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TEXTS AND RESPONSES

STUDIES
PRESENTED TO NAHUM N. GLATZER
ON THE OCCASION
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BY HIS STUDENTS

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meaningful balance in that history. It places Jeremiah, a prophet like unto Moses, at the end of the prophetic line. It places Josiah, a righteous king of Judah who comes to rule over all Israel—like David—at the end of a succession of kings. Its sense of symmetry is further served by the fact that this “last” prophet was a partner with this “last” king in the restoration for a short period of re-united and independent Israel.

A CHANGE IN THE ICONOGRAPHY
OF THE SONG OF SONGS
IN 12th AND 13th CENTURY LATIN BIBLES

JUDITH GLATZER WECHSLER

There were two principal ways of illustrating the Song of Songs in Latin Bibles during the first half of the 12th century. Either the female figure was depicted alone, generally as *Ecclesia*, or a bride and bridegroom were represented, usually as Christ and *Ecclesia* or possibly Mary. In addition there were occasional illustrations of King Solomon or *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. However, in the latter part of the 12th century a shift occurred in the iconography. To the standard emblematic images was added the representation of the Virgin Mary and the Christ child which became the predominant motif in the 13th century Song of Songs illustrations. There is nothing apparent in the love poems themselves to offer a ready explanation for this new choice of motif. In order to understand the change in the imagery we must look to the commentaries and the shift in emphasis within the allegorical interpretations. We must also review the history and character of the book.

For this study historiated initials from approximately 120 Latin Bibles of the 12th and 13th centuries with a small selection from the 14th century were reviewed. These Bibles represent a sampling from France, England, Italy, Austria and Germany. The illustrations are of the emblematic type and are found within the first initial of the Song of Songs. In the appendix appears a catalogue of the manuscripts according to the predominant types.

The Song of Songs is a collection of about twenty-five lyric love poems or fragments of poems in the Bible sung by the bride, the bridegroom, and their companions. The work is one of the most curious pieces of Biblical literature in that it is neither historical, prophetic, moralistic, or hymnic. In its present form the book dates from about the third century B.C., but its sources are thought to be more ancient.¹ An account of the love between a bride and bridegroom emerges from the sequence of the poems.

I am grateful to Dr. John Plummer for his advice on this subject.

¹ R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1948), pp. 711f.

Some scholars maintain that the author (or authors) may have been influenced by the wedding songs of peasants and shepherds in Palestine.² Eissfeldt recognizes the close connections in intellectual and religious life between Canaan and Israel and their environment.³ Wittekind proposes that the Song of Songs represents the cycle of cult songs of the festival Tammuz-Shalam and Ishtar-Shulammite, which was celebrated in the Temple at Jerusalem.⁴ However, Eissfeldt maintains that this is only a probability.⁵ Other scholars have interpreted the various symbolic terms and allusions in the Song of Songs such as shepherds, vine, raisin-cakes, myrrh, dove, gazelle, hind, apple, mandrake, pomegranate, garden and hena as reflecting Near Eastern fertility cults.⁶ The sheepfold, a city with streets, and a garden, according to Meek, refer to the goddess, who, in mystery fertility cults, descends to the netherworld in search of her lover (1:7,8; 3:1-4; 5:2-7; 6:1-3; 9:1,2,13,14). In his opinion, hymns used in the cult of the Babylonian goddess Ishtar were transplanted to Palestine in the cult of Astarte. The Hebrews are supposed to have adapted the hymns to their own culture.⁷

The historical background and the identity of the speakers in the Song of Songs is not known, though King Solomon is referred to several times (1:5; 3:7,9,11; 8:11).⁸ The identity of the bride, however, is more complicated. The name "Shulammite" is mentioned once,

² For a collection of such songs, cf. Gustav Dalman, *Palästinensischer Diwan* (Leipzig, 1901), and S. H. Stephan, "Modern Palestinian Parallels to the Song of Songs," *Journal of Palestinian Oriental Society* 2, 1922, pp. 199-278.

³ Otto Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament* (New York, 1965), p. 489. The view of the mythological or cultic character of the Song of Songs was put forward by Winckler and Erbt in 1906 (*Die Hebräer*, pp. 196-202) and defended by Ebeling, Meek and Wittekind.

⁴ See Wittekind, *Compte Rendu de la III Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (1954), pp. 18-41. PIs. IV-VIII.

⁵ Eissfeldt, *op. cit.* p. 489.

⁶ See Schmökel, "Zur kultischen Deutung des Hohenliedes," *ZAW* 64 (1952), pp. 148-155.

⁷ Theophile James Meek, "The Song of Songs and the Fertility Cult," *Song of Songs: A Symposium*, Wilfred Schoff, ed., Philadelphia, 1924, pp. 48-79. Both Meek and *The Oxford Annotated Bible* (New York, 1962), explain 1:12-17 *dodī* as originally an epithet of the fertility god Dod or Adad known in the Old Testament as Hadad. Here it is used simply as a term of endearment. They also explain 4:8 "Come with me from Lebanon... Depart from the peak of Senir and Hermon, from the dens of lions, from the mountains of leopards," that these were the mountain dwellings of the Syrian fertility goddess.

⁸ The poem is referred to as either "about Solomon" 3:9,11 or "by Solomon" in a late addition based on I Kng. 4:37.

7:1.⁹ There is a legendary tradition that Solomon married the Queen of Sheba (*II Alphabet of Ben Sira*, 21b), but no Hebrew commentary speaks of her as the one referred to in Canticles.¹⁰

Jewish interpreters, as well as the Church Fathers who followed them, felt the need to search for the deeper, symbolic meaning of the book and to justify, through such reinterpretation, the place of the Song of Songs in the canon of Scripture.

In post-Biblical Judaism, the symbolic, allegoric, metaphoric reading of the Song of Songs predominates. The book is read as an account of the love between God and the ideal Israel. The allegorical application to Yahweh and Israel is attested to in IV *Ezra* (ca. 90 A.D.): the terms vine, lily, dove, obviously taken from the Song of Songs (IV *Ezra* 5:23-26) are applied to Israel. Rabbi Akiba (mid-2nd century A.D.) exclaimed that no day "is worth as much as the day on which the Song of Songs was given" (M. Yad. III, 5)—because of its symbolic meaning. He opposed those who read it literally, as erotic ditties (Tos. San. XII, 10). The Aramaic rendition of the book (Targum, 6th century) interprets the Song of Songs as the love between God and Israel as evidenced in the history of Israel. The fundamental Jewish interpretation—the love between God and Israel—is carried over into the Christian interpretation, the Church replacing Israel as the bride.

