Moses in the Typology of European Art in the Middle Ages[1)]

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The construction of the great Gothic cathedrals in Western Europe, fanning out from the Paris region in France from around the middle of the twelfth century AD onwards, with their huge stained glass windows, opened up new ways for expressing and teaching Christian doctrine. The portrayals of biblical subjects in these stained glass windows, and associated visual arts, provide brilliant illustration for the history of biblical interpretation. The topic of this paper will be limited to some highly selected portrayals of Moses in Western European art, especially stained glass, in the four-hundred year period from the mid-twelfth to the mid-sixteenth century. The period is conveniently demarcated at one end by the remodeling of the basilica of Saint-Denis in Paris, France, in the new Gothic style about 1140, and at the other end by the completion of King's College Chapel in Cambridge, England, about 1540.

The dominant theory behind the iconographical programs

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1) William Johnstone, "Moses in Medieval Stained Glass," *the Church Service Society Record* 42 (Winter 2006/7), 35-55. It is extended by the addition of material on Fairford and simplified by the omission of, e. g., the discussion of Neo-Platonist influence. In essentially this form, it was delivered as a paper to the Society for Old Testament Study Summer Meeting, 2008. I thank Professor John Barton, President of the Society, for his initiative in introducing the Society to Fairford and for his kind invitation to me to read this paper. English translations are by myself, except where otherwise indicated.

in these windows is that of typology. We begin [Fig. 1] with an illustration of typological interpretation: a striking portrayal of Moses at the burning bush from late on in the period(round about 1510) in a window at St. Mary's Church, Fairford, Gloucestershire, which contains one of the finest collections of medieval stained glass in any parish church in England.[2)]

It has long seemed to me obvious(a dangerous statement in biblical interpretation!) that Exodus 3 supplies its own interpretation of the burning bush incident. The phenomenon of the burning bush is described in v. 2(as translated by NRSV): "the angel of the Lord appeared to [Moses] in a flame of fire out of a bush; he looked, and the bush was blazing, yet it was not consumed." Verses 7-8 then give the explanation, the interpretation of the phenomenon: "Then the LORD said, 'I have

<fig. 1>

2) The glass at Fairford is dated to the latemedieval period, between 1500 and 1517, by Hilary Wayment. See his study, Hilary Wayment, *The Stained Glass of the Church of St. Mary Fairford* (London: Society of Antiquaries 1984). Wayment also contributed *The Windows of King's College, Cambridge: A Description and Commentary* (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1972), in the prestigious international series Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi (CVMA), which now stands at well over eighty imposing volumes.

observed the misery of my people who are in Egypt; I have heard their cry on account of their taskmasters...I know their sufferings and I have come down to deliver them..."' The bush stands for Israel; fire represents the affliction of Egyptian slavery; God appears in the midst of the fire to save his people. Israel burns in the fires of persecution but, because of the indwelling divine presence, is not consumed by these fires. Hence, the burning bush is used as emblem by both Jewish[3] and Christian minority, sometimes persecuted, groups, including the Presbyterians, whose motto is derived from Exod 3:2: *nec tamen consumebatur*, "yet it was not consumed."[4]

There is, therefore, to me, at least, one surprising feature about the burning bush in this portrayal: how green it is-all green, apart from the flame surrounding the divine presence in the centre. The little sheep grazing by the bush confirms the greenness; it grazes unconcerned and unharmed beside the still succulent foliage. Now these, apparently trivial, features(the green foliage, the grazing sheep) are standard in portrayals of Moses at the burning bush in stained glass in Gothic buildings from beginning to end of the medieval period: from St-Denis, Paris, ca. 1140 [Fig. 2],[5] with its audacious sheep or goat rearing up to graze on the burning bush, to King's College Chapel, Cambridge [Fig. 3], this window dated 1526-1531.[6] (It is somewhat difficult to make out the bush with its green foliage and the contented flock around it, even the little duck swimming

3) Etan Levine, *The Burning Bush: Jewish Symbolism and Mysticism* (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1981), 11.

4) G.D. Henderson, *The Burning Bush: Essays in Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh: St Andrew's Press, 1957), 1-22, who concludes that the symbol was introduced perhaps under Huguenot influence.

5) Louis Grodecki, *Les vitraux de Saint-Denis*, CVMA (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1976).

6) Wayment, *The Windows of King's College, Cambridge: A Description and Commentary,* 1972.

in the pool by its foot to emphasize the lack of menace, because of the vast size of the window, spreading across the mullion, the depth of its color, the lead-work, and the iron-work supporting it.) These features can be paralleled many times over within a couple of hundred kilometers' radius of Paris, the heartland of Gothic, at, e. g., Laon,[7] Troyes,[8] or Le Mans,[9] all dated to the early 13th century. The gem of them all is, I think, Sens [Fig. 4], dated 1207-1215.[10] I hope to come back at the end of this lecture to place this Sens panel within its context of

<fig. 3>

<fig. 2>

7) Louis Grodecki, *Les vitraux de Paris, de la region parisienne, de la Picardie et du Nord-Pas-de-Calais*, CVMA (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1978).

