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ROMANESQUE VÉZELAY: THE ART OF MONASTIC CONTEMPLATION

Volume I

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(History of Art)
in The University of Michigan
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To RTA, VGA, and EJP

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Capitals referred to in the text are followed by a numeral in parentheses that corresponds to those of the system established by Francis Salet. The following abbreviations are used in notes.

AASS   *Acta sanctorum...*, n.s. Ed. J. Carnandet et al. 68 vols. Paris, 1863-1940.

BHL   *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis.* 2 vols. Brussells, 1898-1901.

CCM   Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum

CCSL   Corpus Christianorum Series Latina

CSEL   Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum

GC   *Gallia christiana...* 16 vols. Ed. S. de Sainte-Marthe et al. Paris, 1716-1865.

Hergott   M. Hergott, ed., *Vetus disciplina monastica.* Paris, 1726.

LCL   Loeb Classical Library

MGH   Monumenta Germanicae Historica

M.H.   Archives of the *Monuments Historiques,* Paris.

PG   *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca.* Ed. J.-P. Migne. 161 vols. Paris, 1857-66.

PL   *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina.* Ed. J.-P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1844-65.

RHF   *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France.* Ed. M. Bouquet et al. Paris, 1738-1876.

INTRODUCTION

The richly decorated capitals of Vézelay's nave, completed by about 1125, have been curiously neglected in the art-historical literature.[1] This is in sharp contrast to the celebrated central tympanum in the narthex of the abbey church (figs. 3, 4), which has become virtually synonymous with the site. In the last twenty years alone, this sculpture of the Pentecost has been illustrated in countless survey and guide books and has been the subject of at least three dissertations and many articles; the tympanum's program has been analyzed in terms of theology, monastic culture, and contemporary civil strife.[2] It is

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[1] Four fundamental studies have catalogued Vézelay's Romanesque capitals: P. Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie der Kapitelle von Ste.-Madeleine, Vézelay," Ph.D. diss., Ruprecht-Karl-Üniversität, Heidelberg, 1975; F. Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay. L'oeuvre de sculpteurs*, Paris, 1995; Francis Salet and Jean Adhémar, *La Madeleine de Vézelay*, Melun, 1948; and L. Saulnier and N. Stratford, *La sculpture oubliée de Vézelay*, Geneva, 1984. For date see n. 66.

[2] Important studies include: B. Abou-el-Haj, "The Audiences for the Medieval Cult of Saints," *Gesta* 30 (1991): 7-9; eadem, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations*, New York, 1993, 22-25; C. Beutler, "Das Tympanon zu Vézelay. Programm, Planwechsel und Datierung," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 29 (1967): 7-30; J. Calmette and H. David, *Les grandes heures de Vézelay*, Paris, 1951, 229-38; A. Caumont, "Le tympan du grand portail de Vézelay," *Bulletin monumental* 13 (1847): 116-20; A. Crosnier, "Iconographie de l'église de Vézelay," *Congrès archéologique de France* 14 (1848): 224-30; P. Diemer, "Das Pfingstportal von Vézelay-Wege, Umwege und Abwege. Einer Diskussion," *Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte* 1 (1985): 74-114; A. Fabre, "L'iconographie de la Pentecote," *Gazette des beaux arts*, 5th ser., 8 (1923): 33-42; J.S. Feldman, "The Narthex Portal at Vézelay: Art and Monastic Self-Image," Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, Austin, 1986; H. Focillon, *L'art des sculpteurs romans. Recherches sur l'histoire des formes*, Paris, 1931, 211-15, 252-57; V. Frandon, "De multiple à l'Un. Approche iconographique du calendrier et des saisons du portail de l'église abbatiale de Vézelay," *Gesta* 37 (1998): 74-87; J.B. Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*, Cambridge, Mass., 1981, 59-86; M. Gosebruch, "Über die Bildmacht der burgundischen Skulptur im frühen XII. Jahrhundert (Beiträge zu einer Bestimmung des Stiles)," Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 1950, 21-28; J. Hubert, "Encore l'iconographie du portail de Vézelay," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1945-47): 268; A. Katzenellenbogen, "The Central Tympanum at Vézelay: Its Encyclopedic Meaning and Its Relation to the First Crusade," *Art Bulletin* 26 (1944): 141-51; L.E. Lefèvre, "Le symbolisme du tympanum de Vézelay," *Revue de l'art chrétien* 56 (1906): 253-57; E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Twelfth Century*, trans. M. Mathews, Princeton, 1978, 326-32; P. Mayeur, "Les scènes secondaire du tympan de Vézelay," *Revue de l'art chrétien* 59 (1909): 326-32.; idem, "Le tympan de

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thus surprising that the formal and iconographic innovations of the nearly 100

Romanesque capitals in the nave have been little studied in relation to their historical and

social context.[3] By developing a methodology adapted to the nave's serial imagery, this

dissertation offers a different approach to one of France's most important twelfth-century

sites. I will not be suggesting that any single text or theme explains the choice and

placement of Vézelay's capitals, but rather I will examine these works in terms of

cenobitic culture. When considered in relation to the knowledge and practices of its

twelfth-century monastic audience, insofar as this can be reconstructed, the nave

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l'église abbatiale de Vézelay," *Revue de l'art chrétien* 58 (1908): 103-08; P. Merimée, *Notes d'un voyage dans le midi de la France: 1835*, ed., P.M. Auzas, Paris, 1971, 57-59; P. Meunier, *Iconographie de l'église de Vézelay*, Avallon,1862, 5-8; E. Palazzo, "L'iconographie des portails de Vézelay: nouvelles données d'interprétation," *L'écrit-voir* 4 (1984): 22-31; C. Picard, "Le mythe de Circé au tympan du grand portail de Vézelay," *Bulletin monumental* 103 (1945): 213-29; C. Porée, *L'abbaye de Vézelay*, Paris, 1909, 40-49; idem, "Vézelay," *Congrès archéologiques de France* 74 (1908): 34-36; A.K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, vol. 1, Boston, 1923, 109; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 94-112 ; idem, "La Madeleine de Vézelay. Notes sur la façade de la nef," *Bulletin monumental* 99 (1940): 223-37; idem and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 173-79; G. Sanoner, "Portail de l'abbaye de Vézelay. Interpretation des sujets du linteau et des chapiteaux de la porte centrale de la nef," *Revue de l'art chrétien* 54 (1904): 448-59; idem, "Encore un mot sur le linteau de Vézelay," *Revue de l'art chrétien* 58 (1908): 266-67; K. Sazama, "The Assertion of Monastic Spiritual and Temporal Authority in the Romanesque Sculpture of Sainte-Madeleine at Vézelay," Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1995, 40-95; M. Schapiro, *The Parma Ildefonsus. A Romanesque Illuminated Manuscript from Cluny and Related Works*, Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts Sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America and the College Art Association of America 11, New York, 1964, 43-44; S. Seeliger, "Das Pfingstbild mit Christus. 6.-13. Jahrhundert," *Das Münster* 9 (1956): 146-152; idem, *Pfingsten. Die Ausgiessung des Heiligen Geistes am fünfzigsten Tage nach Ostern*, Düsseldorf, 1958, 26, 45; M. Taylor, "The Pentecost at Vézelay," *Gesta* 19 (1980): 9-15; V. Terret, *Notebook 6* (Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 2214); A. Turgot, *Histoire de la ville et abbaye de Vézelay*, Autun, 1997 (reprint of 1826 manuscript), 225-32; E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Monographie de l'ancienne église abbatiale de Vézelay*, Paris, 1873. Mâle first identified this tympanum as representing the Pentecost and cited two precedents a miniature from Cluny, Paris, B.N. lat. 2246, fol. 79v, and a fresco at St. Gilles at Montoire (*Twelfth Century*, 326-32). One would want to add an antependium in the Musée National du Moyen Age in Paris to this list. Shortly after Mâle's thesis was published, confusion arose among scholars with regards to Christ's presence in these scenes until Schapiro linked this with the Western Church's assertion of the *filioque* doctrine (*Parma Ildefonsus*, 43-44). Schapiro's suggestion seems confirmed by Cluniac sermons. In one on Pentecost, for example, Abbot Odilo of Cluny states: "Spiritus etenim sanctus, Patri et Filio coaeternus et consubstantialis, non sicut minor et nolens transmittitur, sed sicut aequalis propria voluntate *a Deo Patre et Filio mittitur*, quia, sicut Veritatis dicit, Spiritus ubi vult spirat," PL 142, 1017 (my emphasis). See also P. Low's forthcoming dissertation (Johns Hopkins University) on this tympanum. For a discussion of the tympanum's date see n. 66 below.

[3] See pp. 6-7 below.

sculpture proves to cohere thematically to a degree that has previously been unrecognized.

A detailed study of Vézelay's capitals and their programmatic import seems warranted in light of the evidence that these were originally considered to be an integral element of the abbey church's design and not merely decorative afterthoughts. That much care was given to the choice and manner of representing the various hagiographic and biblical narratives is attested by the fact that a significant number of the capitals' subjects have few, if any, surviving precedents in Christian art. Salient examples include Saint Martin and the pine tree (26, figs. 15-17), the Rape of Ganymede (12), and the trial of Saint Eugenia (59, fig. 30).[4] Even some capitals that feature common subjects are extremely innovative when viewed in relation to long-standing traditions. A scene of the Temptation (fig. 44), for example, represents Adam and Eve performing highly idiosyncratic gestures, which, I will argue, complicate the interpretation of this fundamental biblical narrative.[5] Such novelties in the iconography of Vézelay's capitals suggest they were the result of thoughtful decisions and not the product of regional norms or traditional workshop practices.

The monks of Vézelay did not rely on local, readily accessible labor, but rather seem to have imported sculptors and masons. A number of archeological studies have demonstrated that many of the sculptors who worked at the abbey church were not members of local workshops but had come from southern Burgundy, roughly one

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[4] Appendix A provides a description of all the Romanesque capitals and an overview of scholarship. Numbers in parentheses correspond to the system used by Salet, found in fig. 1.

[5] See chapter 3 for this discussion.

hundred miles to the south.[6] Stylistic affinities between Vézelay's sculpture and that at

sites like Anzy-le-Duc and Montceaux-l'Étoile have often been noted. We might infer

that the monastic patrons had the most confidence in these workers to produce sculpture

that addressed their needs.

The capitals were then displayed under extremely favorable viewing conditions.

The large windows of the nave suffuse the sculpture with light, an effect that would have

been even more pronounced in the Middle Ages as Viollet-le-Duc raised many of the sills

during his renovations in the nineteenth century.[7] Vézelay's two-storey elevation ensures

that the historiated nave capitals were placed at a low level in relation to the viewer.

Whereas the hemicycle capitals of Cluny III--the only Romanesque abbey church in

Burgundy to surpass Vézelay in scale and quantity of sculpture--were originally situated

over nine meters above the floor,[8] those at Vézelay are placed at less than half that height,

approximately four meters from the pavement. The comparison with Cluny III is

instructive on another level, for most of its capitals featured a foliate design. The sheer

number of Vézelay's historiated capitals within the nave is unparalleled in any French

Romanesque church.[9] The question is how to approach these sculptures as a group,

rather than as a series of individual works.

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[6] For a review of the arguments on this subject see C.E. Armi, *Masons and Sculptors in Romanesque Burgundy: The New Aesthetic of Cluny III*, vol. 1, University Park, Penn., 1983, 24-32, 177-90.

[7] Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 57. Further insight into the restorations will be provided by the forthcoming book by K.D. Murphy (*Memory and Modernity: Viollet-le-Duc at Vézelay*, University Park, Penn.).

[8] K.J. Conant, *Cluny. Les églises et la maison du chef d'ordre*, Mâcon, 1968, 85. See also Armi, *Masons and Sculptors*, vol. 1, 167-67; *Cluny III. La Maior Ecclesia*, Cluny, 1988, 57-108. N. Stratford's forthcoming monograph will contribute much to our knowledge of Cluny's sculpture.

[9] It is tempting to interpret the focus on narrative sculpture as an attempt to visually differentiate the abbey church from Cluny III. R. Oursel argued that the two-storey elevation of Vézelay's nave was a conscious

A traditional approach to the problem of program, that is the identification of systematic or linear patterns of development that link the various iconographic themes,[10] is impeded from the outset by the fact that the subjects of over twenty percent of the nave's historiated capitals are today insecurely identified. Medieval viewers would probably have been assisted by painted identificatory inscriptions, the existence of which is recorded in the eighteenth century,[11] but the modern visitor cannot always be certain what Vézelay's sculptures were intended to represent. A nave capital (79, fig. 38), which features a hanged figure on one corner and a man carrying another on his shoulders, is a case in point.[12] Typically the subject is identified as the Suicide of Judas (Matthew 27, 5),[13] but this conclusion seems far from certain. Unlike other Burgundian capitals on which the figure of Judas is hanged by a demon with a money belt, including carvings at Autun and Saulieu, the isolated figure on the Vézelay capital hangs from a rope. Moreover, the figure who presumably carries the dead "Judas" has no parallel in contemporary art. Alternatively, it has been suggested that this scene is the Death of Haman (Esther 7, 10) and such a subject would conform to the seeming emphasis on Old

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departure from the design of Cluny III, which employed three stories ("Anzy-le-Duc, Cluny, Vézelay. Échanges et influences," in *À Cluny: Congrès scientifique, 9-11 juillet 1949*, 272). Oursel's theory should be qualified by the fact that church naves with two-storey elevations abound throughout Burgundy.

[10] A classic example of such a method is A. Katzenellenbogen's masterful study of Chartres (*Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia*, Baltimore, 1959).

[11] See the comments of the Comte de Chastellux reprinted in "Une voyage de touristes dans l'Avallonis au XVIIIe siècle," *Bulletin de la Société d'études d'Avallon* 19 (1878): 143-47. See also Diemer "Stil und Ikonographie," 441; Saulnier and Stratford, *Sculpture oubliée*, 77; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 135; Stratford, "Romanesque Sculpture," 246.

[12] See also the comments on narthex nave capital 60 in chapter 4 and the discussion of narthex capital 16 in Appendix A.

[13] Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 244; Despiney, *Guide*, 136; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 110, 361-62; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 159; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 191. See also Wind (1937-38). See also G. Zarnecki, "A Romanesque Bronze Candlestick in Oslo and the Problem of the 'Belt of Strength,'" repr. in idem, *Studies in Romanesque Sculpture*, London, 1979, 45-68.

Testament narratives among Vézelay's nave capitals.[14] Moreover, this execution features

in several contemporary miniatures painted in Burgundy, as in one in a bible in Dijon's

Bibliothèque Municipale (fig. 86).[15] But a number of other Old Testament hangings are

represented in similar fashion in twelfth-century painting. The precise identity of the

hanged figure on this capital, along with a number of other inscrutable subjects, will

probably remain obscure.

Despite problems in identifying the subject of many of Vézelay's capitals, some

scholars have loosely posited the existence of a moralizing program, among them Francis

Salet and Jean Adhémar who credit Peter the Venerable with the design.[16] These

hypotheses have proven inconclusive. Peter Diemer, in the most recent and most detailed

study of the nave sculpture, suggests that there is no capital program at Vézelay.[17] By

considering the concept of program from an alternative vantage point, this dissertation

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[14] Meunier, *Iconographie*, 26; Porée, *L'abbaye*, 64. See also E. Wind, "The Crucifixion of Haman," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 1 (1937-38): 245-48. Although not all the subjects of the nave capitals are identifiable, there seems to be an emphasis of Old Testament subjects among them. Research on fresco programs in Italy has revealed a tendency in logitudinally designed churches to juxtapose subjects from the Old and New Testaments, often on opposite walls of the nave (see n. 27 below). The significance of Vézelay's apparent weighting of Old Testament imagery to the exclusion of the New Testament needs to be further explored.

[15] Dijon B.M. 14, fol. 122v. For bibliography on this manuscript see W. Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*, vol. 2, London, 1996, 72. Haman's death is featured in a similar manner in Paris, B.N. lat. 16745, fol. 188.

[16] *La Madeleine*, 132-34. Calmette and David similarly analyze the sculpture as an expression of Benedictine thought and culture (*Grandes heures*, 256 and *passim*). Salet does not address the question of program in his recent study (*Cluny et Vézelay*).

[17] "Stil und Ikonographie der Kapitelle von Ste.-Madeleine, Vézelay," Ph.D. diss., Ruprecht-Karl-Üniversität, Heidelberg, 1975, 449. V. Huys-Clavel suggests a linear development of themes among the capitals as one progresses through the aisles (*La Madeleine de Vézelay: Cohérence du décor de la nef*, Éditions Comp'Act, 1996). Huys-Clavel's study is problematic for it misidentifies many of the capitals' subjects and it presupposes a rigidly linear pilgrimage route through the church for which there is no documentary of archeological evidence. Sazama avoids the use of the term program in her survey of several capitals ("Assertion").

will propose new ways of approaching this thorny problem by drawing attention to hitherto unremarked interrelations among the themes and forms of the capitals.

The word "program" derives from a Latin adaptation of the Greek term for a public message or announcement. This term has typically been applied to the visual arts in order to suggest the presence of an original design or idea, often created by a single author, that links an assemblage of themes together in a systematic way. This approach directs attention to the creation of a design over its reception, to the intent of the author over the experience of the audience. Literary critics, including Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida, have drawn attention to the difficulty of, and even the impossibility of, discerning authorial intent within a work of art; rather, it is the experience of reading or viewing which generates meaning.[18] Instead of describing Vézelay's program as the intentional imposition of a preconceived idea or Procrustean plan upon the organization of the sculpture, I will argue that much of the nave's thematic coherence was dependent on an active process of viewing. I will presume that the viewing experience was tempered by the daily activities of the monastic viewers. I will further argue that although general principles of selection can be discerned, suggesting some care in the choice of subjects, the knowledge that a specifically monastic audience would be primary viewers of the sculptures entailed the anticipation that various community associations could be brought to bear on any interpretation of the capitals.

Only recently have art historians begun to examine systematically the relationship between twelfth-century monumental programs and monastic culture. Émile Male identified what he considered to be an "empreinte monastique" in much Romanesque

sculpture, but this notion was extremely broad and seemed based more on the author's

own piety than on historical evidence.[19] Other scholars, including Meyer Schapiro,[20]

offered occasional comments on the monastic context of sculpture, but it was only with

the publication of Léon Pressouyre's article in 1973, that the beliefs of a monastery's

inhabitants as they related to monumental decoration were thoroughly examined.[21]

Pressouyre analyzed twelfth-century scenes of the apostles in terms of the *vita vere*

apostolica, a contemporary belief that Christ's followers lead lives that provided

exemplary models for monks. Ilene Forsyth developed this line of reasoning by

suggesting that the *vita apostolica* provided a degree of "professional coherence" to

sculptural ensembles that seem to lack a chronological or theological system.[22] In

addition to drawing attention to cenobitic intellectual traditions, Forsyth underscored the

importance of incorporating a consideration of liturgy in the interpretation of much

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[18] See for example R. Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *Image, Music, Text*, trans. S. Heath, New York, 1977, 142-48; J. Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. G.C. Spivak, Baltimore, 1978.

[19] *L'art religiuex du XIIe siècle en France*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1924, 365. See the English translation in idem, *Twelfth Century*, 364.

[20] See, for example, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," *Art Bulletin* 21 (1939): 312-74; repr. in idem, *Romanesque Art*, 28-101.

[21] "St. Bernard to St. Francis: Monastic Ideals and Iconographic Programs in the Cloister" *Gesta* 12 (1973): 71-92. The 1973 issue of *Gesta*, which publishes papers from the "Cloister Symposium" in New York, includes many important studies on the monumental monastic arts, including W. Dynes, "The Medieval Cloister as Portico of Solomon," ibid., 61-70.

[22] "The '*Vita Apostolica*' and Romanesque Sculpture: Some Preliminary Observations," *Gesta* 25 (1986): 80. For the notion of the *vita apostolica* see chapter 1, n. 117. For an overview of scholarship that relates monasticism to Romanesque monumental arts see I. Forsyth, "The Monumental Arts of the Romanesque Period: Recent Research. The Romanesque Cloister," In *The Cloisters: Studies in Honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary*, ed. E.C. Parker with M.B. Shepard, New York, 1992, 3-25. See also the helpful comments of J. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent*, Berkeley, 1997, xix-xxii.

sculpture.[23] Sustained applications of the methods outlined by Pressouyre and Forsyth, have been made in two recent dissertations: James Blaettler's on the cloister capitals at Silos and Leah Rutchick's on Moissac's cloistral sculpture.[24] These monographs have further demonstrated and defined the manifold ways in which sculpture relates to monks' cultural practices and often seek to reconstruct the rationales for a program's design.

Although the present study is indebted to these earlier works, the questions it poses and the methods it employs differ in key ways. Rather than focus on the sculpture of a cloister, it examines figural capitals within the space of an abbey church. The cloister--abuzz with monastic activities, from washing cloths to reading classical poetry[25]--has been the focus of several art-historical inquiries on the cenobitic arts of the twelfth-century, whereas decorative programs within abbey churches have been little studied in relation to monastic culture.[26] It should be emphasized that monks spent much of their time in the space of the nave, processing, performing the mass, and observing on a daily basis the seven prescribed hours of prayer (*opus dei*), providing monks many opportunities to view the sculpture. In accordance with the virtue of stability (*stabilitas*) called for in the *Rule* of Saint Benedict, monks spent many years within Vézelay's confines, often an entire lifetime, and thereby would have become intimately familiar

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[23] For the importance of liturgy see also her *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France*, Princeton, 1972.

[24] J.R. Blaettler, "Through Emmaus' Eyes: Art, Liturgy, and Monastic Ideology at Santo Domingo de Silos," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1989; L. Rutchick, "Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister: Benedictine Culture, Memory Systems and Liturgical Performance," Ph. D. diss., University of Chicago, 1991.

[25] See the illuminating comments of P. Maeyvert, "The Medieval Monastic Claustrum," *Gesta* 12 (1973): 53-59.

with the church's capitals. Although the extensive cycle of subjects in Vézelay's nave

has no real parallels in twelfth-century sculptural ensembles, contemporary Benedictine

churches were richly decorated with frescos or mosaics illustrating stories from the Bible

and saints lives.[27] Thus, we need not interpret Vézelay's extensive sculpture only as a

biblia pauparem for pilgrims, but it can also be viewed as a vehicle for monastic

contemplation.[28]

The monks' method of understanding the sculpture, we have reason to assume,

would have been much different from our own. Cenobitic thought tended to be

ruminative, hence discursive, rather than given to the development of overarching

schemas, as would the scholastic *summae*. Contradictions or paradoxes were in fact often

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[26] The Cluny hemicycle capitals have been considered in relation to monastic culture. See P. Diemer, "What does *Prudentia* Advise? On the Subject of the Cluny Choir Capitals" *Gesta* 37 (1988): 149-73, with bibliography.

[27] O. Demus first recognized this pattern in buildings erected between 1080 and 1300, which were associated, either directly or indirectly, with the Benedictine order (*The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London, 1950, 205-06). These monumental programs do not necessarily make direct visual or iconographic parallels between Old and New Testaments--the pictorial equivalent of Christian exegetes reconciling the two dispensations (*omnia in figura contingebant illis*; see B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Notre Dame, Ind., 1964, 6-7)-- rather Demus suggested that such programs were indicative of a *renovatio* of Early Christian programs. The Roman basilicas of Old St. Peters (G. Grimaldi, *Discrizione della basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano. Codice Barberini Latino 2733*, Vatican City, 1972, 142-43 [MS fols. 108v-109r]) and Saint Paul Outside the Walls appear to have placed subjects of the Old Testament across from those of the New. Demus argued that these invocations were driven in large part by the ambitions of the abbots of Monte Cassino, Desiderius and Odereisius in particular, a thesis which has since been elaborated and modified (see, for example, W. Tronzo, "The Prestige of Saint Peter's: Observations on the Function of Monumental Narrative Cycles in Italy," *Studies in the History of Art* 16 [1985]: 93-112; H. Toubert, *Un art dirigé*, Paris, 1990, 93-138 and *passim*). Similarly, the more elaborate decorative programs North of the Alps, such as St.-Savin-sur-Gartemp, Vicq (M. Kupfer, *Romanesque Wall Painting in Central France*, 1993, 120-47), and St. Michael in Switzerland, commonly juxtapose subjects from the Old and New Testament, if in a looser fashion than is the case for many churches in Italy. The walls and/or ceiling of the nave provided an ideal space for complex narratives to unfold. It is thus interesting to note that contemporaries, such as Hugh of St. Victor, metaphorically associated the length of a nave with the passage of time (*longitudo sanctae ecclesiae consideratur secundum diuturnitem temporem* [PL 177, 901]).

[28] See chapter 1 for further comments on a lay audience at Vézelay.

sought by monastic theologians as a means of invigorating their interpretations.[29] As a

monk read, the sources suggest, he repeated individual words to himself over and over in

order to uncover unexpected, yet significant, associations.[30] This iterative process

delighted in generating new meanings, often based on etymological play. Accordingly,

the word "heart" (*cor*) could be linked with "miseri*cord*" or "con*cord*", while the sound

of the heart's pulse could explain the morphology of other words, from the string of an

instrument (*chordas*) to a raven (*corvi*) on account of its cawing.[31] The command

"refrain from evil" (*declina a malo*) inspired one twelfth-century monk at Vézelay to

apply the grammar of Latin "declensions" to a taxonomy of the various forms of evil.[32]

In these examples, the phonic associations of an individual word or phrase become the

basis of ruminations for the reader. In contrast to the dyadic signifier-signified systems

to which we have become accustomed in the wake of Saussure, hermeneutic practices

during the Middle Ages were often decidedly triadic. In addition to the sign and the thing

to which it referred, the role of the interpreter, what he or she brought to the interpretative

act, was of fundamental importance to medieval thinkers from Augustine onward. A

dynamic interplay between interpreter and symbol was anticipated; meaning was not

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[29] See, for example, I. Forsyth, The Theme of Cockfighting in Burgundian Romanesque Sculpture."
Speculum 53 (1978): 282. The four levels of interpreting scripture, most eloquently described by H. de
Lubac (*Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Ecriture*, 3 vols., Paris, 1959-64) were not systemmatically
employed by early medieval theologians. Moreover, it has been recently argued that De Lubac's writings
were not a historical reconstruction, but a theological synthesis (K. Hughes, "Coming to Terms with De
Lubac: "Spiritual Exegesis," the "Fourfold Sense,"and Contemporary Scholarship," paper presented at the
34th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Mich., May 6, 1999).

[30] Two classic studies of this issue are M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, ed.
and trans. J. Taylor and L.K. Little, Chicago, 1968; J. Leclercq, *The Love of Leaning and the Desire for
God*, trans. C. Misrahi, New York, 1961. See also the important essay by M. Camille, "Seeing and
Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History* 8 (1985): 26–49.

[31] Isidore, *Etymologies* (PL 82, 107, 371, 452).

fixed but rather could be added to and elaborated upon by the reader. Monks sensitive or

sympathetic to such modes of thinking and trained in their use would likely apply them to

visual as well as textual images and thus would not necessarily expect a sculptural

program to be disposed along systematic lines. They would more likely have reveled in

the associations generated by individual carvings and the interplays among them. In

short, they would have had a very different sense of order than that which modern

iconographers have led us to expect.[33]

In fact, the additive process of thinking just described has a rough analogue in the

method of construction used in Vézelay's nave.[34] As has long been recognized,

construction of the church started in the west and moved eastward, one bay at a time.[35]

As they proceeded with the building campaign, the masons seem to have employed

capitals that were readily available, and not to have chosen a carved subject on the basis

of its place within an overarching plan. This practical method of construction has

profound implications for the study of Romanesque sculpture. Rather than posit the

notion of program in a preconceived design, as has been the tendency in much previous

art-historical scholarship, I will argue that the coherency of Vézelay's sculptural

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[32] Julian of Vézelay, *Sermons*, ed. and trans. D. Vorreux, vol. 1, Paris, 1972, 264-84.

[33] On this point, see the analysis of Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things:An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, New York, 1970.

[34] Katzenellenbogen makes a similar observation with regard to the west façade:

> The iconographic program spun over the whole of the Royal Portal gains its clarity not only from its ideological structure, but from its formal organization as well. There is, in the first place, a perfect relationship and consonance among the three tympana. At Vézelay and Saint-Gilles the lateral tympana were not only subordinated by their smaller size to the main tympanum, but also seperated from it by wide intervals. The meaning of the tympana, therefore, could be grasped only in an additive manner (*Sculptural Programs*, 37).

ensemble arises primarily from an active process of viewing and that the associations of the abbey church's carved themes would have been particularly rich for the resident monks in the early twelfth century.

It seems, too, that monastic thought processes were not exclusively noetic, but were grounded in the experiences of everyday life, material for rumination being drawn from such phenomena as the rhythms of the heart or the sound of an instrument or a bird. Accordingly, I argue that interpretation of Vézelay's program should not concentrate exclusively on monastic intellectual or exegetical traditions, but should also incorporate a consideration of cenobitic practices. Monks, when in the church, performed a variety of activities, ranging from the prescribed movements of the liturgy to the use of gestures by individuals to communicate during observed periods of silence. Analogues of these communal activities, often imbued with specific meanings, may be observed in Vézelay's sculpture. When explored in relation to the aggregate of monastic thought *and* practice-- akin to what Baxandall has labeled in another context as the "period eye"[36]--the sculpture of the abbey church can be examined for a particular kind of coherence.

Insight into monastic culture at Vézelay is afforded by a number of texts. The sermons of Julian of Vézelay, delivered at the monastery toward the middle of the twelfth century, are not exactly contemporaneous with the nave sculpture.[37] Nevertheless, they

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[35] F. Salet, "La Madeleine de Vézelay et ses dates de construction," *Bulletin monumental* 95 (1936): 22; see also n. 65 below.

[36] M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Art*, Oxford, 2nd ed., 1988, 29-108.

[37] See note 19 for reference. These sermons are also examined in M. Bambeck, "Zu einer mißdeuteten Stelle bei Julian von Vézelay oder der Hahn als Symbol für den Prediger," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 18 (1984): 662-70; M.M. Lebreton, "Les sermons de Julien moine de Vézelay," *Studia Anselmiana* 37 (1955): 118-32. See also the reviews of Vorreux's edition by H. Silvestre (*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 69 (1974): 625-29) and P. Verbraken (*Revue Bénédictine* 83 (1973): 456).

provide valuable insight into the interpretative traditions deployed in the monastery. For the art historian, Julian's comments are particularly helpful when he discusses a subject also carved within the nave. His exegetical method, not surprisingly, conforms to wider currents of theological thought in the early twelfth century, a field that has been masterfully examined by historians like Marie-Dominque Chenu, Giles Constable, and Jean Leclercq.[38]

Only two manuscripts survive from the monastery's scriptorium, but they are of exceptional interest. One of them, a thirteenth-century breviary, now in Lyon, contains readings for the temporal and sanctoral, as well as two calendars.[39] Although it is of a later period than that under study, it provides insight into earlier practices given the extremely conservative nature of ritual observances in the Middle Ages. The second manuscript, transcribed in the 1160's and now housed in Auxerre, contains a number of texts that recount the history of the abbey: its annals, a brief history of the counts of Nevers, transcriptions of many of the monastery's charters, and a *Chronicle* of events at

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[38] Constable see *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, 1996; idem., *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, Cambridge, 1995. For Chenu and Leclercq see . 30 above. See also J. Leclercq, "Les méditations d'un moine au XIIe siècle," *Revue Mabillon* 34-5 (1944-5): 1-19; idem, *Monks and Love in Twelfth Century France*, Oxford, 1979; idem, "La vie monastique est-elle une vie contemplative?" *Collectanea cisterciensia* 27 (1965): 108-20.

[39] Lyon, B.M. 0555. V. Leroquais dates the Lyon manuscript to the beginning of the fourteenth century (*Les breviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques de France*, vol. 2, Paris, 1934, 181-84). This dating has been questioned by C. Samaran and R. Marichal who argue for a date at the end of the thirteenth century based on the fact that the manuscript does not include the feast of S. Louis, canonized in 1297 (*Catalogue des manuscrits datés en écriture latine*, vol. 6, Paris, 1968, 259). This latter argument assumes a quick and uniform diffusion of the saint's cult. Louis's feast appears in a calender of later date in the Lyon breviary (fol. 4v). In addition to Auxerre B.M. 227, discussed below, only two other manuscripts have been associated with Vézelay: Cambridge, St John's College 602 (N. 18*): Anselm's *Proslogion* (see N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 2, Oxford, 1977); Bern, Bürgerbibliothek 766. Hans Bloesch argued that the latter was from Vézelay based on a feast of October 12: "Dedicatio Sancte Marie Magdalene". This holiday is not found, however, in Lyon, B.M. 0555, nor in any Cluniac lectionaries.

the monastery in the 1150's and '60's, written by Hugh of Poitiers.[40] The *Chronicle* has

been much discussed by historians, especially with regard to the civil strife of the 1150's

that it records.[41] Although the Auxerre manuscript is an important source, it should be

stressed that the texts it contains postdate construction of the nave by a generation and

describe political conditions not necessarily relevant to the 1120's.

Perusal of these surviving sources reveals that the abbey was on good terms with

Cluny in the early twelfth century. At this time, the Burgundian monastery stood at the

apex of a vast network of reformed monasteries throughout Europe, including Vézelay.

In a papal bull of 1076, Gregory VII lists Vézelay as a dependency of Cluny,[42] and it was

probably around this time that Abbot Hugh of Cluny reformed the monastery's

practices.[43] Perhaps the strongest evidence for the success of these efforts is provided by

the Lyon breviary. The manuscript's calendars and homily readings strongly resemble

those of eleventh- and twelfth-century liturgical manuscripts from Cluny.[44] The Vézelay

breviary commemorates, for example, Cluny's saintly abbots, including Hugh and Odo,

with ceremonies virtually identical to those observed at the mother house. Although this

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[40] Auxerre, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 227. This manuscript has been masterfully edited by R.B.C. Huygens (*Monumenta Vizeliacensia. Textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Vézelay*, CCCM 42, Turnholt, 1976). Much of the Auxerre manuscript has been translated into English in J. Scott and J.O. Ward, *Hugh of Poitiers: The Vézelay Chronicle*, New York, 1992.

[41] Nineteenth-century French historians, for example, dubbed the Vézelay peasants' revolt in 1152 as a "commune", a term that seems to function as a historical metaphor for the 1789 revolution. L. de Bastard, "De la commune de Vézelay," *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences Historiques et Naturelles de l'Yonne* 2 (1848): 527-52; idem, "Recherches sur l'insurrection communale de Vézelay au XIIe siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 2 (1851): 339-65; F. Bourquelot, "Observations sur l'établissement de la commune de Vézelay," *Bibliotheque de l'École des Chartes* 3 (1852): 447-63. See also P. Haase, *La révolution en pays de Vézelay*, Avallon, 1989.

[42] *Bullarium sacri ordinis Cluniacensis*, ed. P. Simon, Lyon, 1680, 19.

[43] See n. 50 below.

[44] For the similarity of Vézelay's calendar to Cluny's see Saulnier and Stratford, *Sculpture oubliée*, 2. See

manuscript's texts do not completely mirror those found in Cluny's lectionaries, their many correspondences are extremely significant because, as Raymond Étaix has noted, readings among the houses of the *ordo cluniacensis* could vary greatly, in contrast to the more uniform observances of other orders like the Cistercians.[45] There seems to have been a conscious attempt to follow a Cluny style of liturgy at Vézelay. Disagreements between the two monasteries might arise—and did later in the century—but these seem to have been of a very different order than their shared religious beliefs and practices.

Cluniac culture, broadly construed, seems to have flourished at Vézelay, especially during the first forty years of the twelfth century, a time when the monastery was governed by abbots sympathetic to the mother house. In 1096, according to the monastery's annals, Artaud became abbot. His tenure was cut short by his assassination late in 1105 or early in 1106. The motivations for this murder are not discussed in any contemporary document: two charters in the Auxerre manuscript transcribe papal epistles that simply demand that the abbot's assailants be pursued and punished by France's bishops.[46] Some have posited a popular uprising in response to high taxation and note, in support, the failure of bishops, presumably disturbed by Vézelay's autonomy from their episcopal jurisdiction,[47] to bring Artaud's assailants to justice, perhaps suggesting a conspiracy.[48] These conclusions must remain hypothetical because of the lack of

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also Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 5 n. 36; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 23 n. 2.

[45] Étaix, "Lectionnaire," 92.

[46] Huygens, *Monumenta*, 302-303, 311; cf. Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 108-09.

[47] R.K. Berlow, "Spiritual Immunity at Vézelay, 9th to 12th Centuries," *Catholic Historical Review* 62 (1976): 573-88.

[48] Most recently this argument was made by Scott and Ward (*Chronicle*, 72). Chérest argued that the murder was part of a popular uprising (*Étude*, vol. 1, 102-04 [repr. 26, 53-54]. For a more sobe account of

supporting documentation. What is significant for the purposes of this study is that

Artaud was honored by an individual memorial (*memoria specialis*) at Cluny,

demonstrating the esteem in which he was held by that institution.[49]

With the benediction of Pope Paschal II, Renaud succeeded Artaud in 1106.

Renaud hailed from a wealthy family in Burgundy, and was the nephew of Abbot Hugh

of Cluny (1049-1109). He was, in fact, responsible for an elegiacal poem and a *vita* in

which he commends his uncle for reforming Vézelay's monastic life.[50] Renaud's

administrative abilities seem to have been recognized, for he was appointed archbishop of

Lyon circa 1129, an office he held until his death in 1131. He was buried not at Vézelay

or Lyons, but in the choir of Cluny III, an honor typically reserved for abbots of that

house.[51]

A dearth of textual sources makes the history of the abbey under Renaud's

immediate successors unclear and, in fact, the exact date the abbot left Vézelay for Lyon

is not known. He may have continued to act jointly as abbot and archbishop until his

death in 1131, as it was not uncommon for ecclesiastical officials to hold two or more

positions simultaneously. The last source that definitively links Renaud with the

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the documents see Berlow ("Social and Economic," 122-24). Only a handful of documents survive concerning Artaud's death. Charter 19 of the Lyon breviary is a letter from Pope Paschal II to the bishops of France complaining that Artaud's murderers are being protected and that they should be excommunicated (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 301-303; Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 108). This mandate is repeated in Charter 25 of the same manuscript, a letter of Lucius II in 1144 (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 311; Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 109).

