although she was not responsible for the final written product of the *Scivias*, Hildegard was able to represent her experiences through illuminations; illumination being the avenue through which the liturgy of Herrad and Hildegard connected.

<sup>7</sup> Herrad of Landsberg Abbess of Hohenbourg, Rosalie Green, T. Julian Brown, and Kenneth Levy, *Hortus deliciarum (vol. 1)*, (London: Warburg Institute, 1979), VII.

<sup>8</sup> *New Advent*, s.v. “Hohenbourg,” last modified 2012, [www.newadvent.org/cathen/07384b.htm](http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07384b.htm)

<sup>9</sup> Mary Ellen Waithe. *Medieval, Renaissance, and Enlightenment Women Philosophers, A.D. 500-1600* (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1989), 87.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 87.

<sup>11</sup> Christian Maurice Engelhardt was involved in recreating the miniatures.

<sup>12</sup> Herrad of Landsberg Abbess of Hohenbourg, Rosalie Green, T. Julian Brown, and Kenneth Levy, *Hortus deliciarum (vol. 1)*, (London: Warburg Institute, 1979), VII.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., VII.

<sup>14</sup> The text from the *Hortus* was copied before its demise and held in the Bibliothèque nationale. Fritz Saxl, the first director of the Warburg Institute, had drawn on the text of the *Hortus* in previous research of medieval encyclopedias. He made extensive copies of the text while visiting the Bibliothèque nationale.

---

<sup>15</sup> I personally believe there should be another reconstruction of the Hortus deliciarum in which the visuals are accompanied by text translated into English. This would be an interesting topic for a future dissertation.

<sup>16</sup> Peter Lombard was among the many scholars whom Herrad was influenced by; Mary Ellen Waithe. *Medieval, Renaissance, and Enlightenment Women Philosophers, A.D. 500-1600* (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1989), 87.

<sup>17</sup> *New Advent*, s.v. “Peter Lombard,” last modified 2012.  
<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11768d.htm>

<sup>18</sup> Fiona J. Griffiths implies that Herrad received much of her source material from the nearby male monastery at Marbach. This is the only reference to source material I have been able to find. If it were true, Herrad would have been able to come into contact with some of the most influential texts of the time. They would have not only influenced her writing style, but also her artistic style.

<sup>19</sup> Mary Ellen Waithe. *Medieval, Renaissance, and Enlightenment Women Philosophers, A.D. 500-1600* (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers), 87.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>21</sup> Saint Hildegard, Emilie Griffin, Columba Hart, and Jane Bishop, *Hildegard of Bingen: Selections from her Writings* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 2005). vii.

<sup>22</sup> The reign of Pope Gregory VII began on April 22, 1073 and lasted only until May 25, 1085. At this point in medieval monastic tradition females were separated from males. The idea of a “double convent” was brought forth with the belief that the male clergy members should no longer be eligible to marry. As a result of the separation, scholars assume that females were subjected to a sort of intellectual regression. They were subject to cura monialium, a term which I will discuss later, which has to do with the caring for of the nuns; Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 10.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>24</sup> This term will be discussed later in the paper.

<sup>25</sup> Colum Hourihane, *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century: Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn* (Princeton, N.J.: Penn State University Press, 2008), 200.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>27</sup> Paul Halsall, “Medieval Sourcebook: Gregory VII: Dictatus Papae 1090,” *Internet Medieval Source Book*, January 1996, [legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/source/g7-dictpap.asp](http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/source/g7-dictpap.asp); In the year 1075

---

this document was found in the Pope's register, some believe that Pope Gregory VII wrote it himself, while others speculate it had a later origin. It is uncertain whether or no the Pope was responsible for writing the demands himself within his lifetime.

<sup>28</sup> The first four demands of the *Dictatus papae* are as follows:

1. That the Roman church was founded by God alone.
2. That the Roman pontiff alone can with right be called universal.
3. That he alone can depose or reinstate bishops.
4. That, in a council his legate, even if a lower grade, is above all bishops, and can pass sentence of deposition against them.

<sup>29</sup> This fact further supports the question of whether or not women were affected by the reform movement and the push towards a *vita apostolica*. Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 2.