8) Elisabeth C. Pastan and Sylvie Balcon, *Les vitraux du chœur de la Cathédrale de Troyes*, CVMA (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2006).

9) Louis Grodecki, *Les vitraux du Centre et des pays de la Loir*, CVMA (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981).

10) Jean Taralon, *Les Vitraux de Bourgogne, Franche-Comté et Rhône-Alpes*, CVMA (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1986).

typological parallels.

<fig. 4>

How, then, do we account for the green burning bush and the unabashed sheep and goats from beginning to end of this medieval iconographic tradition? There is an alternative interpretation of the burning bush. The bush stands not for Israel but for Moses. The sign is, after all, for him. To the outward physical eye, the bush remains green; verdant and succulent to the flocks. Only Moses sees it burn without its being consumed. A natural feature thus becomes invested with supernatural meaning, like Jeremiah's almond tree(Jer 1:11-12).

There is a Jewish tradition of interpretation to this effect. The greatest medieval Jewish scholar Rashi(1040-1105), who, significantly, came from Troyes and may well have influenced Christian interpreters,[11] writes on Exod. 3:12: the LORD says

11) Gilbert Dahan, "Juifs et chrétiens en Occident médiédval. La rencontre autour de la Bible (XII^{e}-XII^{e}s.)," *Revue de synthès*, 110 (1989), 3-31 (27 for Troyes: "The Jewish interpretations [in Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*] are rather numerous; some come from Andrew of Saint-Victor, but many appear...for the first time in Christian exegesis. One may recall the links of Peter Comestor with the city of Troyes [born there; Dean 1147-1164] which was also that of Rashi

to Moses, "This vision which you have seen in the bush will be for you the sign that I have sent you and that you will succeed in my mission…[J]ust as you saw the bush performing my mission and it was not consumed, so you will go to perform my mission and you will not be harmed."[12] As the physical bush is not consumed by the angelic presence within it, so Moses commissioned by the LORD as leader of his people and his spokesman, does not lose his humanity but is empowered. (The Hebrew preposition b^{e} in Exod 3:2 may not, on this view, be locative but *bet essentiae*: the angel of the LORD did not appear *in* a flame of fire; but *as* a flame of fire.)

This interpretation is supported by some further observations. In the Massoretic Text, Exodus 3 is all part of one paragraph that continues down to 4:17 and includes the second sign to Moses, the turning of his stick into a serpent and back again. As the second sign is for Moses, so also is the first.

The burning bush is the sign alluded to in Exodus 3:12: "This is [not NRSV's "shall be"; there is no verb in the Hebrew] the sign that it is I who sent you." The following sentence, "you shall worship God on this mountain", is a separate statement: the worship can hardly be the sign after the event of the exodus has already taken place.

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and his disciples...Oral exchanges [between Jews and Christians] can be presumed at Troyes as well as at Paris").

12) Abraham Ben Isaiah and Benjamin Sharfman, *The Pentateuch and Rashi's Commentary: Exodus* (Brooklyn, NY: SS&R Publishing, 1977), 21-22. Cf. Levine, 24: "according to one view, not only was the Burning Bush not being consumed, but it was actually sprouting new leaves in the very midst of the flames"; Herbert Chanan Brichto, *The Names of God: Poetic Readings in Biblical Beginnings* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 20-21: "this flame here is YHWH's *mal'ak*, a numen that, despite Moses' fear to view it, speaks reassurance that the human *mal'ak* too can harbor YHWH's flame, and can (as such) lead the oppressed Israelites to freedom...YHWH's puissant Presence" can "inhabit a material vessel without doing it harm."

There is also the curious form of the word in Exod 3:2 translated "flame" by NRSV. The unique form 1 abbat is usually taken to be the construct form of, 1 ehabâ "flame", but how do we account for the doubled *bet* in the middle of the word which suggests that it may be intended to be read as related to 1 eb, 1ebab, "heart"? It is to Moses "with heart of flame" that the angel appears. It is in this heightened, "enflamed", perception that Moses sees the bush burn.[13)]

The specific application by Christian interpreters of this Jewish tradition of interpretation of Moses at the burning bush is made clear by the context of this panel in Fairford. It is part of a window showing four Old Testament scenes [Fig. 5]. The other three are: Eve and the serpent in the Garden of Eden; Gideon and his fleece; and the Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon.

The Biblical interpreter is intrigued to know what these four scenes have in common. The modern scholar might be content

<fig. 5>

13) Levine, *The Burning Bush: Jewish Symbolism and Mysticism*, 18.

to find in them simply significant points in the Enneateuch, the books from Genesis to Kings, accounting for Israel's predicament in the Babylonian exile. To the medieval mind that explanation would seem rather pedestrian. The clue lies in the dedication of the church at Fairford to Mary the mother of Jesus, as so many medieval cathedrals were (most famously, Notre Dame in Paris). These four scenes are all interpreted here typologically as prefigurations of the Annunciation, the message brought by the angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary in Luke 1:26-38: "'Hail, O favored one...[Y]ou will conceive in your womb and bear a son, and you shall call his name Jesus...The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the most High will overshadow you; therefore the child to be born will be called holy, the Son of God.'...And Mary said, 'Behold, I am the handmaid of the Lord'"(RSV).