The allegorical approach based on Philo and his scriptural exegesis was carried on by early Christian theologians and Biblical scholars. Hippolytus of Rome (mid-3rd century) who provides the first allegorical commentary to the Song of Songs in the Christian literature interprets the songs as the union of Christ with the soul. The King is interpreted as Christ, and the "bedchamber" as the Church, implying that the soul is the bride.¹¹ Of more lasting importance was Origen (185-254) who wrote a commentary and two homilies on the Song of Songs. Applying the Philonic method, Origen understands the book as the celebration of the union of the soul with the Word (*logos*). The Word's marriage was at once the union with the Church and a union with the individual

⁹ In the Septuagint *he Sunamitis*, which probably means "a native of Shunem"; according to Eusebius (*Onomasticon*) Shulem is identical with Shunem. Abishag of Shunem is known as the "nurse" of the old King David (I Kng. 1:1-5). Some interpreters have identified the Shulammite of the Canticles with Abishag, but she is not known as the bride of Solomon.

¹⁰ Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1928), vol. VI, p. 289.

¹¹ Cf. Jean Danielou, *Origen* (New York, 1955), pp. 304ff.

soul. The subject of the Song of Songs is to him the soul whose "one desire is to be made one with God's Word; to go to her heavenly Bridegroom's room, to the mysteries, that is, of his wisdom and knowledge—on her wedding night" (*Commentary to Canticles*, 91).¹²

Origen's interpretation of the Song of Songs became standard for the Christian Church. From then on the book was essentially read as a document of the mystic union of *sponsus* and *sponsa* (bridegroom and bride) who are typified as Christ and his Church (*Ecclesia*), the latter being personified as a woman, or as the union of Christ (the Word) with the believing soul. Origen's emphasis on Christ's love for his Church as the main motif of the Song of Songs was followed by Jerome (ca. 350-420) and Augustine (354-430). His Christ-soul motif was taken up by Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 335-ca. 394) and Theodoret of Kyrrhos (ca. 393-ca. 457). The interpretation of Christ's love for the Church can be understood as an extension of the Christ-soul motif, if one views the Church as the community of believers.

St. Ambrose (339-397) too interpreted the Canticles as being a dialogue between Christ and the Church, or the soul with God.¹³ Augustine, while not sharing the interest of his teacher, Ambrose, in the Canticles, nevertheless in his few comments on Canticles, writes of Christ's relationship with the Church, which he identified with the *civitas Dei*. Hieronymus (ca. 437-519/20) acted as a transmitter of Origen's Canticles interpretation. He also presented the first allusions to a Mariological exegesis, for he interprets the bride as *Ecclesia*, anima, virgo, Maria.¹⁴ All subsequent commentaries on the Canticles appear in nascent form in Hieronymus. In Pope Gregory the Great's (ca. 540-604) two homilies on Canticles, *Ecclesia* is understood as the totality of mankind from the beginning to the end of the world. Isidore of Seville (d. 636) read Canticles as the union of Christ and the Church: the soul is called upon to a *consortium Dei* through the awakening of heavenly love (P.L. 83, C. 155-180).

The application of the term mother to the Church was not favored by the exegetes who stood in the early Pauline tradition. Tertullian

¹² James Montgomery, "The Song of Songs in Early Medieval Christian Use," Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹³ The following brief summary is based on Friedrich Ohly's *Hohelied-Studien: Grundzüge einer Geschichte der Hoheliedauslegung des Abendlandes, bis um 1200* (Wiesbaden, 1958).

¹⁴ P. Simon, *Sponsa Canticum. Die Deutung der Braut des Hohenlieds* (Bonn, 1951), pp. 165-182.

(ca. 160-ca. 220) was the first of the Church fathers to mention motherhood as an attribute of *Ecclesia* in *De Oratione*, Ch. II of 198-200, viewing the maternity of Mary as the prefiguration of that of *Ecclesia*. The practice of calling the Church "mother" probably originated in Asia Minor, perhaps in Phrygia, in the middle of the second century, or even in Antioch, the center of Eastern Christendom.¹⁵ Some scholars have pointed to the ancient mother divinities as having inspired a second great "mother goddess," the Christian *Mater Ecclesia*.¹⁶ This is of particular interest when one regards the imagery of the Song of Songs as drawn from fertility cults.

With the Nestorian Controversy of 428, the Incarnation becomes a central dogma of the Catholic Church. However, at the same time, the popular devotion of Mary, which recalled the worship of primitive goddesses, was discouraged. It is puzzling that while St. Gregory the Great made the important connection of Mary as bride and mother of Christ and wrote of the mystery of the Incarnation,¹⁷ the identification of the *sponsa* in the Song of Songs as Mary is not mentioned in his commentary. The Venerable Bede (673-735) interpreted the bride as representing the community of believers from both Judaism and Christianity (*In Cantica Canticorum allegorica expositio* P.L. 91, c. 1065-1236). Under Bede's influence this exclusion of Mary from the Song of Songs is maintained for centuries to come.¹⁸

During the period 850-1050 Ohly maintains that there is not one new interpretation of the Canticles. Petrus Damiani's (1007-1072) comments offer nothing substantially innovative (*Testimonia de Canticis canticorum*, P.L. 145, c. 1143-1154). Anselm of Laon (d. 1117) based his commentary on Bede, viewing the bride as the Church. However, in the beginning of the 12th century, Bruno of Segni's interpretation (1049-1123) offers occasional references to Mary as the

¹⁵ It is probable that the real origin of this term is Jerusalem which Irenaeus (2nd century) called "the mother city" and that from there the term penetrated into Syria. In order to distinguish the *Mater Ecclesia* from the ancient Mother Sion, Clement of Rome (2nd century) in his *Second Epistle* propounds the idea of the pre-existent church.

¹⁶ For the most comprehensive work on the concept of the mother Church see: Joseph Plumpe, *Mater Ecclesia: An Inquiry into the Concept of the Church as Mother in Early Christianity* (Washington, 1943).

See also Robert Briffault, *The Mothers: A Study of the Origins of Sentiments and Institutions* (New York, 1927), vol. III, pp. 180-181, 183-184.

¹⁷ Gregory, *Hom. XXXVIII in Evangelia*, no. 3. P.L. 76, c. 1283.

¹⁸ Ohly, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

bride which may signify a renewal of Mariology (*Signiensis Expositio in Cantica canticorum*, P.L. 164, c. 1233-1288).