[49] "Hic [scil. Artaldus] zelo succensus divino et de animae suae salute sollictus, multa bona de sibi a Deo collata facultate contulit Cluniaco, multaque ac multiplicia beneficia et servitia reddidit, ideo a domno Hugone Cluniacensi abbate praeceptum est, ut memoria ejus in hoc loco specialiter habeatur," GC 4, 468. Text cited by A. Kohlne, *Abt Hugo von Cluny (1049-1109)*, Sigmaringen, 1993, 52 n. 125.

[50] "Quis Beatae MARIAE Magdalenae Vizeliacensem aecclesiam ad ordinis regularis pristunum reduxit statum nisi iste vir beatus?" Huygens, *Vizeliacensia II*, 49. See also Berlow, "Social and Economic," 154, Chérest, *Étude*, vol. 1, 285-89 (repr. 144-47). For the date of Renaud's *Vita*, see H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Two Studies in Cluniac History 1049-1129," *Studi Gregoriani* 11 (1978): 28-29.

monastery is a letter to Peter the Venerable, which has been dated to circa 1125 on the

basis of internal evidence.[52] Other sources offer a conflicting story. The monastery's

annals list an Abbot Baldwin for the year 1124,[53] and the signature of an Abbot Gérard

appears on an 1130 charter that transfers ownership of some property away from the

monastery.[54] Nothing more is known of these figures, but there is evidence that the

austerity of observances at Vézelay was relaxed for a few years after Renaud's departure.

Shortly after Alberic was installed as abbot in 1131, Bernard of Clairvaux hailed him as a

figure who "set the noble monastery of Vézelay in order."[55] In this case, we may infer

that "order" alludes to the *ordo Cluniacensis*. Alberic, who had served as sub-prior of

Cluny, has been characterized as extremely sympathetic to that institution's reforms.[56]

During his tenure at Vézelay, "Cluniac" monasticism seems to have flourished and the

revenues of the abbey seem to have increased. Alberic's capabilities did not go

unrecognized for in 1138 he was appointed bishop of Ostia.

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[51] For the tomb see n. 67 below.

[52] PL 198, 471-73. See Berlow "Social and Economic," 168; Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus novum anecdotorum*, Paris, 1717, vol. 1, 366. In 1123 Renaud is descried as abbot (Lebeuf, *Memoires*, vol. 4, no. 23).

[53] Huygens, *Monumenta*, 225. G. de Valous argues that the monks of Vézelay elected Baldwin, but does not provide a source (*Le monachisme clunisien des origines au XVe siècle. Vie intérieure de monastères et orgaisation de l'ordre*, vol. 1, Vienne, 1935, 59.) See also Berlow, 168. Chérest argues that these two abbots served from 1129 to 1130 (*Études*, 289-90 [repr. 147-48]).

[54] Chérest, *Études*, 39-40, 289-90 (repr. 20-21, 147-48). The *Gallia christiana* lists no abbots between Renaud and Alberic (vol. 4, 468).

[55] "Quam nempe in manu valida ordinatum est nobile illud monasterium Virziliacense? Nec insanis profecto tumultibus armatae plebis, nec effreni furentium atque obstrepentium vesaniae monachorum, nec (quod his fortius fuit) copiis mamonae, cedendum putavit vel ad modicum apostolica celsitudo" (RHF 15, 562; see the English translation of B. Scott James, *The Letters of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, London, 1953, 223). The militant language that Bernard uses in this passage is typical and, perhaps, presents events as more tumultuous than they actually were; see the comments of J. Leclercq "L'attitude spirituelle de S. Bernard devant la guerre," *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 36 (1974): 195-227.

Pons (1138-61), brother of Peter the Venerable, succeeded Alberic. Despite the consanguinity of the abbots, there seems to have been a serious deterioration in relations between Vézelay and Cluny during his tenure. A letter survives, for example, in which Peter admonishes Pons for insubordination.[57] That Cluny and Vézelay drifted apart under Pons is further suggested by the fact that in the year following his death, 1162, the pope proclaimed Vézelay to be independent from Cluny's control. This was part of a wider trend at mid-century for popes to be less favorably inclined to Cluny's claims to jurisdiction over other monasteries. Before this conflict, however, Peter the Venerable spoke favorably of Vézelay by paraphrasing Psalm 67: 16-17: "Behold a curdled mountain, a fat mountain, a mountain where God is pleased to dwell."[58] Peter had served as Vézelay's prior before his election as abbot of Cluny. As his debates with the Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux suggest, Peter seems to have been a staunch defender of the mores of the Cluniac order, which he first came to know at Vézelay. It seems highly unlikely that Cluny would have entrusted its most important position to someone closely associated with an institution with which it was at odds. In sum, Cluniac culture seems to have flourished at Vézelay in the early twelfth century.

It is in this milieu that construction of Vézelay's nave was completed, by about 1125. Before discussing the documentary and archaeological reasons for this dating, it is useful to briefly describe the church as it would have appeared at this time (fig. 1). The

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[56] Chérest, *Études*, vol. 1, 290-95 (repr. 148-151).

[57] Constable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, vol. 1, 153-73.

[58] "Mons coagulatus, mons pinguis, mons in quo beneplacitum est deo habitare in eo" (Constable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, vol. 1, 193). The letter dates between 1136 to 1138, during the tenure of the pro-Cluniac Abbot Alberic (see ibid., vol. 2, 140; R. Louis, *Girart, comte de Vienne (...819-877) et ses fondations monastiques*, Auxerre, 1946, 181).

portals lacked the present narthex and were probably approached by steps. Once inside the nave, the effect would have been very different from today because the space was terminated by a small choir, probably three apses *en échelon*, a plan observable in many contemporary churches in the region.[59] Monks would have gained access to the choir from the claustral buildings by means of doors on the south aisle wall on the nave. The small size of the choir is significant for if one estimates the size of the community to be about sixty monks in the early twelfth century,[60] one can imagine that during the performance of the daily offices some of the brothers would have had to stand in the nave. An analogous situation existed at Cluny III, where the monks' "choir" seems to have intruded into the nave proper as early as 1119. In following years the space reserved for monks was extended further and further into the nave at Cluny.[61] That a similar practice may have been observed at Vézelay is further suggested by the addition of Gothic choir that provided, among other benefits, additional room for the community of chanting monks.

It is generally agreed that the choir replaced by the present Gothic structure was completed under Abbot Artaud in 1104, a year in which Vézelay's annals note the

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[59] See n. 63 below.

[60] R.K. Berlow estimates, based on a variety of sources, that under Abbot Pons the number of monks would have been about 60 ("Social and Economic Aspects of the Early History of Vézelay (Ninth to Twelfth Centuries)," Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1971, 210-11). See also the comments of J. Dubois, "Du nombre des moines dans les monastères," *Lettre de Ligugé* 134 (1969): 24-36 (repr.in idem, *Histoire monastique en France au XIIe siècle*, London, 1982).

[61] C.E. Armi and E.B. Smith, "The Choir Screen of Cluny III," *Art Bulletin* 66 (1984): 559-60; Conant, *Cluny*, 120-21. A plan of the church drawn by P.F. Giffart between 1685 and 1713 includes the choir screen (Conant, *Cluny*, fig. 15) as does an eighteenth-century view of the interior (ibid., fig. 31) For the problem of the Cluny's adoption of a "pilgrimage plan" see also T. Lyman, "The Politics of Selective Eclecticism: Monastic Architecture, Pilgrimage Churches, and Resistance to Cluny," *Gesta* 27 (1988): 83-92; O.K. Werckmeister, "Cluny III and the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela," *Gesta* 27 (1988): 103-112.

dedication of a church.[62] The size of the choir can be inferred when through comparison

with contemporary structures, including Anzy-le-Duc.[63] Although only an archeological

excavation could provide conclusive answers, some information regarding the scale of

Artaud's choir is provided by the fact that the eastern most bays of the current nave angle

slightly inward, suggesting that they were attached to a smaller structure.[64] Only traces

of this choir are visible today. The eastern-most piers of the nave contain masonry, more

irregular in its coursing, that seems to date to the time of Artaud's abbacy. In addition,

several capitals, of a more archaic style, are reemployed in the eastern part of the nave

and probably were carved around the year 1100, although it is not clear what position, if

any, they originally occupied.[65]

The exact dates of the building, which adjoined Artaud's choir, have been much

discussed, although it is generally agreed that construction proceeded from west to east in

a fairly continuous campaign that ended by 1125.[66] Renaud's tomb at Cluny bore an

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[62] "Dedicatio ecclesie Vizeliaci ab abbate edificate" (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 224). For the size of this structure see Diemer "Stil und Ikonographie," 40; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 88-89; idem,"La Madeleine de Vézelay et ses dates de construction," *Bulletin monumental* 95 (1936): 17; idem and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 39.

[63] For a recent assessment of Anzy-le-Duc see M. Hamann, "Die burgundische Prioratskirche von Anzy-le-Duc und die romanische Plastik im Brionnais," Ph.D. diss., Universität, Würzburg, 1998.

[64] Murphy's study will provide further insight (*Memory and Modernity*).

[65] Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie,: 35; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine, passim*; Saulnier and Stratford, *Sculpture oubliée*, 104, 248; L. Saulnier, "A propos du Musée lapidaire de Vézelay," *Bulletin monumental* 136 (1978): 63-65.

[66] Based on his reading of Vézelay's annals, Chérest argues that the current nave dates to 1104, when a church was dedicated, and that the narthex dates to 1132, when Stephen Bagé performed a dedication ceremony ("Aperçus historiques sur la Madeleine de Vézelay," *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences Historiques et Naturelles de l'Yonne* 11 (1857): 508-37; idem, "Mémoire sur l'introduction ogival à Vézelay," *Congrès scientifique de France* 25 (1859): 191-202; *Études*, vol. 1, 143). Porée argues that the nave may not have been completely finished in 1104, but that the enitre building must have been completed by 1138 (*L'abbaye*, 14-15; cf. idem, "Vézelay,"28). Salet believes that the 1120 fire was significant and posits it as a *terminus post quem* for construction of the nave ("Dates de construction," 19-22; idem, *Cluny*

epitaph that identifies him somewhat ambiguously as the *reparator* of the monastery of

Vézelay.[67] Because the abbot was working on a church with Carolingian roots, it seems

unlikely that active terms like "fundator" would be used to describe his patronage.

Moreover, the modesty of "reparator" befits the character of a faithful son of Cluny.

Many have interpreted the abbot's epitaph to refer to supposed restoration efforts after a

et Vézelay, Paris, 1995, 85-86; idem and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 39-49). A post 1120 date for the nave is accepted by Berlow ("Social and Economic," 162); Diemer ("Stil und Ikonographie," 35-37); Saulnier and Stratford (*Sculpture oubliée*, 4-5, 76). American and Burgundian scholars have tended to downplay the significance of the 1120 fire and have argued for an earlier date for the nave sculpture. C. Oursel concluded that the fire did not damage the church of Vézelay seriously, and characterized accounts of the fire as hyperbolic ("L'incendie de Vézelay en 1120," *Annales de Bourgogne* 20 (1948): 62). Similarly, Conant (*Cluny*, 100), R. Oursel, ("Anzy-le-Duc, Cluny, Vézelay. Échanges et Influences," in *A Cluny: Congrès scientifique, 9-11 juillet 1949*, 272; idem, *Bourgogne romane*, 8th ed., La-Pierre-qui-Vire, 1986, 282), A.K. Porter ("La sculpture du XIIe siècle en Bourgogne," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5th ser., 2 (1920): 80-82; *Pilgrimage*, vol. 1, 90-91), and others have argued that the nave sculpture at Vézelay dates to the 1110's. In the most recent archeological study of Vézelay, Armi dates the nave to just after 1120 (*Masons and Sculptors*, 186). Armi, in contrast to his predecessors, has argued against the continuity of the nave's construction and identified three separate campaigns: the first circa 1095; the second 1110-20; and the third immediately after 1120. Accordingly, the first campaign consisted of a low perimeter wall, including their base moldings. Yet the base molding of what Armi identified as the second campaign (i.e., those of the free standing piers) often display what he considers to be archaizing qualities (e.g., vertical profile, unpolished surfaces, and large torii). Examples include the moldings supporting nave capitals 12, 16, 20 and 23 on Salet's plan. Armi's observations on the differences in masonry, such as changes in the fill masonry of the perimeter walls and the relatively vertical orientation of bays six through ten, seem generally warranted. Yet his argument, that these changes demarcate two separate campaigns, is not certain, for it is equally possible that change in construction techniques were made during a farily continuous campaign. A number of studies on Vézelay's nave sculpture have inconclusively attempted to date the sculpture of Vézelay on the basis of style (e.g., Z. Jacoby, "La sculpture à Cluny, Vézelay et Anzy-le-Duc: un aspect de l'evolution stylistique en Bourgogne," *Studia dell'Arte* 34 [1978]: 203). But because so little is known of Romanesque workshops and their practices, one must be extremely cautious in applying Morellian methods of anaylsis. Accordingly any dating must be viewed as approximate. See the illuminating remarks of C.D. Sheppard, "Romanesque Sculpture in Tuscany: A Problem of Methodolgy," *Gazette des beaux arts*, 6th ser., 54 (1959): 97-108. Nevertheless, recent archeological studies of Cluny III have helped to confirm an early date for the choir and transept there (e.g., N. Stratford, "Les bâtiments de l'abbaye de Cluny a l'époque mediévale. État des questions," trans. J. Henriet, *Bulletin monumental* 150 [1992]: 394; A. Baud and G. Rollier, "Abbaye de Cluny: Campagne archéologique 1991-1992," *Bulletin monumental* 151 [1993]: 464 and *passim*), and would thereby suggest an earlier date for Vézelay's nave. The nave was certainly finished at the time of Alberic's abbacy (1131-38), during which Bishop Hugh of Rouen dedicated an altar to Egidius in the chapel of Lawrence: "Albanensis episcopus Matheus ordinavit me subdiaconem et alios plures monachos Virzeliaci in capella Sancti Laurentii tempore Alberici abbatis, papa Innocentio existente Altisiodoro. Et vidi tempore eiusdem abbatis quod Rotomagensis archiepiscopus Hugo altare Sancti Egidii in maiori ecclesia consecravit..." (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 400; cf. Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 137-38). S. Schlessinger is currently preparing a dissertation on the nave architecture at the University of Marburg and a student of E. Vergnolle at the University of Besançon is working on the Gothic choir. These forthcoming studies may provide further insight into questions of dating.

fire in 1120, noted in the monastery's annals.[68] Some have dismissed this account as

hyperbolic or vague and, indeed, there is no clear indication of exactly what part of the

church burned in this blaze. It has been hypothesized by Salet and others that the annals'

entry concerns the Carolingian nave with a wooden roof and that therefore the

Romanesque nave was not yet undertaken. While this is possible, I suggest that the fire

might equally well have consumed the scaffolding used to support the vaults during

construction. A veritable forest of trees was needed for this purpose and, hard as it may

be to imagine, there is evidence of considerable deforestation in Burgundy during the

early twelfth century. Trees were an extremely valuable commodity. In fact, the abbots

of Vézelay became embroiled in a dispute with the counts of Nevers over rights to fell

trees on abbatial lands.[69] Thus, a fire to the scaffolding would be an economic disaster

worthy of mention and would have primarily affected those bays that were not yet

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[67] "Hic requiescit dominus Rainaldus quondam abbas et reparator monasterii Vezeliacensis et postea archiepiscopus Lugdunensis" (GC 4, 469). For the significance of this epitaph see Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 24 n.5; Armi, *Masons and Sculptors*, 189 n.124.

[68] "Hoc anno in monasterio Vizeliaci multi et multe sunt igne extincti" (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 225; cf. Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 78-88). A passage from the chronical of Saint-Marie reads: "Hoc anno in ecclessia Virziliacensi in vigilia transitus beate Marie-Magdalene, incertum quo justo Dei judicio, innumerabilis promiscui sexus et aetatis atque ordinis, in ipso crepuscul noctis atque diei, ecclesia subito conflagrante, combusti sunt" (*Histoire de la France*, vol. 12, 291). The *Vita beati Girardi monachi sancti Albini Andegavensi* (B.N. ms. lat. 13902), which dates to the middle of the twelfth century reads: "Item XI kalendas augus, dum vigiliae, apud Vizeliacum, ageretur solemnitatis beatissimae Mariae Magdalenae, cujus sacratissimum corpus ibi positum a populis totius orbis expetitur et veneratur, divino judicio illa ecclesia igne concremata est; quo igne maxima multitudo virorum mulierum, parvulorum, quae ad vigilias convenerat, extincta est"(P.A. Marcheguy and E. Mabrille, ed., *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, vol. 8, Paris, 1869, 119). A thirteenth-century manuscript from Saint-Maixent (Auxerre B.M. ms. 145, fol. 290) reads: "Undecimo kalendas Augusti, monasterium Sancte Marie Magdalene de Vizeliaco combustum est, cum mille centum XX. Et VII. Hominibus et foeminis" (J. Verdon, ed. and trans., *La Chronique du Saint-Maixent*, Les classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Age 33, Paris, 1979, 192; cf. Marchegay and Mabille, ed., *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, 429). At the end of the thirteenth century, the compiler Guillaume de Nangis adopted the formula of Saint-Marien (C. Géraud, ed., *Publications de la Société de l'histoire de France*, vol. 1, Paris, 1843, 11; passage cited by Saulnier and Stratford, *Sculpture oubliée*, 4).

[69] For a discussion of the monastery's arboreal industry see the remarks on Saint Martin in chapter 2.

completed. This would explain why Viollet-le-Duc found no trace of fire in the nave.[70]

An early date for Vézelay's nave capitals can further be inferred from their style, which closely resembles work of the first two decades of the twelfth century. That these sculptures were carved *avant la pose* can secure an early date for them, even if one takes the fire in the nave as a *terminus post quem* for construction of the nave.

It is not clear whether Vézelay's narthex was constructed during the abbacies of Alberic and/or of Pons. In 1132, Bishop Stephen of Autun, in the presence of Pope Innocent II, dedicated a "church of the pilgrims," but to what structure this phrase refers (e.g., the nave or the narthex) remains unclear.[71] The narthex seems to have been completed by the middle of the twelfth century for between the years 1145 and 1151 Archbishop Hugh of Rouen dedicated an altar to St. Michael.[72] This was presumably in the second storey of the narthex, as is typical for such altars, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the structure. Yet establishing more specific dates for the construction of the narthex has proven difficult for archeologists. Opinions differ as to whether it was completed by 1140 or 1150.[73] That the former date might be preferable is suggested by Hugh of Poitiers, who does not extol Pons for any patronage of architecture. The

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[70] *Monographie*, 3.

[71] "Idem Stephanus dedicavit ecclesiam peregrinorum, existente in Virzeliaco papa Innocentio, quo tempore fuit ignoro. Idem dedicavit altare de choro monachorum et altare de capella Sancti Stephani" (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 403; cf. Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 144) For discussion of this see Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 14-15; Salet "Dates," 6.

[72] Huygens, *Monumenta*, 402; Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 138-39.

[73] Salet, "Dates de construction," 22; idem and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 66-68. Diemer dates the narthex to before the dedication of an altar to St. Michael by Bishop Hugo of Rouen (1146-52); cf. Lyon, B.M. 0555, fol. 68. Saulnier and Stratford date the narthex to 1135-1140 (*Sculpture oubliée*, 80).

chronicler does note, however, that the abbot's predecessors had been active in constructing monastic buildings.[74]

Because the circumstances surrounding the genesis of the narthex are vague, I exclude its capitals from the present analysis to focus on the nave. And even among the nave capitals I will be selective. Though describing and analyzing all the capitals in an appendix, in the body of the text, as I seek to examine the 'programmatics,' I will focus my attention on the most innovative capitals, judged against previous traditions. As has long been recognized, within given Romanesque cycles there exists a great disparity in iconographical inventiveness. This seems especially true for large projects in which work was divided among a number of artisans or "hands". Meyer Schapiro, for one, argued that the cloister capitals of Moissac were the products of many craftsmen, each displaying varying degrees of innovation in carving technique and iconography.[75] The number of sculptors who worked at Vézelay has been estimated between nine and seventeen.[76] Those capitals in which novelties can be identified, I argue, seem most likely to have been carved with forethought to the needs of the monastery's specific viewing context.

In each of the chapters of the dissertation, I will address the question of program from a different vantage point. Chapter 1 begins with a proposal for a new identification of a nave capital (62, figs. 32-34): formerly thought to represent a "Vision of Anthony," I

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[74] "Illi enim licet vel acquirendo vel edificando plura contulerint" (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 395; cf. Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 142).

[75] M. Schapiro, *The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac*, New York, 1985, 23-76 (repr. in idem, *Romanesque Art*, 153-200).

will argue that it is the Fall of Simon Magus. This will provide an opportunity to explore the place of Vézelay's patron saints in the sculptural program, specifically to comment on the presence of Peter, Paul, and the Virgin and the absence of Mary Magdalene. I will seek to show that the saints chosen to be represented in the nave were not those represented by relics attracting pilgrims, but those who had more particular manifold significances for Vézelay's monks.

In chapter 2, I will extend my consideration of Vézelay's hagiographic capitals to encompass all those that feature securely identifiable narratives. In addition to embodying cenobitic virtues, these saints, I will seek to show, occupied an important position in regional legends and cultic practices. I will conclude that the sculptural program seems probably would have evoked the cults of saints at other religious centers in the minds of monks, and thereby would have associated Vézelay with a notion of a regional church, one that says much about the ideological underpinnings of the monastery's inhabitants.

In chapter 3, I offer two case studies in which identifiable monastic gestures, described in contemporary customaries as bearers of specific meaning, are employed in the sculpture, thereby engendering novel and complex interpretations of familiar stories. This chapter explores the implications of introducing a consideration of cultural practices to the interpretation of Romanesque sculpture. Instead of relying exclusively on exegetical texts, such an approach offers insight into a different level of viewer response, grounded in the mores of a particular community.

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[76] Estimates of the number of hands distinguishable at Vézelay vary. Diemer recognized at least 17 hands at Vézelay ("Stil und Ikonographie," 82-181. Salet estimates the number of artists to have been about 9 (*Cluny et Vézelay*, 110-23; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 161).

The final chapter considers the issue of program by examining a group of capitals with similar visual motifs, namely hair-pulling and decapitation. These gestures, it emerges, are often employed in scenes even when there is no textual justification nor iconographic precedent, suggesting deliberate choice on the part of artists. The possible meanings of these repeated gestures for a monastic audience will be considered. Rather than characterize repetitions of motifs as evidence for the limited visual vocabulary of medieval artists, I will conclude that this repetition constitutes an aesthetic, paralleled in monastic ritual and literature, that encourages comparison between very different subject matters.

Throughout this dissertation, I will argue that Vézelay's sculpture complicates traditional notions of program. The sense of order at Vézelay differs markedly from the schemas on tympana, especially those which soon after began to be carved on the façades of Gothic churches. Indeed, it may be no accident that most Gothic churches abandoned the use of historiated capitals in their naves in favor of foliate designs. The methods for arranging programs on façade seem not easily translated to a group of historiated capitals, dispersed throughout a nave. Through study of Vézelay's Romanesque sculpture, I will try to throw light on the character the alternative ordering practices observable among the capitals while suggesting ways in which art-historical definitions of program can be expanded.

CHAPTER 1

PETER, PAUL, AND MARY: PATRON SAINTS AND THEIR
PORTRAYAL

In the salutation of a charter, dated 27 April 1050, Pope Leo IX indicates that the

monastery of Vézelay is dedicated to Christ, the Virgin Mary, Peter, Paul, and Mary

Magdalene.[1] This document, the first papal recognition of the Magdalene as a patron

saint of the monastery, is usually cited by historians as evidence for her burgeoning cult

at Vézelay.[2] The devotion to the Magdalene at Vézelay has been much studied,[3] while

the significance of the other saints included in Leo's salutation has been little appreciated.

This oversight seems curious from an art-historical point of view because the saintly

hierarchy implied in the papal document, as well as in most of the monastery's charters,

seems congruent with the emphases of Vézelay's nave sculpture. The Virgin, Peter, and

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[1] "GAUFRIDO abbati Vizeliacensis cenobii, quod est in honore domini nostri Iesu Christi et veneratione eiusdem genitricis et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et beate MARIAE Magdalene, eiusque successoribus in perpetuum" (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 291 and pl. IV; cf. Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 108). Similarly, the *Gallia Christiana* states that Vézelay is "sub patrocinio primum sanctae Mariae, tum s. Petri, ac denique sanctae Magdalenes..." (GC 4, 466).

[2] See, for example, Bédier, *Épiques*, 85-95; Berlow, "Social and Economic," 103 and *passim*; Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 58-78; Chérest, *Étude*, vol. 1, 22-23, 72-78 (repr., 11, 38); Despiney, *Guide*, 17-27; Huygens, *Monumenta*, xxvii, n. 53; R. Louis, *De l'histoire à la légende: Girart, comte de Vienne dans les chansons de geste: Girart de Vienne, Girart de Fraite, Girart de Rousillon*, vol. 2, Auxerre, 1947, 191-232; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 21-22; Saxer, *Culte*, 65-74 and *passim*; idem, *Dossier*, 188-207 and *passim*; Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 51-58.

[3] The vast literature on the Magdalene's cult at Vézelay includes: J. Bédier, *Les légendes épiques: recherches sur la formation des chansons de geste*, 3rd ed., vol. 2, Paris, 1926, 85-95; Louis, *Fondations*, 154-96; A. Pissier, *Le culte de Sainte Marie-Madeleine a Vézelay*, Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay, 1923; V. Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en occident des origines à la fin du moyen âge*, Paris, 1959; idem, *Le dossier vézelien de Marie Madeleine*, Subsidia hagiographica 57, Brussels, 1975; D. Vorreux, *Sainte Marie-Madeleine. Quelle est donc cette femme?* Paris, 1963.

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Paul are clearly distinguished several times in carved narratives, while Mary Magdalene, the last on Leo's list, is conspicuously absent.[4] The rationale for this emphasis and the ways Vézelay's monks might have understood this emphasis will be the focus of this chapter. Unlike Mary Magdalene, whose cult flourished at the monastery especially among lay visitors, Peter, Paul, and the Virgin were not so clearly associated with Vézelay in the popular mind. These saints, however, were extremely important figures in the monastery's history and received the veneration of the entire monastic community throughout the liturgical year.

It has become common for art historians, like historians, to explain the structure and decoration of the abbey church of Vézelay in relation to a reconstructed cult of Mary Magdalene. Indeed, many simply refer to the abbey church as "La Madeleine". The nave is typically described as a building that received, and perhaps attracted, hordes of pilgrims, most of whom were *en route* to Santiago de Compostela. Arthur Kingsley Porter's emphasis on the role of pilgrimage in his fundamental studies of Romanesque sculpture has, no doubt, contributed much to this vision.[5] That laymen traveled to Vézelay, particularly on the feast of Mary Magdalene, 22 July, is attested in part by a

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[4] For brief discussions of Mary Magdalene's absence from the sculpture see Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 452; Mâle, *Twelfth Century*, 215; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 121. Turgot identifies a figure in the lintel of the inner façade's central tympanum as Mary Magdalene, although it is not clear to which he refers (*Histoire*, 231). Porter tentatively identified a nave capital (42) as featuring Mary Magdalene (*Pilgrimage*, fig. 41), but there is nothing in the carving's forms to suggest that the saint is represented here. J. Evans suggests that the Romanesque choir had capitals featuring Mary Magdalene that were lost during the construction of the present Gothic structure (*Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period*, Cambridge, 1950, 105). However, the reemployed capitals of the nave, which most scholars date to the time of Artaud, do not seem to support such a hypothesis, as only one (34) seems to be historiated.

[5] The pilgrim's guide, part of the the the so-called *Liber Calixtinus*, has been the primary evidence for many discussions of medieval pilgrimage. The original purpose of this work has been questioned by C. Hohler, who argues that it was intended primarily as a schoolboys' text ("A Note on *Jacobus*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 [1972]: 33). Recently, some art historians have begun to question the importance and extent of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages (e.g., D. Glass, *Portals, Pilgrimage, and Crusade in Western Tuscany*, Princeton, 1997, xv). See also n. 7 below.

number of the monastery's charters.[6] These documents include complaints that the bishops of Autun or Counts of Nevers hindered the passage of pilgrims. Little evidence survives, however, that affords insight into the particular practices observed at Vézelay. The earliest miracle accounts recorded, which date to circa 1030, tend to be formulaic. The story of unjustly convicted prisoners offering their chains to Mary Magdalene upon their release from prison, for instance, has parallels in other hagiographic literature of the period, including that of Sainte Foy at Conques. Similarly, later miracle accounts at Vézelay yield little specific information into popular piety for Mary Magdalene. The celebrated pilgrim's guide to Santiago simply notes that many sick were healed by the Magdalene's relics at Vézelay.[7]

A number of translation legends circulated during the Middle Ages and these seem to provide insight into the clerical promotion of the Magdalene's cult at Vézelay. Included among the early miracle stories, mentioned above, is Abbot Geoffrey's explanation of how the monastery came to house the saint's body.[8] Responding to doubts that a Biblical saint could be buried in France, he argues that because all things are possible with God and because no other church makes a claim to the Magdalene's

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[6] See, for example, Huygens, *Monumenta*, 297.

[7] The twelfth-century pilgrimage guide to Santiago de Compostela mentions that the saint's relics were widely venerated and considered efficacious in healing a variety of ailments: J. Vielliard, *Le guide du pèlerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle: Texte Latin du XIIe siècle, édité et traduit en français d'après les manuscrits de Compostelle et de Ripoll*, 3rd ed., Macon, 1963, 3, 52. For an English translation see A. Shaver-Crandell and P. Gerson, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: A Gazetteer*, New York, 1995, 65, 78-79. R. Louis suggested that this text was composed in the village of Asquins, at the base of the Vézelay hill ("Aimeri Picaud alias Olivier d'Asquins, compilateur du *Liber Sancti Iacobi*," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* 1948-49: 1-20). However, Louis's argument is not widely accepted as the evidence is tenuous: see, for example, W. Melczer, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: First English Translation with Introduction, Commentaries, and Notes*, New York, 1993, 32. For other miracle accounts at Vézelay see *Analecta Bollandiana* 17 (1898): 71-72, 177-79; BHL, vol. 2, 806-08. See also n. 5 above.

[8] E.M. Faillon, *Monuments inédits sur l'apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madeleine en Provence...*, vol. 2, Paris, 1848, cols. 737-40. See also Louis, *Fondations*, 162-63. On these miracles see Louis, *Fondations*, 158-59; Saxer, *Culte*, 69 n. 50.

relics, her presence at Vézelay is assured. No specific information concerning the saint's translation to the monastery is offered. Geoffrey's terse account is expanded upon in a number of later stories, which date to the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.[9] In an eleventh-century version, a monk named Badilo travels to Jerusalem on pilgrimage and returns to Vézelay with the saint's remains.[10] Later translation legends reflect the belief that Mary Magdalene had arrived at Marseille with her brother Lazarus and sister Martha in a leaky boat; they were expelled from the Holy Land during a campaign of Jewish persecution.[11] According to one version, count Girard of Burgundy—the monastery's legendary ninth-century founder who was celebrated in a number of *chansons de geste*— and the abbot of Vézelay sent Badilo to Provence to retrieve the saint's relics.[12] The monk arrived at Aix-en-Provence, a town that had recently been sacked by the Saracens. Badilo asked a group of old men to direct him to the saint's tomb in exchange for food. There the monk discovered a fragrant, uncorrupted body and, after the identity of the remains was confirmed by a vision, he translated it to Burgundy. Patrick Geary suggests that the increasingly fanciful versions of the Magdalene's invention narratives were meant to attract pilgrims to Vézelay.[13] Yet there is little indication as to how these stories were popularly received.

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[9] A fundamental study on early translation legends is V. Saxer, "L'origine des reliques de sainte Marie Madeleine à Vézelay dans la tradition historiographique du moyen age," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 19 (1955): 1-18. See also notes 2 and 3 above for further bibliography.

[10] This is part of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* (MGH Scriptores, vol. 7, 464). See E. Van Mingroot, "Kritisch onderzoek omtrent de datering van de *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*," *Revue de philologie et d'histoire* 53 (1975): 330-31.

[11] Saxer, *Culte*, vol. 1, 105.

[12] BHL 2, no. 5492. For variations of this legend see Saxer, "L'origine."

[13] P. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1978, 74-77; see also Saxer, *Culte*, 50-52.

More substantial evidence exists concerning the monks' perception of the cult of Mary Magdalene at Vézelay. A number of monastic sermons were composed in Burgundy in honor of the saint, confirming the reverence with which she was held in that region. A Vézelay monk probably composed a sermon in honor of Mary Magdalene, which has been traditionally attributed to Abbot Odo of Cluny.[14] This sermon, which presents the saint as a paragon of the contemplative life (*vita contemplativa*), was read throughout monasteries in Europe on her feast day. The sermon appears, highlighted by a decorative initial, in the Lyon breviary, transcribed in the monastery's scriptorium.[15] Mary's cult at Vézelay was complemented by other practices: the monastery claimed the relics of Lazarus and Martha and staged elaborate feasts for them.[16] The monks even followed the unusual practice of honoring Lazarus with two separate holidays, 1 September and 17 December.[17] The focus on the cults of these three siblings, who had

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[14] PL 133, 713-21. For an attribution to Vézelay see D. Iogna-Prat, "La Madeleine du *Sermo in veneratione sanctae Mariae Magdalenae* attribué à Odon de Cluny," *Mélanges de l'École Francaise de Rome: Moyen Age* 104 (1992): 41; see also idem, "'Bienheureuse polysémie'. La Madeleine du Sermo in veneratione Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae à Odon de Cluny (Xe siècle)," in *Marie Madeleine dans la mystique, les arts et les lettres*, ed. E. Duperray, Paris, 1989, 21-31; V. Saxer, "Un manuscrit démembré du sermon d'Eudes de Cluny sur sainte Marie Madeleine," *Scriptorium* 8 (1954): 119-23. Another eleventh-century sermon, probably from Burgundy, attests to the growing cult of the Magdaglene. For this edited text see V. Saxer, "Sermo in sollemnitate sancte Marie Magdalene. Introduction à l'étude et édition d'un texte inédit et anonyme du XIe siècle," *Mélanges en l'honneur de Monseigneur Michel Andrieu*, Revue des Sciences Religieuses, Strasbourg, 1956, 397-401.

[15] Lyon, B.M. 0555, fols. 317ff. See the introduction for discussion of this manuscript.

[16] In 1119 henchmen of the count of Nevers desecrated these relics: "...tum pro ipso Nivernensi comite, quem satis dileximus, cuius clientela portas Vizeliacensi fregit et dirupit, sanctorum Lazari et Marthe sororis eius et sanctorum Andeoli atque Pontiani martirum corpora, crucem quoque in qua de ligno domini habetur, iactis lapidibus exornaberunt, monachos verberaverunt et lapidibus percusserunt et quendam ex ipsis ceperunt et iniectis manibus sub habitu monachi dehonestaverunt" (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 363; cf. Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 119). Further evidence for Lazarus's cult at Vézelay is provided by a twelfth-century parchment fragment, an authenticum which identifies the saint's relics: "Hic continentur pignora beati Lazari et soror[is eius]". A fourteenth-century hand added the phrase "et Marthe" to this authenticum. For this and other parchement fragments discovered at Vézelay see R. Pirault, "Comment furent découverts en 1966-1967 les manuscrits de Vézelay," *L'echo d'Auxerre* 80, 81, 86, 89 (1970); see also R.B.C. Huygens in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 27 (1971): 597- 98. September 1 and December 17.

[17] For the former, the Lyon breviary includes a sermon of Augustine's on the raising of Lazarus (Lyon, B.M. 0555, fols. 365v-57; cf. PL 39, 1929-31), a subject that features on a narthex capital at Vézelay (38).

proselytized in Gaul, seems appropriate at Vézelay, but the fervor of monastic devotion for Mary Magdalene during the twelfth century seems called into question when one reads Hugh of Poitiers's *Chronicle*, the most richly detailed narrative source for the monastery surviving from the period.[18] Hugh dwells at length on miracles associated with relics of the Virgin, discussed below, while only briefly noting the existence of the Magdalene's tomb. It seems strange that Hugh, a staunch supporter of Abbot Pons' policy of increasing Vézelay's independence from Cluny and episcopal control, fails to mention the monastery's unique claims to Mary Magdalene. A similar lacuna is discernible in the monastery's other discursive source from the twelfth century, the sermons of Julian of Vézelay. In the twenty-seven sermons that survive, the saint is mentioned only twice in cursory fashion, without any allusion to the monastery's claims to her relics.[19] Hugh's and Julian's apparent indifference might suggest that we qualify any account of the central importance of the cult of Mary Magdalene for Vézelay's monks during the twelfth century.

The sculptural program of Vézelay's nave, which nowhere represents the saint, seems to correspond to the monks' rather moderate interest in this patron in the first half of the twelfth century. Indeed, her absence is difficult to explain if one argues that the present nave was primarily constructed to accommodate pilgrims coming to venerate the relics of the saint. Mary Magdalene's image appears to have been absent from other

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Liturgical manuscripts from Autun and Besançon provide parallels for a double feast for Lazarus and the close relationship between the liturgies of Autun and Besançon has been demonstrated (B. de Vregille, "Saint-Lazare d'Autun ou La Madeleine de Vézelay," *Annales de Bourgogne* 21 (1949): 39). Eleventh-century manuscripts from Besançon are the earliest testaments to this practice in Burgundy. Two feasts for Lazarus are found in an eleventh-century breviary from Cluny (B.N. ms. lat. 10500 fols. 24, 29, 145 and 163), but most eleventh- and twelfth century "Cluniac" manuscripts do not record this practice (C. Elvert, *Clavis voluminum CCM VII/1-3*, CCM 7, Siegburg, 1986; R. Étaix, "Le lectionnaire de l'office à Cluny," *Recherches Augustiniennes* 11 (1976): 91-153).