In this window, the disobedience of Eve, the first mother of humanity, tempted by the serpent in Genesis 3, is contrasted with the submission of Mary, the mother of the Redeemer of the world, at the Annunciation. The Latin translation of Gabriel's greeting to Mary, "Hail", makes the point with a neat reversal: "Ave", spells "Eva", Eve, backwards.[14]

In the third light of this window, Gideon's dew-impregnated fleece(Judg 6:37) is taken as a prefiguration of Mary's conception by the Holy Spirit.

The gentile Queen of Sheba, in the fourth light, is normally interpreted as type of the adoration of Wise Men of Matthew 2; here her acknowledgement of Solomon(1 Kgs 10:1-10) may be type of the Virgin's adoration of the Child, or again of her submission at the Annunciation.

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14) Wayment, *The Windows of King's College, Cambridge: A Description and Commentary* (1972), 52. Latin as the international language of Western Christendom in the Middle Ages-and later-will have to occupy us further below as we look at other examples of typology.

It is now clear how the burning bush functions as a type of the Annunciation to Mary in Luke 1. As Moses symbolized by the burning bush is enflamed by the angel of the LORD but does not lose his humanity, so Mary conceives by the Holy Spirit but does not lose her virginity. The leaves of the tree remain green. (This interpretation may be helped by the New Testament references to the burning bush in Mark 12:26//Luke 20:37; Acts 7:30, 35. The Greek word used to translate the Hebrew word for "bush", *s*^{e}*neh*, *βάτος*, denotes a thorn bush of the *rubus*(bramble) family. In Luke 6:44 this thorn-bush expresses lowliness and worthlessness. Even the lowliest handmaiden can become the vehicle of the divine.)

The burning bush interpreted as figure for the Virgin Mary explains one further feature in this portrayal of the burning bush at Sens: the figure emerging from the flame is Jesus Christ (to judge from the cross in the halo). That point is made explicit in Köln Cathedral, in the Rhine valley in Germany [Fig. 6] (dated 1280;[15]) from the "Bible window" in the Stephanuskapelle): here the figures are explicitly labeled, "Moses" and "Jesus Christ".

<fig. 6>

15) Herbert Rode, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien des Kölner Domes*, CVMA (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1974).

That identification is now totally explicable in terms of the typology of the Annunciation: if the burning bush prefigures conception by the Holy Spirit, then the figure emerging from that flame must be Jesus Christ. This Köln window makes clear that the sign is intended for Moses: his shepherd's staff is already changing into a snake, the second sign given to him of his vocation(Exod 4:1-4).

The freedom with which the medieval glassmakers use typology is illustrated by one further occurrence of Moses in the Fairford windows which should be noted. In the Transfiguration widow [Fig. 7], Moses appears alongside Elijah, with the disciples, Peter, James, and John, beneath, as in the Gospels(Mark 9:2-8//Mat 17:1-8; Luke 9:28-36).

<fig. 7>

Moses carries the two tablets of the Decalogue. As Old Testament interpreters, we are curious to know what Moses has inscribed on these tablets. We are no doubt surprised to find [Fig. 8] that the inscription reads: CREDO IN DEUM, PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM, CREATOREM CELI ET…, "I believe in God the Father Amighty, maker of heaven and [earth]," i.e., not the opening of the Decalogue as in Exod 20:2//Deut 5:6, "I am the LORD your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt," but the first clause of the Apostles' Creed.

Wayment suggests that this inscription is an error for *diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo*, "You shall love the LORD your God

with all your heart," i.e., the summary of the first table of the Decalogue in Deut 6:5.[16] But the location of Moses directly above Peter in the Transfiguration window at Fairford must be significant. If we turn to the nearby windows on the south aisle at Fairford, we find that they display monumental figures of the twelve Apostles. Round the head of each Apostle is a scroll with a clause from the Apostles' Creed. The first of the series portrays Peter. His scroll reads, as in Moses' tablets in the Transfiguration window: CREDO IN DEUM, PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM, CREATOREM CELI ET TERR[A]E. Direct correspondence is being drawn between Moses, the authoritative leader of God's people in the Old Testament, and Peter, the chief of the Apostles in the New. The typological correspondence between Moses and Peter is confirmed by matching tracery panels at Fairford. On the north side of the church, in the far west aisle-window, Moses presides over the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John; in the corresponding position on the south side, Peter presides over the four Latin doctors of the church, Jerome, Gregory, Ambrose, and Augustine.

<fig. 8>

16) Wayment, (1982), 95; cf. Hilary Wayment, *King's College Chapel Cambridge: The Side-Chapel Glass* (Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society and the Provost and Scholars of King's Chapel, 1988), 77.