During the 12th century the "Cult of Mary" developed, and flourished through the 13th century. The veneration of the Virgin is reflected in the commentaries on the Song of Songs of that period. While some of the Church Fathers had alluded to the parallelism between Mary and *Ecclesia* prior to the 12th century, it is only during the 12th century that a Mariological interpretation emerged as being fundamental to the understanding of the Song of Songs.¹⁹

The association of Mary with the bride in the Song of Songs was in keeping with reverence of Mary which was strongly fostered by St.

¹⁹ The following texts are relative to the parallelism between Mary and *Ecclesia* as they appear in H. Coathalem, *Le Parallélisme entre la Sainte Vierge et l'Eglise dans la tradition Latine jusqu'à la fin du XII Siècle. Analecta Gregoriana*, vol. 74 (Rome, 1954), p. 55.

Tertullian, P.L. 1, c. 289; 2, c. 787.

Saint Ambrose, P.L. 15, c. 1555, 1605, 1635, 1700; 16, c. 326-327.

Pseudo-Jerome, P.L. 30, c. 588.

S. Augustine, P.L. 38, c. 1005, 1010, 1012, 1018, 1064; 40, c. 397, 399; 46, c. 938.

Pseudo-Augustin, P.L. 39, c. 1989, 2012; 40, c. 659-661.

S. Paulin de Noble, P.L. 61, c. 636.

Sedulius, P.L. 19, c. 743.

S. Pierre Chrystologue, P.L. 52, c. 412 (allusion), 478 (allusion), 593, 692, 693.

S. Leon de Grand, P.L. 54, c. 206, 211, 213, 227, 303, 356.

S. Cesaire d'Arles, P.L. 67, c. 1048.

S. Fulgence, P.L. 65, c. 237 (allusion).

S. Gregoire le Grand (Responsorial), P.L. 79, c. 670.

S. Isidore, P.L. 83, c. 117 "Missale Mintum" Isidorium, P.L. 85, c. 188, 847.

S. Bede le Venerable, P.L. 92, c. 13, 330, 331, 334, 346, 347.

Pseudo-Bede, P.L. 94, c. 3400.

See also (not in Coathalem):

Ivo of Chartres, P.L. 162, c. 570-585.

Hugo of St. Victor, P.L. 177, c. 1209ff.

Rupert of Deutz, P.L. 168, c. 837ff.

Anselm of Canterbury, Psalterium BMV.

Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, Part III, quaest. 29; 1, 7.

The literature on the Virgin Mary includes:

Bernard: Sermones, *De Laudibus beatae Mariae, Speculum beatae Mariae*, P.L. 184, c. 1017.

Honorius of Autun: *Sigillum beatae Mariae*, P.L. 172.

Guibert de Nogent: *Liber de Laudibus Beatae Mariae*, P.L. 156.

Alanus de Insulis: *Elucidatio in Cantico Canticorum*, P.L. 210.

See also:

Congar, "Marie et L'Eglise dans la Pensée patristique," *Revue des Sciences Philosophique et Théologique*, 38 (Paris, 1954).

Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) and the Cistercian order. St. Bernard appropriately composed eighty-six homilies on the Song of Songs in praise of the Virgin (*Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*).²⁰

Mary as both virgin and Mother is recognized as the type for the Church. "As the Mother of Christ, conceived as Virgin, and remained a Virgin" says Ivo of Chartres (ca. 1040-1117), "so the Mother Church, the Bride of Christ, daily brings forth the Christian people in the world and through the bath of water so as to remain a Virgin."²¹ The interpretation of Mary as the type for the Church was also recognized in the liturgy. According to the *Glossa Ordinaria*, Psalm 44 is sung on the day of the Virgin because what is said in general about the Church may be specifically related to Mary (P.L. 113, c. 911).²²

Rupert of Deutz (1070-1129) was the first to unequivocally interpret the bride in the Canticles as Mary. The title of his commentary: *In Cantica Canticorum, De incarnatione Domini* (P.L. 168, c. 839-40) reveals his central exegetic principle in regard to the Canticles—namely, the Incarnation. Canticles are to Rupert the song of love through which the Son of God becomes man in Mary.²³ Mary is understood as both the bride of the Father and of the Son.

Thus the Virgin Mary, who was the best part of the old Church before Christ, merited being the Bride of God the Father in order to become also the pattern of the new Church, the Bride of the Son of God.²⁴

²⁰ See Willehad Eckert, "Geehrte und geschändete Synagoge," *Christen und Juden*, ed. W.D. Marsch and Karl Thieme (Mainz, 1961).

See also on the "Cult of the Virgin" Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, (Baltimore, 1959). Katzenellenbogen points out that even before St. Bernard, the cult of the Virgin had earlier manifestations such as in the sermon of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres (ca. 975-1028) which stressed the importance of celebrating the day of the Virgin's nativity and fostered the veneration of Mary in general.

See also J. Breumer, "Die marianische Deutung des Hohenliedes in der Früh-scholastik," *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 76 (1954).

²¹ Quoted in Katzenellenbogen, *op. cit.*, p. 60. He also cites in a footnote St. Ambrose, *Expositio in S. Lucam* II, 7, "Bene desponsata sed virgo, quia est Ecclesiae typus, quae est immaculata, sed nupta" (P.L. 15, c. 1635f.). And St. Augustine, *De sancta virginitate*, c. 2: "Maria corporaliter caput hujus corporis peperit: Ecclesia spiritualiter membra illius capitis parit. In utraque virginitas fecunditatem non impedit: in utraque fecunditas virginitatem non admittit" (P.L. 40, c. 397).

²² Katzenellenbogen, *op. cit.*, points out that at Senlis and at Chartres, the union of Christ and the Church is allegorically implied in the Triumph of the Virgin. On the north transept of Chartres, the Virgin Mary, honored by Christ, typifies the Church, his bride.

²³ Ohly, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

²⁴ Rupert of Deutz, *De Spiritu Sancto*, book I, ch. viii, cited in Henri de Lubac, *The Splendour of the Church* (New York, 1956), p. 243.

For the Father she is *vera sponsa principaliter amici aeterni*; for the Son she is *sponsa et mater*; for the Holy Spirit she is *templum proprium caritatis*.²⁵ The Incarnation of Christ through Mary makes possible the union between God and Man. As Mary represents the perfection of marriage between God and Man she is crucial to Rupert's understanding of the Song of Songs. For the mystics of the 12th century, the Canticles were taken as a document of their deepest experience of personal contact with God, made possible through Mary as mother and intercessor.²⁶ In the light of Rupert's interpretation we can understand the illustration of Mary and Christ child as appropriate to the Song of Songs in Latin Bibles as an image implying Incarnation.