[18] See the introduction for a discussion of this text.

[19] *Sermons*, 484, 512. See the introduction for a discussion of these sermons.

pictorial cycles, including those in fresco and stained glass.[20] The only "speaking"

reliquary known to have been in the monastery's possession during the twelfth century

was a Virgin in the guise of the Throne of Wisdom (*sedes sapientiae*).[21] Several of the

monastery's seals include a figure of Mary Magdalene, but no example survives from

before the year 1200.[22] The first representation of the saint in the monastery's stone

sculpture, found in the narthex, dates to the middle of the twelfth century, well after papal

recognition of her cult in 1050.[23] Originally, in the gallery of this structure, a small

capital, which is now in Vézelay's Musée Lapidaire, featured the Raising of Lazarus (38;

fig. 57).[24] On this sculpture, a haloed Mary Magdalene watches Christ command her

brother to rise from the dead. Yet Martha, who stands at the other end of Lazarus's tomb

and raises one hand to her face in a classic gesture of mourning, seems more fully

distinguished on this capital than her sister.[25] Mary Magdalene features more

prominently on the outer façade of the narthex. On the far right side of the severely

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[20]Drawings in the archives of the *Monuments Historiques* record a fresco of Christ in Majesty in the gallery of Vézelay's narthex, but the date of this painting is uncertain (Despiney, *Guide*, 62-64). A group of stained-glass fragments, now lost, was discovered in 1966 underneath the floorboards of Vézelay's chapterhouse. These included a number of fragments representing human heads, which Charles Little dates to 1180-1200 ("Membra Disjecta: More Early Stained Glass from Troyes Cathedral," *Gesta* 20 (1981): 125-26). The figures that these were intended to represent are not identifiable.

[21] In his *Chronicle*, Hugh of Poitiers describes this statue in an account of a fire in Vézelay's crypt (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 567-68; Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 284-85). For analysis of this passage see I.H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France*, Princeton, 1972, 32-35.

[22] D. D'Arcq, *Collection de sceaux: Archives de l'empire*, vol. 3, Paris, 1868, 44-45, 147-48, 171.

[23] See notes 1 and 3 above.

[24]For this capital see: Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 243; Despiney, *Guide*, 96; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 221, 421-23; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 167; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 200; Saulnier and Stratford, *Sculpture oubliée*, 98; V. Terret, *La sculpture bourgignonne aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles, ses origines et ses sources d'inspiration. Cluny*, Autun and Paris, 1914, 73. See also the comments on narthex capital 21 in appendix A.

[25] V. Lasalle, "L'origine antique du geste de Marthe dans les représentations médiévales de la Résurrection de Lazare," *Revue d'études ligures* 37 (1971): 200-206. Lasalle does not cite the Vézelay capital, which predates the examples he presents.

damaged lintel from the central portal it is possible to discern the saint washing Christ's

feet, a scene more clearly visible in a drawing made by Viollet-le-Duc during his

restorations of the nineteenth century (fig. 10).[26] The lintel's other narratives are

impossible to identify with any certainty but it can be hypothesized, for example, that the

remnants of forms on the left side originally represented the Raising of Lazarus.

Emphasis on Mary Magdalene on the narthex's outer façade was complemented by the

addition of a large-scale figure of the saint in the clerestorey level during a renovation

campaign in the middle of the thirteenth century.[27] It seems appropriate that

representations of the Magdalene would have been visible to a pilgrim ascending the hill

at Vézelay, but it seems equally curious that before the middle of the twelfth century the

patroness was nowhere represented.

The expectation that Mary Magdalene would be included in Vézelay's nave

sculpture, representing the first campaign of construction, is not anachronistic, for during

the Romanesque it was quite common to include a figure of a patron saint(s) in the

decorative program of a church.[28] Celebrated examples in stone sculpture include Ste.

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[26] Viollet-le-Duc persuasively argued that scenes carved on the lintel represented the life of Mary Magdalene based on the remaining silhouettes (Fonds Viollet-le-Duc, 102; Monuments Historiques 68 N152; compare with Marburg photo 55.353). See also: Despiney, *Guide*, 69, 71; Diemer, "Pfingstportal," 78, 96; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 162; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 194. In regard to this carving, Feldman argues that the presence of a figure of Mary Magdalene on the West narthex facade conveys a more "public" message compared with the more monastic theme of the Pentecost tympanum ("Monastic Self-Image," 233-34). For uncertainties in the iconography of these scenes see Saulnier and Stratford, *Sculpture oubliée*, 246.

[27]Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 95-96; Saulnier and Stratford, *Sculpture oubliée*, 41.

[28]Examples of patron saints appearing in Romanesque monumemental art in France include: Agen (St.-Caprais); Angoulême (St.-Pierre); Arles (St.-Trophime); Arthour (Ste.-Marie); Audigon (Ste.-Marie); Aulnay (St.-Pierre); Autun (St.-Lazare); Avallon (St.-Lazare); Beaulieu (St.-Pierre); Cahors (St.-Etienne); Carennac (St.-Pierre); Chartres (Notre-Dame); Chauvigny (St.-Pierre); Clermont-Ferrand (Notre-Dame-du-Port); Cluny (St.-Pierre); Dijon (St.-Bénigne); Donzy (Notre-Dame-du-Pré); Lescar (Notre-Dame); Limoges (St.-Martial); Le Mans (St.-Julian); Maubourget (Ste.-Marie); Méobecq (St.-Pierre); Moissac (St.-Pierre); Morlaas (Ste. Foy); Mozat (St.-Pierre); Oloron (Ste.-Marie); Poiters (Notre-Dame-la-Grande; St.-Hilaire-le-Grand; Ste.-Hilaire-la-Celle); St.-Avetin; St.-Bertrand-de-Comminges; St.-Jouin-de-Marnes (?); St.-Loup-sur-Cher; St.-Maurin; St.-Michel-d'Entraygues; St-Nectaire; St.-Paul-de-Varrax; St.-Savin; St.-Triaise; Ste.-Magnance; Semur-en-Brionnais (Ste.-Hilaire); Souillac (Ste.-Marie); Tasque (St.-Pierre);

Foy in the tympanum at Conques and St. Benedict on numerous capitals throughout the

monastic church at Fleury.[29] Sculptured representations of patron saints could serve a

number of functions. They could be didactic, in accord with the much cited dictum of

Pope Gregory the Great that art serve as a bible for the illiterate.[30] Equally, a

representation of a saint could vividly evoke a sacred presence, especially important at

sites where relics were hidden away from view, either in a reliquary or within a crypt. In

addition, images of saints could promote their cult[31] or buttress an ecclesiastical

institution's claims to status, by visually emphasizing their patron. Until the addition of

Vézelay's narthex, however, such imagery seems not to have been employed in

promotion of the cult of Mary Magdalene, the patron saint whose relics were housed in

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Toulouse (Notre-Dame-la-Daurade; St.-Sernin); Valcabre (St.-Just); Vals (Ste.-Marie); Vicq (St. Martin). Contemporary examples from other parts of Western Europe include: Monte Cassino (Desiderius's antependium, for example, had scenes of Benedict's life: H. Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, Cambridge, Mass., 1986, 67); San Clemente in Rome; Santa Maria in Trastevere; Santa Maria de Taüll (P.K. Klein, "The Romanesque in Catalonia," *The Art of Medieval Spain*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1993, 194-95); San Pietro in Tuscania; and Santiago de Compostela.

[29]For Conques see C. Bernouli, *Die Skulpturen der Abtei Conques-en-Rouergue*, Basel, 1956, 62-71; J.-C. Bonne, *L'art roman de face et de profil: le tympan de Conques*, Paris, 1984, 243-51. See also J. Bousquet, "La sculpture à Conques aux XIe et XIIe siècles: Essai de chronologie comparée," Ph.D. diss. University of Lille, 1973. A celebrated reliquary of Conques also represented the saint; see J. Taralon, "La majesté d'or de Sainte-Foy du trésor de Conques," *La revue de l'art* 40 (1978): 9-22; idem, "La majesté d'or de Sainte-Foy du trésor de Conques," *Bulletin monumental* 155 (1997): 11-73. For the cult of Ste.-Foy at Conques see *Liber miraculorum sancte fidis*, ed. L. Robertini, Spoleto, 1994; P. Sheingorn and C. Clark, *The Book of Sainte Foy*, Philadelphia, 1995 [with bibliography]. For Fleury see P. Verdier, "La vie et miracles de St. Benoît dans les sculptures de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 89 (1977): 117-87; E. Vergnolle, *Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire et la sculture du XIe siècle*, Paris, 1985, 249-57 and *passim*. For the cult of Benedict at Fleury see T. Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200*, New York, 1990; A. Vidier, *L'historiographie à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire et les miracles de saint Benoît*, Paris, 1965.

[30] C.G. Duggan criticizes the notion of art as a bible of the illiterate, primarily on ontological grounds ("Was art really the 'book of the illiterate'?" *Word and Image* 5 [1989]: 227-51). For a sober examination of this passage see C.M. Chazelle, "Pictures, books and the illiterate: Pope Gregory I's letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word and Image* 6 (1990): 138-53; H. Kessler, "Pictorial Narrative and Church Mission in Sixth-Century Gaul," *Studies in the History of Art* 16 (1985): 75-91 (repr. idem, *Studies in Pictorial Narrative*, London, 1994, 1-32); R.A. Markus, *Signs and Meanings: World and Text in Ancient Christianity*, Liverpool, 1996, 62-70.

[31] On this point see Abou-el-Haj, *Cult*, 13-60; and eadem, "Audiences," 8.

the abbey church. Might the inclusion of the saint's figure in the later narthex, that is, in a site in a public view, be partially construed as a recognition of these artistic functions?

The saint's absence in the sculpture of the nave campaign cannot be explained on the grounds that there was a lack of "models," because earlier works of art represent Mary Magdalene in various narrative contexts. The Ottonian tradition supplied precedents, as seen in such works as the *Codex Egberti* and *Gospels of Otto III*. Both manuscripts include miniatures in which the saint washes Christ's feet with her hair, stands at Lazarus's resurrection, and witnesses the appearance of the resurrected Christ.[32] Representations of the saint are found in sculpture at other Romanesque sites as well.[33] She features prominently in two tympana that are roughly contemporary with Vézelay's nave sculpture: at Neuilly-en-Donjon she washes Christ's Feet[34] and at San Isidoro in León she is among the Holy Women at Christ's tomb.[35] The *Noli me tangere* was often carved by Romanesque sculptors, including on capitals at Autun, La Daurade, and Saulieu.[36] In contrast to these and other examples, Vézelay's Post-Resurrection scenes,

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[32] Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS. 24, fols. 52v, 65, 91v; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek CLM 4453, fols. 157v, 231v, 251. For Foot-washing scenes in Ottonian manuscripts see H. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, vol. 1, London and New York, 1991, 170-73.

[33] For a general overview of the Magdalene in twelfth-century art see X. Barral i Altet, "L'Image pénitentielle de la Madeleine dans l'art monumental roman," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 104 (1992): 181-85; C. Deremble, "Les premiers cycles d'images consacrés a Marie Madeleine," in *ibid.*, 187-208.

[34] W. Cahn, "Le tympan de Neuilly-en-Donjon," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 8 (1965): 351-64. W.R. Cook offers a detailed examination of this tympanum, but with several iconographic misinterpretations ("A New Approach to the Tympanum of Neuilly-en-Donjon," *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1978): 333-45). See n. 62 below.

[35] See Porter, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, pl. 702. This subject also appears, for example, on a capital at Autun (D. Grivot and G. Zarnecki, *Gislebertus: Sculptor of Autun*, New York, 1961, 71).

[36] For Autun and Saulieu see Grivot and Zarneci, *Gislebertus*, 71; for La Daurade see K. Horste, *Cloister Design and Monastic Reform in Toulouse: The Romanesque Sculpture of La Daurade*, Oxford, 1992, pls. 112-13. An early twelfth-century ivory from León in the Metropolitan Museum, for example, features this scene (illustrated in *The Art of Medieval Spain*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1993, 250-52).

such as the Ascension and Meal at Emmaus on the north tympanum of the inner façade (fig. 8), exclude the saint and focus attention exclusively on the apostles.

Nor does it seem likely that the Magdalene's absence can be explained as a bow to some form of decorum, an embarrassment over the fact that the abbey's patron was a woman, and one of suspect morals. A representation of Mary within a medieval cenobitic context could be viewed as highly appropriate. Giles Constable has recently demonstrated that the saint's life was considered by many twelfth-century theologians as an exemplary model of the *vita contemplativa*, a fundamental tenet of medieval monasticism.[37] Theologians routinely contrasted Mary's *vita contemplativa* with the *vita activa* manifested by her sister Martha. Count Girard—the legendary founder of Vézelay mentioned above—is compared directly to the Magdalene in the thirteenth-century *Vita Girardi*, while his wife Bertha is likened to Martha.[38]

It could be argued that Mary Magdalene is signified by the church itself, which incorporates her tomb into its fabric, but it is worth noting that during the early twelfth century the nave's architecture did not seem to facilitate lay visitation to the crypt.[39]

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[37] Constable, *Three Studies*, 44-99. See also J. Dalarun, "La Madeleine dans l'ouest de la France au tournant des XIe-XIIe siècles," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 104 (1992): 71-119. Cf. p. 28 for Odo of Cluny.

[38] P. Meyer, "La légende de Girart de Rousillon," *Romania* 7 (1878): 184, 220; see also Bédier, *Épiques*, 71.

[39] The crypt at the church's east end is described as the saint's resting place in some medieval texts, but others specify another location or are ambiguous. The exact dimensions of the crypt during the early years of the twelfth century have yet to be delimited by archeological study, but four reemployed columns in the west end of the crypt yield insight into its probable dimensions. For the construction dates of the crypt see: Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 88; Saulnier and Stratford, *Sculpture oubliée*, 4. A miracle account from the middle of the eleventh century relates that when Abbot Geoffrey attempted to renovate the crypt in which the saint was buried, the entire church was plunged into darkness because the Magdalene did not wish to be disturbed: "Nam cum venerablis vir Gaufredus Vizeliacensis ecclesiae abbas exiguam cryptam, sub qua sanctissimi corporis Dei dilectricis gleba servatur, effringere voluisset, ut tanto thesauro eminentiorem et ornatiorem extrueret sepulturae locellum, subito tanta ecclesiam caligo obnubilavit, ut obscurissimam noctem ingruisse putares," *Analecta Bollandiana* 17, Brussels, 1898, 177-78. For dating of this text, see the comments of Saxer, *Le culte*, 70-74. For Abbot Geoffrey see Chérest, *Étude*, vol. 1, Auxerre, 280-81 [repr., 142]. There is record of an altar in the church that was maintained by the people (*a populo*) in the Magdalene's memory (Faillon, *Monuments*, col. 742). The text does not describe the location

Unlike churches of the "pilgrimage" plan, such as St. Sernin in Toulouse, Vézelay has no

sizable transept that would permit the circulation of a large number of visitors, nor does

the building seem to have had a large entrance, available to laymen, other than the

western portal (fig. 1). The problems in accessing the crypt were probably more

pronounced before the addition of the present choir, with its large ambulatory. As

discussed in the introductory chapter, the choir in the early twelfth century was probably

comprised of three small apses *en échelon*. Because monks spent a large part of the day

chanting in the east end, the times that laymen could have entered the crypt containing

the Magdalene's tomb would have been extremely limited.

I do not intend to challenge the existence of a significant pilgrimage traffic at

Vézelay, but rather to suggest that the nave's architecture and sculpture do not appear to

take the needs of pilgrims into consideration. The space and its decorative program seem

better suited to the activities and concerns of a cenobitic community. Evidence for this is

provided in part by the repeated representations of Vézelay's other patron saints, Peter,

Paul, and the Virgin, within the nave. There is much to suggest that these three saints

of the altar or whether it contained relics of the saint, but it seems likely that it was located somewhere other than the east end, probably the nave, in order to avoid disturbing the monastic liturgy. Might the mention of this altar suggest popular belief in a resting place other than the crypt for the saint? No twelfth-century source indicates the location of Mary Magdalene's altar within the church, nor does the Lyon breviary provide any information regarding a dedication of an altar to the saint. M. Pellechet, *Notes sur les livres liturgiques des diocèses d'Autun, Châlon et Mâcon*, Paris and Autun, 1883, 44. The Lyon breviary lists altars to the following saints: Andeolus, Andrew, Blaise, Hilaire, James, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Lazarus, Loup, Martha, Mary Magdalene, Vincent. There was also an altar to the Holy Cross (Despiney, *Guide*, 116-17). The location of these is not specified, nor is it clear that these correspond to the altars of the twelfth century. There is no mention, for example, of an altar dedicated to Peter and Paul, as there is in Hugh's *Chronicle* note 117 below). See also the comments of Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 26; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 168. In Hugh of Poitiers's description of a fire in the crypt in 1165, he refers to the crypt as Mary Magdalene's tomb: "In cripta enim, quae supra beatae dilectricis dei Marie Magdalene sepulchrum extat" (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 566; cf. Ward and Scott, *Chronicle*, 284-85). A late twelfth-century authenticum, presumably from a reliquary whose form is not specified, announces that it contains the saint's relics (see note 16 above). The place this reliquary was stored cannot be known, but it seems likely that monks would have processed it throughout the monastery and its surrounding lands, a common practice during the twelfth century. In an invention account of 1265 the saint's remains are discovered buried beneath the main altar of the church. Saxer, *Le dossier*, 97-98, 261. Mary Magdalene's relics are mentioned in a fourteenth-century fragment, interpolated into Lyon, B.M. 0555, fol. 21: see Huygens, *Monumenta*, 241. Although this wording may indirectly refer to the crypt, it need not be interpreted in such a manner.

resonated on many levels with the monastery's history and culture, while evidence for the

site-specific significance of Peter, Paul and the Virgin for lay viewers is negligible.[40]

The Fall of Simon Magus

The subject of nave capital sixty-two has proven difficult for art historians to

interpret (figs. 32-34). On the sculpture's central face a man atop a tower flails his limbs

as three demons torture him, while an ascetically dressed man stands in an attitude of

prayer on each of the capital's two side faces. The most common identification of this

capital's iconography as a "Vision of St. Anthony" seems problematic because there is no

clear reference to the saint's *vita*:[41] it does not explain why two figures in monkish garb,

rather than the single hermit appropriate to the subject, are represented. In favor of the

identification, it could be argued that the carving's central tower signifies the desert

fortress, described in Athanasius's biography, within which the saint lived for twenty

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[40] Hugh of Poitiers indicates crowds that flocked to Vézelay to view the statue of the Virgin (see pp. 61-62 and n. 21 above). These pilgrims appear to have been attracted by the fact that the reliquary miraculously survived a fire in the crypt in 1165. This anecdote, which postdates construction of the nave, does not merit the inference of a long-standing popular cult of the Virgin at Vézelay.

[41] For the "Anthony" identification see Meunier, *Iconographie*, 24; E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècles*, vol. 5, Paris, 1861, 30; Porée, *L'Abbaye*, 61; C. Despiney, *Guide*, 126; *Vézelay*, Collection des cathédrales et de sanctuaires du Moyen Age, Paris, 1938, figs. 39-41; R. Hamann, "Das Tier in der romanischen Plastik Frankreichs," in *Mediaeval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, ed. W. Koehler, vol. 2, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, 446; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 189; Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 246; C.D. Cuttler, "The Temptations of Saint Anthony in Art from the Earliest Times to the First Quarter of the XVI Century," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1952, 36; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 158. Turgot may refer to this capital when he describes a carving of "l'image de l'Enfer dans la tentation de Saint Antoine" (*Histoire*, 233). The capital has also been described in more general terms as a demonic vision (Crosnier, "Iconographie," 222-23; Evans, *Art*, 103). Diemer rejects these interpretations, but offers no alternative, although he thinks a hagiographic subject seems likely ("Stil und Ikonographie," 343-45). The Simon Magus capital was originally adjacent to a capital representing the Temptation of St. Anthony (63), now located in Vézelay's *Musée lapidaire*. The juxtaposition of the two may partially explain the enduring appeal of the Simon Magus capital as a "Vision of Anthony". Salet and Adhémar tentatively identify nave capital 63 as the Temptation of St. Anthony (*La Madeleine*, 189); Diemer identifies the capital as such without reservation ("Stil und Ikonographie," 345); as do Saulnier and Stratford (*Sculpture oubliée de Vézelay*, 121) and Salet (*Cluny et Vézelay*, 158).

years and where he struggled with demons.[42] The two figures on either side of the capital

might represent the saint's many disciples. Yet Athanasius specifies that Anthony's

disciples did not witness his battles with demons in the fort.

The capital's subject, I will here argue, can be identified as the Fall of Simon

Magus. The story does not derive from the Bible, though in the book of Acts (8: 9-25) it

is related how Simon offered to purchase the powers of the Holy Spirit from Peter.[43]

After the saint condemned the magician for his hubris, Simon then beseeched the apostles

to pray to God on his behalf that he might not be damned. No response is recorded, nor

is the magician mentioned again. This brief episode was elaborated in a number of

works, including apocryphal acts of the apostles that enjoyed a wide audience during the

Middle Ages.[44] In Justin the Martyr's *Apologies*, which date to just after the year 150,

Simon travels to Rome during the reign of Claudius and, with the aid of demons,

performs a number of miracles.[45] The city's citizens are so impressed, according to

Justin, that they erect a statue of the magician on an island in the Tiber that bore the

inscription: *Simoni deo sancto*.[46] Justin cites the magician as an example of a human

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[42] PL 173, 133-34; cf. the Greek text in *Athanese d'Alexandre: Vie d'Antoine*, ed. J.M. Bartelink, Paris, 1994, 166-72. For an English translation see *Athanasius: The Life of Anthony and Letter to Marcellinus*, trans. R.C. Gregg, The Classics of Western Spirituality, Toronto, 1980, 40-41.

[43] Several early Byzantine Psalters illustrate Psalm 51:9 (*ecce homo qui non posuit Deum adiutorem suum sed speravit in multitudine divitiorum suarum*) with an illustration of Peter dispersing Simon's gold (S. Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques de 15 psautiers medievaux à illustrations integral issues du text*, Paris, 1978).

[44] On this point see, for example, J.M.A. Salles-Dabadie, *Recherches sur Simon le Mage*, Paris, 1969, 124-40.

[45] Saint Justin, *Apologies*, ed. and trans. A. Wartelle, Paris, 1987, 130-32 (I.26,4); 176 (I.56,2); 216 (II.15,2). For the date of the Apologies see *Iustini martyris apologiae pro christianis*, ed. M. Marcovich, Berlin and New York, 1994, 11.

[46] There is no archaeological evidence for such a statue, although this legend was widely believed during the Middle Ages. P. Lugano, "Le memorie leggendarie di Simon Mago e della sua volata," *Nuovo bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 6 (1900): 29-66; see also R. Lefevre, "Simon Mago sepulto all'Ariccia," *Urbe* 53 (1993): 19-21.

undeservedly worshipped as a god by the Romans, for only Christ had fulfilled

prophecies of divinity.[47] Confrontations between Simon and the apostles in Rome are

described in other texts, some including accounts of the magician's Flight and Fall from a

wooden tower on the Campus Martius.[48] Perhaps the most widely read version of this

story appears in the *Passio Petri et Pauli*, part of the fifth-century *De bello judaico* that

was sometimes falsely attributed to Ambrose.[49] In this text, the magician, a favorite of

Nero, challenges Peter's and Paul's apostolic authority by claiming divine powers. A

contest of miracles ensues between the men of God and the magician. The confrontation

reaches a climax when the magician boasts that he can fly from atop a tower with the aid

of his angels (*angelos*),[50] creatures that Peter and Paul dub "demons."[51] As the magician

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[47]For the role of Simon in Justin's writings see L.W. Bernard, *Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought*, Cambridge, 1967, 16, 129.

[48]A number of Syriac, Slavic, and other versions circulated: A. de Santos Otero, "Jüngere Apostelakten," in *Neutestamentliche Apokrypha in deutsche Übersetzung*, vol. 2, ed. W. Schneemelcher, Tübingen, 1989, 392-99; É. Amann, "Simon le Magicien," in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 14, pt. 2, Paris, 1941, 2132-37; R. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1891, viii-xi.

[49]Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta apocrypha*, 119-77 (cf. PL 15, 2068-70). For dating of text see A. de Santos Otero, "Jüngere Apostelakten," 394. E. Peterson argues that the encounter between Peter and Simon relates to eschatalogical currents in Christian thought at the beginning of the second century ("Das Martyrium des Hl. Peterus nach der Petrus-Apokalypse," in *Miscellanea Giulio Belvederi*, Vatican City, 1954, 183-84). Other versions of this legend circulated. The *Actus Petri cum Simoni*, which nowhere mentions Paul, relates that Peter's prayer provoked Simon's Fall (in Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta apocrypha*, 32; see also W. Schneemelcher, "Petrusakten," in *Neutestamentliche Apokrypha*, 261). Several apocryphal acts of Peter circulated in the second century, which make no mention of Simon. See, for example, J. Brashler and D.M. Parrot, "The Acts of Peter," in *Nag Hammadi Codices V2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, ed. D.M. Parrot, Leiden, 1979, 473-93. The reading for Saint Peter in the thirteenth-century *Golden Legend* notes that Nero dedicates a statue inscribed *Simoni deo Sancto*. As in earlier *Acta*, the encounter between Peter and Simon is protracted: Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. T. Graesse, Paris, 1845, 370-73. For English translation see *The Golden Legend*, vol. 1, trans. W. G. Ryan, Princeton, 1993, 343-44. For sources of Voragine's vita of Peter, see A. Boureau, *La légende dorée: Le système narratif de Jacque de Voragine (†1298)*, Paris, 1984, 91, 100; K.-E. Geith, "Jacque de Voragine--auteur indépendent ou compilateur?" in *Legenda aurea--la Légende dorée (XIIIe-XVe s.)*, ed. B.-Dunn-Lardeau, Montreal, 1993, 17-23, 30-31; R. Rhein, *Die Legend aurea des Jacobus de Voragine: Die Entfaltung von Heiligkeit in "Historia" und "Doctrina"*, Vienna, 1995, 21-43. See also A. Mussafia and T. Gartner, *Altfranzösische Prosalegenden aus der Hs. Der Pariser National Bibliothek Fr. 818*, Vienna and Lepzig, 1895, 16-18. This southern, Old French version incorporates many stock elements: Nero, a tower on the Campus Martius, etc.

[50]Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta apocrypha*, 145.

begins his flight, an amazed crowd venerates him as divine. In response, Peter calls upon

God to interrupt Simon's flight so that the people do not believe it to be a reflection of

His will, whereupon the magician immediately plummets to the ground and perishes.

Simon's supporters become enraged and demand the execution of the apostles. Nero

orders that Peter be crucified and Paul, because he is a Roman citizen, be decapitated.

The restive posture of the central figure atop a tower on the Vézelay capital helps

to identify him as Simon Magus at the moment of his Fall. The winged demons that

torture him by pulling at his beard and hair recall the creatures that aided the magician in

his flight. Elaborate drillwork decorating the hem, cuffs, and collar of Simon's garments

convey a richness of fabric appropriate to a court magician and that contrasts the more

ascetic garb of the figures represented on either side of the capital. On the left, Paul,

distinguished by his balding forehead, stands in an attitude of prayer. Opposite him,

Peter is represented in a similar posture and is distinguished by a Roman tonsure, known

in the Middle Ages as the *tonsura Petri* in contrast to the Celtic style, pejoratively dubbed

the "Simon Magus".[52] The distinctive hairstyles of Peter and Paul are replicated in

almost identical fashion on a narthex capital (9, fig. 48), on which the apostles are

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[51]For example, Peter makes the following statement to Simon as he is flying: "Adiuro vos, angeli Satanae, qui eum in aer fertis ad dicipiendum hominum infidelium corda, per deum creatorem omnium et per Iesum Chrsitum quem tertia die a mortuis suscitauit, ut eum ex hac hora iam non feratis, sed dimittatis illum," ibid., 167. In the *Golden Legend*, Peter asks God, for example, to reveal Simon as a "figmenta dyaboli" (Gaesse, *Legenda*, 373). The same wording is used by Jean de Mailly in his *Abrevatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum* (1225-30; Universitätsbibliothek Basel, MS.B.III, 14, fol. 31; transcribed in Geith, "Jacque de Voragine," 21). G. Poupon argues that the presence of demons in the apocryphal acts relates to late antique cosmography ("L'accusation de magie dans les actes apocryphes," in *Les actes apocryphes des apôtres: Chritianisme et monde paien*, Paris, 1981, 80-84).

[52]*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford, 1969, 550; H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Bede and the 'English People,'" *Journal of Religious History* 11 (1981): 509-11; A. Ruthner, "Tonsur," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 8. Munich, 1996, 861-62; Smith, *De tonsura clericorum*, PL 95, 327-333; L. Trichet, *La tonsure: Vie et mort d'un pratique ecclesiastique*, Paris, 1990, 19 and *passim*. Peter's tonsure was a distinguishing attribute for the saint in Western art (C.K. Carr, "Aspects of the Iconography of Saint Peter in Medieval Art of Western Europe to the Early Thirteenth Century," Ph.D. diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1978, 12-13). See also the comments on hair in chapter 4.

identified clearly by carved inscriptions. In addition, Peter is represented on another nave

capital with a Roman tonsure (67, fig. 36). It might be objected that Peter's undecorated

tunic on the Simon Magus capital is too short to be decorous for either an apostle or

monk, but contemporary sculptures at Vézelay feature saints in similar clothing. On a

nave capital of the Temptation of Benedict (31, fig. 19), for example, the protagonist

wears a tunic that falls just below the knee. Moreover, the deep undercutting of the hem

of Peter's tunic recalls the windswept garments of the apostles in the Pentecost

tympanum (fig. 4).

Although it postdates construction of the nave, a narthex capital (9, figs. 48-49)

provides indirect confirmation of the Simon Magus identification.[53] The central face of

this capital features the apostles resurrecting a youth killed by a curse from Simon

Magus, an episode that precedes the Flight of the magician in one written account.[54] On

the right side of the capital, a crowned, enthroned Nero holds a staff in one hand and with

the other he tethers an animal, perhaps a dog, mentioned in some texts, which Simon

Magus conjured up to attack the apostles. The bearded figure that addresses Nero, in

fact, may be Simon Magus, especially as the figure's garment has elaborately decorated

cuffs and collar that recall those of the magician on the nave capital of his Fall. It is clear

in a number of instances that sculptors of the narthex repeated subjects carved in the

nave, including Joseph and Potiphar's Wife (nave 85, narthex 6), the Blessing of Jacob

by Isaac (nave 30, narthex 7), and the Temptation of Benedict (nave 31, fig. 9; narthex

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[53] Aubert, *Richesses*, 16; Berland, "Essai d'interprétation d'un chapiteau de Vézelay: la légende de saint Bénigne," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1971): 65-69; Carr, "Aspects," 129-30; Despiney, *Guide*, 92; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 215, 391-99; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 15; Porée, *Vézelay*, 36-37; Porter, *Pilgrimage*, pl. 36; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 164; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 196-97. For text see Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta apocrypha*, 74-78. Diemer's interpretation of this iconography, which follows Porter's, is most compelling in view of the visual evidence.

[54] Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta apocrypha*, 72-78 (cf. R.A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichte und Apostellegenden. Ein Beitrag zur altchristlichen Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 2, pt. 1, Braunschweig, 1887, 174-94).

11, fig. 40). Moreover, a narthex capital of Benedict Resurrecting a Youth (narthex 20, fig. 54) adds to the corpus of scenes from Benedict's life which appear in the nave. The close iconographic associations among the capitals of the two building campaigns suggests that the narthex capital featuring the miracle of Peter and Paul may have been conceived as a pendant to the Fall of Simon Magus capital in the nave.[55]

Scrutiny of medieval representations of the Fall of Simon Magus further support this identification for the Vézelay nave capital. The earliest known example of the

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[55]The choice of narrative on this narthex capital may have been further influenced by the sepulchral connotations of the surrounding space. The theme of resurrection on this capital as well as others in the narthex--Benedict's Resurrection of a Youth (20; fig. x) and the Raising of Lazarus (38; fig. x)--may metaphorically allude to the resurrection accompanying the Last Judgment and the eternal life of the heavenly kingdom. Although no medieval document of which I am aware directly addresses the function of Vézelay's narthex , it is clear that this space was often used for lay burials in the Middle Ages at other sites: M.T. Darling, "The Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture of Perrecy-les-Forges," vol. 1, Ph.D. diss. University of Michigan, 1994, 85-86; P. Gardette, "GALILAEA, <<porche, narthex, galerie à l'entrée d'une église>>," *Revue de linguistique romane* 18 (1954): 112-15; J. Hubert, "Les galilées des églises monastiques de Déols et de Vouillon," *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire*, vol. 2, Poitiers, 1966, 843. Recent excavations at Cluny III attest to tombs of men and women in the narthex from at least the thirteenth century: G. Rollier, "Les fouilles archéologiques de l'avant nef," *Cahiers du Musée d'art et d'archéologie de Cluny* 1 (1996): 18-19; see also D. Poeck, "Laienbegräbnisse in Cluny," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 15 (1981): 68-179. Documents from Flavigny, St. Denis, and Souvigny attest to lay burials in narthexes: for Flavigny see PL 154, 211; for St. Denis see S.M. Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis from its Beginnings to the Death of Suger, 475-1151*, ed. P. Blum, New Haven, 1987, 323-24; for Souvigny see W. Cahn, "Souvigny: Some Problems of its architecture and sculpture," *Gesta* 27 (1988): 57. There is record of lay burials, of a later date, in Vézelay's nave; see, for example, Merimée, *Notes*, 61; Turgot, *Histoire*, 237; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 169. The theme of resurrection permeates Vézelay's liturgical readings for the saints carved in the narthex. That for the feast of the *Cathedra sancti Petri* on February 22, for example, stresses the power of God over death through the agency of the church: "Quae autem sunt portae mortis, hoc est portae inferi nisi singula quaeque peccata? Si fornicatus fueris, portas mortis ingressus es. Si fidem laeseris, portas penetrasti inferi. Si peccatum mortale conmiseris, portas mortis intrasti. Sed potens est deus, qui exaltet te de portis mortis, ud adnunties omnes laudes eius in portis filiae Sion. Portae autem ecclesiae portae castitatis sunt, portae iustitiae, quas iustus intrare consueuit dicens: aperite mihi portas iustitiae et ingressus in eas confitebor domino" (Ambrose, *Traité sur l'évangile de s. Luc*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. G. Tissot, Paris, 1956, 262; cf. Lyon, B.M. 0555, fols. 252f). Similarly the reading for the the feast of the beheading of John the Baptist's, who is represented on the central trumeau of the nave façade, stresses the saint's resurrection from the dead: "Qui bene intellexit mortuum posse hominem resuscitari ad vitam, bene de resurrectionis gloria sensit, qui justos post resurrectionem majoris potentiae quos mortalis fragilitas capit..." (Bede, *Homilia XX*, PL 94, 238; cf. Lyon, B.M. 0555, fol. 362). Galileae were not exclusively sepulchral spaces. The studies of C. Heitz, for example, have demonstrated how narthexes were associated with the Holy Sepulchre in the Carolingian period; these spaces played an especially important role in Pascal liturgy (*Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à l'époque carolingienne*, Paris, 1963, 77-113). Early in the eighteenth century, E. Martene relates that the narthex of Vézelay was formerly the place of penitents (*Voyage litteraire de deux religieux benedictins de la congregation de Saint Maur*, Paris, 1717-24, 53).

iconography is found in a now-lost mosaic cycle of the oratory of Pope John VII (705-707) in Rome's Old St. Peter's, known only through a sixteenth-century drawing by Giacomo Grimaldi (fig. 59).[56] In the drawing's upper register, Peter, identifiable by the large keys he holds, speaks to the diminutively scaled peoples of Jerusalem and Antioch, cities synechdotally signified by towers. Peter's preaching at Rome is similarly represented on the left side of the drawing's middle register. To the right of this scene, Peter, Paul, and Simon Magus stand before an enthroned Nero. All these figures are clearly identified by inscriptions. On the left side of the drawing's lower register, Nero and an attendant look up toward the flying "Magus". Simon is represented a second time directly below, falling to his death. Above him, rays burst forth from a roundel, presumably indicating divine sanction or provocation of the magician's demise. To the right of the falling Magus, one haloed figure gestures toward the tower from which Simon began his flight and another kneels in an attitude of prayer. The latter, who appears to be balding, may be tentatively identified as Paul. At the far right of the drawing's lower register, the two apostles are martyred. Although it is impossible to know with certainty the original disposition of the Peter cycle in the oratory apse, Grimaldi's drawing is significant for its record of various iconographic elements of an innovative and influential program.

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[56]Cod. Vat. Barb. lat. 2733, fol. 89; reproduced in J. Grimaldi, *Descrizione della basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano: Codice Barberini latino 2733*, ed. R. Niggl, Vatican City, 1972, 118. Grimaldi's verbal description of the scene is found on Vat. Barb. lat. 2733, fol. 220; *Descrizione*, 251. The most detailed analysis of this drawing is found in A. Weis, "Ein Petruszyklus des 7. Jahrhunderts im Querschiff der Vatikanischen Basilika," *Römische Quartalschrift* 58 (1963): 244-59. For Grimaldi's work as an archaeologist see R. Niggl, "Giacamo Grimaldi (1568-1623): Leben und Werk des römischen Archäologen und Historiker," Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Üniversität, Munich, 1971, 60-70. For a list of drawings related to John's Oratorium, see S. Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom*, Vienna and Munich, 1954, 68-69. For the mosaic fragments surviving from the oratorium, see J. Wilpert and W.N. Schumacher, *Die Mosaiken der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV.-XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg, 1976 [1916], 332-34. Wilpert and Schumacher argue that the right wall of John VII's oratorium, which was not drawn by Grimaldi, probably elaborated the Peter cycle (*Mosaiken*, 71). Earlier sarcophagi featured other episodes from the encounters between Peter and Simon. See, for example, G. Stuhlfauth, *Die apokryphen Petrusgeschichten in der altchristlichen Kunst*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1925, 3-9 and *passim*.