Typology is not new to the Middle Ages. It is found right back in the New Testament itself (and even in the Old Testament, most clearly, perhaps, in Isaiah 40-55 where such themes as new creation, new exodus, and new entry into the Promised Land are used to portray the present and the future in terms of the past; the past provides the model for even better times to come). Typology affirms coherence, consistency and correspondence in the way in which God relates to his people across the different parts of the Bible, especially between the Old and the New Testaments. It traces how Old Testament persons, events, and institutions prefigure, foreshadow, and reach their consummation in persons, events, and institutions in the New Testament. The Old Testament provides the type, or prototype; the New Testament provides the answering definitive realization, the "antitype." Thus many Old Testament figures and happenings are interpreted typologically in the New: e.g., to cite passages where the New Testament explicitly uses the terms "type" or "antitype," Adam in Genesis 2-3 becomes in Rom 5:14, "a type of the one who was to come"; Noah's ark in Genesis 6-8, saving through the waters of the Flood, corresponds to Baptism in 1 Peter 3:20-21; Israel passing through the Red Sea in Exodus 14 and eating manna in the wilderness in Exodus 16 prefigure Baptism and Lord's Supper in 1 Cor 10:6; Moses' tabernacle in the wilderness in Exodus and Leviticus is "a copy and shadow of the heavenly sanctuary" into which Christ as high priest has entered in Heb 8:5; 9:24.

In John 3:14 and Matt 12:40, the correspondence is explicitly marked by the words "as" and "so":

John 3:14, "*As* Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness [see Num 21:4-9], so must the Son of man be lifted up";

Matt 12:40, "As Jonah was three days and nights in the belly of the whale [see Jonah 1:17(Heb. 2:1)], so will the Son of man be three days and nights in the heart of the earth."

We must now broaden out the discussion to set this Mosaic typology within a wider framework of theory and practice in the typological interpretation of the Bible in Christian medieval art.

Henri de Lubac, in his monumental work on the medieval exegesis of the Bible, has explained the "four senses" which the medieval interpreters tried to draw out of Scripture by typological means.[17] These four senses embrace the literal meaning (the surface "plain sense") and three figurative meanings(the metaphorical spiritual senses). These three figurative senses are well expressed, it seems to me, in the prayer of the Renaissance scholar Erasmus(1469-1536)[18]: "teach us what to believe, what to do, and wherein to find our rest"(based on the saying of Jesus in John's Gospel, 14:6, "I am the way, the truth and the life"). For the Christian believer, the mere facts of the Bible (the surface "plain sense") are not enough. The believer wants to know how the whole biblical message affects him-or herself: how that whole message comes together as a coherent system of belief("what to believe"); how belief is to be translated into action as a daily way of practical living("what to do"); and how that faith gives hope for the future, even ultimate hope beyond this life("wherein to find our rest"). These three spiritual senses of Scripture are conventionally known by the somewhat elusive (and not fully satisfactory) technical terms as the "allegorical," "tropological," and "anagogical" senses of Scripture(all three terms are from Greek: "allegorical," what *is said other* than the plain surface meaning; "tropological," how belief *is turned* into action; "anagogical," how faith *leads upwards* in hope).

Stained glass and related arts give a welcome visual repre-

17) Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, Mark Sebane, trans. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1, 1998; 2, 2000).

18) Dates from F. L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*[2] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, repr. 1985).

sentation of these rather abstruse terms and ideas. By common consent, the great enamel altarpiece in the abbey church at Klosterneuburg [Fig. 9] on the south bank of the river Danube, ten kilometers north-west of the centre of Vienna in Austria, provides the earliest and finest visual presentation of how the typological system of Christian biblical interpretation works.[19]

It brilliantly illustrates Henri de Lubac's "four senses of Scripture." This slide shows only the left wing of the altarpiece: the twelve panels here in three rows and four columns are matched by a further twelve on the right wing and by no fewer than twenty-seven panels in the centre, making fifty-one panels in all. The Klosterneuburg altarpiece in its completeness and complexity has quite justly been called "*a summa theologica* in pictures."[20]

Klosterneuburg, near Vienna, may sound rather remote from

<fig. 9>

19) Helmut Buschhausen, *Der Verduner Alta* (Vienna: Edition Tusch, 1980). Comparative references to the altarpiece at Klosterneuburg are recurrently made in the volumes of CVMA.