Honorius Augustodunensis (ca. 1090-1156) presented the second exclusively Mary-centered commentary on the Song of Songs in his *Sigillum beatae Mariae* (P.L. 172, c. 494, 499). "Everything that is said of the Church can also be understood as being said of the Virgin herself, the bride and mother of the bridegroom" (P.L. 172, c. 494). "The glorious Virgin Mary stands for the Church, who is also both Virgin and Mother" (P.L. 172, c. 499). In his commentary, Honorius stressed the importance of the Canticles within the liturgy, for it is read on the Feast of the Birth of Mary and her Assumption. The liturgical aspect is not mentioned by Rupert. Ohly suggests that Honorius did not necessarily know of Rupert's interpretation.²⁷ The interchangeability of Mary and the Church was stressed repeatedly by Peter of Roissy, chancellor of the School of Chartres (1208-1213).²⁸

Alain de Lille (ca. 1120-ca. 1203), known as the scholastic "doctor universalis" also interprets the Canticles as the Song of Mary (P.L. 210, c. 53).

As the Song of Love, namely the nuptial song of Solomon refers specifically and spiritually to the Church, nevertheless, whatever we will explain as best we can under divine inspiration, is brought back most specifically and spiritually to the glorious Virgin.²⁹

From the spectrum of Song of Songs illustrations in the 12th and 13th centuries, I will discuss a few which are of particular iconographic

²⁵ Rupert of Deutz, P.L. 169, c. 155, cited in Ohly, p. 128.

²⁶ Ohly, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

²⁷ Ohly, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

²⁸ Cited in Katzenellenbogen, *op. cit.*, p. 60. V.L. Henedy, "The Handbook of Master Peter Chancellor of Chartres," *Mediaeval Studies*, 5 (1943), p. 5.

²⁹ *Elucidatio in Cantico Canticorum*, Prologue, P.L. 210, c. 53. Quoted in Katzenellenbogen, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

interest. Among the illustrations of the female figure alone, I have not chosen the straightforward image of *Ecclesia*, nor that of the Queen of Sheba who is understood as the prototype of *Ecclesia*, but rather a figure who may possibly be read as Mary.³⁰

In an Italian 12th century Bible, *Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare 2*, the female figure within the mandorla-shaped letter "O" is seated in a strictly frontal position. She is veiled and wears an Italianate crown—a large jeweled tiara which descends to her shoulders in the form of a headdress. Around her shoulders is a yoke like that of the Empress Theodora in the San Vitale mosaic. She bears further attributes of a queen: in her left hand she holds an orb, in her right hand a scepter. Marion Lawrence speaks of the transformation of the Byzantine Empress into the Western Queen—as the Virgin enthroned, and refers to the type as the "Maria-Regina."³¹ Garrison speaks of this figure as "Maria-Sponsa."³² It is possible that she is the Virgin enthroned as both mother of Christ (The Triumph of the Virgin), *Maria-Regina*, and as the bride of Christ, *Maria-Sponsa*. On the other hand—it may just be a representation of the Queen of Sheba.

The supplication of *Ecclesia* to Christ on behalf of the members of her church is the subject of an illustration from *Moulins: Bibliothèque Municipale MS. I, Bible of Souvigny, fol. 235 ro.*, Burgundy, second half 12th century. Within a decorated initial O, the half figure of a pearly, crossed-nimbed Christ is placed in a cloud-edged arc of heaven, holding a scroll inscribed with verse 2:13. The scroll is grasped below by a hand of a kneeling pearl-nimbed female figure. In the other hand she holds a scroll inscribed with verse 1:15. The sensual imagery of the verses inscribed on the scrolls contrasts markedly with the rigidly hieratic composition of Christ and the female figure. One possible

³⁰ Regarding the Queen of Sheba motif: In Herrade de Landsberg's *Hortus Deliciarum*, a 12th century repository of typical illustrations, it is written, "Regina Austri id est ecclesia venit audire sapientium veri Salomonis Jesu Christi."

According to Isidore of Seville, seated on the throne beside Solomon she is the mystic spouse glorified by Solomon.

See also: André Chastel, "La Rencontre de Salomon et de la Reine de Saba dans l'iconographie Médiévale," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 35 (1949), pp. 99-114, André Chastel maintains that the Queen of Sheba and Solomon should be regarded as the "paranymphe sponsi et sponsae" enumerated by Honorius of Autun. Solomon in this scheme seated on his throne represents Jesus seated on Mary's lap, pp. 101-103.

³¹ Marion Lawrence, "Maria Regina," *Art Bulletin*, (1924), p. 150.

³² Edward B. Garrison, *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting* (Florence, 1957-1958), Vol. 3, p. 170, fig. 91.

interpretation of the picture is that here Christ reassures the human soul of his love, bidding her to "arise" and to become fully aware that "the rock" is he, the Christ, and his Gospel. This mystical interpretation takes its clue from Gregory of Nyssa's commentary on Canticles. The pearly nimbus however indicates that the female figure is probably *Mater Ecclesia* supplicating Christ; Christ, in answer, assures her of his love. Hugh of St. Victor writes: "Mulier Sunamitidis sancta est Ecclesia. Jacuit mulier Sunamitidis ad pedes Elisei pro resuscitatione filii (II Kings 4:27), qui sancta Ecclesia humiliter in patribus Domino oravit per redemptione humani generis."³³

The most common emblematic illustrations to the Song of Songs in the 12th century and still popular in the 13th century are representations of *sponsus* and *sponsa*, sometimes as king and queen (Solomon and the Queen of Sheba) more often, specifically as Christ and *Ecclesia*. In some instances the female figure may be the Virgin Mary. Representations of crowned, seated Christ and his bride precede the 13th century scenes of the coronation of the Virgin.³⁴ Marian Lawrence has indicated that the crowned *Ecclesia* is as early if not earlier an image than the crowned Virgin, and therefore can be read as an attribute of *Ecclesia* independent of association with representations of the Triumph or Coronation of the Virgin.³⁵

A number of illustrations of the *sponsa* and *sponsus* represent the couple embracing. A particularly interesting illustration is from London, British Museum, Burney, MS. 3 fol. 245, *Bible of Robert of Battle*,

³³ *Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum*, VII, 25, P. L. 175, c. 718.