The Carolingian murals in the north apse of the church at St. John at Müstair

include a Peter cycle that is remarkably similar to Grimaldi's drawing (fig. 60).[57] The

figures of Peter and Paul located below the apse's window, for example, stand before the

tower in postures that strongly resemble poses adopted by the same figures in John VII's

oratorium. Much of the apse's decoration was covered by Romanesque renovations, but

the twelfth-century paintings seem to follow the Carolingian models rather closely.[58] A

portion of the original painting that is today visible features winged demons, creatures

that do not appear in Grimaldi's drawing, but which recall the demons of the *Passio Petri*

et Pauli. The winged creatures that aid Simon Magus in the Müstair mural appear in

almost all subsequent representations of the scene, such as a miniature in a late tenth-

century manuscript illuminated at Prüm, undoubtedly that mentioned in the monastery's

inventory of 1003.[59] This miniature chiefly differs from the Müstair frescos in that the

winged demons are shown supporting Simon Magus in flight rather than releasing him to

his death.[60] Two miniatures in Ottonian sacramentaries from Fulda (fig. 61) resemble the

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[57]L. Birchler, "Zur karolingishen Architektur und Malerei in Münster-Müstair," in *Frühmittelalterliche Kunst in den Alpenländern*, Olten and Lausanne, 1954, 221; Weis, "Petruszyklus," 265-66. C.R. Dodwell argues that the Carolingian frescos are hard to date because of the dearth of comparative material (*The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800-1200*, New Haven, 1993, 45-46). G. de Francovich dates the painting to just before 805 ("Il Ciclo Pittorico di San Giovanni a Münster (Müstair) Nei Grigoni," *Arte Lombarda* 2 (1956): 28; idem, "Problemi della pittura e della sculture preromanica," in *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo II, I problemi communi dell'Europa post-carolingia*, Spoleto, 1954, 435-54). P. Toesca dates the murals to the late-ninth century (*Le pitture e le miniature nella Lombardia*, Milan, 1912, 33-35). The frescos were restored between 1947-51.

[58]Birchler, "Münster-Müstair," 186, 224; B. Brenk, "Die Romanische Wandmalerei in der Schweiz," *Basler Studien zur Kunstgeschichte* 5 (1963): 46-49. Birchler dates the Romanesque frescos to no later than 1180; Brenk dates them to c. 1170 ("Wandmalerei," 29); O. Demus dates the Romanesque frescos to after 1163, the year of a significant donation to the monastery (*Romanische Wandmalerei*, Munich, 1968, 130).

[59]Paris, B.N. lat. 9448, fol. 54v. See Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Illumination*, vol. 1, 48; Janet Theresa Marquardt, "Illustrations of Troper Texts: the painted miniatures of the Prüm Troper-Gradual, Paris Latin MS 9448," Ph.D. diss. U.C.L.A., 1986, 125-30. For inventory entry see B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, Munich, 1967, 81.

[60] A cloak of a slightly later date known as the *Kunigundemantel* contains a Peter cycle that includes a scene of the Fall (W. Messerer, *Der Bamberger Domschatz*, Munich, 1952, 60-61).

Müstair composition, with the chief difference being that the falling figure of Simon is represented directly in front of the tower, instead of to its side.[61]

Romanesque sculptures of the Flight and Fall present even wider variations in their iconography. On the east face of a cloister capital at Moissac, an enthroned figure is identified by the inscription "NERO" (fig. 62).[62] To the emperor's left, a head peers out from behind a tower. Because the other sides of the capital represent the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, it seems likely that the small carved head represents Simon Magus, perhaps in flight.[63] In a cycle of the two saints' lives at the church of Sta. Maria in Ripoll, one of the west portal's archivolt blocks signifies Simon's Fall through the figure's inversion as the two apostles and two horned demons look on. The tower, which features so prominently in most other representations, appears nowhere on Ripoll's

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[61]Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. theol. 231, fol. 93; Udine, Biblioteca capitolare, ms. 1 (formerly cod. 76, V), fol. 47v. For a discussion of Fulda minatures, see E. Palazzo, *Les sacramentaires de Fulda*, Munster, 1994, 90-91, figs. 44, 117; see also G. Richter and A. Schoenfelder, *Sacramentarium Fuldense*, in *Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Abtei in der Diozese Fulda*, vol. 9, Fulda, 1912, pl. 31.

[62] E. Rupin identifies the head behind Nero as a devil (*L'abbaye et les cloitres de Moissac*, Société Archéologique de la Corrèze, 1897, 248 (repr. Éditions "Les Monédières," 1981, 248). For Simon Magus identification see L.L. Franklin, "Moissac: The martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 88 (1976): 219-20. See also Carr, "Aspects,: 160-65; T. Droste, *Die Skulpturen von Moissac: Gestalt und Funktion romanischer Bauplastik*, Munich, 1996, 85-86, 93; M. Schapiro, *The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac*, New York, 1985, 2, fig. 87; L. Rutchick, "Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister: Benedictine Culture, Memory Systems and Liturgical Performance," Ph. D. diss., University of Chicago, 1991, 273, 290.

[63]A relief at Sessa Arunca features the magician, supported by demons, with one foot on the tower and the other off. Peter and Paul seem to look on from the side. For this relief see D. Glass, "The Archivolt Sculpture at Sessa Arunca," *Art Bulletin* 52 (1970): 128-29; eadem., *Romanesque Sculpture in Campania*, University Park, 1991, 153, 177; E. Bertaux, *L'Art dans L'Italie Meridionale*, vol. 2, Paris and Rome, 1968 [1903], 773. The portal dates to circa 1200. Glass stresses the importance of Sessa for the later Peter cycle which appeared on the portico of Old St. Peters in Rome. This destroyed cycle also featured a Fall of Simon Magus, which was recorded by Grimaldi (Vat. Cod. Barb. lat, 2733, fol. 162r; Niggl, *Descrizione*, 201). Wilpert argues that Grimaldi's drawing was based on a sketch in the Archivo S. Pietro, Album, fol. 41 (*Mosaiken*, 66-67). It is interesting to note that both these drawings, of the thirteenth-century fresco, show winged demons next to Simon Magus, in contrast to the mosaics of the John VII's oratorium which do not show these creatures. For the dating of the portico fresco to the third quarter of the thirteenth century see A. Muñoz, "Le pitture del portico della vecchia Basilica Vatican e la loro datazione," *Nuovo Bollettino di Archeologia Cristiana* 19 (1913): 175ff.; R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308*, Princeton, 1980, 209. The Old St. Peters portico cycle, in turn, has been viewed as extremely influential (J. White, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1250-1400*, 3rd ed., New Haven, 1993, 182, 191, 198 [with bibliography]).

façade. In this way the scene strongly resembles representations of the Fall on a number

of earlier Irish crosses, such as one at Monasterboice.[64] These crosses differ from

Ripoll's façade, however, in that they feature no other scenes from the *Passio*

apostolorum. Other Romanesque carvings similarly isolate Simon's Flight and Fall,

making no reference to Peter's and Paul's martyrdom,[65] including two capitals at Autun

(figs. 63-64).[66] The Autun Flight capital features Peter, Paul, a tower, and Simon flying

with Icarus-like wings attached to his limbs, instead of being supported by demons. On

the Fall capital a demon stands opposite Peter and Paul and grins as an inverted Simon

plummets to his demise.[67]

In some Romanesque sculpted examples only one of the apostles appears with

Simon Magus. A relief from the Porte Miégeville of St. Semin, Toulouse, features the

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[64]A. K. Porter, *The Crosses and Culture of Ireland*, New Haven, 1931, 123. The east face of the tall or west Monasterboice Cross features a similar composition, without demons. Porter suggested that the Cross's panel could represent Patrick and Loegaire casting down the wizard Lochru, although he favored an identification as Simon Magus ("An Egyptian Legend in Ireland," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 5 (1928): 12, n. 18). This relief has recently been misidentified as "Anthony and Paul (?)"(P. Harbison, *Irish High Crosses*, Drogheda, 1995, 92).

[65]A late eleventh-century mural cycle at St. Peter's in Tuscany includes a Fall of Simon within a Peter cycle (Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, 122; Dodwell, *Pictorial Arts*, 175-76, 181; C.-A. Isermeyer, "Die Mittelalterlichen Malereien der Kirche S. Pietro in Tuscania," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 2 (1938): fig. 256; G. Matthiaae, *Pittura Romana del Medioevo*, vol. 2, Rome, 1965, 30-32;). In later Simon Magus imagery, such as windows at Bourges and Chartres, the Fall is often isolated from the Flight (C. Manhes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres. Étude iconographique*, Corpus vitrearum: France-Études II, Paris, 1993, 304). Mosaics at the Cappella Palatina and at Monreale feature Simon upside down, having been released by two demons. Peter gestures toward a schematic tower beneath the magician. For illustrations, see O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London, 1950, figs. 37, 83. Both bear the inscription (Monreale in an abbreviated form): "HIC PRAECEPTO PETRI ORATIONE PAULI SIMON MAGUS CECIDIT IN TERRAM." For a recent reconsideration of the dating of the Capella Palatina mosaics, see W. Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo*, Princeton, 1997, 62-68. A similar representation to these examples is found in a fresco of S. Pietro in Piarezza, attributed to a collaborator of Jaquerio (illustrated in G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North West Italy*, Florence, 1985, fig. 763).

[66]Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, 75, pls. 35, 38.

[67] W.R. Cook argues that a portal capital at Neuilly-en-Donjon represents the Fall of Simon Magus ("Neuilly-en-Donjon, " 339-40). However, the figure in question wears mail, a traditional attribute of the vice *superbia* (e.g., the tympanum of Conques). Moreover, as is common in medieval iconography, this vice is juxtaposed with the Punishment of Calumny on the Neuilly capital (cf. A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art*, London, 1939).

magician, clearly inscribed as the "MAGUS", supported by two winged demons (fig. 65).[68] The arcade beneath the magician may signify the tower from which he began his flight. Directly above this relief, stands a large figure of Peter, whose visually elevated position suggests his impending victory over Simon Magus, which is described in accompanying inscriptions. The exclusion of Paul in these reliefs more closely parallels the account given in the *Actus Petri cum Simoni*, in which Peter alone vanquishes his enemy.[69] A textual source, however, does not seem to account for the iconography of a badly damaged relief at Saint-Paul-de-Varrax,[70] on which the figure of Peter is excluded. The focus on Paul here suggests that the sculptor felt at liberty to depart from written sources in order to visually emphasize this ecclesiastical foundation's patron saint.

Viewed in relation to other carved Romanesque examples, the Vézelay capital stresses several aspects of the Simon Magus story. Unlike the examples from St. Sernin and Saint-Paul-de-Varrax, the symmetrical arrangement and attitudes of the apostles on the capital emphasizes the joint effort of Peter and Paul to overcome their adversary. Yet this capital does not merely present a simple binary of good and evil for, depending upon the vantage point, the magician at center is viewed in relation to one or both of the apostles, inviting suggestive comparisons. A sermon of Pseudo-Augustine, read at Cluny and Vézelay on the June 30 feast commemorating Saint Paul states:

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[68]P. Deschamps, *French Sculpture of the Romanesque Period, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, New York, 1972, pl. 10B. For discussion of the relief's inscription, which stresses the magician's demise, see C. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions*, Toronto, 1998, 287.

[69] See n. 49 above.

[70]J.-C. Collet, *Les églises romanes de la Dombes*, Éditions de Trevoux, 1978, 55; Porter, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 1, pl. 86; J. Vallery-Radot, "Saint-Paul de Varax," *Congrès archéologique de France* 98 (1935): 258.

> The One who made Paul out of Saul, who made Peter out of Simon. That One honored you both, that One will crown you both.[71]

The sermon stresses that Peter was recognized as the rock, *petrus*, upon which Christ would build his church, but its emphatic inclusion of the name Simon suggests that the human sinner is not completely erased by this transformation. In fact, throughout the Gospels Christ rebukes Peter by referring to him as Simon, suggesting that as a human he is still liable to sin. A similar dynamic is eloquently manifest in relation not to Peter but to Paul in the abacus of the cloister capital from Moissac, discussed above, which has the following carved inscription:

> MARTIRIO S(an)C(tu)S PE [capital corner] TRE MARTIRIO
> S(an)C(tu)S P [corner] AULE SAULE SA [corner]ULE QU(id) ME
> P(e)RSEQ(u)ER(is)
>
> (Martyrdom of Saint Peter, Martyrdom of Saint Paul; "Saul, Saul why persecutest thou me?" [Acts 9, 4]).

The placement of these inscriptions plays with the vocative ending 'AULE', which can be transformed by either the addition of an 'P' or a 'S', and thus evokes Paul/Saul's two personae.[72] On the Vézelay capital, the suggestive juxtaposition of Peter/Simon with Simon Magus invites nuanced comparisons, which might provoke a viewer to ponder the Paul/Saul dynamic as well.

A more idiosyncratic feature of the Vézelay capital is that Simon Magus seems tortured, rather than supported or dropped, by demons. The unusually active role given to these creatures on the Vézelay capital appears to be without precedent. A later panel painting attributed to Jacobello, now in the Denver Art Museum, features demons tormenting the magician in mid-air,[73] as does a badly damaged fresco by Cimabue in the

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[71] "Qui fecit ex Saulo Paulum, ipse fecit ex Simone Petrum. Unus vos honoravit, unus vos coronabit" (*Sermo CCIV*, PL 139, 2124; cf. Lyon, B.M. 0555, fol. 299). This reading seems to have been widespread among monasteries of the Cluniac order (Elvert, *Clavis,* 62; Étaix, "Lectionnaire," 118).

[72] I. Forsyth has worked extensively on the Moissac capital and I thank her for her insights.

[73]Illustrated in G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy,* Florence, 1978, fig.

upper church of San Francis in Assisi, known primarily through the nineteenth-century drawings of J.A. Ramboux (fig. 66).[74] It is possible that these works are based upon a lost model, but it should be noted that the active role of demons on the Vézelay capital has parallels within the monastery's corpus of sculpture. The grimacing demons in the nave capitals of the Rape of Ganymede (12) and of Moses and the Golden Calf (56), for example, are without precedent in the Christian iconographic tradition.[75] Several art historians have argued that the demons' presence on these capitals encourages a moralistic interpretation of their subject matters. Indeed, contemporary Cluniac authors, such as Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Cluny, embellish their writings with combative demons, to a degree unusual even for the twelfth century, in order to convey moralizing messages.[76] The aggressive role played by the demons on Vézelay's Simon

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1093.

[74]H. Belting, *Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi*. Berlin, 1977, 56, fig. 50; B. Kleinschmidt, *Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi*. Berlin, 1926, 47-48, fig. 22; White, *Italy*,178-82. For Ramboux's drawings from Assisi see H.-J. Ziemke, "Ramboux und Assisi," *Städel-Jahrbuch*, n.s. 3 (1971): 161-212.

[75] For the Rape of Ganymede capital see: J. Adhémar, "L'enlèvement de Ganymède sur un châpiteau de Vézelay," *Bulletin monumental* 91 (1932): 290-92; idem, *Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen âge français*, London, 1937, 222-23; M. Aubert, *Richesses d'art. La Bourgogne. Sculpture*, vol. 1, Paris, 1930, 17; Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 253; Crosnier, "Iconographie," 223; Despiney, *Guide*, 124; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 113, 282-85; I. Forsyth, "The Ganymede Capital at Vézelay," *Gesta* 15 (1976): 241-6; Mâle, *Twelfth Century*, 366; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 25; Porée, *L'abbaye*, 62-63; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 153; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 182-83; W. Weisbach, *Religiöse Reform und mittelalterliche Kunst*, Zurich, 1945, 45-47. For the Golden Calf capital see: Aubert, *Richesses*, 17; Calmette and David, *Grandes Heures*, 242; Crosnier, "Iconographie," 221-222; Despiney, *Guide*, 133; Diemer, "Stil und Iconographie," 102, 336; F. Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge: Signification et symbolique*. Paris, 1982, pl. 20; L. Link, *The Devil: The Archfiend in Art From the Sixth to the Sixteenth Century*, New York, 1995; 20; Mâle, *Twelfth Century*, 370-71; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 22; Porée, *L'abbaye*, 59-60; Porter, *Pilgrimage*, pl. 39; Salet, Cluny et Vézelay, 119; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 188; Sazama, "Assertion," 191-92; Terret, *Cluny*, 62-62; Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 2, 487-89; idem, *Monographie de l'ancienne église abbatiale de Vézelay*, Paris, 1873, 24.

[76]For emphasis on demons in Peter the Venerable's writings, see D. Bouthier and J.-P. Torrel, *Pierre la Venerable et sa vision du monde*, Paris, 1986, 146-47; J. Leclercq, *Pierre le Vénerable*, Saint-Wandrille, 1946; J.P.V. Patin and J. Le Goff, "A propos de la typologie des miracles dans le *Liber de miraculis* de Pierre le Vénérable," *Pierre Abélard Pierre le Vénérable: Les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en occident au milieu du XIIe siècle*, Paris, 1975, 185-86. The correlation between the demonic imagery of Peter the Venerable's *De miraculis* and the sculpture of Vézelay has been noted (Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 134). Bernard of Cluny's poem *De contemptu mundi*, written during Peter the Venerable's abbacy, contains much vivid demonic imagery, including: "Visio daemonis illaque Gorgonis ora rigescunt; Omnibus omnia foeda vel impia facta patescunt./ Gens mala vermibus haud morientibus

Magus capital can thus be construed in a similar manner, as an admonition against the heresy of simony.

Throughout the Middle Ages, Simon's name was synonymous with the uncanonical practice of purchasing ecclesiastical offices.[77] As Geoffrey of Vendôme succinctly stated in a correspondence with Pope Calixtus II: "Simon Magus is not just a great heretic, but the first and worst."[78] The handful of surviving documents from Vézelay that directly address the *heresis simoniaca*, the eradication of which was central to ecclesiastical reforms of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, clearly align the monastery with papal reform efforts of the early twelfth century. One of Julian of Vézelay's sermons censures simony: "Justice keeps her hand away from all gifts; she condemns Simon and inflicts Gehazi with leprosy."[79] Gehazi, a servant of the prophet Elisha, furtively sought remuneration from the Syrian commander Namaan when his master had refused money for curing the foreigner's leprosy (4 Kings 5). When Elisha learned of Gehazi's action, he inflicted his servant with leprosy. This story, according to many medieval theologians, can be typologically associated with Simon Magus's attempt to

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instimulatur,/ atque draconibus igne flagrantibus excruciatur (There is the sight of the devil, and the faces of the Gorgon are turned to stone. All shameful or impious deeds are manifest to all. The wicked race is goaded on by undying serpents and tormented by dragons glowing with fire)" (*Scorn for the World: Bernard of Cluny's* De Contemptu Mundi, ed. and trans. R. E. Pepin, East Lansing, 1991, 42-43).

[77]See, for example, Augustine's *De haeresibus* (L.G. Müller, *The "De Haeresibus" of Saint Augustine: A Translation with an Introduction and Commentary*, Patristic Studies 90, Washington, D.C., 1956, 62-64). Augustine relates that Peter destroyed Simon Magus in Rome, without specifying the means: "Quas a Romae tanquam deorum simulacra auctoritate publica constituerat. In qua urbe apostolus Petrus eum vera virtute Dei omnipotentis exstinxit."

[78] "Igitur Simon magus non tantum haereticus, sed haereticorum primus et pessimus extitit" (PL 157, 218).

[79]"Haec [Prudence] excutit manus suas ab omni munera; haec Simonem damnat et Giezi lepra perfundit" (*Sermons*, vol. 2, 552; cf. Odilo, *Sermo XI*, PL 142, 1022). Julian's wording resembles that of Rather of Verona, who also stresses the punishment of Simon and relates it to the leprosy of Geizi. See, for example, his *Excerptum ex Dialogo Confessionali*, in CCCM 46A, eds. P.L.D. Reid et al., Turnholt, 1984, 219-65; *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona*, trans. P.L.D. Reid, New York, 1991, 271-314. Vorreux does not list Rather as one of Julian's sources, and I would not make a claim of direct influence. For a discussion of Julian's sermons see the introductory chapter.

purchase the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Peter Damian, for one, noted that the heresy of

simony is attested to in both the Old and New Testaments by Gehazi and Simon Magus.[80]

While serving as abbot of Vézelay, Renaud wrote a *vita* of Abbot Hugh of Cluny

(1049-1109) which champions the saint as an enemy of the simoniacal heresy.[81] Renaud

relates that during the 1049 council of Reims Pope Leo IX demanded that each

participant confess whether he had purchased his office and then provides a transcription

of Hugh's somewhat ambiguous statement of innocence: "the flesh is willing, but the

spirit detests it."[82] This declaration appears elsewhere in various forms, but it seems

significant that Renaud includes it in his *vita*, for several of Hugh's biographers make no

mention of his stand against simony.[83] Moreover, Renaud stresses that Hugh was a

supporter of the antisimoniacal position of Reims through the structure of his biography's

narrative. After stating that the council's reforms were not limited to the clergy but had

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[80]PL 145, 534-35. In addition, Simon Magus was often compared with Judas (M. Kupfer, *Romanesque Wall Painting in Central France*, New Haven, 1993, 84-97).

[81] *Vita sancti Hugonis*, in Huygens, *Vizeliacensia II*, 35-36.

[82]"caro quidem consensit, sed spiritus repugnavit" (Renaud of Vézelay, *Vita sancti Hugonis*, in Huygens, *Vizeliacensia II*, 56; cf. PL 159, 903). R.W. Southern indicates that the council was poorly attended, because the King of France was absent, and that the issue of simony in regards to abbots was dropped (*The Making of the Middle Ages*, New Haven, 1953, 124-27). Scholars are divided on the significance of Hugh's statement at the council of Reims. For the statement as ambiguous see: N. Bulst, "Hugo I. von Semur," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 5, Munich and Zurich, 1980, 165; Kohlne, *Abt Hugo*, 70, 76-80; E. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser in ihrer Kirchlichen und Allgemeingeschichtlichen Wirksamkeit*, vol. 2, Halle, 1894, 447. R. Heath argues that Hugh admitted to purchasing his office (Crux Imperatorum Philosophia: *Imperial Horizons of the Cluniac Confraternitas*, 964-1109, Pittsburgh, 1976, 206). For Hugh's statement as a claim of innocence see: Cowdrey, "Two Studies," 58, n. 4; N. Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh, 1049-1109*, London, 1967, 29.

[83]Gilo's *vita*, the earliest to survive, provides a statement of innocence which recalls Matthew 26:41: "Caro voluit; spiritus repugnauit," in Cowdrey, "Two Studies," 58. Hildebert of Lavardin's biography simply states that the council of Reims was against simony (PL 159, 865-66), as does an anonymous vita (PL 159, 911-12). Hugh, a monk at Cluny, does not mention simony in his biographical account (Cowdrey, "Two Studies," 121-39; PL 159, 920-23), nor does two anonymous lives (L.M. Smith, "Ezelo's Life of Hugh of Cluny," *English Historical Studies* 27 (1912): 99-101; *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. M. Marrier, Paris, 1915 [1614], 447-62). Transcriptons of Hugh's statement of innocence are also found in the *Historia dedicationes* (PL 142, 1432) and Bruno of Segni, *Libellus de symoniacis*: "Secundum carnem quidem habui, spiritum non habui" (MGH Libelli de Lite, vol. 2, 549).

implications for kings and emperors,[84] Renaud immediately shifts to an account of the

emperor Henry IV's supplication of Gregory VII to be readmitted into the fold of the

Catholic church. This event, which took place twenty-four years after the council, is not

mentioned by any other of Hugh's biographers, and Renaud stresses the saint's role in

negotiating the reconciliation between emperor and pope.[85] At this meeting, Henry had

begged Gregory for forgiveness, seemingly conceding to the Church the unfettered ability

to determine its policy, including the assignment of ecclesiastical posts.

Scholars generally describe the relations between Hugh and Pope Gregory VII as

amicable, and it seems that the two were in agreement about most ecclesiastical

reforms.[86] In a letter to the abbot, for example, Gregory asks for help in the crusade

against the simoniacal heresy.[87] A story, which possibly originated with Hugh and which

circulated widely in Cluniac circles early in the twelfth century, told of a simoniacal

bishop who was unable to complete the *Gloria patri* at Gregory's insistence, thereby

manifesting his guilt of the heresy.[88] Although the meaning and content of Hugh's

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[84]"Huius consilium non solum de vicinis, sed etiam de remotis terrarum partibus petebatur, nec a privatis dumtaxat personis sed a magnis ordinibus regum, imperatorum, pontificum tam Romanae sedis quam aliarum multarum sedium; quibus cum tanta moderatione aequitatis respondebat, ut et deum in omnibus anteponeret et benivolum se cunctis exhiberet" (Huygens, *Vizeliacensia II*, 56).

[85]Ibid., 56-57.

[86]H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and Gregorian Reform*, Oxford, 1970, 140-56; A. Kohlne, *Abt Hugo von Cluny (1049-1109)*. Sigmaringen, 1993, 116; G. Tellenbach, *The Church in western Eurpoe from the tenth century to the early twelfth century*, trans. T. Reuter, Cambridge, 1993, 342-43. For personal relations between Gregory VII and Hugh see H.E.J. Cowdrey, "St. Hugh and Gregory," in *Le gouvernement d'Hugues de Semur à Cluny*, Cluny, 1988, 183-86. Before the eleventh century, Cluny did not take part in antisimoniacal campaigns (H. Meier-Welcker, "Die Simonie im frühen Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 64 (1952-53): 83).

[87]Gregory VII, *Registrum*, in MGH Epistolae, vol. 2, 188-90; passage cited by Cowdrey, *Gregorian Reform*, 86. In a poem dedicated to Gregory VII, the monk Amatus of Monte Cassino describes the conflicts between Peter and Simon, including the latter's fall. Demons (*daemonibus*) are mentioned at this point in the narrative (D. Anselmo Lentini, *Il poema di Amato su s. Pietro apostolo*, Miscellanea Cassinese 30, Montecassino, 1958, 134).

[88]A. Stacpoole, "Hugh of Cluny and the Hildebrandine Miracle Tradition," *Revue Bénédictine* 77 (1967): 341-45.

statement at Reims remain controversial among historians, it is significant that in the first quarter of the twelfth century there seems to have been a tradition at Vézelay which portrayed the Cluniac abbot as a crusader against simony.

The 1049 council of Reims is noted again in Vézelay's annals. The entry for this year indicates that Pope Leo IX excommunicated two simoniacal bishops.[89] Inclusion of this event seems significant because Vézelay's annals, as is typical for the genre, are extremely laconic.[90] Parallels to other annals from the region have been noted, although not for the year 1049, suggesting a deliberate choice to record the event.[91] It is, of course, interesting to note which events are included in or excluded from the annals. The foundation date of the monastery and the assassination of Artaud in 1106, for example, are not mentioned, while the dedication of Artaud's church in 1104 and a fire in 1119 are recorded. Caution should be exercised in dealing with this document, but it seems likely that events recorded therein held particular significance for the monks of Vézelay. After mention of the famed 1096 Clermont council, which launched the first crusade and which reaffirmed the reform policies of Gregory VII, Vézelay's annals next list the council of Troyes, held under Pope Paschal II in 1107.[92] This council, responding to failed negotiations between pope and emperor at Châlons-sur-Marne, primarily focused on condemning lay investiture and simony.[93] Paschal continued to pursue the reform

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[89]Auxerre, B.M. 227, fol. 14. "Leo papa. Hic habuit concilium Remis cum Gallicanis episcopis et excommunicavit simoniacos, Guillelmum Senonensem et Hugonem Lingonensem pontificali privans honore et alios multos" (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 221).

[90]D. Hay, *Annalists and Historians: Western Historiography from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Centuries*, London, 1977, 41-49.

[91]Huygens, *Monumenta*, xxii, xxv-xxvii.

[92]Ibid., 224.

[93]U.-R. Buchtal, *The Early Councils of Pope Paschal II 1100-1110*, Toronto, 1978, 76; G.M. Cantarelle, *Pasquale II e il suo tempo*, Naples, 1997, 72; A. Fiche, *Histoire de l'église*, vol. 8, Paris, 1950, 355-56; C. Servatius, *Paschalis II. (1099-1118): Studien zu seiner Person und seiner Politik*, Stuttgart, 1979, 209-14. A canon of Troyes is as follows: "Apostolica auctoritate commoniti precimus ut quicumque aliquam

policies of his predecessors, and his staunchly Gregorian policies led to conflicts with the

Holy Roman emperors.[94] Threats and insults were exchanged. Paschal argued, for

instance, that by continuing the practice of lay investiture, the emperor had defied God

and erected an idol of Simon Magus in a holy place.[95] Tensions culminated in 1111,

when Henry V imprisoned Paschal, an event recorded in Vézelay's annals.[96] Paschal

was released by the emperor only after signing away all major Gregorian reforms, save

the prohibitions on simony.[97] These concessions were quickly revoked at a Lateran

council of 1112, on the grounds that they were granted under duress.[98]

That Paschal's name appears three times in Vézelay's annals, more than any other

pope, itself suggests the importance of this pope for the monastery.[99] Abbot Renaud,

under whom much, if not all, of the abbey church was built, seemed to have been on good

terms with Paschal. The pope personally blessed the abbot upon his accession to office in

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aecclesiasticam dignitatem symoniacae accepit, dignitatem amittat aut communione fidelium careat,"
(Buchtal, *Councils of Paschal*, 95).

[94]In a letter dated 1105, for example, Paschal refers to Simon Magus in his condemnation of lay investiture
(PL 163, 174-75); passage cited by Servatius, *Paschalis II*, 174.

[95]"Nec in hac tantum parte, sed ubique, cum poteris, Henricum haereticorum caput, et ejus fautores pro
viribus persequaris. Nullum profecto gratius Deo sacrificum offere poteris, quam si cum impugnes qui se
contra Deum erexit, qui Ecclesiae Dei regnum auferre conatur, qui in loco sancto Simonis idolum statuit,
qui a principibus Dei sanctis apostolis eorumque vicarii de Ecclesiae domo sancti Spiritus judicio expulsus
est" (PL 163, 108). Passage cited by K.F. Morrison, *Tradition and Authority in the Western Church, 200-
1140*, Princeton, 1969, 325.

[96]"Henricus imperator Paschalem papam cepit et in vinculis coniecit" (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 224).

[97]U.-R. Blumenthal, "Opposition to Pope Paschal II: Some Comments on the Lateran Council of 1112,"
Annuarium historiae conciliorum 10 (1978): 83.

[98]See, for example, P.R. McKeon, "The Lateran Council of 1112, the "Heresy" of Lay Investiture, and the
Excommunication of Henry V," *Mediaevalia et Humanistica* 17 (1966): 3-12.

[99]The year of accession for many popes is noted, as is Paschal's: "Paschalis papa. MXCVIIII" (Huygens,
Monumenta, 224). In addition to his imprisonment, the annals note: "Paschalis in Franciam venit. MCVII"
(ibid.).

1106.[100] Moreover, Paschal's letters to Vézelay outnumber those of any other ecclesiastic to the monastery.[101]

Although Vézelay under Renaud seems to have been sympathetic to papal calls for reform with regard to simony, what monks would have understood as simoniacal practice is difficult to define.[102] Church reformers often equated simony with lay investiture of bishops, but many monastic practices, which could be regarded as simoniacal, remained unchallenged.[103] The term *simonica*, for example, was not applied to donations given at the time of an oblate's entry into a monastery until the middle of the twelfth century.[104] Indeed, chapter fifty-nine of the *Rule* of Saint Benedict seems to take for granted that noble parents would offer gifts when presenting a son to a monastery.[105] Monastic revenues from pre-existing sources of tithes and *altaria* were generally not considered simoniacal, but only their sale, especially to laymen.[106] Church reforms of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries only forbade monasteries from acquiring new tithes without episcopal consent. Local bishops were generally reluctant to confer such privileges, preferring to maintain personal control over these revenues, but it was the

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[100]Chérest, *Étude*, vol. 1, 85-89 (repr.144-47); Berlow, "Social and Economic," 153-56.

[101]Six letters survive from Paschal II to the monastery, confirming its priveleges; see Huygens, *Monumenta*, 297-303.

[102]For the difficulties surrounding the definition of this term see J. Leclercq, "Simoniaca heresis," *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947): 523-30.

[103]J. Gilchrist, "'Simoniaca Haeresis' and the Problem of Orders from Leo IX to Gratian," *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law (Boston 1963)*. Vatican City, 1965, 215.

[104]J. Lynch, *Simonical Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260: A Social, Economic and Legal Study*. Columbus, 1976, 67.

[105]"Si quis fortte de nobilibus offerit filium suum Deo in monasterio, si ipse puer minor aetate est, parentes eius faciant petitionem quam supra diximus et cum oblatione ipsam petitionem et manum pueri involvant in palla altaris, et sic eum offerant" (*The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. T. Fry, Collegeville, Minn., 1980, 270). For possible meanings of this passage, see remarks in ibid., 272, n.59.4, 451-52.

[106]G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes: From their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, 1964, 83-98.

general policy of Popes Urban II, Paschal II, and Calixtus II to confirm these transactions for monasteries. At the council of Reims in 1119, for example, Calixtus took Cluny's holdings under his protection despite the protests of the archbishop of Lyon.[107] The many papal confirmations of Vézelay's holdings and assertions of its freedom from episcopal control in the monastery's charters can be partially understood in this light. Although it may not be possible to specify precisely what the monks of Vézelay would have understood as simony, the surviving evidence from the monastery suggests that its Simon Magus capital would have been understood in part as a statement against this heresy. [108]

Patron Saints in the Nave

Through the repetition of the figures of Peter, Paul, and the Virgin and their prominent positioning, Vézelay's nave sculpture highlights these patron saints. The Virgin is represented four times in the south inner tympanum (fig. 9) in scenes of the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Magi.[109] As to Peter and Paul, in addition to the Simon Magus capital they are clearly distinguished four and two times, respectively. The inner central portal (figs. 3, 4) features three figures of Peter: to the left of Christ in the tympanum, on the right side of the lintel, and on a jamb

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[107] Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiae* XII, 21 (*The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. 6, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, Oxford, 1978, 268-74). For discussion of Calixtus II's ruling in favor of Cluny see: Fiche, *Histoire de l'église*, vol. 8, 444; G. Constable, "Cluniac Tithes and the Controversy Between Gigny and Le Miroir," *Revue Bénédictine* 70 (1960): 604-605.

[108] M. Taylor interprets the central tympanum of the narthex as being, in part, an anti-simonical statement ("The Pentecost at Vézelay," *Gesta* 19 (1980): 11-12).

[109] Diemer, "Pfingstportal," 78; E. Palazzo, "L'iconographie des portails de Vézelay: nouvelles données d'interprétation," *L'écrit-voir* 4 (1984): 26; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 151; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 179-80. A carving from the central portal of the narthex façade (VI), now in the *Musée lapidaire*, featured the Annunciation. See Appendix A for a discussion of this carving. Diemer argues that the central portal of the narthex façade may have been a tribute to the monastery's patron saints: Mary Magdalene, Peter, Paul, and the Virgin ("Pfingstportal," 96). As noted above, there is a twelfth-century record of a reliquary statue of uncertain date that represented the Virgin as *sedes sapientiae*.

relief in conversation with Paul (fig. 7). In each case the saint bears the prominent keys of the *traditio clavium*, signifying the moment, important for papal claims to authority, when Christ conferred on the apostle the keys to the kingdom of heaven. In addition, a nave capital represents an angel aiding Peter's escape from prison (67; fig. 36).[110] Paul may have been recognizable among the twelve apostles of the Pentecost tympanum by his balding forehead but, because many of the carvings' heads have been broken off, this cannot be known. The saint is represented on a nave capital of the Mystic Mill (20; fig. 14), which features Moses pouring the grain of the Old Dispensation into a mill (i.e., Christ) that Paul receives as the flour of the New Dispensation in a sack below.[111]

A roughly contemporary comparison to this emphasis on patron saints may be found in the stylistically related sculpture from Cluny III. This important monastery, which, as described above, governed Vézelay in the early twelfth century, claimed Peter and Paul as its patrons. The importance of the former for Cluny in particular is attested by

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[110] Aubert, *Richesses*, 17; Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 244; Carr, "Aspects," 144; Crosnier "Iconographie," 224; Despiney, *Guide*, 126; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 137, 349-50; Evans, *Art*, 101; Mâle, *Twelfth Century*, 253; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 24; Porée, *Vézelay*, 62; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 158; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 189. A capital, now in the *Musée lapidaire*, from the church's west façade may have featured the deliverance of St. Peter, but severe damage to this carving prevents certain identification of its iconography (Despiney, *Guide*, 22; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 384-85; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 162; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 194; Saulnier and Stratford, *Sculpture oubliée*, 44-45). Salet and Adhémar argue that this capital refers to the Exile of Pope Innocent II (1130-43), who consecrated a chapel for pilgrims at Vézelay (*La Madeleine*, 119-20), but the relative frequency of this subject in Romanesque sculpture, including capitals from Duravel (R. Rey, "Duravel," *Congrès archéologique de France* 100 (1937): 290), Moissac (Dorste, *Moissac*, 85), and Mozac (Z. Swiechowsky, *Sculpture romane d'Auvergne*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1973, fig. 241), make it unlikely that the Vézelay capital refers to any specific twelfth-century event, particularly as construction of the nave may have already been complete at this time.