20) Floridus Röhrig, *Der Verduner Alta*, 8th ed. (Klosterneuburg: Mayer & Comp., 2004), 54. who begins: "Beyond question the Verduner Altar with its comprehensive and subtle programme marks the high point of the typology of the Middle Ages."

the Gothic heartland of medieval stained glass centered on Paris. But information from the inscription that runs right through the altarpiece reveals that this is not so. The craftsman responsible for the Klosterneuburg altarpiece, so the inscription informs us, was Nicholas of Verdun (hence the altarpiece is known as the "Verduner Altar"). Verdun, where Nicholas came from, is in Northern France on the river Meuse. The inscription also tells us the date of the altarpiece: it was completed in 1181, i.e., only forty years after St-Denis. Nicholas of Verdun's other known masterpiece is the shrine of Mary in the cathedral at Tournai, much nearer home in southern Belgium, completed in 1205; he had a hand in the figures of the prophets in the Three Kings' Shrine in Cologne, completed in 1215. The theological inspiration for the Klosterneuburg altar also came from Paris: from a work by Hugh of St-Victor(died 1141).[21]

The panels of the altarpiece are laid out in three horizontal rows. They are intended to be read from left to right to tell the history of salvation, from the Patriarchs in Genesis to the Last Judgment in Revelation. Before one can inquire into the mystical sense of the Bible, one has to have a thorough knowledge of its literal sense, as in these three horizontal bands. The top and the bottom rows show Old Testament scenes (except for a couple of panels at the extreme right); the middle row New Testament scenes. Each of the three rows has a title down the side (on both the left and the right): the top row, *ante legem*, 'before the Law'; the bottom row, *sub lege*, 'under the Law'; the middle row, *sub gracia*, 'under grace', i.e., scenes from the Old Testament before and after Moses above and below; scenes from the New Testament, especially the Gospels, Acts, and

21) R.W. Southern, *Hugh of St. Victor and the Idea of Historical Development* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004), 34. Buschhause, *Der Verduner Alta* (1980), 117-118, calls Hugh, the "alter Augustinus" (the "second Augustine"). Hugh's work is entitled, *De sacramentis christianae fidei*("On the sacraments of the Christian faith").

Revelation in the middle.[22] But these rows are also laid out in columns; the columns make typological interrelationships between scenes within that history of salvation, between the three biblical ages of humanity. The crucifixion of Jesus stands at the centre of the middle row, the axis of the whole scheme, binding together the horizontal historical and the vertical typological meanings of Scripture.

The inscription that runs right through the altarpiece explains something at least of the theory behind the typological reading. It begins, *qualiter etatum sacra consona sint peraratum cernis in hoc opere*: "how the sacred things of the ages [the three biblical ages portrayed] are in agreement with one another you will discern engraved in this work."[23] The key ideas of the inscription may be summarized: the sacred things of the three biblical ages of human existence are in consonance, whether before the Law, under the Law, or under grace. The old Law, however, is but a figure, a shadow, a form (in terms of typology, a prototype). By contrast, the true reality, substance, and splendor, is in the new Law, the new creation in Christ, the divine power which heals the Fall which threw down the parents of our human race.

There is time to look at only one out of these seventeen columns in the Klosterneuburg altarpiece, and to focus on only

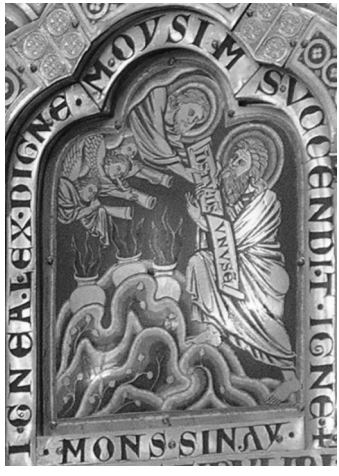
22) Buschhausen terms Hugh's work, "the first early scholastic *Summa*." He cites it, showing the link with the three rows of the Verduner Altar: "tria...sunt tempora per quae praesentis saeculi spatium decurrit. Primum est tempus naturalis legis; secundum tempus scriptae legis; tertium tempus gratiae"("three are the periods through which the time of the present age runs. The first is the time of natural law; the second, the time of the written law; the third, the time of grace"). Buschhausen expounds it as follows: Heathens, Jews, and Christians correspond to these three ages; alternatively put, these may be termed the ages of reason, law, and the Holy Spirit. This is a very inclusive conception: each of the first two ages feeds into the third.

23) The inscriptions are composed mainly in "Leonine hexameters," lines in six-feet in which the word at the caesura rhymes with the word at he end of the line; to get the rhyme the construction is often tortuous.

one out of the seven panels on the life and times of Moses, to illustrate how these correspondences between these three ages of human history are drawn typologically. Here in Column 15 [Fig. 10], Noah's Ark(above, "Before the Law") and the Giving of the Law on Sinai(below, "Under the Law") are shown as types of the Descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost(centre, "Under grace").[24]

The connection between Noah's ark and the descent of the Spirit is the dove, sent out by Noah, descending on Jesus at his baptism(Matt 3:13-17//Mark 1:9-11; Luke 3:21-22; John 1:31-34). The Law revealed at Sinai is summated in one sentence: *deus tuus deus unus est*, "Your God is one God", echoing the sh^{e}ma' of Deut 6:4(contrast the first clause of the Apostles' Creed on Moses' tablets of the Decalogue at Fairford); but the Trinitarian aspect of that One God is indicated by the three angels sounding trumpets to announce the