³⁴ Marion Lawrence points out that the crowned Virgin Mary appears first in German manuscripts and ivories of the 11th century. However, in Italy it is not until S. Maria in Trastevere (1131) that the Virgin is enthroned side by side with Christ in Glory; see Lawrence, "Maria Regina...", p. 157. Émile Male maintains that the oldest coronation scene in France appears at Senlis (1130's) and he ascribes its inspiration to the Abbot Suger and possibly to the windows at St. Denis. Émile Male, *The Gothic Image* (New York, 1958), p. 189.

Four illustrations from our survey of Canticles illustrations representing Christ coronating the female figure are B.M. Royal 1 C I, ca. 1225, from Northern France, Darmstadt, Landesbibliothek MS. 825, ca. 1239, a German Bible, B.N. Lat. 11930, ca. 1130, Northern France, and B.N. Lat. 16260, second half 13th century, provenance unknown.

³⁵ Lawrence, *op. cit.*, indicates that in the 10th century *Sacramentary from Peterhausen* now in Heidelberg, *Universitätsbibliothek* Cod. Sal. 1 X b, a seated figure with a spiked crown appears, but there is no indication that she is the Virgin. She carries a cross and something suggesting a foundation stone. Lawrence opines that she probably represents the Church.

Canterbury, ca. 1235: the crowned *sponsa* and cross-nimbed Christ are placed within a quatrefoil frame. Kantorowicz has pointed out that the quatrefoil form appeared in 6th and 7th centuries wedding rings, in which Christ and Mary, as King and Queen of Heaven dispense their blessings to a slightly smaller bridal couple.³⁶ "The loving understanding, the *Homonoia*—concord between Christ and his Church, the latter represented by the Virgin Mary—served as the transcendental model of bridal couples marrying on the Christian faith."³⁷

It is interesting to note that our illustration appears in the period when the Church began to have jurisdiction over local marriage custom. Canonical law in regard to marriage became a juridical system in the 12th century.³⁸ According to Zimmerman, it was not until the 13th century that it was actually followed in practice.³⁹ Could the new emphasis on marriage implied in our illustration represent an attempt on the part of the Church to deflect the effects of romantic troubadour love? It would be difficult to establish that such intentions could have found their way into the Canticles illustrations.

Increased unification of Christ and his bride is manifest in two Bibles from the Abbey St. Armand in France during the latter part of the 12th century: *Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale MSS. 1-5, Bible III, fol. 137 vo.* and *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin, 1808, fol. 1 vo.* The embracing couple in both Bibles share a cruciform nimbus—an attribute reserved for the Trinity. How does the *sponsa* come to be identified with the Trinity? Is she *Ecclesia* or Mary?

Tertullian omits the third person of the Trinity and mentions the Church instead. For him, the Holy Spirit and the Church were in large measure identical. While there do not appear to be further allusions to *Ecclesia's* identification with the third person of the Trinity during the 4th century, Gregory of Nazianzus substituted Mary for the Holy Ghost.⁴⁰ Briffault has indicated that the Queen of Heaven from pagan religion was restored in Christian and Gnostic theology.⁴¹

³⁶ Ernest H. Kantorowicz, "On the Golden Marriage Belt and Marriage Rings in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 14, 1960. Kantorowicz points to two examples one in the B.M., the other Dumb. Oaks Coll., no. 47.15, 6th-7th centuries.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Adhémar Esmein, *Le Mariage en Droit Canonique*, (Paris 1891), vol. 1, pp. 99ff, esp. p. 108.

³⁹ Carle Zimmerman, *Family and Civilization* (New York, 1947), p. 485.

⁴⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio*, XXIV, P.G. 35, c. 1151, See A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. 4, p. 315.

⁴¹ Briffault, *op. cit.*, p. 180, citing *Wisdom of Solomon*, vii sq.

The Son, the Logos, was the offspring of the Father and of Divine Sophia—for the Queen of Heaven had ever been the Goddess of Wisdom: the Holy Ghost, which is identical with her, and in Hebrew, feminine, was regarded by the Nazarenes and early Christians as the mother of Christ. It was a grammatical accident, *pneuma* in Greek being neuter, that the third Person of the Holy Trinity came to be dissociated from the Mother of God.⁴²

Mary was even viewed as identical with the first Person of the Trinity.⁴³ However, with the Nestorian Controversy of 428, Mary's identification with the Holy Ghost was viewed as controversial and was discouraged. It was during the 5th century as well that the Mariānites were condemned for regarding Mary as a goddess.⁴⁴

The doctrinal literature from the 5th to the 12th century suppresses Mariolatry and any continued identification of Mary with the third person of the Trinity. However, with the revival of culture in the 12th and 13th centuries, Briffault points out that "much that belonged to old pagan sentiment and conceptions became completely re-established."⁴⁵

The Holy Virgin, called by Albertus Magnus the Great Goddess, had, in southern Europe at least, well nigh displaced the male Trinity in the current devotion of the people."⁴⁶

It was through Mary that sinners received mercy. God the Father was considered unapproachable and awesome, Christ held the office of judge, despite his compassion.⁴⁷ Coulton opined that during this period, Mary was exalted almost to a fourth person in the Trinity—a Holy Quaternality.⁴⁸

⁴² Quoted from Briffault, *op. cit.*, p. 181, citing: Origen, *In Jeremiam Homilia*, xv, 4, (P.G. 13, c. 453), *Commentarium in Evangelium Johannis*, xi, 6 (P.G. 14, c. 132 sq.), Jerome, *Comm. in Michaeam*, vii, 6 (P.L. 25, c. 1221 sq.), *In Ezechielem*, xvi, 13 (P.L. 25, c. 137), Epiphanius, *Adversus octoginta haereses*, xxi, 2, liii, I (P.G. 41, c. 288, 960). Justin speaks of the Holy Ghost as feminine, and assimilates it to Persephone-Koré (*Apologia I pro Christianis*, xliv, P.G. 6, c. 426).

⁴³ *Ibid.* He cites H. Marracci, *Polyanthea Mariana*, p. 156. She is called "Dea deorum."

⁴⁴ Briffault, *op. cit.*, p. 183. He cites J.A. Fabricius, *Codex epigraphicus*, vol. ii, p. 317, from the Council of Ephesus of 431.

⁴⁵ Briffault, *op. cit.*, p. 499.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, vol. I, Cambridge, 1929, p. 139. See Th. Trede, *Das Heidentum in der Romanischen Kirche*, IV, p. 215.

Another issue of intimacy and connection is raised by the *Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin MS. 1808*. It appears that Christ has his leg draped over that of his bride. The two figures share a common outline: there are two shoulders, not four; their four legs form the outline of two monumental thighs. The "slung leg," as Leo Steinberg has called the gesture, implies a physical union just as the shared cruciform nimbus implies a profound spiritual union.