[111] Adhémar, *Influences*, 244; Aubert, *Richesses*, 17; Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 249-50; Despiney, *Guide*, 125; Diemer "Stil und Ikonographie," 83, 296-99; Mâle, *Twelfth Century*, 169-71; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 26; Porée, *Vézelay*, 66; Porter, *Pilgrimage*, vol 1, 138-39, pl. 40; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 154; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 184; Terret, *Cluny*, 85; M. Zink, "Moulin mystique: à propos d'un chapiteau de Vézelay: figures allegoriques dans le prédication et dans l'iconographie romane," *Annales économies, sociétes, civilisations* 31 (1976): 481-89. See also L. Grodecki "Les vitraux allegoriques de Saint-Denis," *Art de France* 1 (1961): 22-24; E. Panofsky, ed. and trans., *On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, Princeton, 1946, 74-75. A capital from the narthex (25) bears the following painted inscription of a later date: "PAULUS". See Appendix A for a discussion.

numerous documents, including lay transfers of the monastery that repeatedly mention Peter's name.[112] A relief of this saint (fig. 67), now in the Museum of Art of the Rhode Island School of Design, originally occupied the north spandrel on the west entrance of Cluny (fig. 68).[113] The church's façade spandrels featured three other figures, probably including one of Paul. The saints may have been distinguished a second time on the lintel of Cluny's west portal, but only fragments of apostles holding books, a generic attribute, survive from this carving.[114] In comparison, the stress upon patron saints seems more emphatic at Vézelay. Whereas the figure of Christ, supported by angels and surrounded by the evangelist symbols, dominated the west tympanum of Cluny III, Peter and the Virgin prominently feature in the tympana over Vézelay's portals. Moreover, the proximity of Vézelay's jamb figures of Peter and Paul more directly engage the viewer than the elevated spandrel reliefs of Cluny III, the jambs of which were decorated with figureless columns. Similarly, the original design of Vézelay's inner central portal incorporated only unhistoriated columns on the jambs, but during the second campaign of construction figures of Peter, Paul, and other apostles were introduced here.[115] In their salience, these figures stand as important predecessors to trumeau figures of patron saints in early Gothic façades, such as Saint-Denis and St.-Loup-de-Naud.[116] The repetition of

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[112] B. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of St. Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049*, Ithaca, 1989, 202-07.

[113] W. Cahn and L. Seidel, *Romanesque Sculpture in American Collections. Volume 1: New England Museums*, New York, 1979, 30-33 (with bibliography).

[114] K.J. Conant, *Cluny. Les églises et la maison du chef d'ordre*. Mâcon, 1968, 103; *Cluny III, La Maior Ecclesia*, Cluny, 1988, 71-80.

[115] For the two campaigns of Vézelay's inner façade see: C. Beutler, "Das Tympanon zu Vézelay: Program, Planwechsel und Datierung," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 29 (1967): 9-10; F. Salet, "La Madeleine de Vézelay. Notes sur la façade de la nef," *Bulletin monumental* 99 (1940): 223-37.

[116] For Saint Denis see: S.M. Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis from Its Beginnings to the Death of Suger, 475-1151*, ed. P.Z. Blum, New Haven, 1987, 167, 174; P.L. Gerson, "Suger as Iconographer: The Central Portal of the West Façade of Saint-Denis," *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium*, ed. eadem, New York, 1986, 185. For St.-Loup-de-Naud see R. C. Maines, "The Western Portal of Saint-Loup-de-

the figures of Peter and Paul on capitals in Vézelay's nave—in contrast to the primarily

foliate capitals of Cluny III—further highlights these saints.

For a monk the representations of Peter and Paul would have probably called to

mind the contemporary revivals of the notion of the *vita apostolica*,[117] underscored by

representations of the other apostles in the inner façade's central and north portals (figs.

3, 8), where the Ascension and the Journey to Emmaus are shown. Cenobitic

communities, whether monks or colleges of canons, regarded the apostles as exemplary

models for their religious vocations and these institutions often included carved figures of

apostles, such as the twelve jamb figures on the west portal of Ste. Foy of Moorlass. The

apostolic roots of monasticism seem further articulated at Vézelay because the central

tympanum in the narthex represents the Pentecost—the moment widely regarded by

twelfth-century theologians to be the birth of the institution of monasticism.[118] Abbot

Odilo of Cluny, for example, in a sermon on Pentecost encourages his monastic listeners

to imitate the zeal of the apostles.[119] Vézelay's central tympanum within the narthex

articulates similar ideals.

Naud," Ph.D. diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 1979, 86. For comments on the stylistic development of early Gothic façades, and their reliance upon Burgundian Romanesque, such as St. Bénigne of Dijon, see the important studies of J. Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of 12th and 13th Centuries*, Berkeley, 1983, 17-19; R. Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture*, London, 1960; A. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia*, Baltimore, 1959, 3-7; and W.S. Stoddard, *Sculptors of the West Portals of Chartres Cathedral: Their Origins in Romanesque and Their Role in Chartrain Sculpture*, New York, 1986, 183-209.

[117] C.W. Bynum, *Docere verbo et exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality*, Harvard Theological Studies 31, Missoula, Mont., 1979, 19-21; M.-D. Chenu, "Monks, Canons, and Laymen in Search of the Apostolic Life," *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, ed. and trans. J. Taylor and L.K. Little, Chicago, 1968, 202-38; O. Rousseau, *Monachisme et vie religieuse d'après l'ancienne tradition de l'Église*, Chevetogne, 1957, 26-31; M.-H. Vicaire, *L'imitation des apôtres: Moines, chanoines, mendiants (IVe-XIIIe siècles)*, Paris, 1963. See the introductory chapter for the art-historical literature on the *vita apostolica*.

[118] For the monastic associations of this tympanum see: Diemer "Pfingstportal," 103-104; Feldman, "Monastic Self Image," 243-51; Palazzo, "Vézelay," 28; Taylor "Pentecost," 13.

[119] PL 142, 1015.

Just at the time this portal was being constructed, theologians were examining the role of the Virgin in events after Christ's death and even debating whether she received the gift of tongues along with the apostles at Pentecost. Peter the Venerable tactfully leaves this question open in a letter, but asserts that the mother of Christ is more virtuous than any of the apostles.[120] It is in relation to such debates that we might partially understand the Virgin's absence from Vézelay's representation of the Pentecost. Other early medieval representations of the Pentecost often include Mary, as in a ninth-century miniature of the Pentecost in the Bible of Saint Paul Outside the Walls[121] and in a twelfth-century illumination in a Mont- Saint-Michel missal,[122] and thus we can assume that her exclusion at Vézelay was calculated. This centers attention on the apostolic character of the event. Similarly, the north portal in Vézelay's narthex excludes a figure of the Virgin even though she often feastures in early medieval Ascensions, such as a near contemporary lintel at Montceaux-l'Étoile.

During the course of the twelfth century there was a general trend to place greater and greater emphasis on Mary's role in Christ's life, including the Post-Resurrection narratives. This apparently finds expression at Vézelay on a later narthex capital of the Ascension (46, fig. 58), on which the Virgin features prominently, adjacent to Christ.

The Virgin's sanctity offered monks a model of piety that was different and distinct from the *vita apostolica*, of which her visual isolation in the south tympanum serves as an analogue (fig. 9). Julian of Vézelay cites her as a paragon of the

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[120] Constable, ed., *Letters of Peter the Venerable*, vol. 1, 240-42.

[121] Fol. 308v. See W.J. Diebold "The Artistic Patronage of Charles the Bald," Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1989, 499-501; J. Gaehde, "The Painters of the Carolingian Bible Manuscript of San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1963.

[122] Pierpont Morgan Library M. 641. See Seeliger, *Pfingsten*, n. 39 for other examples. See also Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, vol. 1, pl. XI (Paris, B.N. lat. 796, fol. 182).

fundamental monastic virtues of humility and obedience.[123] Another venerable textual

tradition exhorted clerics to imitate the virtues of Christ's mother, particularly her

chastity.[124] A sermon by Bede for Advent exalts Mary's abstinence from all earthly

things as an exemplary model for the monastic life.[125] Similarly, the virtue of virginity

was stressed in medieval sermons for the Feast of the Purification, including one recorded

in the late thirteenth-century breviary from Vézelay.[126] As this sermon is also found in

Cluny's lectionaries from the eleventh and twelfth centuries,[127] it seems reasonable to

assume, given the rather conservative character of the liturgy in the Middle Ages, that

this would have been read at Vézelay in the early years of the twelfth century.

In addition to the widespread belief that Peter, Paul, and Mary offered models for

the cenobitic life, these saints held specific importance in Vézelay's history. The

monastery's earliest charter, dated 858-59, dedicates the church exclusively to the

apostles Peter and Paul and exempts the institution from all episcopal control, save for

that of the papacy.[128] The Virgin is named as Vézelay's patron in the monastery's second

charter, which dates to 863 and which reasserts many of the privileges established in the

first charter.[129] These documents were copied in the twelfth-century manuscript, now in

Auxerre, which was discussed in the introductory chapter. Perusal of Hugh's *Chronicle*

reveals that their contents were known and referred to during the twelfth century. In his

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[123] *Sermons*, 86-88.

[124] See the fundamental study of H. Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, vol. 1, New York, 1963, 50-56; 163-64.

[125] PL 94, 15-19.

[126] For a fuller discussion of this manuscript see the introductory chapter.

[127] Elvert, *Clavis*, 46; Étaix, "Lectionnaire," 114.

[128] Huygens, *Monumenta*, 242-48; cf. Ward and Scott, *Chronicle*, 97-100. C. Berlow, "Spiritual Immunity at Vézelay (Ninth to Twelfth Centuries)," *Catholic Historical Review* 62 (1976): 573-88.

[129] Huygens, *Monumenta*, 249-54; cf. Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 100-104.

description of a trial which addressed the bishop of Autun's rights to assert his authority over the monastery, Vézelay's monks repeatedly cite the privileges of the monastery's charters. These documents most often mention the apostolic patrons, often excluding either the Virgin or the Magdalene.[130] Within official circles at least, Peter and Paul seem to have been the patron saints most worthy of mention. The prominent positioning of these saints in the nave's central portal and their repetition in capitals throughout the nave seems congruent with their primacy in the monastery's charters.

It should be stressed, however, that there is no record of a cult of relics of Peter, Paul, or the Virgin at Vézelay. Pilgrims, as far as can be discerned, primarily came to the monastery to venerate the Magdalene. Medieval hagiographers and chroniclers from throughout France generally call attention to the relics of the Magdalene at Vézelay without mentioning any belonging to the monastery's other patron saints. One must turn to Hugh's *Chronicle* to find mention of any such relics. In his description of the *sedes sapientiae* rescued from an 1165 fire in the crypt, discussed above, Hugh provides an inventory of its contents, which included relics of Peter, Paul, the Virgin Mary, among many others. Hugh does not draw particular attention to the relics of the monastery's patrons, but rather wonders at the fact that the reliquary miraculously survived an inferno unblemished. Around the time of this miracle, according to Hugh, a vial containing some of the Virgin's milk was found within an icon on a large cross hanging over the altar in the middle of the church.[131] These invention stories postdate construction of the monastery by several decades, and the surprise of the monks in discovering relics

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[130] For a complete transcription of these charters see Huygens, *Monumenta*, 243-393; idem, *Vizeliacensia II*, 1-34. Scott and Ward offer summaries and translations of some of these charters (*Chronicle*, 97-129).

[131] "In qua depositione cum iconiam maioris crucis, que super altare in media pendet basilica, diligentius inspicerent, invenerunt de lacte inviolatae virginis et genitricis dei MARIAE" (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 572; cf. Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 289).

suggests that there was not a tradition which placed importance on the presence of the relics of Peter, Paul, or the Virgin with Vézelay in the early twelfth century.

In a final miracle story, dating to about 1164, Hugh tells of a certain Renaud, who was a monk at Vézelay and who paraded the relics of the Virgin, St. Blaise, and other saints throughout the region in order to collect alms for the construction of Vézelay's abbey church.[132] Hugh does not mention the relics of the Magdalene as among those contained in the reliquary. After traveling extensively, Renaud came to the castle of Labroye, where the relics were responsible for many miracles. As Renaud prepared to leave the castle, he was unable to lift the reliquary bier, nor were successive groups of stronger and stronger men able to do so. Elmo, a noble witness to these events, recognized these frustrated efforts to be a divine signal and designated a part of his lands for the construction of an oratory to house the relics. Elmo then placed his foundation under the protection of Vézelay. In this case, relics could act as a vehicle to expand the monastery's holdings, but these were not considered to be part of the inalienable patrimony of Vézelay, as they came to be housed at Labroye. In sum, the monks of Vézelay did not seem particularly invested in asserting the sacred presence of Peter, Paul, or the Virgin through the promotion of a cult of their relics.

That Hugh's *Chronicle* makes no mention of the altar dedicated to Mary Magdalene, mentioned above, although he twice refers to one dedicated to Peter and Paul, seems significant.[133] He relates that in a dispute over rights to roads with the Count

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[132] Huygens, *Monumenta*, 534-35; cf. Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 251-52. On this passage see C.R. Cheney, "Church Building in the Middle Ages," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 34 (1951/52): 29; P. Héliot, "Voyages de reliques au profit des églises françaises," *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (1963): 90-96.

[133] The two passages are found in Huygens, *Monumenta*, 421, 605; cf. Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 162, 313. See also Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 25; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 28, n. 2. Hugh of Poitiers also relates that an altar dedicated to Saint Andeolus, dedicated by Bishop Stephen of Autun (1112-36), in about 1132 (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 400). On this text see Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 15; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 25.

of Nevers in 1146, Abbot Pons affirmed the rights of the monastery at an altar of Peter and Paul. Although the abbot included Mary Magdalene among the many saints he invoked as a witness to his claims, his prayer at an altar dedicated to the apostolic princes vividly recalls the patrons in the monastery's charters. In a second anecdote, dating to 1166, Hugh describes this altar as being located at the steps outside the major church (*ad gradus exteriores maioris basilice*). On a visit to Vézelay, Stephen, abbot of Cluny, argued with Pons as to whether he could sit in the abbatial chair and thereby assert his authority. Stephen probably considered Pons a renegade prior because of his policy of independence. Their dispute angered the king of France, who was also on a visit to the monastery at the time. The king eventually sided with the abbot of Vézelay, although the text does not provide an indication of why he made this decision. In response to the king's judgment, Abbot Stephen performed a vigil in front of the altar dedicated to Peter and Paul. Stephen's choice to pray here might be interpreted as being an appeal to current papal policy, which affirmed Cluny's rights to govern Vézelay. It could represent a challenge since Cluny also claimed the apostolic princes as patrons. By the middle of the twelfth century, relations between Vézelay and Cluny had obviously declined.

As suggested in the introductory chapter, however, the political landscape during the time of the the construction of Vézelay's basilica was extremely different and this must inform interpretation of its carved saints. In addition to evoking the history of the monastery, the carved figures of the apostles might make oblique reference to other religious centers, including Cluny. [134] As argued above, Abbots Artaud, Renaud, and Alberic, who governed Vézelay during the first third of the twelfth century, were all faithful sons of their motherhouse. [135] From what we know of their policies, the

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[134] On the ties between Cluny and Vézelay see, for example, Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 131-37; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 115-23.

[135] See the comments above in the introductory chapter.

monastery's subjection to the rule of Cluny's abbots was not perceived to be at odds with the autonomy from episcopal control granted in the foundation charter. These seem to have been perceived as separate and distinct issues in the early twelfth century. The apparent shift away from Cluniac allegiance in the 1140's may in part be reflected in the different character of the narthex program which dates to circa 1150. Here, through the choice of narratives decorating the lintel of the central portal of the outer façade Mary Magdalene, whose cult was idiosyncratic to Vézelay and whose pilgrimage seemed to enjoy a wide base of popular support, was stressed.

The emphasis on the apostolic princes in Vézelay's nave sculpture may also have triggered thoughts of Rome, the city often referred to metonymically as the "gates of Peter and Paul." Beginning in the eleventh century, popes visually associated themselves with the two saints by including their likenesses in seals that authenticated any papal correspondence.[136] The bishop of Rome, as Vézelay's charters continually reiterate, was the only episcopal authority over the monastery. Pope Paschal's letters to Abbot Renaud, for example, always recognized that Vézelay was dedicated to Peter and was under the protection of the saint's seat.[137] This privilege was not universally honored. Local bishops, particularly those of Autun, repeatedly attempted to assert episcopal control over Vézelay. Although it was necessary from time to time for a bishop to perform liturgical functions within a monastery, such as the initiation of monks through the tonsure ceremony, Vézelay's abbots did not rely on any single center, but invited bishops from different cities, including Angers, Auxerre, and Autun to perform episcopal duties. This

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[136] On this latter point see Sazama, "Assertion," 78-80.

[137] In a letter to Renaud, for example, Paschal writes: "Vizeliacense monasterium ab illustris memoriae Gerardo comite fundatum et beato Petro ipsius comitis testamento oblatum, sub beati Petri eiusque sante Romane ecclesiae iure ac protectione constitit" (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 299). Church reformers stressed the *forma Ecclesiae primitivae*; images of Peter and Paul in contemporary art of Rome should be considered in this light (H. Toubert, *Un art dirigé: Réforme grégorienne et iconographie*, Paris, 1990, 8 and *passim*).

policy of rotation seems to have been followed in order to avoid the perception that the monastery was subject to any one see. Viewed in relation to these power struggles, the prominent figures of Peter and Paul at Vézelay, synonymous with the holy see, might obliquely affirm the monastery's autonomy.

A specific political interpretation of these saints, however, seems somewhat narrow, and perhaps anachronistic, because these figures would have embodied much more for Vézelay's monks than symbols of contemporary power struggles. These saints were pivotal figures of the Christian faith. In fact, Peter, Paul, and the Virgin were considered synonymous with the church, an idea articulated in several of the sermons in the Lyon breviary. In a sermon of Augustine, read on Christmas day, the Virgin is interpreted as embodying and giving birth to the entire Church:

> How, I mean to say, can you have no part in Mary's childbearing, when
> you are members of Christ? Mary gave birth to your head, the Church to
> all of you, because she too is both mother and virgin; mother in her womb
> of charity, virgin in the integrity of her faith and piety. She gives birth to
> whole peoples, but they are members of one person, whose body and wife
> she is. In this respect too she resembles that virgin mother, because all
> that multitude she is the mother of unity.[138]

Although it was common for medieval theologians to regard the Virgin as personifying *Ecclesia*,[139] this passage inextricably binds this identification with her role as mother. This metaphorical association may find expression in the scenes of Vézelay's inner south tympanum, which stress Mary's maternity. Peter is also linked with the conception of a

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[138] "Quomodo autem non ad partum Virginis pertinetis, quando Christi membra estis? Caput vestrum peperit Maria, vos Ecclesia. Nam ipsa quoque et mater et virgo est: mater visceribus charitatis, virgo integritate fidei et pietatis. Populos parit, sed unius membra sunt, cujus ipsa est corpus et conjux, etiam in hoc similitudinem gerens illius virginis, quia et in multis mater est unitatis" (PL 38, 1012-13). See E. Hill, trans., *Sermons III/6 (184-229Z) on the Liturgical Seasons*, The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century, New Rochelle, New York, 1990, 47.

[139] A classic examination of this relation with regard to the Virgin of Chartes is found in Katzenellenbogen, *Chartres*, 58-61.

universal church in sermons that were part of the liturgies of Cluny and Vézelay. A tract

by Pope Leo the Great read on February 22 for the feast of the *Cathedra Sancti Petri*

begins by emphasizing the unity of all in Christ through the sacraments of the church.[140]

This church, according to Leo, is synonymous with Peter. Then, through the

juxtaposition of phrases from various books of the Bible, he creates a narrative according

to which Simon is transformed into Peter (*petrus*), the rock upon which the church will be

built and to whom the keys of heaven will be given. In another sermon by Leo the

Great, read on June 29 for the feast of Peter's and Paul's martyrdom, Christendom is

described as one body of which Peter is the head.[141]

Rather than drawing attention to the celebrated Magdalene in its sculpture, a cult

that the eleventh-century Abbot Geoffrey of Vézelay described as unique to the

monastery, the nave sculpture stresses saints that are not only its patrons, but that were

universally acknowledged as symbolizing, if not embodying, the Catholic Church. From

the time Christianity was introduced north of the Alps, scores of ecclesiastical institutions

claimed Peter, Paul, and/or the Virgin as patrons. Many of these foundations were

celebrated centers of monastic art and culture in the twelfth century, including Cluny

(Peter and Paul) and Moissac (Peter). It may seem somewhat unremarkable that Vézelay,

in turn, seems to align itself, in texts and images, with saints that are so ubiquitous. Yet

this strategy emphatically inserts the position of the monastery within the fold of the

Church. Despite its relative geographic isolation, Vézelay enjoyed a preeminent position

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[140] Lyon, B.M. 0555, fol. 250v ff. For edited version of this sermon see A. Chavasse, ed., *Sancti Leonis magni romani pontificis tractatus septem et nonaginta*, CCSL 138, 16-21. See also Étaix, "Lectionnaire," 114; Elvert, *Clavis*, 47. In the early years of the twelfth century, Honorius Augustodunensis explained the widespread pilgrimage to Rome as follows: "Ecce totus orbis undique in urbem Romam confluit propter Petrum piscatorem, non propter Augustum mundi imperatorem. Quilibet investigat sepulcrum piscatoris, nullus inquirit tumulum principis Neronis" (*Speculum ecclesiae*, PL 172, 986). Passage cited by M. Maccarrone, *Romana ecclesia cathedra Petri*, vol. 2, Rome, 1991, 1339.

[141] "...ut gens sancta, populus electus, ciuitas sacerdotalis et regia, per sacram beati Petri sedem caput totius orbis effecta, latius praesideres religione diuina quam dominatione terrea" (Chavasse, *Tractatus*, CCSL 48A, 509; cf. Lyon, B.M. 0555, fols. 299ff). See also Elvert, *Clavis*, 61; "Étaix, "Lectionnaire," 118.

among religious institutions during the twelfth century. Elite ecclesiastics were associated with the monastery: numerous popes visited; the famed abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable, was educated there in part; and Thomas Becket spent part of his exile under Vézelay's protection. Bernard preached the second crusade at Vézelay, and the third crusade was launched from the steps of the monastery as well. Although some of these events postdate construction of the nave, they offer insight into the preeminent position that the monastery occupied within Western Christendom, a position evoked by the representation of saints with universal significance within the Christian church. In contrast to stressing a saint of only local import, as did the Burgundian church of St. Bénigne of Dijon, the monastery of Vézelay allied itself in its visual arts, as well as in many written documents, with saints of universal significance.

Given these associations, it is striking that Vézelay's patron saints are represented in narrative contexts that convey a notion of orthodoxy. The Simon Magus capital seemingly addresses Catholic doctrine through its evocation of its antitype, heresy. Other carvings of Peter and Paul directly engage the question of correct interpretation of the Word. The Mystic Mill capital, the earliest known example of this iconography, validates Paul's transformation of the Old Dispensation's legalism into the proper spirit of the New in his Epistles. As will be argued in chapter three, the Pentecost portal, in which Peter and Paul prominently feature, focuses on delimiting the nature of proper speech that is grounded in the Bible by contrasting it with the babble of pagans and demons. Even the representations of Mary in the inner south tympanum, which stress her role as mother of God, might be construed as statements of orthodoxy because heresies often questioned the nature of her maternity, particularly her virginity.

It has long been recognized that theological debates intensified during the twelfth-century "Renaissance." The rise of literacy at this time, as Brian Stock has persuasively

demonstrated, provided the impetus for divergent interpretations.[142] As more people gained access to scripture, disputes arose over which interpretations were orthodox and which heretical. As a group, monks were well educated and spent much of their time contemplating the Bible and its commentaries in order to gain insight into the proper way to lead a holy life. Yet in the early twelfth century, there were a number of opinions on how to best achieve this goal.[143] Rival monastic orders, such as the Carthusians or Cistercians, were growing in numbers and these challenged many assumptions about interpreting the *Rule* of Saint Benedict and the type of the cenobitism practiced by the apostles. The interest in defining correct beliefs that seems manifest among many of Vézelay's representations of its patron saints can be understood within such a context.

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[142] B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Princeton, 1983, 145-51 and *passim*.

[143] On this point see H. Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages, 1000-1200*, trans. D.A. Kaiser, University Park, 1998, 123-26; C.W. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, Berkeley, 1982, 82-109; J. Van Engen, "The "Crisis of Cenobitism" Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050-1150," *Speculum* 61 (1986): 304. I have not yet seen D. Iogna-Prat's *Ordonner et exclure: Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à islam, 1000-1150*, Paris, 1998.

CHAPTER 2

ECCLESIA GALLICANA: THE HAGIOGRAPHIC CAPITALS

Compared with the sculptures of Vézelay's patron saints, discussed in the previous chapter, the images of the other saints represented on capitals throughout the nave seem anomalous. While Peter, Paul, and the Virgin feature in narratives that have well established iconographic traditions, saints like Eugenia are represented in stories with no known visual precedents, in this case her trial for rape (59, fig. 30). Other carved episodes, such as Eustace's conversion (17, figs. 12-13), are only known in Byzantine art before their appearance at Vézelay. The rarity of the hagiographic subjects in the nave seemingly precludes the possibility that these capitals reflect regional or workshop conventions, but rather strongly suggests the episodes selected for representation held specific significance for the members of the monastic community.

Despite their inventiveness, surprisingly little study has been devoted to Vézelay's hagiographic capitals beyond the identification of their themes. The suitability of representations of the monastic Saints Anthony, Benedict, Martin, and Paul the Hermit within a cenobitic context has been briefly noted, but only in the broadest of terms.[1] The specific significances these saints might have held for Vézelay's monks have not been

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[1] Mâle suggested that the presence of Desert Fathers in Romanesque sculpture, such as those found at Vézelay, could be accounted for by monastic traditions that praised these saints as models of the cenobitic life (*Twelfth Century*, 241-45; see also Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 244). This conclusion is accepted in large part by Salet and Adhémar (*La Madeleine, passim*) and Diemer ("Stil und Ikonographie," *passim*) who interpret several of Vézelay's carved saints, including Anthony, Benedict, and Martin, as paragons of the monastic life. Mâle further argues that Western hagiographic subjects freed French artists to create pictorial types, rather than copy Byzantine models (*Twelfth Century*, 187).

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analyzed. The paucity of art-historical scholarship on these capitals may be due in part to the fact that traditional iconographic analysis is frustrated by the dearth of visual parallels; few probable "models" can be cited. Such a method, in any event, would offer only limited insight into the meanings these hagiographic narratives would have generated for Vézelay's monks in the early twelfth century.

In order to address precisely this question, this chapter offers an alternative method, one that makes use of a variety of textual sources. In addition to analyzing saints' *vitae* and their commentaries, it examines religious beliefs particular to the region. The claims of a number of ecclesiastic institutions to relics as well as local hagiographic legends provide evidence for the meanings the saints represented in Vézelay's nave held in the context of French sacred history. This chapter begins with an individual examination of each of the hagiographic capitals and then considers the possible themes this group shares. Because the cults of the saints represented in the nave flourished at various centers in France, I will suggest that these capitals collectively provide a map of cult worship within a specifically Gallican church, the *ecclesia gallicana*, with which Vézelay is associated. The possible motivations for and implications of this programmatic strategy will then be explored.

Eustace

According to his Latin *vita*, Eustace, a Roman general, encountered a stag with an image of Christ between its antlers during a hunt. The stag/Christ asked his pursuer the motivation for his chase and then inverted the hunting metaphor: "I will hunt you [Eustace] and capture you with my mercy."[2] Not only did the pagan soldier become a

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[2] "Et veni me ostendere tibi per istum cervum et venari te et capere te retibus misericordiae meae..." (AASS. Sept., vol. 6, 124).

follower of Christ, but he then persuaded his entire family to adopt this faith. All were eventually martyred for their beliefs.

The Vézelay capital (figs. 12-13) represents the saint's conversion.[3] On the left side, the figure of Eustace, wearing mail and a cloak, chases a stag on horseback. The hunt is further evoked by the objects he holds that are not mentioned in the Latin *vita*: with his left hand he raises a trumpet to his lips, as if to blow it, and with his right hand he seizes a rope. This leash, which extends across the central face of the capital, literally tying its composition together, restrains a dog lunging at a stag on the right side of the capital. The prey, with a Greek cross between its antlers, turns back toward its pursuers. The exact moment of the narrative represented here is ambiguous, for it is not clear whether the hunter is still caught up in the pursuit of his earthly prey or if Eustace blows his horn in recognition of his Lord. The closest visual parallels to a mounted, trumpeting Eustace are two fourteenth-century ivories, a comb and a coffret;[4] no earlier images present the saint in this manner. Middle Byzantine psalters, which may have played a role in the transmission of the iconography to Vézelay, often illustrate Psalm 96, 11-12 with the saint's conversion: "Light is risen to the just, and joy to the right of heart. Rejoice, ye just, in the Lord: and give praise to the remembrance of his holiness."[5] A

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[3] Discussions of the Eustace capital include: Adhémar, *Influences*, 164; Despiney, *Guide*, 124; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 292-94; D.I. Doherty, "The Development of the Iconography of the Vision of St. Eustace," M.A. thesis, University of Victoria, 1993, *passim*; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 26; Porée, *L'abbaye*, 65; Porter, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 1, 92-93, pl. 32; E. Reuter, *Les representatons de la musique dans la sculpture roman en France*, Paris, 1938, 34-35; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 154; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 183; Sazama, "Assertion," 138-47. For a later capital at Autun of this subject see note 6 below. Other later sculpted examples of the saint's conversion include: a capital in the cloister of Monreale (D.B. Gravina, *Il duomo di Monreale*, vol. 2, Palermo, 1859, chiostro pl. III, 8); a stone relief in Moscow (?); Naples (Bertaux, *l'Itatlie*, vol. 1, pl. 34). A wood altar in the church of Sta. Maria in Vulturella shows the bust of Christ among a stag's antlers, with no saint before it.

[4] R. Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français*, Paris, 1924, nos. 255 and 1149.

[5] See the Khludov Psalter (Moscow, State Historical Mus. 129D, fol 97v; M. Shchepkina, *Miniatiury khludovskoi psaltyri Grecheskii illiustrirovannyi kodeks IX Veka*, Moscow, 1977); Mont Athos, Pantocrator 61, fol. 138 (S. Dufrenne *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen âge: Pantocrator 61, Paris grec 20, British Museum 40731*, Paris, 1966, 32, pl. 21); Paris, B.N. gr. 20, fol. 5v (Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 43,

psalter in the Bibliothèque Nationale (fig. 69) makes this connection. Yet rather than show Eustace on horseback, these Byzantine miniatures most commonly represent the saint kneeling before the stag with its image of Christ, a formula taken up on a portal capital at Autun (fig. 70).[6]

The reasons for including a capital featuring Eustace, a military saint actively engaged in a hunt, within a monastic context are not readily apparent. No obvious cenobitic allusions are made in Eustace's biography, which seems more worldly in scope, nor was the saint widely considered by twelfth-century theologians to be a paragon of cenobitic virtues, as is the case for saints like Peter and Paul. It has been tentatively suggested that the abbey possessed relics of the saint, but there is no evidence for this,[7] nor is there any indication of a Burgundian ecclesiastical foundation dedicated to the saint to which this capital might refer. One must search elsewhere to gain insight into the range of significance this saint held.

Eustace's cult gained in popularity in France from 1100 onward.[8] Four prose and eleven verse versions of the saint's life written in the French vernacular, of which the earliest examples date to the twelfth century,[9] stress the saint's noble and military origins.

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color pl. 2); Bibl. Vat. Barb. gr. 372, fol. 160v. See also S. Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques*, psalm 95.

[6] Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislbertus*, 79, pl. 52b. On the Autun portal, the Eustace capital neighbors that of Balaam. Might this Old Testament story, which similarly features a speaking animal, have been seen as a prefiguration of the Eustace legend? I am unaware of any medieval sources that make such an association.

[7] Evans, *Art*, 109.

[8] Eustace appears in a number of early Western martyrologies, including Usuard's (PL 124, 649-56). His cult did not gain in popularity, however, until the twelfth century (Doherty, "Eustace," 87; R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308*, Princeton, 1980, 81, 252). It is now generally agreed that Eustace was not a historical figure and many have sought the origins of this legend in Indian mythology.

[9] P. Meyer, "Légendes hagiographiques en français," *Histoire littéraire de la France* 33 (1906): 348-49, 382. Many of the French versions have been edited: M. Esposito, *Textes et études de littérature ancienne et médiévale*, Florence, 1921, 27-61; J.R. Fischer, *La vie de saint Eustache par Pierre de Beauvais*, Lancaster, Penn., 1917; P. Meyer, "D'une vie de Saint-Eustache," *Romania* 36 (1907): 13-28; A.C. Ott, "Das altfranzösische Eustachiusleben (L'Estoir d'Eustachius)," *Romanische Forschungen* 32 (1912): 481-607; H. Petersen, "Trois versions inédites de la vie de saint Eustache en vers français," *Romania* 48 (1922): 365-401; 51 (1925): 363-96; 52 (1926): 37-74; idem, *La vie de saint Eustache*, Paris, 1928.

Viewed in relation to this topos, the presence of Eustace in a monastic context may

partially be explained by the fact that eleventh- and twelfth-century writers, including

those of the Cluniac order, often applied military metaphors to the religious life. Monks

were often dubbed the soldiers of Christ, *milites Christi*, engaged in a battle against the

armies of Satan. Undoubtedly they would have been responsive to such metaphors given

the turbulent, and often violent, character of Burgundian society in the early twelfth

century.[10] A power vacuum existed in the region at this time, as petty nobles vied for

political control. Monasteries were by no means isolated from this chaotic situation, and

recent historians have analyzed violence and its sublimation within cenobitic culture in

Burgundy.[11] Lester Little, for example, has recently drawn our attention to recitations of

liturgical curses in Burgundian monasteries.[12] During this rite, monks called on God to

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Eustace's *vita* exerted a wide influence on hagiographic literature. In the third quarter of the eleventh century, for example, the Rus' monk Nestor modeled his description of king Vladimir's conversion on the account of Eustace's (P. Hollingsworth, trans., *The Hagiography of Kievan Rus'*, Cambridge, Mass., 1992, 6). In addition, the saint's exploits find parallels in twelfth-century poems, including those of Chrétien of Troyes: C. Cohen, "Guillaume d'Angleterre," in *Chrétien de Troyes et son oeuvre*, Paris, 1931, 107; H. Delehaye, "La légende de s. Eustache," *Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 1919, 187-93.

[10] G. Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe dans la société maconnaise*, Paris, 1953. See also P. Geary, "Vivre en conflit dans une France sans état: Typologie des mécanisms de règlement des conflits, 1050-1200," *Annales* 41 (1986): 1107-33; L. Génicot, "The Nobility in Medieval Francia: Continuity, Break, or Evolution," in *Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe*, ed. F. Cheyette, New York, 1975, 128-36; T. Head, "Introduction," in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. idem and R. Landes, Ithaca, 1992, 1-18. R.I. Moore has cautioned against characterizing violence as normative in medieval society (*The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250*, London, 1987, 4-5).

[11] Sazama speculates that the Eustace capital "presents the count [of Nevers] and the nobility with a viable alternative to a life of violence and oppression in the model of a saint" ("Assertion," 147). It is not clear, however, why a capital at Vézelay would have been carved with the count of Nevers as the intended viewer. Moreover, Sazama's analysis seemingly implies that the religious life necessarily shunned violence. Several scholars have demonstrated that violence permeated monastic life and culture:

[12] "Anger in Monastic Curses," in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. B. Rosenwein, Ithaca, 1998, 9-35; idem, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France*, Ithaca, 1993. Most of the contents of Vézelay's library were destroyed in a fire. But it seems likely, given the currency of the practice in Burgundy, that the monastery's inhabitants would have pronounced liturgical curses. For violence in Burgundian monasticism see also A. Dimier, "Violences, rixes et homocides chez les Cisterciens," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 46 (1972): 38-57; J. Leclercq, "L'attitude spirituelle de S. Bernard devant la guerre," *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 36 (1974): 195-227;

inflict upon their enemies a multitude of misfortunes, from disease to poverty to death.

Such combative attitudes may be explained in part by the fact that monks generally hailed

from the ranks of the noble class, the *bellatores*. It was extremely common for wealthy

families, practiced in the arts of war, to offer a son to a monastery. Abbot Hugh of

Cluny, for example, seems to have received military training in his youth as part of his

privileged upbringing.[13] The military associations of Eustace can be partially understood

in this light.

That many of Vézelay's monks were descended from the ranks of the *bellatores*,

among them Abbot Renaud and Peter the Venerable, also meant that most had noble

blood and, indeed, Eustace's cult seems to have been embraced by the upper echelons of

French society. The earliest records of the saint's relics in France appear in decidedly

royal contexts. Abbot Suger mentions that the abbey church of St. Denis, the resting

place of so many French kings, possessed Eustace's relics, and shortly after the turn of

the thirteenth century king Philip Augustus rededicated a church of Ste.-Agnès in Paris to

the soldier saint.[14] The church of St. Eustace in Paris, though constructed at a later date,

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idem, "Modern Psychology and the Interpretation of Medieval Texts," *Speculum* 48 (1973): 479-81; idem, *Monks and Love in twelfth-century France*, Oxford, 1979, 88 and *passim*; idem, "Prayer at Cluny," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 51 (1983): 657-62; idem, "Violence and Devotion to St. Benedict," *Downside Review* 88 (1970): 344-60; B. Rosenwein, "Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression," *Viator* 2 (1971): 128-57. For the suitability of military figures within ecclesiastical programs elsewhere see L. Seidel, *Songs of Glory: The Romanesque Façades of Aquitaine*, Chicago, 1981, 70-80; A.J. Wharton, *Art of Empire: Painting and Architecture of the Byzantine Periphery*, University Park, Penn., 1988, 30-52.

[13] Gilo's *vita*, for example, mentions that Hugh was raised for a military life: "bellicis rebus intentus" (Cowdrey, "Two Studies," 48).

[14] Abbot Suger mentions an altar dedicated to Eustace (Panofsky, *St.-Denis*, 118). A. Baillet argues that the relics of St.-Eustache in Paris were those of the second abbot of Luxeuil and disciple of Columgan, Eustase, but popular tradition erroneously associated this figure with the Eustace, the military saint (*Les vies des saints*, vol. 6, Paris, 1739, 271; see also AASS, Septembris, vol. 6, 117). H. Delehaye argues that this interpretation, though ingenious, does not correspond to the facts ("La légende de S. Eustache," *Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques de l'Academie royale de Belgique*, 1919, 209 n. 3). The relics of Eustase, abbot of Luxeuil, had long been claimed by the abbey of Vergaville in the diocese of Metz (*Histoire de l'abbaye bénédictine de Saint-Eustase (966-1924)*, Nancy, 1924, 3). A church dedicated to saint Eustace in Rome is signaled in an eighth-century letter of Pope Gregory II (P. Jaffé et al., eds. *Regesta pontificum romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum*

still claims his relics. Perhaps the popularity of Eustace's cult at centers connected with royalty may be attributed to the fact that the saint had been a general, a role that would have been respected by French kings. Moreover, Eustace was converted while hunting a stag, a pastime reserved for the aristocracy during the Middle Ages. Given their social standing, many of Vézelay's monks would have been intimately familiar with the chase,[15] and it is thus striking that twelfth-century monastic theologians, including Bernard of Clairvaux and Rupert of Deutz, often used hunting metaphors to evoke the search for religious truth.[16] The representation of Eustace's trumpeting, which seems an unprecedented detail, vividly evokes the hunt.