<fig. 10>



24) The other Moses scenes are (in biblical order) Moses' return to Egypt(Exod 4:20), the selection of the Passover Lamb(Exod 12:3) the slaughter of the Egyptian firstborn(Exod 12:29) the crossing of the Red Sea(Exodus 14), the laying up of manna in the ark(Exod 16:33), and the gathering of the grapes of Eshcol (Num 13:23). There is no known precise source for these sequences. *The Biblia pauperum* is too late: the first examples in Bavaria and Austria date from ca. 1300. *Pictor in carmine*, English, end 12th century, is merely a list of 138 scenes from annunciation to last judgement with types from Old Testamen, Christian legends, and the natural world (Ulrike Brinkmann, *Das jüngere Bibelfenster* [Meisterwerke des Kölner Domes 1], Cologne: Verlag Kölner Dom, 1984, 8). For "The Mirror of Salvation, see Albert C. Labriola and John W. Schulz, *The Mirror of Salvation, Speculum humanae salvationi: An Edition of British Library Blockbook G. 11784* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2002), 31 (ca. 1470).

coming of God and by the three kilns with which the mountain smokes(cf. Exod 19:16-19). The linking of the revelation of the Law to the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost is very appropriate: in the biblical chronology of Exod 19:1, the revelation of the law takes place at Pentecost.

Moses at the burning bush does not feature in the Klosterneuburg typological sequence. The motto of this panel of Moses at Sinai, however, bears close resemblance to the motto surrounding Moses at the burning bush at St-Denis:

Klosterneuburg:
ignea lex digne
moysim succendit igne
"the fiery law worthily inflames Moses with fire";
St-Denis [Fig. 2]:
Sicut conspicitur rubus hic ardere, nec ardet,
Sic divo plenus hoc ardet ab igno
"As this bush appears to burn, yet does not burn,
so one who is full of divine fire burns [yet does not burn]."

This resemblance shows that Klosterneuburg belongs to the same tradition as St-Denis where the sign to Moses at the burning bush in Exodus 3, fulfilled at Sinai in Exodus 19 as promised in Exod 3:12, applies to Moses himself.

Klosterneuburg illustrates other features of the system of typological interpretation [Fig. 9].

The entire system is presided over by angels. The whole of the top band of the altarpiece is surmounted by a row of angels to declare its supernatural origin(cf. Gal 3:19, "the law ordained through angels"; also Acts 7:53; Heb 2:2). The angel in the burning bush and the angel at the annunciation are but two specific manifestations of a concerted program of divine revelation through angelic intermediaries.

The whole system is integrated not just by the continuity of the history of salvation in the horizontal rows, and by typological correspondence in the vertical columns, but by prophecy and fulfillment. Between each of the scenes from the New Testament in the middle band, there is a prophet bearing a motto; the sacred events in the three ages do not happen haphazardly but are related analogically to one another in accordance with a divine plan. David in the Psalms is the "prophet" most frequently cited, seven times; Isaiah, four; Solomon, twice (in Proverbs and Song of Songs); the rest once each, Moses, Jeremiah, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Jonah, Zephaniah, Daniel, and, interestingly, Paul (why, we shall come back to in a moment).

The whole system is designed to influence moral practice; it has the tropological intention of turning faith into action. Thus, twenty virtues preside over the Old Testament scenes in the bottom row: virtue itself as such, followed by joy, obedience, pity, fear, peace, temperance, charity, piety, generosity, prudence, sobriety, concord, fortitude, justice, faith, humility, patience, chastity, and truth.

The whole system culminates in the last things; it has an anagogical purposes. In these last two columns of the Klosterneuburg altarpiece [Fig. 11] the division between the three ages, *ante legem, sub lege, and sub gracia*, is abandoned (despite the right hand margin). These final columns are about the fourth age, the final age of human existence, the last things, characterized by Augustine as *in pace*, "in peace" (hence Paul can now be included among the prophets).

Column 16 thus shows: the second coming in the top row; the resurrection of the dead in the bottom row; angel sounding the last trumpet, in the middle, linking both rows;

Column 17: the heavenly Jerusalem(above); Hell(below), into which even princes and prelates are portrayed as descending; Christ as judge(middle).

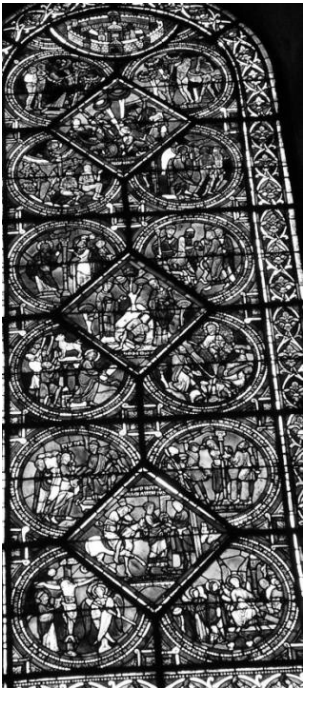
After this excursion to Klosterneuburg, we are in a position to return to that fine portrayal of Moses at the burning bush at Sens [Fig. 4] to set it within this typological framework.