Several issues are raised by this illustration. Is there an iconographic tradition of the "slung leg" implying sexual union? Leo Steinberg has demonstrated that there is. He cites an antique source in a bronze krater from Dherveni (ca. 320 B.C.) and indicates that there are frequent examples of this motif from 1500 onwards.⁴⁹ It is unlikely however that our illuminator was familiar with the ancient precedent. Could it be that he chose it independently as an emphatic implication of nuptial intimacy? If this figure is to be understood as the Virgin Mary because of the cruciform nimbus, then the intimacy implied in the union with Christ, her son, warrants further speculation. Is the long history of allegorical exegesis of the Song of Songs, which justified and explained the sensual imagery, challenged by the sexual metaphor of the *B.N. Lat. 1808* illustration? It would be difficult to establish whether the artist realized the implication of his representation. It is curious, however, that in the 13th century illustrations of the holy bride and bridegroom, neither the shared cruciform nimbus, nor the slung leg motif reappears. And it is noteworthy that the image of Mary and the Christ child as illustration to the Canticles appears subsequent to the intimate representations of Christ and *Ecclesia*/Mary as *sponsus* and *sponsa*. Could it be that the Mother and Child represent a more conservative way of illustrating Christ and his bride, Mary, as there is no overt allusion to bridal unity in this motif? But what in the exegeses warrants the stress on maternity? There is no literal reference to motherhood in the Song of Songs text.

A clue to our understanding of the increasing concentration on the importance of Mary within the Canticles illustrations which culminates in the image of her with the Christ child rests in the commentaries of Rupert of Deutz, Alain de Lille, and Honorius Augustodunensis. They all speak of the Incarnation as the central motif in the Canticles. It is through Mary that God, by becoming man, becomes accessible. The

⁴⁹ See Leo Steinberg, "The Metaphor of Love and Birth in Michaelangelo's Pietas," *Studies in Erotic Art* (ed. Th. Bowle) (New York, 1970), p. 172.

Song of Songs, which is notable for its humanizing tendency in a period of asceticism, is interpreted as speaking of the unity of man and God. Mary is the vehicle of that love—both in having given virgin birth to Christ and as intercessor between man and God.

The first instance of the Virgin and Child as illustration to the Song of Songs appears to be in *Admont, Stiftsbibliothek: Latin 549, fol. 4 ro., Rupert, Super Cant. Cant.*, Austria, mid-12th century. The Virgin Mary holds the cross-nimbed Christ child who is seated frontally on her knees. The two figures are within a mandorla surrounded by four angels. André Grabar observes that the image of the Virgin and Child within a mandorla of light is probably of early Christian origin though there are no extant examples from this period.⁵⁰

The other 12th century illustration of the Virgin and Child in the Song of Songs is in *Lyon: Bibliothèque de la Ville, 410-411, Bible I, fol. 207 vo.*, a Bible from Central France, last quarter of the 12th century. The Christ child, cross-nimbed, stands on Mary's knees and embraces her, their cheeks touching.

In the 13th century representations of the Virgin and Child, the Virgin is crowned, nimbed, and veiled; an orb surmounted by fleur-de-lys and an apple are the usual attendant attributes. The Christ child is cross-nimbed and holds an orb or a book. In many of these illustrations Christ assumes the gesture of teaching. In a Bible from France, ca. 1300, *San Marino, Huntington Library, MS. 1072, fol. 524*, the Christ child places two fingers on the lips of the Virgin Mother. In other illustrations, the Virgin cradles the infant Christ in her arms, for example, *Morgan Library, MS. 66*, ca. 1280.

The Virgin nursing the Christ child is pictured in *British Museum, Add. 38115*, a Bible from Northern France, ca. 1270; curiously Christ is not an infant but a child in this representation. Christ grasps an orb in one hand. C.R. Morey points out that the Virgin suckling the infant

⁵⁰ André Grabar, "The Virgin in a Mandorla of Light," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, Princeton, 1955, pp. 305-311. "The mandorla, being a sign of theophany and consequently applicable to images of God only, could not have been extended to the Virgin except to express the idea of *theotokos*. To make the image imply that Mary has given birth to God, the idea was conceived of showing the divinity of the Infant from the very moment of his birth; and to express the idea, the Mother was englobed in the divine mandorla of the Son... The Virgin supports a divine figure and it is in this capacity that she is included in the mandorla, exactly as in the throne or the chariot of God in the iconography of the prophetic vision" pp. 310-311.

was invented by Coptic Art in the early Christian period, and is based on Isis and Horus.⁵¹

The Child touches the Virgin's chin in a number of Virgin and Christ child illustration (for example, *Baltimore, Walters, MS. 56*, late 13th century, Paris and *New York, J.P. Morgan Library, Glazier MS. 31*, ca. 1230-1260, Paris). This motif is based on the Byzantine Glykophilousa or "Virgin of Sweet Love." Steinberg has indicated that this gesture, "the chin chuck," seems to be a 13th century development and suspects that its reference is to Song of Songs (2:6 and 8:3). "O that his left hand were under my head, and that his right hand embraced me," thus implying a marital act.⁵²

The Christ child places his hand on the shoulder of his mother in some illustrations: for example, *Baltimore, Walters, MS. 122, 1275*, Italy; *New York, Glazier MS. 31, 1259*, Northern France (where the Child reaches for his mother's shoulders); *New York, Glazier, MS. 38, 1270*, Bologna; *Philadelphia, Lewis MS. 38*, late 13th century, Italy. This gesture of *manus*, which, as Steinberg has pointed out, one finds frequently in 16th century art, was a common token of marital status from Roman and early Christian times onward.⁵³ We must ask whether the gestures of *manus* and Chin chucking on the part of the Child prefigure the act of the adult Christ? ⁵⁴

The Maternity of Mary is not implied in images of the *sponsa* and *sponsus*. Is the bridehood of Mary, however, implied in the image of Virgin Mother and Child? Already in the late 6th century, Gregory the Great wrote: "When in the mystery of the Incarnation the heavenly king celebrated the wedding of His Son, giving Him the Holy Church as his companion, Mary's womb was the bridal bed for this Royal Spouse" (*Hom. XXXVIII in Evangelia*, no. 3, P.L. 76, c. 1283). Andrew of Crete (ca. 700) invoked the Virgin as "God's living marriage chamber" (*Domini Dei thalamus amatus*, P.G. 97, c. 1315). "The son, like a bridegroom from the bridal chamber has come forth from you" (*Canon in Beatae Mariae Natalem*, P.G. 97, c. 1323).