Alternatively, by conveying the notion of sound, Eustace's trumpet-blowing might metonymically call to mind his conversation with the stag. This creature's gaping maw, which suggests he brays toward Eustace, further evokes their verbal exchange. Several Cappadocian frescos that include transcriptions of the stag's exhortation demonstrate an interest in the dialogue between hunter and Christ described in the *vita*.[17] In the West, this conversation was further elaborated in a number of biographies of Eustace, written in French. In these works, the earliest of which date to the twelfth century, the encounter between the stag and the saint is represented as a lengthy theological debate on the nature and significance of conversion. This is a climactic point

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MCXCVIII, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1885, 2213) and again in the Liber pontificalis of 827 (see R. Krautheimer, *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae*, vol. 1, Vatican City, 1940, 216-17; idem, *Rome*, 80, 81, 252, 271).

[15] Salet and Adhémar stress this point (*La Madeleine*, 120). In contrast, Diemer suggests that Eustace would have been a model of patience for monks ("Stil und Ikonographie," 294). Doherty recognizes that the presence of the dog and the trumpet are peculiar to Western representations and conjectures that a now-lost Byzantine prototype existed.

[16] H.-J. Spitz, *Die Metaphorik des geistigen Schriftsinns*, Munich, 1972, 135-36.

[17] The fourth church at Güllü Dere, for example, includes this inscription (N. Thierry, *Haut moyen-age en Cappadoce*, vol. 1, Paris, 1983). Eustace's hunt appears in no less than 15 churches in Cappadocia (ibid., 8 n.6). Other narrative scenes from the saint's life, such as his martyrdom, appear in churches of the region; see, for example, A.W. Wharton Epstein, *Tokali Kilise: Tenth-Century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia*, Washington, D.C., 1986, fig. 117.

in these narratives, seemingly indicating contemporary interest in the process of the saint's conversion. Analogously, rather than show a converted Eustace paying homage to Christ, as in most Byzantine examples, the Vézelay capital shows a hunter in active pursuit. Through choice of narrative moment, the sculptor engages the viewer in the act of the saint's conversion rather than representing it as a *fait accompli*.

Metaphors of conversion, as Karl Morrison has most recently demonstrated, permeated the writings of monks during the twelfth century.[18] Drawing on traditions that included Augustine's *Confessions*, these authors argued that the religious life was to be experienced as a continual conversion. This theme seems a leitmotif of Vézelay's hagiographic capitals: Martin converts a group of pagans in the miracle of the Pine (figs. 15-17) and Eugenia's family become Christian after she proves her innocence from the crime of rape (fig. 30). The term *conversi* could refer to both lay brothers and adult converts[19] and metaphors of hunting, in fact, were sometimes applied to these adult converts. In a description of Carthusian *conversi*, Guibert of Nogent observes that "their pious 'hunting' unfailingly ended up drawing others to the same way of life."[20]

Given the currency of the notion of conversion in twelfth-century monastic thought, it seems appropriate that the passage describing Eustace's encounter with the

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[18] K. Morrison, *Conversion and Text: The Cases of Augustine of Hippo, Herman-Judah, and Constantine Tsatsos*, Charlottesville, 1992; idem, *Understanding Conversion*, Charlottesville, 1992. See also G. Constable, "The Ceremonies and Symbolism of Entering Religious Life and Taking the Monastic Habit, From the Fourth to the Twelfth Century," *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, vol. 2, Spoleto, 1987, 785-86; J. Muldoon, "Introduction: The Conversion of Europe," in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. idem, University Press of Florida, 1997, 1; A.D. Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo*, New York, 1933.

[19] See the illuminating article by G. Constable, "'Famuli' and 'Conversi' at Cluny: A Note on Statute 24 of Peter the Venerable," *Revue Bénédictine* 83 (1973): 326-50.

[20] *A Monk's Confession: The Memoirs of Guibert of Nogent*, trans. PJ. Archambault, University Park, Penn., 1996, 33. J.F. Benton makes a similar translation (*Self and Society in Medieval France*, New York, 1970, 69 [repr. Toronto, 1984]). "Affectabat itaque spontaneam subire pauperiem tot exemplis circumcincta nobilitas, et coenobia, quae subibat, rebus a se contemptis inferciens, aliis etiam ad haec ipsa trahendis pia semper venatione tendebat" (B. Bourgin, ed., *Guibert de Nogent. Histoire de sa vie [1053-1124]*, Paris, 1907, 35-36 [my emphasis]).

stag/Christ was probably read to the monks on his feast day at Vézelay, 3 November. Evidence for this is provided by the Lyon breviary, written in Vézelay's scriptorium.[21] Eleventh- and twelfth-century calendars from Cluny include Eustace, but these are often appended to the celebration of other saints' feasts observed on that day, and no Cluniac liturgical manuscript survives that includes a reading for the saint.[22] The passage in Vézelay's breviary is found in tenth-century manuscripts in the West, and thus it is highly possible that the text would have been read during the early twelfth century.[23] In comparison to Cluny's liturgy, Vézelay's thus seems to have placed particular emphasis on the saint's cult. The precise reasons for this will probably remain unclear because of the lack of documentary evidence from the monastery. Yet the intersection of capital iconography and a liturgical reading, both of which highlight the theme of conversion, seem to situate this carving firmly within trends of monastic piety during the early years of the twelfth century.

Because Eustace's cult was also embraced by the Parisian aristocracy, his appearance at Vézelay could be understood in part as functioning to visually align the monastery with the French kings. Indeed, by the middle of the century, Hugh's *Chronicle* provides evidence that the Capetians began to take an increased interest in the

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[21] Lyon, B.M. 0555, fols. 410r-410v. See comments on this manuscript in the introduction. The passage from Eustace's *vita* is found in AASS, *Septembris*, vol. 6, 1867, 123-24.

[22] A Cluniac breviary dated c. 1075 (B.N. lat. 12601) gives the following heading for November 2: "S. Lauteni abb.--Cesarii, Benigni, Eustachii cum sociis. XII lect." The readings for this day concern Saint Lautenus and not Eustace (fols.151r-152v). Bernard's custumary mentions the feast of St. Eustace: "Quarto Nonas Novemb. S Lauteni Abbatis, ad Noct. Octo. Lect. de vita ipsius. Coll. ad Tert. Sext. & Non. Sicut in natale S. Mauri Abbatis. Ipso die SS. Caesarii, Benigni & Eustachii, Martyrum..." (Hergott, 355). At Cluny, the reading for this day was for Lautenus: R. Etaix, "Lectionnaire." 128; Udalrich's customary does not mention Eustace, nor does the *Liber tramitis* (Elvert, *Clavis*, 31). The readings for Lautenus used at Cluny are found in the Lyon breviary for 4 November; Bénigne, a saint important to Dijon, is also mentioned on this folio: "Ipso die s. Benigni" (Lyon, B.M. 0555, fol. 411). In 1397, Augustinian canons began observing his feast on 10 January.

[23] H. Gerould, "Forerunners, Congeners, and Derivatives of the Eustace Legend," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 19 (1904): 354.

monastery's affairs. Louis VII, as discussed in the previous chapter, sided with Abbot

Pons in a dispute with Cluny. During the thirteenth century Vézelay's abbots appealed to

the Capetians for confirmation of their possession of Mary Magdalene's relics. Might

Vézelay's representation of Eustace offer an early indication of the monastery's efforts to

curry favor with the French kings?

Eugenia

Most of the saints featured on Vézelay's capitals appear in the sanctoral of the

monastery's breviary, honored with feast days and accompanying readings from their

vitae.[24] Only Eugenia and Paul the Hermit receive no mention in this manuscript. Thus,

a liturgical explanation, although significant, cannot wholly account for Vézelay's

hagiographic capitals. This fact seems to justify the use of other sources in the

interpretation of these sculpted narratives, including that of Eugenia.[25]

Most of the saint's biographies were written in Eastern languages, but two Latin

versions existed in the early Middle Ages.[26] That knowledge of the contents of Eugenia's

vita was fairly widespread in the twelfth-century West is attested by its recapitulation in

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[24] Lyon. B.M. 0555. fols. 223v-436. See discussion of this manuscript in the introductory chapter.

[25] Discussions of the Eugenia capital include: Aubert, Richesses. 17; G. Bonnet, Voir-Etre vu. Aspects métapsychologiques, vol. 2, Paris, 1981, 103-75; Calmette and David, Grandes heures, 248; Despiney, Guide. 126; Diemer,"Stil und Ikonographie," 340-41; P. Loos-Noji, "Temptation and Redemption: A Monastic Life in Stone," in Equally in God's Image: Women in the Middle Ages, ed. J.B. Holloway et al., New York, 1993, 220-32; Mâle. Twelfth Century, 244-45; Meunier, Iconographie, 23; Porée. L'abbaye, 60-61; Salet, Cluny et Vézelay, 157-58; Salet and Adhémar. La Madeleine, 188; Sazama, "Assertion." 152-54. Later examples of this unusual iconography include a thirteenth-century antependium (illustrated in Ars Hispaniae, vol. 6, Madrid, 1950, fig. 251) and a sixteenth-century triptych in Varzy (illustrated in J. Thuillier, "L'énigme de Félix Chrestien," Art de France 1 [1961]: 67).

[26] PL 21, 1105-1122 and PL 73, 605-20. See also Jacobus de Voragine. The Golden Legend, vol. 2, trans. Ryan, 165-67. Many Greek and Middle Eastern versions of the saint's life exist, see H. Delehaye, "Étude sur le légendier romain." Subsidia hagiographica 23, Brussels, 1936, 178-86. For an English translation of a Syriac version of Eugenia's life see Select Narratives of Holy Women, ed. and trans. A. Smith Lewis, London, 1900, 1-35.

texts like Honorius Augustodunensis's *Speculum ecclesiae.*[27] In addition, two eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and a unique Old French text composed in Lyon during the thirteenth century recount episodes from her life.[28] The *vitae* are rich in anecdotes, but only a few, common to all versions, relate to the scene carved on the Vézelay capital. Eugenia, the story goes, had fled an unwanted marriage and disguised herself as a man in order to enter a monastery near Alexandria.[29] A local woman eventually became enamored of the saint and attempted to seduce "Eugenius." When her advances were rejected, the woman accused the saint of rape in the presence of Eugenia's parents, who did not recognize their daughter until she bared her sex in order to prove her innocence. Impressed by their daughter's piety, Eugenia's parents immediately converted to Christianity. The Vézelay capital (fig. 30) represents the female accuser at left, the saint's father seated at right, and the saint at center tearing away her monastic habit to reveal her breasts.

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[27] PL 172, 819-20.

[28] The Anglo-Saxon text is found in the following manuscripts: London, Brit. Lib. Cotton Julius, E.vii and London, Brit. Lib. Cotton Otho B.x. For edited text see L.A. Donovon, "The Old English Lives of Saints Eugenia and Eufrosina: A Critical Edition," Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1993. Donovan argues, based on English calendars, that the saint's cult was popular in England (pp. 54-63); see also F. Wormald, *English Kalendars Before A.D. 1100*, London, 1934, 32, 46, 60, 74, 88, 102, 214, 228. The Old French *vita* is found in Paris, B.N. fr. 818. See *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 3, Paris, 1906, 445; A. Mussafia and T. Gärtner, *Altfranzösische Prosalegenden aus der Hs. der Pariser Nationalbibliothek fr. 818*, vol. 1, Vienna and Leipzig, 1895. A thirteenth-century romance that includes a cross-dressing protaganist Silentia/-us seems to refer to the Eugenie/Eugène story (Heldris de Cornuaille, *Le roman de silence*, ed. L. Thorpe, Cambridge, 1972; for English translation see Heldris de Cornuaille, *Le roman de silence*, trans. R. Pseki, New York, 1991). In the romance two of the characters have the following names: Queen Eufemie and Countess Eufeme. Each of the two consonants of these names neighbors those necessary to form the names "Eugenie" and "Eugène", the masculine and feminine forms of the saint's name; a type of hagiographic word play is employed. Moreover, in the only manuscript of the text to survive, which dates to the thirteenth century, there is a miniature of Silentia revealing her sex to a King (University of Nottingham. MS.Mi.LM.6, fol. 222v).

[29] Stories of women saints donning mens' clothing in order to become monks were popular in Byzantium before the ninth century. See E. Patlagean, "L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l'evolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance," *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 17 (1976): 597-98. See also J. Anson, "The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: The Origin and Development of a Motif," *Viator* 5 (1974): 1-32; and also the useful appendix, which lists all Latin and Greek examples, in V.R. Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe*, New York and London, 1996, 131-141.

Since the identification of the capital's iconography in the nineteenth century by

Meunier, its unusual subject has been accounted for in broad terms as providing an

exemplary model of the monastic life.[30] Mâle considered it to be an illustration of the

general trend of Romanesque sculptors to represent narratives of the Desert Fathers.[31]

His suggestion that the Vézelay artist invented the Eugenia iconography *ex nihilo* is

tantalizing, but this fails to account specifically for the significance of her representation

at Vézelay. Diemer suggested that the monastery's scriptorium possessed a now-lost,

illustrated manuscript of early-Christian saints' lives that would have served as a model

for this capital, as well as for those of Anthony and Paul.[32] This hypothesis could

account in part for the transmission of the iconography but not the reasons for its choice

or its formal translation into stone. We need to consider how Vézelay's monks might

have regarded this rather obscure saint.

Early pictorial representations of the saint provide little insight into what the

monastic virtues she was considered to exemplify in the Middle Ages. Eugenia typically

features in non-narrative works that stress her martyrdom, which occurred after she and

her family had moved to Rome. She appears, for example, in the procession of martyrs at

S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna and again as a martyr among a group of bust portraits in

the Archbishop's palace of the same city (fig. 71).[33] Reference to the saint's death is

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[30] Meunier, *Iconographie*, 23.

[31] Mâle, *Twelfth Century*, 244-45.

[32] Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 341, 443.

[33] Illustrated in F.W. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*, vol. 3, Wiesbaden, 1958, 128, 238. Similar portraits of the saint are found elsewhere: Amiens (Bibl. de la Ville 108, fol. 238r); Bibl. Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 278r (eleventh-century lectionary); Hosios Lucas (E. Diez and A. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece: Hosios Lucas and Daphini*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1931, fig. 47); Mont Athos (Mon., Laura, delta 51); Naples (8th century crypt of Gennaro Cimetary; illustrated in H. Achelis, *Die Katakomben von Neapel*, Leipzig, 1936, 72, pl. 47); Stuttgart, Landesbibl. Hist. fol. 415, fol. 83r (12th century martyrologium). A Byzantine manuscript (c. 1000) portrays the saint as decapitated (Bibl. Vat. gr. 1613, fol. 270).

typical in early medieval representations and, as far as I am aware, no pictorial cycle making reference to Eugenia's trial predates the Vézelay capital.

Nevertheless, there existed in the Middle Ages a rich textual tradition that described this saint's trial as exemplifying cenobitic virtues, particularly chastity. Early medieval calendars typically describe Eugenia as a virgin, rather than a martyr and medieval authors similarly focused on her virginity, often citing the confrontation between the saint and her accuser. In a poem on chastity Bishop Avitus of Vienne praises Eugenia as a paragon of the virtue.[34] This sentiment is echoed by several Carolingian writers, including Rabanus Maurus, Aldhelm, and Flodoard of Reims.[35] It is striking that these encomiums often describe Eugenia's abstinence as performed in a masculine manner, *viriliter*. This gendering of the saint's chastity, a cornerstone virtue of the cenobitic life, is highlighted on the Vézelay capital by the saint's habit and pronounced tonsure. The latter feature decisively separates her from other holy women on the capitals at Vézelay, with their veiled heads, and indeed from women as represented in twelfth-century art in general. Caroline Walker Bynum in particular has demonstrated that hagiographers of the high Middle Ages often described sanctity of both men and women "in images of gender reversal."[36] In fact, female saints were often praised as bearded, *barbatus*, an attribute connoting the masculine character of their sanctity.[37] These physical attributes, however, were typically construed metaphorically;

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[34] *De Mosaicae historiae gestis* (PL 59, 378).

[35] Aldhelm, *De laudibus virginitatis* (PL 89, 144-45); Rabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium* (PL 110, 1167, 1187). Flodoard of Reims, *De Christi triumphus apud Italiam* (PL 135, 678). The praise of Eugenia as a virgin was a topos of Martyrologia: Bede's *Martyrologium* (PL 94, 1039); Usuard's *Martyrologium* (PL 124, 459-68, 837-40); Notker the Stammerer's *Martyrologium* (PL 131, 1150).

[36] C.W. Bynum, "Women's Stories, Women's Symbols: A Critique of Victor Turner's Theory of Liminality," reprinted in eadem, *Fragmentation and Redemption*. New York, 1991, 39; eadem, *Jesus as Mother*, Berkeley, 1982, 135-36. See also Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*.

[37] G. Constable, "Introduction," in *Apologiae duae: Gozechini epistola ad Walcherum; Burchardi, ut videtur, abbatis Bellevallis apologia de barbis*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnholt, 1985, 70.

patristic and medieval authors criticized women who actually dressed like men. Jerome,

for one, was critical of female ascetics who donned men's clothing and wore short hair

because they denied their feminine nature and ran the risk of being confused with

eunuchs.[38] Although Eugenia's *vita* relates that she disguised herself as a man, the

Vézelay capital brings to the fore the saint's masculine qualities as physical

characteristics, particularly with the pronounced tonsure.

It thus seems paradoxical that the sculptor also chose to represent the saint's

femininity by featuring her bared breasts, the sole indicator of Eugenia's female sex on

the capital. Although she is represented as clean shaven, in contradistinction to her

bearded father to the right, this need not signify femininity. Other nave capitals at

Vézelay, such as those featuring Martin (26, fig. 15) and Benedict (31, fig. 19), represent

these men without facial hair.[39] Two recent analyses of the Eugenia capital have

problematically interpreted a line which appears on the carved figure's stomach as

genitalia. Kirsten Sazama relates this feature to Sheela-na-gigs, medieval Irish sculptures

of grimacing women that display their genitals. Bonnet, inspired by Lacanian

methodology, interprets this line as manifesting the forbidden homosexual desires of the

artist of this carving. It is undeniable, as Sazama points out, that the Latin *vitae*

ambiguously refer to what Eugenia revealed to prove her innocence (*scidit a capite*

tunicam, qua erat induta, et apparuit femina),[40] but the line she interprets as genitalia is

in fact not carved, but rather is a cast shadow dependent upon certain lighting effects.

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[38] "Alia uirili habitu, ueste mutata, erubescunt feminae esse, quod natae sunt, crinem amputant et inpudenter erigunt facies eunuchinas" (Epistola 22, 27: CSEL 54, Vienna, 1910, 184). See Brown (*Body and Society*) for masculinity as the norm and closer to saintliness.

[39] There does not seem to be a clear pattern as to when a male is bearded at Vézelay: Peter is represented both with (nave 62; fig. 34) and without one (nave 67; fig. 36). Constable has suggested that although beards were sometimes officially proscribed for twelfth-century clerics, it was often a matter of personal taste as to whether one had facial hair ("Introduction," 112-113).

[40] PL 73, 614; see the similar wording in PL 21, 1115.

That the capital indicates the saint's female sex only through her breasts finds an

analogue in an Anglo-Saxon version of the saint's life, which, in contrast to the vaguer

wording of the Latin *vitae*, specifies that she proved her innocence by exposing her

chest.[41] In sum, the Vézelay figure's tonsure and breasts signify alternatively as

masculine and feminine, thereby emphasizing the confusion of genders recorded in

written versions of the story, which, depending on the context, refer to the saint as

"Eugenius" and "Eugenia."

The simultaneous presence of contradictory signs of gender on a single figure, a

curious feature, prompts the viewer to decipher its meaning and thereby to participate in

the judgment of the saint's innocence. The carved saint's frontal stance, a rarity among

the capitals of Vézelay, further engages us. Meyer Schapiro, building upon the work of

Löwe, has argued that in Romanesque art figures are shown in profile to indicate that

they are participating in a narrative to which the viewer is a passive observer, while the

frontal stance engages a viewer more directly.[42] Interestingly, the sign of Eugenia's

innocence, her breasts, connotes concupiscence elsewhere at Vézelay. A nave capital

(15, fig. 11) that shows the personification of *luxuria*, for example, represents the vice's

breasts being attacked by snakes, in a manner typical for this iconography.[43] The

Eugenia capital seemingly inverts this sign of lust and transforms it into one of innocence

and continence, virtues stressed in other carvings at Vézelay. Benedict is shown

mortifying the flesh after being tempted by the devil in two capitals (nave 31, fig. 20;

narthex 11, fig. 51) and Joseph is twice featured fleeing Potiphar's Wife (nave 85,

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[41] Donovan. "Old English Lives." 98.

[42] M. Schapiro, "Frontal and Profile as Symbolic Forms," in idem, *Words, Script, and Pictures: Semiotics of Visual Language*, New York, 1996, 69-77. See also Bonne, *L'art roman*, 72-76; Morrison, *I am You*, 3-40.

[43] See, for example, Adhémar, *Influences*, 198; A. Weir and J. Jerman, *Images of Lust: Sexual Carvings on Medieval Churches*, London, 1986, 71.

narthex 6).[44] Indeed, the frustrated advances of Potiphar's wife find an analogue in the Eugenia story. It seems appropriate that a monastery which enjoined its inhabitants to lead a celibate life should stress the virtue of continence, but it seems equally noteworthy that a female body could stand as a sign of this virtue. In a sense, however, Eugenia's *vita* undermines any potentially transgressive implications. After revealing herself to be a woman, and potentially an object or subject of lust, she abandons the monastery of which she was abbot and then travels with her family to Italy, where she is martyred. The proof of her chastity ironically necessitates the saint's abandonment of the masculine enclave of the monastery.

In addition to her virginity, Eugenia's humility was often praised by medieval writers. The anonymous sixth-century *Rule of the Master* lauds this virtue of the saint twice and cites her as an example for deans, who were charged with the guidance of ten monks.[45] The *Rule* further draws attention to the saint's vigilant observance of silence, a virtue fundamental to the monastic life, by excerpting a passage from her passion:

> Her ears were so alert to what all said that she would not tolerate it when anyone burst into swearwords or babbled in any sort of idle talk.[46]

In his commentary on the *Rule*, Benedict of Aniane, whose reform principles profoundly shaped the ideals pursued by the Cluniac order, refers to Eugenia twice as exemplifying the cenobitic virtue of *humilitas*.[47] Precisely this virtue is stressed as a cornerstone of

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[44] The Ganymede capital in the nave (12), which in moralizing fashion includes a screaming demon, has also been characterized as an admonition against pederasty (Forsyth, "Ganymede," 242-44).

[45] *La règle du maître*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. A. de Vogüé, Paris, 1964, 14, 446. The latter passage refers to Eugenia as the perfect example of humility: "formam perfectae humilitatis in sancta Eugenia demonstratur." For an English translation see *The Rule of the Master*, trans. L. Eberle, Kalamazoo, 1977, 143, 283.

[46] *Rule of the Master*, 143. See *Passio SS. Prothi et Hiacynthi martyrum*, ed. B. Mombritius, Sanctuarium 2, Paris, 1910, 394.

[47] Benedict of Aniane, *De concordia regularum* (PL 103, 1337).

monasticism in the lengthy seventh chapter of the *Rule* of Saint Benedict, which guided

conduct at Vézelay.[48]

That Eugenia embodied the monastic virtues of chastity and humility makes her

appearance within an abbey understandable, but her significance is further sharpened

through examination of local historical sources. Although the saint's cult flourished

primarily in Rome and Visigothic Spain,[49] a church in Varzy, roughly twenty miles

southwest of Vézelay, was dedicated to Eugenia. Unfortunately the building now lies in

ruins as a result of a campaign of vandalism during the French Revolution.[50] The origins

of Eugenia's cult in Burgundy date to the tenth century when Bishop Gouldric of Auxerre

received her relics from the pope. At this time, Gouldric is said to have decorated a pre-

existing church in Varzy with paintings, the subjects of which are unknown, and

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[48]*The Rule of St. Benedict. In Latin and English with Notes*, ed. T. Fry, Collegeville, Minn., 1980, 190-202.

[49] In Rome, there was a church dedicated to the saint on the via Latina, and her feast, generally celebrated on 25 or 29 December, is mentioned in many Roman sacramentaries (H. Delehaye, *Étude sur le légendier romain: Les saints de novembre et de décembre*, Brussels, 1936, 171-72). For Eugenia in Roman liturgy see Jerome's (?) *Martyrologia* (PL 30, 437); Leo I's sacramentary (PL 55, 191); and the *Ordo Romanus* (PL 66, 999). For the Visigothic cult see M. Férotin, *Le liber mozarabicus sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabes*, Rome, 1995 [1912], 60-64, 810-11; M. Alamo, "Les calendriers mozarabes d'après Dom Férotin. Additions et corrections," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 39 (1943): 124-30; *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de geographie ecclesiastiques* vol. 15, Paris, 1963, 1375. From the thirteenth century onward, Saint Eugenia occassionally appears in calendars or litanies in psalters. Only two French psalters dating before 1200 contain litanies that include Saint Eugenia: a Benedictine psalter (c. 1050, Angers Bibliothèque Municipale 18 (14)) and a psalter from the monastery of Soissons (last quarter of the eighth century, Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Medecine 409). The latter also mentions Saint Eustace in its litany. For these psalters see V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers. Manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*. vol. 1, Mâcon, 1940-41, 22; 275. A ninth-century pontifical from St.-Pierre de Vierzon (Paris, Arsenal 227 [348T.L.]) mentions Eugenia in the course of a penitential litany. Two early pontificals mention Saint Eugenia in litanies for church dedications: a tenth-century manuscript from Saint-Germans in Cornwall (Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 368 [A. 27], fol. 3v; also on fol. 188 the saint is mentioned in the *ordo ad visitandum et inungendum infirmum*) and an eleventh-century manuscript from Châlons-sur-Marne (Troyes, B. M. 2262, fol. 51) For these manuscripts see V. Leroquais, *Les pontificaux. Manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 2, Paris, 1937, 288, 388, 433. Lastly, Eugenia is mentioned in a sacramentary from Saint-Gereon in Cologne (c. 1000, Paris, B.N. lat. 817, fol. 19); see V. Leroquais, *Les breviaires. Manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 1, Paris, 1934, 97-99.

[50] J.A. Palet, "La collégiale de Ste.-Eugénie de Varzy," *Bulletin de la Sociéte Nivernaise des lettres, sciences et arts* 28 (1933): 555-66; Marcel Anfray, *L'architecture religieuse du Nivernais au Moyen Age. Les églises romanes*, Paris, 1951, 112-22.

translated Eugenia's relics there.[51] The town of Varzy, located at the borders of the

dioceses of Nevers, Auxerre, and Autun, was of strategic importance and the bishops of

Auxerre continually struggled to maintain a presence here.[52] Bishop Hugh of Auxerre

restored (restauravit) the church and established a group of canons there around 1035.[53]

The bishops of Auxerre seem to have lost control of Varzy sometime during the eleventh

century because in about 1100 Bishop Humbaud of Auxerre is reported to have wrested

the house of canons from lay hands.[54] As the Gesta pontificum Autissiodorum relates,

throughout the twelfth century the see of Auxerre continued to show an interest in

Varzy's affairs by offering gifts and funding repairs to the church.[55]

Relatively little is known about the relationship between Vézelay and the nearby

bishopric of Auxerre. Jean Lebeuf identified the town of Vidiliaco, donated by Bishop

Aunaire to the church of St.- Germain of Auxerre in the sixth century, as Vézelay.[56] If

this identification is correct, there is still no evidence that this donation continued to be

recognized or held any significance during the twelfth century. Auxerre is mentioned

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[51] "laqueribus pictis ornavit en excoluit" ("Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensieum," ed. L.M. Duru, Bibliothèque historique de l'Yonne, vol. 1, Auxerre, 1850, 376). It is popularly believed that St. Germain of Auxerre founded the church at Varzy, see, for example, A. Jobert, "De l'église collegiale de Sainte-Eugénie, de Varzy," Bulletin de la Société Nivernaise des sciences, lettres et arts 4 (18??):133. No historical documents seem to support this.

[52] Y. Sassier, Recherches sur le pouvoir comtal en Auxerrois du Xe au début du XIIIe siècle, Paris, 1986, 130; A. Erlande-Brandenburg, "Saint-Pierre de Varzy," Congrès archéologique de France 125 (1967): 277.

[53] V. Mortet and P. Deschamps, Receuil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture et à la condition des architectes en France, au moyen âge: XIe-XIIIe siècles, Paris, 1995, vol. 1, 93.

[54] Ibid., 319; C. Bouchard, Spirituality and Administration. The Role of the Bishop in Twelfth-Century Auxerre, Cambridge, Mass., 1979, 19.

[55] Bishops Hugh (1115-36), Alano (1152-67), Fromond (1167-81), and Eustache (1183-1206) took actions at Varzy (Gesta pontificum Autissiodorum, 413, 420, 424, 436).

[56] J. Lebeuf, Memoires concernant l'histoire civile et ecclésiastique d'Auxerre et de son ancien diocèse, vol. 1, Marseille, 1978 (1743), 132.

twice in Vézelay's *Annales*, but these entries reveal little about political relations.[57]

Hugh of Poitiers's *Chronicle* gives evidence of tolls collected on the road between the two towns and indicates that the monks of Vézelay purchased the famed wines of Auxerre.[58] In addition, Hugh provides a record of the testimonies given before the pope in 1151 over a dispute whether the bishop of Autun had jurisdiction over the abbey of Vézelay. During these hearings, several of the monastery's monks testify that they had been ordained by the bishop of Auxerre.[59] These events post-date the monastery's sculpture by several decades, so what the relations between Auxerre and Vézelay might have been earlier in the century is unclear.

We know that Hugh of Montaigu, bishop of Auxerre, was a cousin of Abbot Renaud of Vézelay, and that both were nephews of Abbot Hugh of Cluny. Consanguinity does not necessarily imply close relations between the institutions, but does make the possibility seem more likely. The monks at Vézelay, in short, chose to represent a saint that not only embodied monastic virtues, but that was venerated in a church strategically located for the bishops of Auxerre. Thus, there seems to be an effort to co-opt or incorporate a cult of regional importance through the visual arts. This pattern recurs at Vézelay, for several of the saints carved in stone had specific regional significance and would therefore have had resonance with contemporary viewers.

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[57] Auxerre is mentioned for the following years in Vézelay's annals: 862: "Corpora sanctorum Urbani pape et Tiburcii martiris delata sunt Altisiodorum" (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 212; 1075); "Obiit Rotbertus dux Burgundie, Hugo Henrici filius succedit. Porro civitas Altisiodori incensa est" (Huygens, *Monumenta*, 223).

[58] Huygens, *Monumenta*, 422-23; Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 163-64.

[59] Huygens, *Monumenta*, 399-400; Scott and Ward, *Chronicle*, 136-40.

Martin

Reference to Burgundian sacred history may be detected on a nave capital that represents an episode from Sulpicius Severus's biography of Martin (26, figs. 15-17).[60] On a missionary journey through France, it was related, the saint demanded that a pine tree sacred to pagan beliefs be cut down by its worshippers.[61] The pagans agreed on condition that the saint stand in the path of the falling tree. Martin consented to their demand, but as the tree fell he made the sign of the cross, which immediately caused the tree to change direction, thereby saving himself and almost crushing his aggressors. The astonished pagans immediately converted to Christianity. On the Vézelay capital, the angle of Martin's outsized right arm is echoed by the trunk of the pine tree at center, which sways slightly to the left. The console block of the central face, its decoration imitating the leaves of the tree below, is shifted similarly to the left of the central axis. Thus, the power and efficacy of Martin's gesture, the *signum crucis*, is emphasized, a notion highlighted by the three figures on the capital's right face, not mentioned in the *vita*, who attempt to topple the tree onto the saint with ropes. The significance of the miracle, it seems, is being discussed by two figures, who gesture to one another, on the capital's left side. Here, a third figure wields an ax.

It seems appropriate that an abbey church would include a representation of the saint who was claimed as the founder of many French cenobitic institutions. In fact, Martin's biographers may have introduced the term *monasterium* into France, a fact that may have been known to viewers.[62] Still, the iconography of Vézelay's capital seems

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[60] For this capital see Aubert, *Richesses*, 18; Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 245; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 307-309; Evans, *Art*, 108; Mâle, *Twelfth Century*, 227; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 27; Porée, *Vézelay*, 67-68; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 154-55; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 185; Sazama, "Assertion," 117, 166-75.

[61] *Vita sancti Martini* (*Vie de saint Martin*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. J. Fontaine, Paris, 1967, 280-282).

[62] J. van den Bosch, *Capa, Basilica, Monasterium, et le culte de saint Martin de Tours*, Nijmegen, 1959, 122.

unusual: it does not feature the ubiquitous scene of Martin dividing his cape with a pauper—whence the Latin word for chapel (*capella*)—of which a cloister capital at Moissac provides but one example.[63] A decorated initial in a Tours manuscript that represents the pine tree miracle (fig. 72) is the only other twelfth-century example of this iconography of which I am aware, but this postdates the Vézelay capital by several decades. The only recorded visual precedent is that described by Gregory of Tours in the History of the Franks, a now-lost fresco or mosaic cycle in the church of Saint Martin in Tours. Venantius Fortunatus composed poetic inscriptions, which have survived, to accompany the scenes.[64] One of these tituli draws particular attention to Martin's *signum crucis*, in a manner analogous to the carved saint's enlarged, centralized hand on the Vézelay capital:

> When the tree was falling and about to crush the blessed Martin,
> He immediately made the sign of the cross and the pine was pushed back.
> Who would not acknowledge the divine power
> While [looking at this moment when] with trunk turned about,
> the trees too give flight.

> Dum caderet Martinum arbor pressura beatum
> mox facit ipse crucem, pinus abacta redit
> quis non virtuti divinae commodet aurem
> dum trabe conversa dant quoque ligna fugam.[65]

Unlike the Vézelay capital, however, the Tours fresco was part of a long cycle illustrating episodes from Martin's life. The choice to represent one unusual story at Vézelay

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[63] For full description of this capital see Rupin. *Moissac.* 299-301. See also Droste. *Moissac.* 121-23; Rutchick. "Sculpture." 243, 268-69; M. Schapiro. *Romanesque Art.* 156, 159, 166, 184.

[64] T. Sauvel. "Les miracles de saint-Martin: recherches sur les peintures murales de Tours au Ve et au VIe siècle." *Bulletin monumental* 114 (1956): 162, 167.

[65] E. le Blant. *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieure au VIIIe siècle.* Paris, 1865, 253. Translated by Kessler. "Pictorial Narrative," repr. 9. See also Venatius Fortunatus, *Opera poetica,* ed. F. Leo, Berlin, 1881, Carmen 10; E. le Blant. *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieure au VIIIe siècle,* Paris, 1865, 253; H. Delahaye. "Une inscription de Fortunat sur Saint Martin," *Mélanges Camille de Borman,* Liège, 1919, 19-26 (repr. *Mélanges d'hagiographie greque et latine par Hippolyte Delehaye,* Brussels, 1966, 204-11).

suggests that it had particular import for the monastery. At other Romanesque sites, the use of unusual Martin iconography seems to have been a means of establishing a particularized connection with the saint. Marcia Kupfer suggests that a fresco at Vicq, which represents the theft of the saint's corpus, makes the saint's presence visible at that church.[66] De Mérindol argues that two unusual scenes in murals at St.-Hilaire of Poitiers--the appearance of Christ to Martin and the saint at the gate of Amiens--allude specifically to Martin's baptism in that city.[67]

The decision to include a scene of the pine tree miracle at Vézelay may have been partially influenced by the medieval belief that Martin's campaigns against paganism took place in and around nearby Autun.[68] Chapter fifteen of Sulpicius Severus's biography of Martin describes the destruction of a pagan temple *in pago Eduensi*, which had come to be widely interpreted as referring to the region around Autun. From a very early date the city seems to have felt close associations with Martin. Gregory of Tours relates that the bishop of Autun sent marble to Tours for the saint's tomb.[69] A sacramentary from Autun, dating to the middle of the ninth century, records the observance of Martin's feast.[70] The monastery of St. Martin at Autun, in fact founded by the Merovingian queen Brunechild and located outside the city walls, claimed to have

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[66] *Romanesque Wall Painting*, 124.

[67] "Deux scènes de la vie de saint Martin 'La porte d'Amiens' et 'L'apparition du Christ.' À propos de peintures murales récemment découverts en l'église Saint-Hilaire de Poitiers," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1985): 221.

[68] H. Ghéon, for one, argues that this miracle took place near Autun (*Saint Martin: l'évêque des paiens*, Paris, 1981, 166).

[69] *Historia Francorum*, II.15.

[70] Autun, B.M. 19, fol. 189v: "Translatio corporis s. Martini et ordinatio episcopatus eius et dedicatio ecclesiae ipsius"; see V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, vol. 1, 15.

been built by Martin upon the remains of a Roman temple—the ruins of which were visible as late as 1750.[71]

Although no surviving text seems to directly link the pine tree episode with the Autunois—the miracle's location is nowhere specified—much circumstantial evidence seems to suggest that this was believed to be the case. In Sulpicius Severus's biography, the description of the miracle appears in close proximity to that of the destruction of a temple in Autun. Tituli for scenes of these two episodes are juxtaposed in Fortunatus's inscriptions for the murals of Tours, and the paintings themselves may have neighbored one another.[72] Archaeological evidence seems in fact to suggest that the dioceses of Autun and Bourges were the locus of Martin's campaigns against paganism.[73] The virtually unprecedented iconography of Vézelay's capital may thus reflect a similar medieval belief, for which we have no written record.