<sup>30</sup> Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 2. Premonstratensians are a branch of the Augustinian order.

<sup>31</sup> *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "St. Augustine," 6th Edition, <http://ehis.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.umw.edu/>.

<sup>32</sup> Canons and Canonesses are religious clerics. They wore distinctive robes, and dedicated their lives to charity work. *New Advent*, s.v. "Canons and Canonesses Regular," last modified 2012, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03288a.htm>.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

<sup>34</sup> Kevin J. Hughes, "Augustinian Rule," *Encyclopedia of Monasticism* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000), 106.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>36</sup> Examples from the Rule of St. Augustine:

Love of God:

Before all things, most dear brothers, we must love God and after Him our neighbor; for these are the principal commands which have been given to us. The following things, then, we direct you, who live in the monastery, to observe:

Unanimity:

---

First, that you dwell together in unity in the house and be of one mind and one heart in God, remembering that this is the end for which you are collected here. Call not anything your own, but let all things be held in common among you.

Food and clothing should be distributed to each one of you by your superior, not in equal measure to all, because all are not equally strong, but rather to each according to his need. For thus you read in the Acts of the Apostles that “all things were in common among them, and distribution was made to every man according as he had need;

<sup>37</sup> *The Harper Collins Dictionary of Religion*, s.v. “Augustine of Hippo,” (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 2002), 89.

<sup>38</sup> Warren Thomas Smith, “Augustine of Hippo,” *Encyclopedia of Religion 2nd Edition*, (Detroit: Thomas Gale, 2005), 624.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 624.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 624.

<sup>41</sup> *History of the Christian Church*, “Saint Augustine, ” (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1950), 998.

<sup>42</sup> In the year 380 Augustine completed his first book entitled, *De pulchro et apto* (Beauty and Proportion). The text had to do with aesthetics; it is no longer in existence. In many of the writings of Augustine he combined the ideals of certain philosophers like Plato and Aristotle, almost making them sound Christian. Scholar Warren Thomas Smith states, “From this beginning Augustine delved deeper into Platonism, reading Plato in Latin translations. In Plato, Augustine found answers to questions on the origin and meaning of evil that had first drawn him to the sect of Mani [Manichaeism] Later in his life, Augustine transformed Plato into a near-Christian philosophy, combining the Logos doctrine with the writings of Plotinus- in short, reconciling Greek wisdom with Hebrew-Christian faith. A Platonic metaphysics was the result: the absolute Good as center of all reality, transcending thought and concrete being.” Warren Thomas Smith, “Augustine of Hippo,” *Encyclopedia of Religion 2nd Edition*, (Detroit: Thomas Gale, 2005), 625.

<sup>43</sup> R.P. Russell, “Augustinian Spirituality,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd Edition (Detroit: Thomas Gale, 2003), 875.

<sup>44</sup> *Vorbild* is the German word for ideal or example.

<sup>45</sup> It is within the study of the Augustinian order that more information may be determined about the spiritual and intellectual objectives of the *Hortus deliciarum*.

<sup>46</sup> Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 2.

---

<sup>47</sup> This assumption has come as a result of my own experience growing up in the Catholic tradition.

<sup>48</sup> Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 3.

<sup>49</sup> Ernest W. McDonnell, "The Vita Apostolica: Diversity or Dissent." *Church History*, 3/1, 1955, vol. 24, Issue 1, 15.

<sup>50</sup> Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 2.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>52</sup> Much scholarship in feminist art history of the medieval period questions the relevance of women amongst standardized assumptions. Whether this question of participation is useful or not is the cause for much debate. In my personal opinion, I believe it is harmful to assume or even pose a question that, in essence secludes the female gender from the male. I believe that all citizens of the 12th century, whether secularly or worldly, were affected by their contemporaneous cultural landscapes.

<sup>53</sup> Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 2.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>57</sup> Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 37.