That portrayal of Moses at the Burning Bush at Sens is part of a Good Samaritan Window(Luke 10:25-37) [Fig. 12]. The argument of the window is beautifully clear.

The straightforward, literal, story is read in the prominent vertical middle row of diamond-shaped panels: "a certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho"(French medieval windows are usually read anagogically, upwards, from bottom to top; but, because this man "went down from Jerusalem to Jericho," this window is to be read from top to bottom). So here in the top panel, we see the civitas iherusalem, the city of Jerusalem. In the panel below, the man falls among thieves who strip him of his raiment, leaving him half dead. In the panel below that, the priest and the Levite come upon the injured man but pass by on the other side. In the bottom panel, the Good Samaritan delivers the injured man on his donkey to the innkeeper, and pays the money for his restoration to health in advance.

<fig. 11>

<fig. 12>



But we know very well that this is not just a story; the literal sense is only the beginning of the matter; it is told as a parable.

It is commonly maintained by modern scholars that a parable of Jesus, in its authentic original form, has only one, moral, point(this view is traced to Adolf Jülicher, 1910, as popularized by C.H. Dodd).[25] And sure enough, if ever there seemed to be a parable with but one moral point it must be the Good Samaritan: it begins with the question, "And who is my neighbor?", which Jesus returns to at the end of the parable, "Which of these was then the neighbor?" The point of the parable is to explain what love of one's neighbor means.

But the question, "Who is *my* neighbour?," confronts readers and viewers with an existential question about their own beliefs and actions. There are deeper senses here than the literal, and the medieval stained glass painter at Sens goes straight to the typological interpretation.

The three central diamond-shaped panels are each surrounded by four background panels, giving a three-dimensional effect. Each of these top two central panels is surrounded by four Old Testament panels; the bottom one, by four from the Gospels.

The top panel, "a certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves"(so the motto: *hic incidit in [latrones]*, "this one fell among [thieves]"), is surrounded by scenes from the Garden of Eden(reading from the top: left →right; left→right):

God showing Adam and Eve the tree of good and evil;

Eve giving Adam the apple [reading unclear: *comede fructum*?? ("enjoy the fruit??")];

God speaking to the self-consciously naked Adam and Eve;

25) E. g., John Drury, "Parable," R. J. Coggins and J. L. Houlden, eds., *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (London: SCM, 1990), 509-511.

the expulsion from the Garden of Eden.

The second panel, the priest and the Levite passing by, is surrounded by scenes from the life of Moses(reading bottom right→top right; bottom left→top left):

Burning Bush (the scene with which we began);

Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh;

the worship of the golden calf;

the brazen serpent.

The bottom panel, the Good Samaritan delivering the wounded man to the inn, is surrounded by scenes from the life of Jesus(from the top: left→right, left→right):

Jesus condemned by Pilate, identified by the legend, with the devil whispering in his ear;

the scourging of Jesus;

the crucifixion[inscription on the cross *Iesus Nazar rex iudeorum*, "Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews"];

the resurrection.

The typological connection is made at once clear: the sequence of these three central panels, with their surrounding background Old Testament types and New Testament fulfillments, corresponds to the three ages of human history, as overtly at Klosterneuburg: *ante legem, sub lege, sub gracia*; here the Garden of Eden, *ante legem*; the scenes from the life of Moses, *sub lege*; the scenes from the passion of Jesus, *sub gracia*.

There is correspondence between the first and third groups of background scenes: the angel, expelling Adam and Eve from Eden with his fiery sword, sheaths his sword at the crucifixion; the women at the cross are counterposed to Eve. There is correspondence between the second and third groups of background scenes: Moses before Pharaoh, and Jesus before Pilate; the brazen serpent on the pillar, and the pillar to which Jesus is tied for the scourging.[26]

26) The chalice for the reception of the water and blood from the side of Christ

The typology goes still further: "the certain man who went down" is not just any man but humankind as a whole. The title of the middle panel is "*homo*," "man," not just an individual, but humanity. It is humanity that goes down, descends from Jerusalem in the Fall, falls among thieves, the perils of life, deadly to body and soul; the priest and the Levite ineffectually passing by represent the powerlessness of the Old Testament Law to bring salvation to fallen humanity (the point is not so much anti-Jewish as anti-clerical: the priest and Levite are clothed in the contemporary garb of priest and deacon, just as at Klosterneuburg prince and bishop are consigned to hell); it is left to the Samaritan to bring humanity to the sanctuary of the inn. By a clever piece of intertextuality, before even the term was invented, the Samaritan is taken to represent Jesus-in John 8:48 Jesus is disparagingly called a Samaritan by his opponents. The Good Samaritan is none other than the Redeemer paying to the innkeeper, God, the price of redemption. The ox and the ass, representing Jew and Gentile,[27] are already safely gathered into the inn, the church.

The anagogical dimension is not lacking. The eye is led up to the *civitas iherusalem*, Jerusalem, the city of God,[28] at the top of the window, whence we fell and whither we are destined, through the work of the Redeemer, to return *in pace* to our eternal rest.