There is evidence to suggest an important relationship between the monasteries of St. Martin of Autun and Vézelay. René Louis conjectures that Vézelay was first peopled

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[71] J.-G. Buillot and F. Thiollier, *Le mission et le culte de Saint Martin d'après les légendes et les monuments populaires*, Autun and Paris, 1892, 230. See also J.-G. Buillot, *Essai historique sur l'abbaye de Saint-Martin d'Autun, de l'ordre de Saint Benoît*, vol. 1, Autun, 1849, 27; J. Rosny, *Histoire de la ville d'Autun*, Autun, 1802, 259-60. The association between Martin and Autun persisted, as suggested by the sixteenth-century cataloguer B. de Chasseneux (*Catalogus gloriae mundi*, Lyon, 1546, fol. 297). H. de Fontenay argued that part of the text found in Chasseneux was transcribed from a twelfth-century parchment that hung in the choir of St. Martin of Autun (*Épigraphie Autunoise. Inscriptions du Moyen Age et des temps modernes*, vol. 1, Autun and Paris, 1883, 351-53). I am not aware of any evidence that might confirm this hypothesis. See also M.F.E. Pequenot, *Légendaire d'Autun ou vie des saints et autre pieux personnages des diocèses d'Autun*, vol. 2, Châlon and Mâcon, Lyon, 1846, 431-32; J.-B. Pitra, *Histoire de saint Léger, évêque d'Autun et martyr, et l'église des Francs au septième siècle*, Paris, 1846, 223.

[72] See, for example, Kessler's reconstruction in "Pictorial Narrative," 79 (repr. 12). Sauvel offers a very generalized reconstruction of the murals' disposition ("Miracles," 179); see also C. Lelong, *La basilique Saint-Martin de Tours*, Chambray, 1986, 15-24.

[73] C. Stancliffe, *St. Martin and his Hagiographer*, Oxford, 1983, 328-40. See also L. de la Marche, *Saint Martin*, Tours, 1881, 309. J. Fontaine does not offer a location for the miracle but argues that the tree was dedicated to the Sybill (*Vie de Saint Martin*, vol. 2, Paris, 1969, 740-42). See also M. Courtépée, *Description historique et topographique du duché de Bourgogne*, vol. 1, 1776, 57.

by monks from St. Martin after the ninth-century raids by the Saracens.[74] Louis's rather

tenuous hypothesis is based on the fact that a certain Saint Hugh of St. Martin reformed

the monastery of Vézelay during the tenth century.[75] This Hugh was closely associated

with Berno, the celebrated founder of Cluny, and the reformed monasticism observed at

Cluny, St. Martin of Autun, and Vézelay does indeed seem to be linked from a very early

date. Might we infer the belief in a type of *congregatio* among these institutions in the

early twelfth century?

There were further regional ties with Martin that may help explain the emphasis

on the saint at Vézelay. During the Norman raids on Tours in the ninth century, the

people of Burgundy protected Martin's relics by storing them at Chablis and perhaps

Auxerre.[76] The region's role in safeguarding the saint's remains was not forgotten in the

twelfth century, as attested by the *Narratio in reversione beati Martini a Burgundia.*[77]

This work, the written version of which dates to no later than 1156, describes the

translation of Martin's relics and the miracles that accompanied them in the cities of

Orleans, Fleury, Chablis, and Auxerre.[78] Particular emphasis is placed on the last city, in

which the relics were supposedly housed in the church of St. Germain. The *Narratio*

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[74] *Fondations,* 154-55. See also Courtepée, *Description génerale et particulière du duché de Bourgogne,* 3rd ed., vol. 2, 1967, 516; Despiney, *Guide,* 18.

[75] AASS, Jan., vol. 1, 828. See Chérest, *Études,* 17-18; repr. 8.

[76] E. Mabille, "Les invasions normandes dans la Loire et les pérégrinations du corps de Saint Martin," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes* 30 (1869): 149-94. See also I. Gobry, *Saint Martin,* Perin, 1996, 220.

[77] M. Marrier, ed., *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis,* Brussels and Paris, 1915, 116-24; and the notes on 38-48; PL 133, 815-38. The text has been falsely attributed to Odo of Cluny; see P. Gasnault, "La 'Narratio in reversione beati Martini a Burgundia' du Pseudo-Eudes de Cluny," *Studia Anselmiana* 46 (1961): 161-62.

[78] The earliest written version was found in a manuscript from Metz (B.M. 1183), which dated to 1156 and which was destroyed during World War II. The *Narratio in reversione beati Martini* is the only source that provides evidence that Martin's relics were safeguarded in Auxerre (P. Gasnaut, "Le Tombe de Saint Martin et les invasions normandes dans l'histoire et dans la légende," *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 47 (1961): 57-58).

seems to have enjoyed a fair degree of popularity in the twelfth century, as contemporary

miracle accounts seem to have been influenced by this work.[79]

The significance of the saint at Vézelay would have been further underscored by

the fact that Cluny's abbots actively promoted his cult. Many of the mother house's

dependencies were dedicated to Martin,[80] and its customaries give an unusually detailed

account of liturgical observances for his feast.[81] The customaries stress the fact that

abbot Odo had spent time in the monastery dedicated to the saint in Tours before

transferring to Cluny. While at Cluny, Odo composed hymns, antiphons, and a sermon in

honor of the saint,[82] before returning to spend his final days at Tours.[83] In the eleventh

century, Abbot Hugh of Cluny embellished the celebration of Martin's cult by adding an

octave of his feast, an observance included in the Vézelay breviary.[84] The extract from

Martin's *vita* read at Vézelay corresponds to that read at Cluny in the eleventh and

twelfth centuries.[85] This passage includes episodes that seem particularly appropriate to

a monastic context: Martin's adoption of the Christian faith and his foundation of a

hermitage at Ligugé. Descriptions of conversion, as discussed above, permeated

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[79] Modern hagiographers, for example, have described a miracle account related by William of Malmesbury in his *1140 Gesta regum Anglorum* as "emprunté" by the *Narratio* (Gasnault, "La Tombe," 166). See also H. Delehaye "Quatre miracles de saint Martin de Tours," *Analecta Bollandiana* 55 (1937): 29-48.

[80] Evans, *Art*, 108.

[81] "Quod festivitatem S. Martini cum octavis celebramus, hoc processit a primo loci nostri abbate proprio, scilicet domino Odone, qui Turonis oriundus S. Martini alumnus, et canonicus erat ibidem" (PL 149, 689-90; see also Hergott, 355).

[82] PL 133, 729-49.

[83] J. Leclercq qualifies the devotion of Odo for Martin in "St. Martin dans l'hagiographie monastique du moyen âge," *Studia Anselmia* 46 (1961): 186.

[84] Lyon, B.M. 0555, fol. 418v.

[85] The readings on folios 153r-160r of Lyon B.M. 0555 correspond to those of the Cluny lectionary reconstructed by R. Étaix, "Le lectionnaire,"128. The readings for this day are from Sulpicius Severus's *vita* (*Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. and trans. Fontaine, 254-66, 336-44).

monastic writings of the twelfth century and Martin's role as a founder of a monastery would have, doubtless, been familiar to monks. The twelfth-century library of Cluny had a significant number of works that discussed the saint,[86] and both Cluny II and Cluny III had altars dedicated to the saint.[87] Vézelay's emphasis on Martin through the use of unusual iconography may attest in part to an allegiance with Cluniac religiosity.

Finally, it should be noted that viticulturists paid their taxes to Vézelay on the feast of St. Martin, an event that might be obliquely figured here.[88] The lush vegetation on the Martin capital, not to mention throughout the nave, could be interpreted somewhat tenuously, and perhaps ironically, as alluding to the viticultural and arboreal industries from which the monastery received so much of its capital. Indeed, references to the importance of these sources of income for Vézelay are found throughout Hugh's *Chronicle*. The monastery became embroiled in a controversy with the count of Nevers, for example, when one of his men was discovered cutting down a tree on abbatial lands.[89] Yet any possible reference to the monastery's economy on the Martin capital seems outweighed by the ties that the Vézelay capital appears to assert with regional sacred regional history and with Cluny's liturgical practices.

Benedict

Although a representation of Benedict in a monastery that followed his *Rule* hardly needs explanation, the unusual iconography of the nave capital (31, figs. 18-20)

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[86] V. von Buren, "Le grand catalogue de la bibliothèque de Cluny," in *Le Gouvernement d'Hugues de Semur à Cluny*, Cluny, 1990, 252, 256. See also L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Fonds de Cluni*, Paris, 1844.

[87] Conant, *Cluny*, 32, 58.

[88] *Cartulaire générale de l'Yonne*, vol. 1, ed. M. Quentin, 316.

[89] Huygens, *Monumenta*, 425-25 ; Smith and Ward, *Chronicle*, 168-9. See the comments in Berlow, "Social and Economic," 274-88.

merits consideration for its specific connotations.[90] In his *Dialogues*, Gregory relates that during a prolonged period of solitude Benedict had meals brought to him by a certain Romanus. In order not to disturb the saint's isolation, the disciple rang a bell as a signal.[91] The devil, envious of the piety of the two monks, broke the bell. This is the moment carved on the capital's left face. The other two faces feature one of Benedict's temptations by the devil, an episode that is also carved on a later narthex capital (11, fig. 50).[92] A demon in the form of a black bird, the story goes, appeared to Benedict and tempted him with the memory of a woman. In response, the saint immediately leapt into a thorn bush to mortify his flesh, an episode carved on the capital's right side. The central face emphasizes the confrontation between good and evil implicit in Gregory's *Dialogues* by opposing Benedict with an anthropomorphic demon; the bird is not represented here. The memory of a woman described in the saint's biography is here transformed into a real presence, a female figure led by the demon. Benedict wards these two off with the sign of the cross, a gesture specified in Gregory's biography. His *signum crucis* here visually echoes other figural gestures on Vézelay's capitals, including that of the Martin discussed above. The repetition of these formally similar gestures

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[90] For nave capital see Aubert, *Richesses*, 18; J. Baltrusaitis, *La stylistique ornementale dans la sculpture romane*, Paris, 1931, 220; Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 245-46, 248; Crosnier, "Iconographie," 223; Despiney, *Guide*, 125-6; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 313-15; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 27; Porée, *Vézelay*, 68-69; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 155; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 185; Sazama, "Assertion," 111-23, 152; Viollet-le-Duc, *Monographie*, 27.

[91] Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, ed. A. Vogüé, trans. P. Antin, Paris, 1979, 126-36; cf. PL 66, 126-30.

[92] For narthex capital see Aubert, *Richesses*, 16; Crosnier, "Iconographie," 223; Despiney, *Guide*, 92-93; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 399-401; Mâle, *Twelfth Century*, 237-38; Meunier, *Iconogaphie*, 11-12; Porée, *Vézelay*, 37; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 164-65; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 197; Sazama, "Assertion," 111-23, 152; Weir and Jerman, *Lust*, 71. Another capital in Vézelay's narthex features Benedict raising a child from the dead, an iconography also found at St.-Benoît-sur-Loire and in the Monte Cassino manuscript. For this capital see Aubert, *Richesses*, 16; Despiney, *Guide*, 93; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 409-411; Evans, *Art*, 102; Mâle, *Twelfth Century*, 236-37; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 11; Porée, *Vézelay*, 36; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 165; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 198.

throughout Vézelay's nave confers a visual, and perhaps thematic, unity to the iconographically heterogeneous group of subjects represented there.[93]

In addition to any potential programmatic import within the Vézelay sculptural corpus, the capital's iconography seems significant in itself, for representations of these three scenes in medieval art are extremely rare. The celebrated *Codex Benedictus*, an eleventh-century lectionary from Monte Cassino with an elaborate Benedict cycle, does feature scenes of the temptation and the broken bell.[94] The miniatures illustrate transcribed excerpts from the *Dialogues* read at the monastery in liturgical performances in honor of Saint Benedict.[95] The Lyon breviary's readings for the saint's feast on March 21 also include Gregory's description of the story of the broken bell, as do eleventh- and twelfth-century lectionaries from Cluny.[96] Although the story of Benedict's temptation was not read at Vézelay or Cluny, it immediately follows the story of the broken bell in Gregory's *Dialogues*. The more elaborate cycle of liturgical readings at Monte Cassino is, of course, appropriate for a monastery founded by Benedict that claimed possession of the saint's relics.

Yet the monks of Cluny and Vézelay did not honor Monte Cassino's claims to Benedict's relics, but rather recognized Fleury as the resting place of the saint.[97] Every

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[93] See chapter 3 for a fuller discussion of the repetition of visual forms at Vézelay.

[94] Vat. lat. 1202, fol. 17v. See the facsimile: P. Meyvaert, H. Bloch, et al., *The Codex Benedictus: An Eleventh Century Lectionary from Monte Cassino*, Codices e Vaticanis selecti 50, New York, 1982. J.H. Wansbrough argues that the relationship between Benedict and Romanus parallels that between Daniel and Habakkuk ("St. Gregory's Intention in the Stories of St. Scholastica and St. Benedict," *Revue bénédictine* 75 [1965]: 149). At Vézelay, on the nave piers to either side of that on which Benedict's Temptation is located, there are capitals of Daniel in the Lions' Den (nave 27 and 34).

[95] P. Meyvaert, "The Historical Setting and Significance of the Codex Benedictus," in *Codex Benedictus*, 27.

[96] Lyon, B.M. 0555, fol. 254. See Elvert, *Clavis*, 47; Étaix, "Le lectionnaire," 115.

[97] Thomas Head has recently discussed the importance of Benedict for Fleury (*Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200*, New York, 1990).

11 July, the feast of the saint's translation, the monks of Cluny and Vézelay heard excerpts of the story of how Benedict's relics were invented at Monte Cassino and then transported to Fleury.[98] In addition, on 18 July, the octave of the feast of Benedict's translation, they heard a portion of Abbot Odo of Cluny's third sermon, which exhorts the army of monks (*exercitus monachorum*) to praise Benedict to all nations.[99] We know little of the liturgical practices at Fleury before the thirteenth century. A customary from this time, based partly on a lost eleventh-century work, states simply that there were to be twelve readings from Benedict's *vita* on 21 March.[100] During the twelfth century Fleury adopted the feast of Mary Magdalene's translation, observed at Vézelay, even though the monastery made no claims to her relics nor had any altars dedicated to the saint.[101] In fact, it has been argued that Fleury's translation story was influenced by Vézelay's account of the invention of Mary Magdalene's relics.[102] Because Vézelay and Fleury recognized holidays that were of vital importance to one another's religious status, we might again posit something akin to an alliance or *congregatio*. No document survives that would indicate formal relations between the monasteries, although there is record of

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[98] Lyon, B.M. 0555, fol. 309; see also PL 124, 901-905. For a discussion of the eleventh-century music of this feast at Cluny see R. Steiner, "The Music for a Cluny Office of Saint Benedict," in *Monasticism and the Arts*, ed. T. Verdon, Syracuse, 1984, 81-113.

[99] "Quapropter easdem illius laudes, non una vox, non una congregatio, neque una urbs vel provinicia proclamat; sed ubicunque sancta Ecclesia diffunditur, per tribus, per nationes, per linguas, laus Benedicti frequentatur. Si enim in multitudine populi dignitas regis est (Prov. 14,28), ut ait Salomon, quantam putamus esse dignitatem istius regis, quem tam numerosos prosequitur exercitus monachorum?" (PL 133. 728-9; see also Lyon, B.M. 0555, fol. 314v).

[100] "Duodecim lectionis de vita ipsius," in *Consuetudines Floriacenses saeculi tertii decimi*, ed. A. Davril, Siegburg, 1976, 157. For the lost eleventh-century customary see idem, "Un coutumier de Fleury du début du XIe siècle," *Revue Bénédictine* 76 (1966): 351-54.

[101] Lyon, B.M. 0555, fol. 254. D.-B. Grémont, "Le culte de Marie-Madeleine à Fleury," *Études Ligéreiennes d'histoire et d'archéologie médievales*, ed. R. Louis, Auxerre, 1975, 208-09.

[102] Louis, *Fondations*, 169.

Renaud launching a complaint, the content of which is not specified, against Fleury.[103]

The correspondence in Benedictine iconography between Fleury and Vézelay remains striking and possibly revealing of regional sympathies or identities.

That an alliance existed between the two monasteries seems reflected in art. Whereas the miniature of Benedict's temptation in the *Codex Benedictus* nowhere represents an image of the woman that tempted Benedict, capitals at Fleury (fig. 73) and Vézelay include a female figure.[104] These sculptures—as well as a capital showing the broken bell episode at Fleury—stand as the only Romanesque, monumental examples of these iconographies. The cycle of crypt capitals of St. Denis, for example, features other narratives from the Benedict's life.[105] In addition to the fact that the Benedict capitals from Vézelay and Fleury highlight virtues like chastity, appropriate within a cenobitic context, the similarities in the sculptures at the two sites might provide evidence for ties between the monasteries.

Anthony and Paul the Hermit

As a testimony to their faith, Anthony and Paul sought the solitude of the Egyptian desert to undertake extreme acts of asceticism. Their biographers, Athanasius and Jerome respectively, established topoi, from struggles with demons to incredible fasts, that were widely imitated in medieval hagiographic literature.[106] Three capitals in

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[103] RHF, vol. 15, 45-46. See Berlow "Social and Economic," 157.

[104] P. Verdier, "La vie et miracles de St. Benoît dans les sculptures de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 89 (1977): 117-87; Vergnolle, *Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire,* 248-57

[105] P. Blum, "The Saint Benedict Cycle on the Capitals of the Crypt at Saint-Denis," *Gesta* 20 (1981): 73-88. A related scene of Romanus providing food for Benedict features here.

[106] D. Robertson, *The Medieval Saints' Lives: Spiritual Renewal and Old French Literature,* Lexington, Kent., 1995, 76-84. For Anthony's *vita* see Athanasius, *Vita beati Antonii abbatis,* PL 73, 125-70 (cf. R.C. Gregg, trans., *The Life of Anthony and Letter to Marcellinus,* The Classics of Western Spirituality, Toronto, 1980). See also the Greek text in *Vie d'Antoine,* ed. and trans. G.J.M. Bartelink, Paris, 1994. For Paul's, see Jerome, *Vita s. Pauli primi eremitae,* PL 23, 17-28.

Vézelay's north aisle feature episodes from the lives of the two Desert Fathers. These

sculptured narratives can be related to specific cenobitic beliefs and practices.

A much damaged fragment of the nave capital in the Musée Lapidaire shows the

Funeral of Paul (58, fig. 29).[107] According to Jerome's biography, Anthony witnessed

two lions miraculously dig a grave for the deceased saint and this scene is clearly

represented on the Vézelay capital.[108] On the fragment that remains part of Paul's body,

wrapped in a funeral cloth, can be discerned. Below this, a lion appears to scratch the

ground, in order to prepare the saint's resting place. Viollet-le-Duc's reconstruction,

which includes another digging lion and a praying Anthony on the now-lost left side of

the capital, seems justified in light of Jerome's description of the event. Other

Romanesque capitals, including those at Beaune and St.-Hilaire, feature Anthony, along

with two lions, at Paul's burial.[109] A funerary scene seems appropriate at Vézelay given

the emphasis on the remembrance of the dead in cenobitic liturgy, which honored saints,

former monks, and laymen.[110] Anthony's participation at Paul's funeral could well have

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[107] For this capital see Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 245; Despiney, *Guide*, 126; 40; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 339-40; Mâle, *Twelfth Century*, 240; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 23; Porée, *Vézelay*, 60; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 157; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 188; Saulnier and Stratford, *La sculpture oubliée*, 121; Terret, *Cluny*, 108; Viollet-le-Duc, *Monographie*, 24.

[108] PL 23, 27-28.

[109] For the Beaune example see Aubert, *Richesses*, pl. 168, 2; for the St.-Hillaire example see Evans, *Art*, fig. 177b. In addition, a capital at Duravel seems to represent the two Desert Fathers embracing one another (R. Ray. "Duravel," *Congrès archéologique de France* 100 (1937): 288).

[110] A. Angenendt. "Theologie und Liturgie der mittelalterlichen Toten-Memoria,"in *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. K. Schmid and J. Wollasch, Munich, 1984, 79-199; G. de Valous, *Le monachisme clunisien des origines au Xve siècle. Vie intérieure des monastères et organisation de l'ordre*, vol. 1, Paris, 1935, 294-98; D. Iogna-Prat, "Les morts dans la comptabilité céleste des Clunisiens de l'an mil," in *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil*, ed. idem, Paris, 1990, 55-69; J. Wollasch, "Ein cluniacensisches Totenbuch aus der Zeit Abt Hugos von Cluny," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1967): 406-43; idem, "Hugues Ier abbe de Cluny et la memoire des morts," In *Le Gouvernement d'Hugues de Semur à Cluny*. Actes du Colloque Scientifique International, Cluny, 1988, 75-92; idem, "Les obituaires, témoins de la vie clunisienne," *Cahiers de civilsation médiévale* 22 (1979):139-71. See also chapter 2, note 114. For a more general overview see P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, Ithaca, 1996, 29-70; P. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca, 1994.

been understood as a prefiguration of these practices. In his celebrated *Verbum*

abbreviatum, for example, Peter the Chanter discusses burial practices and cites

Anthony's mourning at Paul's funeral as exemplary.[111]

Anthony is represented on a second nave capital (63, fig. 35), which represents an

unspecified episode from Athansius's biography.[112] Throughout the text the struggles of

the saint with worldly temptations are described as battles with demons, who literally

torture their victim. The Vézelay sculpture represents one of these temptations and is the

earliest Western example of what would become an extremely popular theme in the

visual arts. Teeming vegetation is found on either of the side faces, while at center the

saint, who is represented with a similarly long beard on other Vézelay capitals, stands

impassively as a demon persecutes him from either side. When this capital is viewed in

relation to others in the nave representing various vices, such Ira and Luxuria (15, fig.

11), the saint's apparent stoicism in the temptation scene could act as a visual exhortation

to monks to remain steadfast in their observance of religious vows.

Both saints appear on another capital (75, fig. 37) featuring an episode from

Jerome's biography of Paul the Hermit.[113] By divine providence, according to the text,

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[111] "Septimum opus misericordiae legitur apud Tobiam; qui tota die jejunus et famelicus, cum sederet ad mensam in vespera, et audiret quemdam contribulem suum insepultum, surrexit cito, et sub discrimine capitis sui, sepelivit cadaver eus, totus huic operi deditus. Hac gratia Antonius (non habens ferramentum, famulantibus et coadjuvantibus sibi duobus leonibus) sepelivit Paulums inhumatum et appodiatum ad arborem, in modum orantis inveniens" (*Verbum abbreviatum* 295, PL 205, 326). See also the comments of Dynamius Patricius (PL 80, 29). For a discussion of Peter's theology see J.W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*. 2 vols., Princeton, 1970; B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed., Notre Dame, 1964, 196-263.

[112] Baltrusaitis, *Stylistique*, 158; A. Chastel, "La tentation de saint Antoine ou le sage du mélancolique, " *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 78 (1936):218; Crosnier, "Iconographie," 223; Cuttler, "Temptations," 36-37; Despiney, *Guide*, 126; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 151, 345-47; Mâle, *Twelfth Century*, 240-41; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 24; Porée, *Vézelay*, 61-62; Porter, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 1, 113-14; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 158; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 189; Saulnier and Stratford, *Sculpture oubliée*, 121-22

[113] For nave capital of the Meal see Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 244; Despiney, *Guide*, 126; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 355-56; Mâle, *Twelfth Century*, 239-40; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 24; P. Meyvaert, "A New Perspective on the Ruthwell Cross: Ecclesia and Vita Monastica," *The Ruthwell Cross*, ed. B. Cassidy, Princeton, 1992, 133-35; Porée, *Vézelay*, 69; Porter, *Pilgrimage*, pl. 43; Salet, *Cluny et*

Paul the Hermit was brought bread by a bird every day in order that he might sustain his ascetic life in the desert. This portion was miraculously doubled on the day that Anthony visited the Hermit. The two saints gave thanks for the Lord's bounty and broke bread. On the capital, the saints are identified by carved inscriptions above: "S ANTONIVS BEATVS PAVLLS [sic]." The sculptor highlighted the drama of the moment by placing the piece of bread on the carving's central axis as it is being divided, an action that threatens to disrupt the capital's rigid symmetry. The representation of the meal of Anthony and Paul probably reflects renewed interest in the *vita communis*, as first described in Acts 4, 32, shared by monastic theologians in the early-twelfth century.[114] According to this doctrine, monks were to strictly observe their vow of poverty and share all material possessions in common. This notion was frequently expressed by writers associated with Cluny. Rupert of Deutz refers to Anthony and Paul in his *De vita vere apostolica*, a work which traced monastic practices to their apostolic roots, as paragons of the *vita communis*.[115] Peter the Venerable, who was prior of Vézelay before becoming abbot of Cluny, describes Anthony and Paul's meal as a transmission of the bread of eternal life (*panem vitae perpetuae*) and then contrasts the solitary life of the Egyptian fathers with communal monasteries.[116] He likens the latter to military camps (*castra*)

Vézelay, 159; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 190; Sazama, "Assertion." 99-110; Viollet-le-Duc, *Monographie*, 1873, 190. The Meal of Anthony and Paul also features on a narthex capital (13; fig. 53); see Baltrusaitis, *Stylistique*, 223; Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 244-45; Despiney, *Guide*, 93; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 402; Mâle, *Twelfth Century*, 239-40; Meunier, *Vézelay*, 12; Porée, *Vézelay*, 37-38; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 197; Sazama, "Assertion." 99-110. The Meal of Anthony and Paul was particularly common on Irish crosses: G. Ferrari, "Sources for the Early Iconography of St. Anthony," *Studia Anselmiana* 38 (1956): 249-53; A. K. Porter, "An Egyptian Legend in Ireland," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 5 (1929): 1-14. See also Cuttler "Temptations," 36-49.

[114] See chapter 1, n. 115.

[115] PL 170, 647.

[116] Constable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, vol 1, 29-31. For the prevalence of militaristic terminology in Peter's writings see D. Bouthillier and J.-P. Torrell, *Pierre le Vénérable et sa vision du monde*, Paris, 1986, 134.

where the struggle against evil was easier in a group than it would be individually.
Peter's vocabulary (*panem vitae*) has eucharistic connotations and elsewhere he alludes
to the manna (*panes de caelo*) of Exodus 16, 4. Indeed, there seems to be an oblique
reference to the eucharist on the Vézelay capital, but this must be viewed within the long-
established tradition of viewing Anthony and Paul as founders of monasticism.[117]

The proximous disposition of these three capitals on related themes is remarkable
at Vézelay because carvings in the abbey church are generally arranged in a seemingly
haphazard manner. But in fact when Anthony and Paul are represented in monumental
contexts in the twelfth century they often appear together, a visual parallel to the frequent
grouping of these saints in hagiographic literature and other monastic writings, probably
because Anthony was Paul's disciple.[118] A cycle of four frescos, featuring episodes from
the lives of Anthony and Paul, decorates the porch of San Angelo in Formis. The scenes
are as follows: Anthony asks a Centaur for directions to Paul's cave, Anthony arrives
there, the saints embrace, they share a meal, Anthony watches Paul's soul ascend to
heaven.[119] Through the choice of narrative moments, which almost cinematically unfold,
the cycle emphatically establishes a link between the two ascetics. Ceiling frescos in the
chapterhouse of Brauweiler, a monastery that claimed Anthony's relics, juxtapose an

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[117] K. Sazama ("Assertion," 99-110) argues that this image proclaims the right of the monastery to perform the eucharist as part of the *cura animarum*. An alternative view of the significance of this iconography is offered by P. Meyvaert, "New Perspective," 133.

[118] On this issue see L.M. Kaiser, "Medieval and Post-medieval Iconography of SS. Paul and Anthony," *Saint Louis University Studies*, ser. A, 1 (1950): 53-72; D.P. Noordeloos, "De Ikonographie van het Bezoek van Antonius den Groote aan Paulus van Thebe," *Het Gildeboek* 25 (1941): 33-74. Paul's presence seems implied in Romanesque carvings of Anthony asking Centaur for directions to the Hermit's residence. A tympanum of this subject at Varrax, for example, is acccompanied by the following inscription: "ABBAS QVERABAT PAVLV[m] FAVN[us]Q[ue]..." (Kendall, *Allegory*, 274). The use of *abbas* here to refer to Anthony is noteworthy for its specifically monastic connotations.

[119] E.W. Anthony, *Romanesque Frescoes*, Princeton, 1951, fig. 127; O. Morisani, *Gli affreschi di S. Angelo in Formis*, Naples, 1962, 32, figs. 8-10; J. Wettstein, *Sant' Angelo in Formis et la peinture médiévale en Campanie*, Geneva, 1960, 28-29. See also Dodwell, *Pictorial Arts*, 166-68. The date of these frescos is still debated.

image of Anthony and the Centaur with that of Paul the Hermit's Baptism within the same frame.[120] Thus, although there are twelfth-century parallels for the coupling of Anthony and Paul in pictorial cycles, Vézelay's program places unusual stress on these saints. Save for Peter and Paul, two of the monastery's patron saints, no other holy figures are represented more often in the nave.

This emphasis can be accounted for from the fact that from an early date the lives of these Desert Fathers were cited by Western theologians as exemplifying monastic ideals.[121] Augustine, for one, claimed that Anthony and Paul founded the cenobitic life, a sentiment echoed by others, including Cassian and Isidore.[122] The *Rule of the Master*, which was an important source for Benedict's *Rule*, cites the meeting of Paul and Anthony as an example for the manner in which monks should greet each other: with salutation, prayer, and then an embrace.[123] By the twelfth century, it was commonplace for religious communities—including those as diverse as Carthusians, Cluniacs, Cistercians, and Augustinian canons—to praise Anthony and Paul as paragons of their lifestyle. It may seem paradoxical that eremitic saints were lauded by communal institutions, but Peter Damian, an eleventh-century writer who spent time at Cluny, reconciles this in the following way:

> Truly there [at Cluny] I met many Pauls, and I saw many Anthonys, who although they did not cultivate solitary habits, they did not stray from the

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[120]P. Clemen, *Die Romanische Wandmalereien der Rheinlande*, Düsseldorf, 1905, pl. 26; Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, 185. For the relics see MGH Scriptores 30, 2, 773.

[121] See J. Leclercq's important study on this subject: "S. Antoine dans la tradition monastique médiévale," *Studia Anselmiana* 38 (1956): 229-47. See also G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, 1996, 160-61, 269-70.

[122] Augustine, *Sermo XXXIX* (De vita solitaria et contemplativa), PL 40, 1306. For Cassian see *Conférences*, vol. 3, ed. E. Pichery, Paris, 1959, 16 (18.5); *Conferences*, trans. C. Luibheid, The Classics of Western Spirituality, Mahwah, N.J., 1985, 187. For Isidore see, for example, his *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (PL 83, 794).

[123] *La règle du maître*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. de Vogüé, 302-304; *The Rule of the Master*, trans. L. Eberle, 235. Peter of Blois would later point to Anthony and Paul as models of hospitality (PL 207, 99).

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actions of the first anchorites. For when I began to examine the practice of this community, and how with a changing love they remained benevolent among themselves and strengthened the monastic community at every chance, immediately the family of the primitive church came to mind, which is praised thus by Luke who says: *the multitude of believers had but one heart and one soul, and all things among them were common.*[124]

Despite frequent references in clerical literature, however, the cults of these saints were not popular among the laity at the turn of the twelfth century, as they would be in the later Middle Ages.[125] This only goes to support what the previous case studies have suggested, that the hagiographic capitals seem particularly apt for a monastic context.

At Vézelay, further cenobitic associations drawn to Anthony and Paul are attested to by two sources. In his sermons, Julian argues that Anthony and Benedict established "the rule and the route" for monks.[126] He mentions Paul elsewhere as an example of how monks should pray on their knees.[127] The Lyon breviary includes a feast for Anthony on January 17, during which the opening portion of Athanasius's biography was read.[128] There is no mention of Paul in this breviary. An inclusion of the saint in a twelfth-

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[124] "Interea octo dierum spatio mansimus Cluniaco. Veraciter ibi multo reperi Paulos, plurimos vidi Antonios, qui etsi solitudinis habitationem non incolunt, anachoritanum praemium imitatione operum non amittunt. Cum enim illius congregationis ordinem accurate coepi perspicere, et mutuae dilectionis inter eos manere benevolentiam et monasticam omnium causarum pollere convenientiam, statim ad illius primitivae Ecclesiae mens recurrit familiam, de cujus laude ita Lucas loquitur: Multitudinis credentium erat cor unum et anima una, et erant illis omnia communia," PL 145, 873. Peter often cites the Desert Fathers as paragons of the monastic life (e.g., *De institutis suae congregationis,* PL 145, 337-338; and *Invectio in episcopum monachos ad saeculum revocontem,* PL 145, 377). For a discussion of Peter Damian's views on Cluny see I. Resnick, "Peter Damian on Cluny, Liturgy, and Penancy," *Studia liturgica* 18 (1988): 170-87.

[125] See, for example, J. Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages,* trans. R.J. Payton and U. Mammitzsch, Chicago, 1996, 198-200.

[126] "Glorietur Antonius aut pater Benedictus se monachis stauisse uiam uiuendique regulam tradisse..." (*Sermons,* 384).

[127] Ibid., 614.

[128] Anthony's feast in Lyon, B.M. 0555; fol. 229; cf. PL 73, 127-28. The feast of Saints Speusipus, Eleusipus, and Meleusipus was also observed on January 17 at Vézelay. Langres, whose bishops maintained ecclesiastical control over Dijon until the eighteenth century, held these relics until the eighth century when part or all were translated to Ellworgen in Swabia.

century liturgical cycle would be highly unusual because, as study of Victor Leroquais's catalogues of medieval manuscripts reveals, the saint rarely appears in calendars before the thirteenth century.[129]

Regional cults associated with Anthony and Paul seem to have existed in the early twelfth century. Around the year 1100, Anthony's relics were translated to la Motte-Saint-Didier, a house of canons located just outside Vienne.[130] Historians have tried with limited success to establish the exact dates for the translations from Alexandria to Constantinople and from there to France. It is certain, however, that Urban II recognized Anthony's presence at Saint Didier at the famed council at Clermont in 1095, at which the first crusade was declared. The pope instituted the order of hospitallers at Saint-Didier, also known as the Antonine canons, an order that would become celebrated for dealing with patients inflicted with St. Anthony's fire.[131] Increasingly pilgrims, probably attracted by the relics, began to visit the site.

With regard to Paul, in 1637, André du Saussay (1589-1675), bishop of Toul, reports a tradition that the saint's body was translated from Egypt to Cluny, where it was protected by the monks.[132] This is intriguing as Venice and churches throughout Hungary made similar claims. Unfortunately, Saussay does not provide the source for this belief, and one cannot be certain at what date it originated. Given the emphasis on Paul by medieval writers associated with Cluny, it is possible that Paul's body may have

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[129] For a Mozarabic example see M. Gerbert, ed., *Monumenta veteris liturgiae alemannicae*, vol. 1, St. Blasien, 1777, 455.

[130] AASS, Jan., vol. 2, 513-15. See also Cuttler, "Temptations," 10-13; G. Korte, *Antonius der Einsiedler in Kult, Kunst und Brauchtum Westfalens*, Werl, 1952, 9; Leclercq, "Saint Antoine," 234.

[131] V. Advielle, *Histoire de l'ordre hospitalier de s. Antoine*, Paris, 1883; Cuttler, "Temptations," 10-11.

[132] "Corpus vero ex Ægypto in Galliam translatum, apud Cluniacum archimonasterium repositum, ibidem religiose servatur" (André du Saussay, *Martyrologium Gallicanum...*, Paris, 1637; see also AASS, Jan. vol.1, 607).

been widely believed to be buried at the monastery. If this were the case, the emphatic

presence of Paul in Vézelay's carvings would visually ally the monastery with Cluny.

Conclusion

A salient feature of Vézelay's hagiographic capitals is their emphasis on dramatic

action.[133] Rather than present hieratic images of saints, these sculptures exploit the

capital form to encourage active viewing by employing a variety of representational

strategies. On the Eustace (figs. 22-23) and Benedict (figs. 39-41) capitals the narratives

unfold horizontally across these surfaces. The viewer moving around the capitals'

corners to link elements of the story becomes physically involved in the temporal

structure of these narratives. Because the three sides of these capitals can never be

regarded simultaneously, the viewer's memory is repeatedly called upon; the viewer must

recall what has been seen in order to make sense of what he or she sees. Other capitals

complicate this unidirectional flow by orchestrating the convergence of various narrative

strands on the capital's central axes, where the action culminates. This is the case with

the Martin capital (figs. 15-17). In boustrophedonic fashion, the viewer must both

physically and mentally move backwards and forwards around the capital to connect the

elements into a coherent story. The penchant for drama is further attested by the

emphatic gestures that appear on Vézelay's hagiographic capitals.

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[133] A dramatic episode is found on another capital (83), whose subject is unknown but which is probably hagiographic. On the central face of the capital, a tonsured figure is bound by the wrists to a tree and his legs extend to either side. With the help of a beam, two figures appear to apply weight to the saint's legs in order to dismember him. The chosen narrative moment is charged with anticipation, as the instruments of martyrdom have not yet fully been implemented. For this capital see Despiney, *Guide*, 136; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 157, 365; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 44; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 160; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 191. Identifications for this scene include the Death of Alexander Janneus (Depsiney) and Martyrdom of St. Andoche (Salet and Adhémar). Neither of these identifications, as Diemer has argued, fully account for the capital's forms. Nor does an examination of the *vitae* found in the martyred saints listed in the Lyon breviary yield further insight into this capital's subject.

In its exploitation of the capital form to convey narratives and its inclusion of evocative details, such as screaming demons, Vézelay's sculpture makes sacred dramas immediate and present. An analogue to such dramatic storytelling might be found in the contemporary trend for increasingly complex forms of liturgical plays in France.[134] During the course of the twelfth century, religious dramas began to incorporate elaborate dialogues which focused on the emotive content of sacred stories, often omitted in terse biblical accounts, and made use of props that conjured up historical settings. These new strategies of representation, both in sculpture and in drama, seem to involve the audience in order to prompt consideration of the meaning of a story.