<sup>58</sup> Jeffrey Hamburger provides the situation at a monastery known as Admont, "According to Irimbert, the convent had only one entrance, directly opposite the altar. Each nun passed through this door on no more than two occasions: profession and burial. No monk was admitted except the abbot or the prior, and even they could enter only in the company of two or three observers, either to administer the sacraments and extreme unction to nuns confined to bed by illness, or else, on the rarest of occasions ("raro tamen"), to preside over the deliberations of the chapter. Access to the grille was strictly limited: except for confession, no private exchanges were allowed. For added security, two of the three keys were assigned to older monks ("seniores"), the third to the *magistra* inside, a policy that threatened disaster when a fire devastated the monastery and threatened to spread to the adjoining convent. In the confusion, no one could find the keys, yet the nuns refused to leave, even after the abbot had the door broken down and gave

---

them permission. Only at the last moment were the women saved by a shift in the wind.” Jeffrey Hamburger, “Art, Enclosure and the Cura Monialium: Prolegomena in the Guise of a Postscript,” *Gesta* vol. 31, no. 2, *Monastic Architecture for Women* (1992), 109.

<sup>59</sup> A term to describe the artwork created within female convents. The term directly translates to “work of nuns”. It was typically not seen as “high art” subsequently because it was created by women.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>64</sup> Laurie Schneider Adams, *The Methodologies of Art: An Introduction* (New York: IconEditions, 1996), 97.

<sup>65</sup> Jeffrey Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of the Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 6.

<sup>66</sup> The medieval idea of art is referred to as *imago*. Essentially, this ideal is a, “representation, which, as a reflection of a higher truth, could never transcend its secondary status, and yet at the same time was invested through that higher reality with miraculous powers.” In a sense, art historians must adjust their aperture to a more anthropological viewpoint in order to understand not only the aesthetic value of medieval monastic art, but also the function of the art within convent walls. Historically, women have been considered the premiere audience and creators of devotional art. In terms of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, this paradigm has not been fully investigated. The visual culture during this time has commandeered a focus on the value of word over image, and the precedent of male creations over those of women.

<sup>67</sup> Laurie Schneider Adams, *The Methodologies of Art: An Introduction* (New York: IconEditions, 1996), 97.

<sup>68</sup> Jeffrey Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of the Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 5.

<sup>69</sup> Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 13.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.



---

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., VII.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., VII. Specifics of the manuscript are as follows: 69 smaller folios variously described as half leaves, quarter leaves and very small leaves, and on one occasion a fragment of parchment...The distribution of small leaves throughout the volume is only partially recorded. *Size of writing area*: if the layout of Engelhardt pl. X (Pl. 166) reflects the original mise-en-page, the dimensions would have been 39 X 27.5 cm. The writing area was probably taller. *Number of lines*: about 50 per folio. Since the hexameters were set out one verse per line it can be estimated that, for instance, fol. 220r contained 49 lines in two columns-96 verse plus a nine-word title (Appendix). The Petrus Pictor poems (texts 460-486) had over 100 verses to a page, with longer titles.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>76</sup> This is an original hypothesis on the function and purpose of the *Hortus deliciarum* in the Hohenbourg Abbey.

<sup>77</sup> Herrad of Landsberg Abbess of Hohenbourg, Rosalie Green, T. Julian Brown, and Kenneth Levy, *Hortus deliciarum* (vol. 2), (London: Warburg Institute, 1979), VII.

<sup>78</sup> See appendix of mentioned folios

<sup>79</sup> *Parley's Magazine* s.v., "The Nine Muses" February 1, 1844.

<sup>80</sup> George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 39.

<sup>81</sup> Translated these women are: Clio, the muse of history; Euterpe, the muse of music and of lyrical poetry; Thalia, the muse of comedy; Melpomene, the muse of tragedy; Terpsichore, the muse of choral song and dance; Erato, the muse of the poetry of love; Polyhymia, the muse of oratory and sacred poetry; Uranie, the muse of astronomy; and Calliope, the muse of epic poetry and eloquence; Herrad of Landsberg Abbess of Hohenbourg, Rosalie Green, T. Julian Brown, and Kenneth Levy, *Hortus deliciarum* (vol. 2), (London: Warburg Institute, 1979), 55.

<sup>82</sup> Their selectiveness can be noted throughout the manuscript. The folios they considered to be of the utmost importance have color copies, while a large majority of the folios remain as line drawings.