De Lubac sums up in one sentence the presuppositions of

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by the figure of Ecclesia [so Madeline H. Caviness, *Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Caterbury*, CVMA (London: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1981)] reflects the medieval quest for the holy grail. Chrétien de Troyes (once again, Troyes features!) author of *Le Conte du Graal*, wrote between 1160 and 1185.

27) Brinkmann, *Das jüngere Bibelfenster {Meisterwerke des Kölner Domes 1}*, 13.

28) With Augustinian overtone; Caviness adds, among others, Bede, *Glossa Ordinaria*, and Hugh of St-Victor. E.Mâl, *L'Art religieuse de XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Libraire Armand Colin, 1931), 197-198, adds the reference to Hugh: *Allegor. in New Testament*, IV xii.

medieval Christian typological interpretation of the Old Testament, such as we have seen in these portrayals of Moses at Fairford, Klosterneuburg, and Sens: "Everything in [Scripture] is related to [Christ]. In the end he is its sole object. Consequently, he is, so to speak, its whole exegesis."[29] Whatever one may think of the "pre-critical" interpretation of Scripture in these four senses in the medieval period, it presents a challenge to the modern interpreter to bring out the full Biblical message in equally coherent terms; and to bring that message to bear on ethical practice today and on hope for the future.

<주요어>

모세, 유형론, 유럽 예술, 중세 스테인드 글라스, 고딕 양식

<Key Words>

Moses, Typology of European Art, Stained Glass Windows in the Middle Ages, Gothic Style

29) De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture* (1998), 237.

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<초록>

중세시대의 유럽 예술의 유형론에 나타난 모세

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고딕 양식의 건축 덕분에 나타난 큰 스테인드글라스 창들은 기독교 교리를 알리고 가르치는 데 새로운 길을 열어주었다. 이 창들의 도상학적 프로그램들 뒤에 있는 이론은 유형론(typology, "모형론")이다.

잉글랜드의 페어포드, 프랑스의 상스, 독일의 쾰른에 있는 중세 시대 스테인드글라스에 나타난 모세의 형상들에 나타난 출애굽기 3:2의 불타는 떨기나무는 무엇을 상징하는가? 영향력 있는 해석 중 하나는 이스라엘을 상징하는 것으로 이해한다. 그러나 중세 유대 학자 라쉬가 제시한 유대 전통에 따르면 불타는 떨기나무를 이스라엘 백성의 지도자이자 하나님의 대변자로 임명받은 모세를 상징한다. 즉, 하나님의 영감의 불이 타고 있는 사람인 모세는 내적으로 뜨겁게 타오르는 사람이지만 자신은 소멸되지 않고 그의 인간성을 계속 유지한다는 것이다. 마찬가지로 (구약을 신약의 원형으로 삼아, 유형론적으로 두 성경을 연결하여 이해하는) 중세 기독교적 관념에 따라, 불타는 떨기나무는 수태고지의 상징이다. 즉, 마리아는 동정성을 잃지 않고 성령으로 잉태한다는 것이다. 이제 우리는 이 모세의 유형론을 중세 기독교 예술의 성경에 관한 유형론적 해석의 좀 더 확대된 이론과 실천의 틀과 연결해 보고자 한다. 우리가 중세시대의 이 4가지 의미 안에 있는 "비평 이전"의 성서 해석에 대해 어떻게 생각하든, 그것은 현대 해석자들이 일관성을 가지고 온전한 성경적 메시지를 끌어내도록 도전하고, 오늘날 그 메시지를 윤리적 실천으로 옮기게 하며 미래에 대한 소망을 갖도록 도전한다.

<Abstract>

Moses in the Typology of European Art in the Middle Ages

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The large stained glass windows, which the Gothic style of architecture made possible, opened up new ways for expressing and teaching Christian doctrine. The theory behind the iconographical programs of these windows is that of typology.

In that representations of Moses at the burning bush in medieval stained glass at, e. g., Fairford in England, Sens in France, and Köln in Germany, what does the burning bush of Exodus 3:2 symbolize? One influential interpretation understands it as symbolizing Israel(as in Exod 3:7-8). But a Jewish interpretation(by, e.g., Rashi of Troyes, east of Paris, 1040-1105, the most influential Jewish scholar of the Middle Ages) has understood the burning bush as symbolizing Moses: the man in whom the flame of God's inspiration burns is not consumed by that flame but still keeps his human character. For the medieval Christian mind (putting the two Testaments together typologically, the Old as type of the New), the burning bush thus becomes a symbol of the virgin birth: Mary conceives by the Holy Spirit without losing her virginity. The discussion must now be broadened out to set this Mosaic typology within a wider framework of the theory and practice of typological interpretation of the Bible in Christian medieval art. Whatever one may think of the "pre-critical" interpretation of Scripture in these four senses in the medieval period, it presents a challenge to the modern interpreter to bring out the full Biblical message in equally coherent terms; and to bring that message to bear on ethical practice today and on hope for the future.