By illustrating the Song of Songs with an image of the Virgin Mary with the Christ child, Mary is glorified for her role in the Incarnation

⁵¹ C. R. Morey, *Medieval Art* (New York, 1952), p. 58.

⁵² Steinberg, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

⁵³ Steinberg, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

⁵⁴ Steinberg states, "The nuptials of the heavenly spouse are prefigured in the approach of the Child," *op. cit.*, p. 255.

and at the same time she is alluded to as the bride of Christ. The choice of an image which conveyed the dual roles of Mary in accordance with the exegeses of the Canticles, is the probable cause for the shift in the iconography.

Thus we have seen that the renewed importance of Mary in the doctrinal literature of the 12th and 13th centuries is reflected in the illustrations to the Song of Songs. There is a shift away from the interpretation of the *sponsus* and *sponsa* of the text as Christ and *Ecclesia* or Christ and the individual soul, to Christ and his Virgin Mother. The early worship of Mary in popular religion, which was suppressed with the Nestorian Controversy in the mid-fifth century and in the Antiochian theology, reappears during the 12th and 13th centuries in what has been called "The Cult of the Virgin Mary." Her role in the Incarnation as the Virgin bearer of the God who becomes human through her, is crucial to the 12th century exegetes. It manifests itself in the image of the Virgin and Christ child as a chief motif in the illustrations for the Song of Songs. In the image of mother and child, the idea that the child will become the bridegroom is also implied. These images then serve as illustrations of Mary as both mother and bride of Christ—a motif that frequently appears in various fertility cults.⁵⁵ Briffault indicates that it is characteristic in primitive cosmic myths of the great goddesses of the Eastern Mediterranean world that they are both mother and wife of their sons.⁵⁶

The sacramental eating of the body and blood of the young god finds its roots within the same ancient traditions. Briffault writes that the divine son is identified in agricultural religion with the fruits which the divine mother bears forth; the bread is his body, the juice of the grape his blood. The notion of Mary's bearing divine fruit is reflected in one of Ambrose's comments on the Song of Songs:

In the most pure womb of Mary there was sown one sole grain of wheat yet it is called a garden of wheat because all the elect were included in the chosen grain.⁵⁷

The motif of death and resurrection, central to Christian belief, also finds its source in primitive pre-agricultural times, where there appears a yearly seasonal cycle of the son of the Great Mother being born and

⁵⁵ Briffault, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

⁵⁶ Briffault, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁵⁷ Briffault, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

dying, being buried in the dark womb of the earth and rising again.⁵⁸ Allusions to primitive cosmic myths and fertility cults in the imagery of the Songs of Songs in 12th and 13th centuries illustrations is particularly interesting in the light of the probable origins of the Biblical book, inasmuch as this imagery reflects Near Eastern fertility cult rites. In another context, Leo Steinberg has observed:

The emotions projected into such pictures may not always have been formal doctrine, but their part in the religious imagination of Mediterranean Europe was vital. A millennial procession of symbolic equations had left thought and feeling caught up in constellations of metaphors—metaphors in which subtle theological formulas and secret fantasies consorted together.⁵⁹

APPENDIX

Manuscripts consulted, arranged according to motif; all Bibles, unless otherwise indicated.

Sponsus and Sponsa: 12th century

France:

Admont, Stiftsbibl, MS. Lat. 255, fol. 12 ro. *Anselm of Laon, Enarrabilis in Cantico Canticozum*, ca. 1180, St. Martin de Laon.

Bourges, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 3, Bible, fol. 294 vo.

Moulins, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 1, *Souigny Bible*, fol. 235 ro.

Paris, Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés, 2. Bible, fol. 195 vo.

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS. 36, Bible, second half 12th c.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale:

Latin 1808, Jerome, *Expositio in Cantico Canticozum*, fol. 1 vo., Abbey St. Amand, second half 12th c.

Latin 11930, N. France, ca. 1130.

Latin 16745, Bible III, fol. 112, vo., ca. 1180.

Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale 16-18, Bible III, fol. 149 v., Champagne, Est de la France.

Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale:

MS. 458, so called *Bible of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, II, fol. 34 ro., first quarter 12th c.

MS. 1869, Gregory, *Expositio super Cantico Canticozum, Clairvaux*.

Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 1-5, Bible III, fol. 137 vo., Abbey of St. Amand.

England:

Cambridge, Kings College Library, MS. 19, *Bede, In Cantico Canticozum*, fol. 31 vo., St. Albans.

⁵⁸ Briffault, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

⁵⁹ Steinberg, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. E. Infra 8, ca. 1180.
Winchester Cathedral Library, *Winchester Bible III*, 270 vo., ca. 1190.

Austria:

Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 121, *Gumpert Bible from Anspach*, fol. 139 vo.,
141 ro., 146 vo., Salzburg, before 1195.
Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Bible, fol. 55, ca. 1125-1138.

Switzerland:

Engelberg, Bibliothèque Conventuelle, *Bible Monumental*, Codex 4, fol. 69 vo.
Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek:
MS. 3-5, Bible Frowinus II, fol. 60 vo., second half 12th c.
MS. 32, Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones Super Cantico Canticorum*, fol. 2 vo.

Germany:

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. 374, *Bernard of Clairvaux Sermones*, fol. 1 vo.

Provenance?

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 752, fol. 253 vo.

Sponsus and Sponsa: 13th century

France:

Boulogne, Bibliothèque de la Ville, *Bible St. Vaast*, fol. 204 vo.
Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 345, 346, Bible II, fol. 18 vo., N.W. France.
Liège, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, MS. 244-246, Bible II, fol. 99 vo., 1248.
London, British Museum, Royal 1 C I, N. France, ca. 1230.
New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library, Glazier MS. 15, 1240-1250.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale:
Latin 12621, fol. 316 ro.
Latin 11534 fol. 324, Pontigny.
Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 22-23, Bible II, fol. 16 vo.
Strasbourg, Bibliothèque de la Ville, *Herradis of Landsburg, Hortus Deliciarum*, fol. 225 ro.
Abesse du Mont Sainte-Odile, 1167-1195.
Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo, *Moralized Bible II*, fol. 78 ro.