<sup>83</sup> Herrad of Landsberg Abbess of Hohenbourg, Rosalie Green, T. Julian Brown, and Kenneth Levy, *Hortus deliciarum* (vol.2), (London: Warburg Institute, 1979), 56.

<sup>84</sup> Mary Ellen Waithe. *Medieval, Renaissance, and Enlightenment Women Philosophers, A.D. 500-1600* (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1989), 93.

---

<sup>85</sup> This article is being used so extensively because after extensive research I have not been able to find a source that translates a large number of the Latin text in the manuscript. *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>90</sup> Saint Hildegard, Emilie Griffin, Columba Hart, and Jane Bishop, *Hildegard of Bingen: Selections from her Writings* (San Francisco: Harper San Fransisco, 2005), viii.

<sup>91</sup> Volmar helped Hildegard to complete one of her most notable works, the *Scivias*. He listened to Hildegard dictate her visions.

<sup>92</sup> *The Holy Bible: Vulgate* (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1952), Genesis 28: 10-17.

<sup>93</sup> Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 182.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>95</sup> *The Holy Bible: Vulgate* (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1952), St. Luke 3:21.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, The Acts 2: 19-21.

---

## Bibliography

- Adams, Laurie Schneider. *The Methodologies of Art: An Introduction*. New York: IconEditions, 1996.
- “Augustine of Hippo.” *In The Harper Collins Dictionary of Religion*. 89-90. San Francisco: Harper Collins San Francisco, 1995.
- Bailey, Elizabeth. “Succumbing to Gravity in the Hortus Deliciarum of Herrad of Hohenbourg.” *In Gravity in Art: Essays on Weight and Weightlessness in Painting, Sculpture and Photography*, edited by Mary D. Edwards and Elizabeth Bailey, 35-49. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc. Publishers, 2012.
- Bardsley, Sandy. *Women’s Roles in the Middle Ages*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007.
- Beer, Frances. *Women and Mystical Experience in the Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992.
- Bingen, Hildegard of, and Emilie Griffin, Columba Hart, and Jane Bishop, *Hildegard of Bingen: Selections from her Writings*. San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 2005.
- Bluestone, Natalie Harris. *Double Vision: Perspectives on Gender in the Visual Arts*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1995.
- Boesch, Bruno. *German Literature: A Critical Survey*. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1971.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Campbell, Josie P. *Popular Culture in the Middle Ages*. Bowling Green State University Press, 1986.
- Caviness, Madeline Harrison. *Visualizing Women the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Classen, Albrecht. “Herrad von Hohenbourg (fl. late 12th c.)” *In Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, edited by John M. Jeep, 355-356. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2001.
- Clemens, Aurelius Prudentius. *Prudentius*. edited by H.J. Thompson. London: Heinemann, 1949.

- 
- Collard, Judith. "Herrad of Hohenbourg's Hortus Deliciarum (The Garden of Delights) and the Creation of Images for Medieval Nuns." in *Communities of Women: Historical Perspectives*. edited by Barbara Brookes and Dorothy Page, 39-57. Otago: University of Otago Press, 2002.
- Coon, Lynda L., Katherine J. Haldane, and Elisabeth W. Sommer. *That Gentle Strength: Historical Perspectives on Women in Christianity*. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1990.
- Dronke, Peter. *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua to Marguerite Porete*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Eckenstein, Lina. *Woman under Monasticism: Chapters on Saint-Lore and Convent Life between A.D. 500 and A.D. 1500*. New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1963.
- Edwards, Robert R. *Matrons and Marginal Women in Medieval Society*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995.
- Farmer, Sharon A. and Carol Braun Pasternack. *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.
- Ferguson, George. *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Gambero, Luigi. *Mary in the Middle Ages: The Blessed Virgin Mary in the Thought of Medieval Latin Theologians*, Translated by Thomas Buffer. San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2005.
- Gerchow, Jan, Katrinette Bodarwé, Susan Marti, and Hedwig Röckelein. "Early Monasteries and Foundations (500-1200): An Introduction." in *Crown & Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, edited by Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti, 13-40. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.
- Green, Rosalie B. "The Adam and Eve Cycle in the Hortus Deliciarum." In *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, edited by Kurt Weitzmann, 340-347. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955.
- Griffiths, Fiona. *The Garden of Earthly Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women of the Twelfth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
- Haastrup, Ulla and Soren Kaspersen. *Images of Cult and Devotion: Function and Reception of Christian Images in Medieval and Post Medieval Europe*. Coopenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2004.
- Halsall, Paul. "Medieval Sourcebook: Gregory VII: *Dictatus Papae* 1090," *Internet Medieval Source Book*, January 1996, [legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/source/g7-dictpap.asp](http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/source/g7-dictpap.asp)

---

Hamburger, Jeffrey F. Art, Enclosure and the Cura Monialium: Prolegomena in the Guise of a Postscript," *Gesta* vol. 31, no. 2, *Monastic Architecture for Women*, 108-134, 1992.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of the Medieval Convent*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in late Medieval Germany*. New York: Zone Books, 1998.

\_\_\_\_\_. Susan Marti. *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*. Translated by Dietlinde Hamburger. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.

Harris, Ann Sutherland and Linda Nochlin. *Women Artists: 155-1950*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1976.

Hendry, Petra. *Engendering Curriculum History*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

"Herrad von Landsberg [Hohenbourg]." in *The Dictionary of Art*. ed. Jane Turner. 467-468. New York: Grove, 1996.

"Hohenbourg." New Advent. last modified 2012 [www.newadvent.org/cathen/07384b.htm](http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07384b.htm).

\_\_\_\_\_. "Peter Lombard." New Advent. last modified 2012.  
<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11768d.htm>

\_\_\_\_\_. "Canons and Canonesses." New Advent. last modified.  
<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03288a.htm>.

*The Holy Bible: Vulgate ed*. New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1952.

Houlet, Jacques. *Les combats de vertus et des vices; les psychomachies dans l'art*. Paris: Nouvelles éditions latines, 1969.

Hourihane, Colum. *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century: Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn*. Princeton: Penn State University Press, 2008.

Hughes, Kevin J. "Augustinian Rule," *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*. Vol. 1, 106-107. London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000.

Jantzen, Grace M. *Power, Gender, and Christian Mysticism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

- 
- Katzenellenbogen, Adolf. *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art, from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*. translated by J.P. Crick. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.
- Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane. *A History of Women: Silences of the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Landsberg, Herrad Abbess of Hohenbourg, and Rosalie Green, T. Julian Brown, and Kenneth Levy. *Hortus deliciarum volumes 1 &2*. London: Warburg Institute, 1979.
- Lawrence, C. H. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. New York: Longman, 1984.
- McDonnell, Ernest. "The Vita Apostolica: Diversity or Dissent." *Church History*. vol. 24, 14-31. Issue 1, 1955.
- McNamara, Jo Ann Kay. *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- Morton, Vera and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne. *Guidance for Women in Twelfth-Century Convents*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003.
- "The Nine Muses" *Parley's Magazine*. February 1, 1844.
- Norman, Joanna, *Metamorphoses of an Allegory: the Iconography of the Psychomachia in Medieval Art*. New York: P. Lang, 1988.
- Pächt, Otto. *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages*. Translated by Kay Davenport. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1986.
- Ranft, Patricia. *Women and Spiritual Equality in Christian Tradition*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- Russell, R.P. "Augustinian Spirituality," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd Edition. 875, Detroit: Thomas Gale, 2003.
- Smith, Macklin, *Prudentius' Psychomachia; A Re-examination*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Smith, Warren Thomas. "Augustine of Hippo," *Encyclopedia of Religion 2nd edition*, 624-625. Detroit: Thomas Gale, 2005.
- "St. Augustine" Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 6th edition.  
<http://ehis.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.umw.edu/>.

---

Stettiner, Richard. *Die illustrierten Prudentius-Handschriften*, Berlin: Book 4 Degree, 1905.

Storey, Ann. "A Theophany of the Feminine: Hildegard of Bingen, Elisabeth of Schönau, and Herrad of Landsberg(Hohenbourg) ." *Woman's Art Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 1 16-20. Spring - Summer, 1998

Waithe, Mary Ellen. *Medieval, Renaissance, and Enlightenment Women Philosophers, A.D. 500-1600*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1989.