England:

Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS. I, 3, 15, fol. 252 ro.
London, British Museum:
Burney 3, *Bible, Robert of Battle*, fol. 246, Canterbury.
Doz. I B XII, ca. 1254.
Harley 1297, ca. 1250.
Royal 1 B XII, fol. 208 ro., Canterbury (?), 1254.
Royal 1 C I, ca. 1230.
Sloane 9, fol. 153 vol.
New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library:
Glazier MS. 42, 1250.
Morgan MS. 791, fol. 296 vo-297, ca. 1120.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D 4 8, fol. 364 vo.
Princeton, Garrett 28, fol. 263 ro.

Austria:

Sankt Paul in Lavanttal:
Abb. Arch. XXV. 3.5. *Honorius Augustodunensis, prologue, Cantica Canticorum*,
fol. 53 ro., 62 vo.
Abb. Arch. XXV.4.32, *Miscellany*, fol. 1 ro.

Italy:

Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery:
Walters MS. 122, fol. 211, Verona, 1275.
Walters MS. 151, fol. 283, Bologna, 1280 or 1300.
New York, New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, MS. 25, fol. 204 vo.
Palermo, Biblioteca Nazionale, Bible II, fol. 186 vo., Sicily.
Philadelphia, The Free Library of Philadelphia, Lewis Collection, MS. 36, fol. 182, Padua.
San Marino, Huntington MS. 1069, fol. 350, Cremona, ca. 1275.

Germany:

Darmstadt, Landesbibliothek, MS. 825, fol. 153 ro. ca. 1238.
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. Lat. 379, *Bible of Heisterbach*, fol. 267 vo. ca. 1240.

Virgin Mary and Christ Child,
late 12th, 13th and early 14th centuries

France:

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery:
Walters MS. 49, fol. 330.
Walters MS. 51, fol. 266.
Walters MS. 52, fol. 249.
Walters MS. 55, fol. 421.
Walters MS. 56, fol. 227 vo.
Walters MS 59, fol. 249 vo.
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 22.375, ca. 1300.
Boston Public Library, Med. MS. 104. vol. III.
London, British Museum:
Add. 38114, N. France, ca. 1270.
Roy. 1 D IV, St. Bertin, ca. 1230.
Y. Thompson MS. 22, Monastery of St. Eloi near Arras, ca. 1250.
Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 410-411, fol. 207 vo.
New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library:
Glazier MS. 31, Paris, ca. 1230-1260.
Morgan MS. 65, ca. 1280.
Morgan MS. 66, Lyons, ca. 1280.
Morgan MS. 163, fol. 211, Corbie, ca. 1229.
Morgan MS. 193, fol. 302, ca. 1240-1250.
Princeton, Garrett 29, fol. 401 vo, ca. 1300.

San Marino, Huntington Library:
MS. 1070, fol. 331 vo, ca. 1330.
MS. 1072, fol. 260, ca. 1325.
MS. 1073, fol. 286, ca. 1275.
MS. 1074, fol. 284, ca. 1350.

England:

London, British Museum:
Add. 15253, ca. 1260-70.
Harley 1297, ca. 1250.
Roy. 1 D I (Bible of William of Devon) ca. 1250.
Roy. 3 E IV.

New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library:
Glazier MS. 18, Gloucester or St. Albans, ca. 1230.
Morgab MS. 138, Benedictine monastery, ca. 1275-80.
Morgan MS. 269, 1240.
Morgan MS. 791, St. Albans, 1220.

Italy

New York, Morgan Library, Morgan MS. 38, vol. II, fol. 13, possibly Bologna, ca. 1270.
Philadelphia: Free Library:
Lewis MS. 37, fol. 242, 14th c.
Lewis MS. 38, fol. 411, Venice or Padua, 13-14th c.
Washington, Library of Congress: Pre-Acc. 1, Bible II fol. 18, Bologna (?), ca. 1270.

Austria:

Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, Latin 549, *Rupert, Super Cantico Canticorum*, fol. 4 ro., mid-12th c.

Provenance?

Madrid, Museo Lazaro Galdina, MS. 15289, fol. 197 vo, second half 13th c.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 16719-22, Bible III, fol. 24 vo, mid-13th c.

Ecclesia Alone

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery:
Walters 48, fol. 249 vo., France, 13th c.
Walters 61, fol. 163, France, 13th c.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, MS. 48, fol. 160 vo. St. Albans, ca. 1180.
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean Bequest: MS. 12 and MS. 13, England, both 13th c.
Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek: Cod. Sal. 1 X b, *Sacramentary from Petershausen*, fol. 40b, Germany, 10th c.
Limoge, Abbaye de Saint-Martial: *Bible d'abbaye de Saint Martial*, fol. 74, Limoge, second half 11th c.
London, B. M. Harley, MS.1297, Provenance?, ca. 1250.
New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library:
Glazier 11, 1240, prob. French.

Morgan 178, ca. 1300, S. Italy (unidentified female figure).
Morgan 163, fol. 211, 1229, Corbie, N. E. France.
Morgan 295, Flanders, second half 13th c.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale:
Latin 104, fol. 13 vo., Umbria-Rome, second quarter 12th c.
Latin 11534-11535, fol. 69 vo., France, beg. 13th c.
Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS.8/10, *Manerius Bible II*, fol. 253 vo., Pontigny, France, ca. 1180.
Saint-Florian: Stiftsbibliothek, MS.XI,80, *Honorius Augustodunensis, prologue Cantica Canticorum*, fol. 26 vo., Germany, ca. 1301.
Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS.1869, *Gregory, Expositio super Cantico Canticorum*, Clairvaux, France, end 12th-beg. 13th c.

Miscellaneous

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Walters MS. 29, *Honorius of Autun, Miscellany*, fol. 43 vo., Seitenstetten monastery, Austria, 1150-1175, (Queen of Sheba, emblems of the apocalypse).
Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Bibl. 22, glosses from Isidore of Seville, *In Canticum Canticorum*, Germany, late 10th c. (procession leading up to *Ecclesia*).
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, MS.3, *Dover Bible*, Canterbury, 1140-1160 (king on throne—probably Solomon).
Dijon, Bibliothèque Communale, MS.12-15, *Bible of Stephen Harding III*, fol. 60 ro., Abbey of Cîteaux, 1109 (Christ, *Ecclesia*, and *Synagoga*).
New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library:
Morgan 215, *Bible of Monte Oliveto Maggiore*, Siena, 1320 (King Solomon).
Morgan 436, *Bible of Nicolo de Manterano*, fol. 225, N. Italy, ca. 1300 (two monks one holding a book).
Vienna, Nationalbibliothek: MS.942, *Honorius Augustodunensis, super Cantica Canticorum*, Salzburg, 1150-1175 (Queen of Sheba inscribed *filia Babilonis*).