Although the hagiographic episodes carved at Vézelay could be interpreted as stressing key cenobitic virtues, including chastity and humility, it has been argued in this chapter that these sculptures represent more than paragons of the holy life. As with Peter, Paul, and the Virgin, rather than stressing the celebrated, yet idiosyncratic cult of Mary Magdalene through her representation, Vézelay's sculpted program looks outward to include saints not represented by relics at the monastery. As has been demonstrated, relics of all or most of these saints were claimed by other important centers in France, primarily in Burgundy: Eustace (Paris/St. Denis), Eugenia (Varzy), Martin (Tours), Benedict (Fleury), Anthony (St. Didier) and Paul the Hermit (Cluny?). Thus, the hagiographic capitals present what could be described as a visual toponymy; they map a sacred geography of the region.[135] By visually evoking these other sites, Vézelay may have tried to situate itself within and perhaps authenticated by a network of regional piety.

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[134] K. Young's study of medieval drama remains fundamental (*The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. Oxford, 1933).

[135] See comments of M. Warnke, *Political Landscape: The Art History of Nature*, Cambridge, Mass., 145-46.

By the early twelfth century it was common for writers to refer to "France", a territory in which Burgundy was generally included. The idea of a nation, as recent historians have demonstrated, seems to have been more pronounced than in other regions like Germany or Kievan Rus'.[136] Julian of Vézelay describes the Duke of Burgundy as French, not exclusively *bourguignon*.[137] The concept of France was often couched in religious terminology during the twelfth century. After the year 1000, it became a commonplace for writers to refer to a French church (*ecclesia gallicana*), a phrase used, among other places, in Hugh's *Chronicle*. Vézelay capitals that evoke other religious centers, it might be argued, provide a visual equivalent of the *ecclesia gallicana*.

The notion of a French Church is not necessarily an abstraction or representational fiction. Despite the protestation in the *Rule* of Saint Benedict against gyrovagues--those who constantly moved from place to place--monks could transfer, under certain circumstances, from one religious institution or office to another.[138] A monk who began his religious life at Vézelay would not necessarily end his days there: Peter the Venerable eventually held the abbatial staff of Cluny and Abbot Renaud came to wear the archbishop's pallium in Lyon. Transfers among these institutions probably created a dense network of allegiances. It will be recalled, for example, that Abbot Renaud of Vézelay was the nephew of Abbot Hugh of Cluny and the cousin of the bishop of Auxerre.

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[136] The bibliography on this subject is immense. See the recent comments by J. Ehlers. "Sentiment impérial, monarchie et régions en Allemagne et en France pendant le haut moyen âge." *Identité regionale et conscience nationale en France et en Allemagne du Moyen âge à l'époque moderne: actes du colloque organisé par l'Université Paris XII...les 6, 7, et 8 octobre 1993*, Sigmaringen. 1997, 23-24; A. Smith "The Problem of National Identity: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17 (1994): 388-89.

[137] *Sermons*, 536.

[138] *ROB 1980*, 169.

The herculean project of building a church of the scale and lavishness of Vézelay seems unthinkable for a politically isolated institution. Not only does the construction suggest the incredible wealth of the monastery, it also provides evidence for the enormous cultural capital that the institution commanded. Monks would have had to convince innumerable donors that their institution merited a church on a scale rivaled only by very few other buildings in France. Many who gave money to the church, no doubt, were persuaded that this was the case. Once completed, the impressive church stood as a symbol for the monastery's important religious and political stature, discussed in the previous chapter. The abbey church's hagiographic capitals, with their capacity for far-reaching allusions, eloquently manifest this reality.

CHAPTER 3

VISUAL PUNS

In a description of a trip through the Midi of France in 1835, Prosper Merimée devotes a lengthy paragraph to the analysis of the Christ in Vézelay's Pentecost tympanum (fig. 4).[1] He marvels at the carving of the figure's feet and "blessing" hands, as well as the placement of the thighs in relation to the torso. Later in his treatment of the abbey church and its sculpture, the author notes that figures on the nave capitals convey a "savage zeal" (zèle farouche) by means of posture and facial expressions.[2] Gestures, in the widely construed, medieval sense of the word,[3] clearly struck the celebrated French author as a salient feature of Vézelay's sculpture. Merimée sympathized with Romantic visions of the Middle Ages as a period less tainted by the stifling effects of civilization and perhaps his fascination with the dramatic body movement carved throughout the abbey church reflects the belief that these were unfettered by the artistic or social constraints of the nineteenth century. Yet throughout his description of Vézelay's sculpture, Merimée never attempts to explore the meanings that the carved body might have held for a medieval audience; their meaning is not considered to be historical, but

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[1] Merimée, Notes, 58.

[2] Ibid., 62.

[3] J.-C. Schmitt, "'Gestus' – 'Gesticulatio'," La lexicographie du latin médiéval et ses rapports avec les recherches actuelles sur la civilisation du moyen âge, Paris, 1981, 383-87. See also R. Schmitt-Wiegan, "Gebärden," in Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtgeschichte, vol. 1, 141. In English, "gesture" had a much wider meaning, including facial expression, through the nineteenth century (J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, eds., The Oxford English Dictionary, vol. 6, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1989, 476). See also n. 9 below.

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rather to be self evident. The operative assumption that gestures in medieval art are transparent in meaning anticipates much subsequent scholarship.

Body movements and their representations have often been construed in art-historical literature as if they were what the ancient orator Quintilian dubbed them: the "universal language of man."[4] This method has frequently been applied in studies of Vézelay's sculpture. A typical example is Jean Adhémar's description of the demon on the Ganymede capital (nave 12):

> ...le diable distend de joie à deux mains sa bouche hideuse, il veut stigmatisser certain vice dont un sermonnaire venait sans doute de montrer la turpitude.[5]

Much of Adhémar's analysis seems warranted, such as the potentially moralizing implications of the demon's expression, but its brevity tends to imply that the figure's gestures communicate in a rather straightforward, unambiguous manner. Questions like what a distended mouth might specifically mean for a medieval viewer are not posed.[6]

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[4] "Omnium hominum communis sermo" (*Institutes*, XI, 3, 87). A similar conception of gestures was echoed by later authors. Augustine, for example, states: "hoc autem eos velle ex motu corporis aperiebatur tamquam verbis naturalibus omnium gentium, quae fiunt vultu et nutu oculorum ceterorumque membrorum actu...[In addition, their intention was evident from their body movements which are, as it were, the natural vocabulary of all races, and are made with the face and the inclination of the eyes and the movements of other parts of the body...]" (*Confessions*, vol. 1, ed. James O'Donnell, Oxford, 1992, 7-8; my translation is adapted from *Confessions*, trans. Henry Chadwick, Oxford, 1991, 11). There remains a tacit expectation among some art historians, based largely on post-Renaissance thought, that gestures in art are primarily a vehicle for conveying emotions. Accordingly, the expressive content of gestures is generally construed as immediate and transparent, a methodology that reminds, for example, of Charles Le Brun's analysis of emotions in painting: *Method to learn to design the passions*, trans. J. Williams, Los Angeles, 1980 [1734]. Similar conceptions of gesture appear in the important works of C. Bell, *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting*, Birmingham, LA, 1984 [1806]; C. Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, New York, 1972 [1896]; Johann Joachim Winkelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, Dresden and Leipzig, 1756, 21-26 (repr. in *Studien zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 330, Baden-Baden, 1962). See also the informative article of J. R. Knowlson ("The Idea of Gesture as a Universal Language in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 26 [1965]: 495-508).

[5] Adhémar, *Influences*, 223. For full bibliography on this capital see Appendix A.

[6] M. Camille, "Mouths and Meanings: Toward an Anti-Iconography of Medieval Art," In *Iconography at the Crossroads. Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University 23-24 March 1990*, ed. B. Cassidy, Princeton, 1993, 43-57.

Moreover, the abbreviated , almost lexicographic, attributions of a meaning to a visual

sign (i.e., demon's gesture = baseness) risk falling into what has been dubbed the

"dictionary fallacy" of iconographic method.[7]

I contend that because they are part of a symbolic vocabulary, representations of

gestures should be construed with careful attention to context, used here in the widest

sense, from artistic to intellectual to programmatic. Building upon Marcel Mauss's

pioneering essay "Les techniques du corps", anthropologists and sociologists have

repeatedly demonstrated how culture deeply informs the performance and interpretation

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[7] E.H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images*, London, 1972, 11-13. W. Koehler succinctly nuances the metaphor or art as language and complicates the often lexicographic tendency of iconographers: "Die bildende Kunst des Mittelalters ist eine Sprache. Wir müssen lernen, diese Sprache zu verstehen. Der Sinn der Worte und der Sätze ist nicht ohne weiteres klar. Die Sprache muß interpretiert und gedeutet werden" (*Buchmalerei des frühen Mittelalters. Fragmente und Entwürfe aus dem Nachlaß*, ed. E. Kitzinger and F. Mütherich, Munich, 1972, 1). An opposing view point is offered by Erwin Panofsky in his insistance upon reading the couple's joined hands in Van Eyck's *Arnolfini Portrait* as a *dextrarum iunctio* ("Jan Van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait," *Burlington Magazine* 64 [1934]: 125). Panofsky notes that the joining of right hands, accompanied by pledges, constituted the only action necessary for a valid marriage ceremony until the Council of Trent in 1563. The "groom's" elevated right hand was later described by Panofsky as the *fides levata* (*Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, vol. 1, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, 201-203). Yet, as many have subsequently pointed out, the man in this painting offers his left hand, not his right. To defend his claim, Panofsky argues that compositional considerations alone dictated the painting's idiosyncratic gesture, thereby precluding any iconographic import. The anomalous nature of this gesture has prompted recent scholars to question Panofsky's interpretation and to doubt whether a marriage is represented: E. Hall, *The Arnolfini Betrothal: Medieval Marriage and the Enigma of Van Eyck's Double Portrait*, Berkeley, 1994, 49-94; C. Harbison, "Sexuality and Social Standing in Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini double portrait," *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990): 249-91; L. Seidel, *Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait: Stories of an Icon*, New York, 1993, 19-74. Other scholars, such as James Snyder, maintain that a wedding is represented (*Northern Renaissance Art*, New York, 1985, 111). Recent examples of the "dictionary fallacy" in studies in medieval art include: M. Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gestures*, New York, 1987; Garnier, *Langage*, 2 vols.; W. Travis, "Facial Expression in Romanesque Art," paper delivered at 32nd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 10, 1997. Many significant studies in recent years have not been immune from the "dictionary fallacy": K. Amira, "Die Handgebärden in den Bilderhandschriften des Sachsenspiegels," *Abhandlungen der Bayrerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Abteilung* 23 (1909): 163-263; H. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände: Geschichte einer Gebärde in der bildenden Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1984; J.C. Griffin, "Painting Gestures in Medieval Miniatures: A study based on the Terence Comedies," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1991; Lasalle, "L'origine"; L. Morgenstern, *Die Ausdrucksbewegung des Schmerzes in der Christlichen Kunst bis zum Ausgang der Renaissance*, Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte 220, Strassburg, 1921. R. Wittkower casts gestures in medieval art as statically symbolic in comparison to their more emotive use in the Renaissance ("El Greco's Language of Gestures," *Art News* 56/1 [1957]: 44-54). This tendency is not limited to medieval art history: R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art. The Use of Gestures to Denote Status in Roman Sculpture and Coinage*, New Haven, 1963; G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst*, Berlin, 1965.

of all body movements, from walking to swimming to blinking.[8] Gestures are construed

very differently depending upon any given culture's beliefs and mores. Similar

conclusions have been reached by scholars in other fields. In a number of medieval case

studies, Jean-Claude Schmitt in particular has demonstrated the dense nexus of

associations a gesture could convey during this period in Europe.[9] Schmitt contends that

the twelfth century was witness to a renewed interest in the meanings that could be

attributed to posture and body movements. In his *De institute novitiorum*, for example,

Hugh of St. Victor continually advises his novices to move in a restrained manner;

vehement movements are a sign of a corrupt soul.[10] Other scholars have similarly noted

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[8] "Les techniques du corps," *Journal de psychologie normale et pathologique* 39 (1935): 271-93; repr. in *Sociology and Psychology*. London, 1979, 365-86. There is a vast literature on this point. See the pioneering work of R. Birdwhistell (*Introduction to Kinesics*, Louisville, 1954; idem, *Kinesics and Context: Essays on Body Motion Communication*, Phliadelphia, 1970). For more recent research see R. Harper, et al., *Nonverbal Communication: The State of the Art*, New York, 1978; F. Poyatos, ed., *Cross-Cultural Perspectives in Nonverbal Communication*, Toronto, 1988.

[9] J.-C. Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris, 1990. See also S. Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*, Chicago, 1991, 89-93. Some close reading of gestures in medieval art have been made: Bonne, *L'art roman*; idem, "Depicted Gesture, Named Gesture: Postures on the Autun Tympanum," *History and Anthropology* 1 (1984): 77-95; G.B. Ladner, "The Gestures of Prayer in Papal Iconography of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," in *Didascaliae. Studies in Honor of Anselfm M. Albareda*, ed. S. Prete, New York, 1961, 247-75; G.C. Rump, "Dialogstructkuren in Mittelalterliche Plastik: Reims, Innere Westfassade," *Dialoge: Beiträge zur Interaktions- und Diskursanalyse*, ed. W. Heindrichs and G.C. Rump, Hildesheim, 1979, 240-59; Schapiro, *Semiotics*; C. Schlief, "Hands that appoint, annoint and ally: Late Medieval Donor Strategies for Approbation through Painting," *Art History* 16 (1993): 1-32. For general comments on problems associated with interpreting gestures in art see: E.H. Gombrich, "Ritualized Gesture and Expression in Art," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, Series B, Biological Sciences, no. 772 (1965): 391-401; W. Gundersheimer, "Clarity and Ambiguity in Renaissance gesture: the Case of Borso d'Este," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 23 (1993): 1-17; W. Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, New Haven, 1993, 195-236; idem, "Saint Dominic's Manners of Praying: Gestures in Fra Angelico's Cell frescoes at S. Marco," *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986): 195-206; H.W. Janson, "The Right Arm of Michelangelo's 'Moses'," *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, ed. A. Kosegarten and P. Tigler, Berlin, 1968, 241-47; D. Johnson, "Corporality and Communication: The Gestural Revolution of Diderot, David, and The Oath of the Horatii," *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): 92-113; K. Thomas, "Introduction," in *A Cultural History of Gesture*, ed. J. Bremmer and H. Roodenburg, Ithaca, 1992, 1-14.

[10] PL 176, 925-52. See the discussion of this in Schmitt, *Raison des gestes*, 174-93.

that around the year 1100 the body was no longer widely regarded merely as a prison of the soul, but could convey significant messages.[11]

With regard to Vézelay, several surviving texts yield insight into the type and significance of consuetudinal body movements performed by monks in the early twelfth century. Perhaps the most informative sources are the customaries of Udalrich and Bernard, compiled at Cluny in the late eleventh century.[12] Describing daily life in the monastery, these works include a transcription of a manual sign language used by monks to communicate without speaking.[13] If a monk wanted "bread" while dining in the refectory, for example, he could express this need without breaking his vow of silence by forming a circle with his fingers. Lists of such signs appear in numerous manuscripts produced throughout Europe, suggesting widespread usage, particularly within the *ordo cluniacensis*. In addition, descriptions of liturgical, confessional, and other gestures are included elsewhere in Udalrich's and Bernard's customaries.[14] As argued in the introductory chapter, Vézelay's praxes in the early twelfth century probably closely resembled Cluny's. It thus seems reasonable to infer ceremonial gestures practiced at both monasteries were similar.

Bernard's and Ulrich's customaries continually provide rationales for gestures and stress that these are imbued with meaning. They would have been suffused with what Pierre Bourdieu terms the corporal *hexis*, the embodiment or manifestation of an

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[11] See, for example, C.W. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336*, 115-225.

[12] See the helpful comments of K. Hallinger, "Klunys Bräuche zur Zeit Hugos des Großen (1049-1109). Prolegomena zur Neuherausgabe des Bernhard und Udalrich von Kluny," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonische Abteilung* 45 (1959): 99-140. See also D. Iogna-Prat, "Coutumes et statuts clunisiens comme sources historiques (ca. 900-ca. 1200)," *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. 3 (1992): 23-48.

[13] For further discussion of this sign language, as well as a transcription and translation of it, see Appendix B.

[14] On the relation of liturgical observances at Cluny and Vézelay see Diemer, "Pfingstportal," 102-04.

ideology through bodily movements.[15] To demonstrate this claim and explore the

possibilities of a contextual approach to gesture in a monastery, I will examine two

instances in Vézelay's sculptural program in which carved gestures resemble those

performed by monks, what might be described as "visual puns": a nave capital of Adam

and Eve's Fall from Grace (figs. 44-46) and the celebrated Pentecost tympanum (fig. 4).

The focus of this chapter will not be on what is represented, but on how Vézelay's visual

puns would have contributed to the interpretation of its sculpture by monks. A

specifically monastic semiotics will emerge from this analysis.

The Fall from Grace

Although Genesis imagery abounds throughout Europe, North Africa, and the

Middle East, its iconography is remarkably stable and conservative; any anomaly is

striking and therefore merits consideration as a significant feature.[16] An example of such

an idiosyncrasy is Adam's placing his hand on his chest on a Vézelay nave capital (93,

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[15] P. Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. R. Nice, Stanford, 1980, 69-70.

[16] Fundamental studies on Genesis iconography in the West, particularly images of the Fall, include: W.S. Cook, "The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia V,"*Art Bulletin* 10 (1927): 153-67; R. Green, "The Adam and Eve Cycle in the Hortus Deliciarum," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann, Princeton, 1955, 340-47; H. Kessler, "*Hic Homo Formatur:* The Genesis Frontispieces of the Carolingian Bibles," *Art Bulletin* 53 (1971): 152-58 (repr. in idem, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, Princeton, 1977, 25-28); Koehler, *Karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 186-90; K. Koshi, "Der Adam-und-Eva-Zyklus in der sogenannten Cottongenesis-Rezension: ein Überblich über mögliche Mitglieder der verzweigten Cottongenesis-Familie," *Bulletin annuel du Musée National d'Art Occidental* 9 (1975): 74-76 and *passim*; W. Neuss, *Die katalonische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei*, Bonn, 1922, 35-46; J.J. Tikannen, *Die Genesismosaiken von S. Marco in Venedig und ihr Verhältnis zu den Miniaturen der Cottonbibel*, Helsingfors, 1889; K. Weitzmann and H. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, Princeton, 1986, 42-43. Other traditions include the Byzantine Octateuchs, which are of different, probably Syrian, origin; see K. Weitzmann, "Observations on the Cotton Genesis Fragments," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend*, Jr., ed. idem, Princeton, 1955, 130. See also N. Thierry, "Le cycle de la création et de la faute d'Adam à Alt'amar," *Revue des études arméniens* n.s. 17 (1983): 289-329. For a critique of the notion of recension see J. Lowden, *The Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration*, University Park, 1992, 95-102; H. Stahl, "The Iconographic Sources of the Old Testament Miniatures, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 638," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1974, 7-21.

figs. 44-46) featuring the Fall from Grace and subsequent Shame.[17] As far as I am aware, Adam's gesture, emphatically articulated by his large scale hand, is without parallel in early medieval Genesis iconography of the Fall, including the Cotton Genesis recension and Byzantine illustrations of the Old Testament.[18] A Cluny capital (fig. 74) stands as the only contemporary parallel in Burgundian sculpture.[19] These two sculptures have similar compositions and were probably carved by the same workshop, as Diemer, Porter, Salet and others have argued.[20] That both early examples of Adam's unusual gesture

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[17] For this capital see Calmette and David, *Grandes Heures*. 241; Despiney, *Guide*.134; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 109, 377-79; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 23; Porée, *Vézelay*, 58; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 161; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 192.

[18] Gestures in Fall scenes are typically limited to the offering and receiving of the forbidden fruit. Occasionally, a figure is represented placing a hand to his or her cheek, a traditional gesture of lamentation that appears in earlier Genesis cycles at various moments in the narrative, such as the Shame or Expulsion. (In the Carolingian Vivian Bible Eve places her hand to her cheek as she and Adam hide from God (Paris, B.N. lat. 1, fol. 10v). An Expulsion scene on the Salerno ivories includes a similar gesture (c. 1080; for date see R. Bergman, *The Salerno Ivories*, Cambridge, Mass., 1980, 87-90). This lamentation gesture is found on an earlier Vézelay capital of the Fall, which most likely dates to abbot Artaud's building campaign in the first years of the twelfth century and which was reemployed in the nave. Other sculpted Romanesque examples of this pose in Burgundy include the Eve lintel fragment from Autun and a scene of the Shame on the south tympanum of Anzy-le-Duc. In his fundamental study, O.K. Werckmeister noted the importance of Eve's posture on her elbows as evoking a similar posture found in the penitential rites of Ordo L ("The Lintel Fragment representing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun,"*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 [1972]: 27). The penitent gesture "super cubitos" is also described in Cluniac customaries, including Udalrich's (PL 149, 705), suggesting broader observance of this practice. A possible analogue to Adam's hand-to-chest gesture which predates the Vézelay and Cluny capitals is found in the Genesis frontispiece of the Grandval Bible (London, British Lib. MS. Add. 10546, fol. 5v), in which the figure of Eve points to her chest. However, the relation between the Grandval Bible and the Vézelay capital is tenuous: Diemer relates the capital's iconography to Tours Bible frontispieces ("Stil und Ikonographie," 378). Koehler related these miniatures to the Cotton Genesis recension (*Karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 1, part 2, 186-90). Kessler argues that the model available at Tours predated the Cotton manuscript itself, although it was within the same iconographic tradition ("*Hic Homo*," 152-58; idem, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, Princeton, 1977, 25-28). Adam performs a similar gesture, covering his chest with both hands, in an eleventh-century miniature of the Shame (London, Brit. Mus. Cotton Claudius B. IV, fol. 7v). See C.R. Dodwell and P. Clemoes, ed., *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 18, Oxford, 1974.

[19] Conant, *Cluny*, 87-88. Conant argues that this capital was originally located in the choir of Cluny III, a conclusion that is now questioned. See, for example, Diemer, "What does Prudentia advise?" 149.

[20] Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 460-63; Porter, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 1, 90-95; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 115-23. See also Armi, *Masons and Sculptors*, vol. 1, 177-90 and *passim*.

were produced within a monastic setting suggests that context is crucially important for interpretation.

Before beginning this analysis, it is useful to digress briefly and explain the term "visual punning" by examining two other examples of Romanesque iconography of the Fall: tympana at Anzy-le-Duc (fig. 75) and Neuilly-en-Donjon (fig. 76) both in Burgundy.[21] In the Temptation scene at these two sites, Adam clutches his throat with his hand. This gesture, not found in early Genesis cycles, became fairly widespread during the twelfth century: examples include a miniature from the Burgos Bible[22] and carvings from sites outside Burgundy, including Loupiac, Montpezat, and Ste.-Marie de Moirax. Despite its relatively frequent use, no explanation has been offered for this distinctive gesture. In an 1848 medical text, David Craigie reported a folk belief that a piece of the forbidden fruit stuck in Adam's throat and thereby caused the protuberance commonly known as the "Adam's apple," the *pomum Adami*.[23] This fanciful etymology may stem partially from the fact that the Latin word for throat, *gula*, also signified "gluttony." Medieval commentaries on the Fall, including those of Ambrose, Gregory the Great, Peter Lombard, and Rupert of Deutz, argued that Adam yielded to the *tentatio gulae* when he accepted the forbidden fruit from Eve.[24] Viewed in relation to this

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[21] See Cahn, "Neuilly-en-Donjon," 351-52. Cook argues that the entire tympanum is arranged around sonically similar words, though he does not address Adam's gesture ("Neuilly-en-Donjon," 333-45). Much of Cook's analysis hinges on a capital which he misidentifies as a Fall of Simon Magus. See chapter 1 note 66.

[22] Biblioteca Provincial de Burgos MS. 846, fol. 12v; illustrated in *The Art of Medieval Spain*, 299.

[23] D. Craigie, *Elements of General and Pathological Anatomy*, Edinburgh, 1848. See also "gula" in *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 4, ed. W. Wartburg, Basel, 1952, 307-322.

[24] Ambrose, *De Cain et Abel* (CSEL 32, pt. 1, Vienna, 1896, 353; idem, *De Helia et ieiunio* (CSEL 32, pt. 2, Vienna, 1897, 412); Gregory the Great (*Moralia in Iob*, CCSL 143B, ed. M. Adriaen, Turnholt, 1985, 1531; cf. ibid., CCSL 143 A, ed. M. Adriaen, Turnholt, 1979, 679). This wording is echoed by Odo of Cluny in his *Moralia in Job* (PL 133, 459). For Peter Lombard see *Commentaria in Psalmos* (PL 191, 301); Rupert of Deutz, *De gloria et honore Filii hominis super Mattheum* (CCCM 29, ed. H. Haacke, Turnholt, 1979, 83). Many other examples could be cited.

exegetical tradition, Adam's carved gesture in the Anzy and Neuilly tympana can be read

as a visual pun: the figure's throat-clutching gesture, *tenens gulam*, evokes the sin of

gluttony, the *tentatio gulae*. Medieval theologians often stressed that Christ's refusal to

turn stone into bread at the time of His First Temptation was a triumph over Adam's vice

of gluttony. In a letter to a disciple Alcuin stated succinctly that:

> Adam was tempted and defeated in three ways, gluttony (*gula*), pride
> (*jactantia*), and avarice (*avaritia*). Christ was also tempted in these three
> ways, but he defeated the vanquisher of Adam.[25]

This argument was echoed during the twelfth century, for example, in the *Glossa*

ordinaria on the Gospel of Matthew.[26] The visual juxtaposition of Adam with Christ on

these two tympana can thus be interpreted, in part, as reinforcing the theological parallel

between Adam's succumbing to gluttony and Christ's victory over temptation.

Typological antitheses between Adam's original sin—highlighted by the carved *tentatio*

gulae gesture—and New Testament virtues are further elaborated at Anzy and Neuilly:

Adam's greed is contrasted with the *caritas* of the gift-bearing Magi on both tympana and

Adam's pride is set against the *humilitas* of Mary Magdalene, who washes Christ's feet

with her hair on the Neuilly lintel. For a monk versed in Latin, the word play encouraged

by Adam's gesture in these two tympana can lead to a consideration of the nature of

Original Sin and the redemptive powers of Christ; humor in this case can provoke

theological contemplation.

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[25] "Tribus modis Adam tentatus est, et superatus, id est gula, jactantia et avaritia. In his tribus iterum Christus tentatus est, et vicit victorem Adae" (MGH Epistolae, vol. 4, 124).

[26] The *Glossa ordinaria*, as printed in Migne, compares Adam's temptation with Christ's three temptations: "In his tribus notantur gula, avaritia et superbia" (PL 114, 85-86). The glosses cite the authority of Bede and Rabanus Maurus. See also Homily 36 of Radulphus Ardens (PL 152, 1271).

In the gesture of Adam striking his chest at Cluny and Vézelay, I will argue, can be identified a similar visual pun.[27] Adam's gesture could refer to his *pectus*, breast, and to his transgression, *peccatum*. Frederick Ahl in particular has argued that because Latin is heavily inflected—that is to say, a word's form can vary dramatically depending on its grammatical context—puns in the language tend to be based on syllables rather than entire words.[28] In fact, similar sounding syllables were often drawn into connection as meaningful by classical and medieval authors. The etymologies of Varro and Isidore of Seville, for example, posit that just as a dog brays to warn its master, the linguistic form, *canis*, resembles the verb for singing, *cano*.[29] Similarly, *peccatum* and *pectus* were brought into alliance. There are hundreds of examples of medieval authors alliteratively penning these two words within the same clause. In Jerome's translation of the Bible,

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[27] If we adopt Garnier's characterization of such gestures in medieval art as indicating "acceptance", we could argue that the Adam of the Cluny and Vézelay capitals signals, somewhat redundantly, that he accepts the forbidden fruit from Eve (*Langage*, vol. 1, 184). However, such a narrow reading of the gesture seems unsatisfactory. Moreover, Garnier cites no examples which date before the middle of the twelfth century. It should be noted that since the eleventh century *cuer* (heart) could imply the "dispositions secrètes de l'âme" (*Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, pt. 2, ed. Wartburg, 1173). In Provençal and Old French, the words for heart and body are often homonyms (see also P. Bec, "Le corps et ses ambiguïtés chez Bernard de Ventadour et quelques autres troubadours." In *Le corps et ses énigmes au Moyen Age*, ed. B. Ribémont, Caen, 1993, 9-12; F. Jansen, "Provençal *cor* and *cors*: A Flexional Dilemma," *Romance Philology* 28 (1974): 30). Might this suggest that Adam's carved gesture accents the corporal nature of his sin?

[28] F. Ahl, *Metaformations: Soundplay and Wordplay in Ovid and Other Classical Poets*, Cornell, 1985, 17-63; idem, "Ars est caelare artem (Art in Puns and Anagrams Engraved)," in *On Puns: The Foundation of Letters*, ed. J. Culler, New York and Oxford, 1988, 17-43). J.R. Blaettler has argued that metaphors of "virga" and "pes" permeate the sculptural imagery of Silos ("Through Emmaus' Eyes," 28-34 and *passim*).

[29] Varro, *De lingua latina* (7.32): "Cum tria sint coniuncta in origine verborum quae sint animadvertenda, a quo sit impositum et in quo et quid, saepe non minus de tertio quam de primo dubitatur, ut in hoc, utrum primum una canis aut canes sit appellata: dicta enim apud veteres una canes. Itaqua Ennius scribit: Tantidem quasi feta canes sine dentibus latrat. Lucilius: Nequam et magnus homo, laniorum immanis canes ut. Impositio unius debuit esse canis, plurium canes; sed neque Ennius consuetudinem illam sequens reprehendendus, nec is qui nunc dicit: Canis caninam non est. Sed canes quod latratu signum dant, ut signa canunt, canes appellatae, et quod ea voce indicant noctu quae latent, latratus appellatus" (*On the Latin Language*, vol. 2, ed. T.E. Page, Cambridge, Mass., 1938, 298-300). Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*: "*Canis* nomen Latinum Graecam etymologiam videtur habere...licet eum quidam a *canore* latratus

Jesus employs the pun in the parable of the publican, who strikes his chest as he confesses his sinful state to the Lord:

> Et publicanus a longe stans nolebat nec oculos ad caelum levare, sed percutiebat *pectus* suum dicens: Deus, propitius esto mihi *peccatori* [my emphasis].

> (And the publican, standing afar off, would not so much as lift up his eyes toward heaven; but struck his breast saying: O God, be merciful to me a sinner. [Luke 18,13])

If this line of reasoning is correct, then the *peccatum/pectus* pun on the Vézelay and Cluny capitals, by a chain of verbal associations, foregrounds the moment of the Original Sin.

In addition to the possible encouragement of wordplay, I suggest that interpretation of Adam's hand-to-chest gesture on the Vézelay and Cluny carvings can be understood in relation to its monastic context; in Augustinian terms it is a "conventional" rather than "natural" sign.[30] Adam's manual gesture visually puns a number of hand signals, with specified meanings, performed by monks. In their customaries, Bernard and Udalrich describe several situations in which it is appropriate for a monk to place his hand on his chest. The meaning of this gesture was not uniform, but varied depending on context. In the sign language used by monks during observed periods of silence a monk communicated "comprehension" by pointing to his chest.[31] The form of this signal

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appellatum aestiment, eo quod insonet, unde et canere" (PL 82, 438).

[30] See the helpful comments of R.A. Markus, "St. Augustine on Signs," *Phronensis* 2 (1957): 60.

[31] This sign is mentioned within the description for the signal of a monk that is literate: "Pro signo monachi, qui nutritus est in monasterio, generali signo premisso adde, ut minimum digitum labris admoveas pro eo, quod ita sugit infans; si bene est literatus, digitum contra pectus submitte, quod est signum sciendi" (W. Jarecki, *Signa loquendi: Die cluniacensischen Signa-Listen eingeleitet und herausgegeben*, Baden-Baden,

recalls the biblical topos of knowing something deeply, or with one's heart. In this vein,

it is worth noting that a monk signaled "reading" by touching his chest and then moving

his hands like the folios of a book.[32] Elsewhere, this manual informs the monk that for

the sign of the infirmarer he should:

> put the hand against the chest, which signifies infirmity, but not always,
> because it also signifies confession.[33]

In this passage, Udalrich recognizes that the sign of touching the chest conveyed more

than one meaning and, indeed, elsewhere he offers a third signification when he enjoins a

monk to demonstrate remorse or penance during confession by uncovering his right hand

from underneath his habit's sleeve and placing it over his heart.[34] One is reminded of the

classical trope of figures striking their breasts in grief, or of the Jews' reaction to Christ's

death in the Gospel of Luke, but in the Cluny customaries the meaning of the gesture is

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1981, 136). William of Hirsau's list, compiled late in the eleventh century, reads: "Pro signo alicuius bene literati vel etiam pro signo sciendi cum summitate indicis in pectore aliquantulum frica" (ibid., 213). The hand-to-chest sign for comprehension found in Cluniac customaries does not appear in an eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon list (*Monasteriales Indicia: The Anglo-Saxon Monastic Sign Language*, ed. and trans. D. Banham, Middlesex, 1991). About half of the signs in this list are similar to those found in the Cluny lists. Similar signs might have been used in eleventh-century, English monasteries, but never recorded. A sixteenth-century, Cistercian sign-language includes a sign similar to Cluny's for "knowledge": "Scire: Motis articulis summis pariter digitorum ad pectus si vis datur inde scientia rerum" (A. Dimier, "Ars Signorum Cisterciensium," *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciencium Reformatorum* 5 [1938]: 171 [repr. in *Monastic Sign Languages*, ed. J. Umiker-Sebeok and T.A. Sebeok, New York, 1987, 397]). The general similarity between Cistercian and Cluniac sign-languages has been recognized (L. Gougaud, "Le langage des silencieux," *Revue Mabillon* 19 [1929]: 97 [repr. in *Monastic Sign Languages*, ed. Umiker-Sebeok and Sebeok, 8]; G. van Rijnberk, *Le langage par signes chez les moines*, Amsterdam, 1953, 163 [repr. in *Sign Languages*, ed. Umiker-Sebeok and Sebeok, 25]).

[32] "Primo pro signo lectionis manui vel pectori digitum inpinge et paululum attractum ita fac resilire, quasi qui folium codicis evertit" (Jarecki, *Signa loquendi*, 131). William of Hirsau's entry is as follows: "Pro signo lectionis manui vel pectori digitum indicem inpinge et paululum adtractum ita fac resilire, quasi qui folium codicis evertit" (ibid., 199).

[33] "Pro signo infirmarii, qui obsequitur infirmis, pone manum contra pectus, quod significat infirmitatem, quamvis, quia et confessionem significat" (ibid., 138).

[34] "...stans ante eum [sacerdotem], dexteram de manica extractum ponit super pectus, quod est signum

more precisely delimited.[35] The varied but specifically monastic connotations of touching the chest just enumerated permit us to read Adam's carved hand-to-chest gesture as a visual pun or conflation of several different associations based on monastic practices. Yet to limit an account of this gesture as the articulation of a number of puns would be reductive, for it would fail to consider how it might have informed a monk's continued reinterpretations of the sculpture. I suggest that in its salience Adam's unusual gesture acts as a cue that encourages the viewer to ruminate on the religious and moral significance of this Genesis narrative. This visual hook would have enhanced the complexity of a monk's interpretation of the capital's subject matter.

The focus of the present analysis will be the Vézelay capital, but it is useful to briefly consider the Cluny example as a point of comparison. At Cluny, Adam points to his chest with his left hand, rather than his right, perhaps suggesting a *sinister* variation of the meaning of the gesture. The moral implications of the Fall seem further emphasized by the inclusion of a rebuking God. In contrast, there is no visual reference to the divine at Vézelay, where attention seems to be focused exclusively on the human element of the drama. This interest in the people of the narrative seems further suggested by the fact that the gestures and postures of the human figures seem less wooden at Vézelay than at Cluny. Rather than stand upright, for example, the Vézelay Adam stoops and flexes his legs. How a monk might have understood the gestures and postures on the Vézelay Fall does not seem immediately apparent. I suggest that the cenobitic significances associated with placing the hand on the chest can help us gain insight into this question.

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confessionis" (PL 149, 707).

[35] Luke 23, 48; see Augustine's *Sermon 67,1* (PL 38, 433).

The narrative of the Fall is initiated by the figure of Eve, prominently positioned on one angular corner of the capital. She plucks the forbidden fruit with her right hand, then twists coquettishly toward Adam and offers it simultaneously to him with her left. The lush tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, inhabited by the wily serpent, sprawls across the surface of the capital, diffusing the motif of the forbidden fruit, thereby drawing attention to the moment of Adam's vacillation and final decision to accept it. Adam's awkward posture and the plump apple suspended between the two sinners' hands suggest his indecisiveness. The laconic biblical narrative does not convey Adam's ambivalence, but refashionings of the story, such as the Old Saxon *Genesis B* or the twelfth-century *Play of Adam*, protract the episode of the Temptation.[36] These texts portray characters who vacillate before committing the first sin and discuss between themselves, as well as with Satan, the possible consequences of their actions.

That the Vézelay Adam strikes his chest, mimicking the monastic signal for "comprehension", suggests that he fully understands the implications of his final decision

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[36] *The Play of Adam (Ordo Representacionis Ade)*, ed. C.J. Odenkirchen, Brookline, 1976, 78-84 (ll. 277-92). Stage directions of the play are careful to stipulate that gestures should accord with speech: "nec solum ipse [i.e., Adam] sed omnes persone sic instruantur ut composite loquantur et gestum faciant convenientem rei de qua loquuntur..." (ibid., 42). The Temptation and Fall are the most elaborated sections of this play: W. Noonan, "*Le Jeu D'Adam*. Étude descriptive et analytique," *Romania* 89 (1968): 171. The date (1125-75) and origin of the play is much debated (*The Play of Adam*, 10-11; G. Frank, "The Genesis and Staging of the *Jeu d'Adam*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 59 [1944]: 7-10; eadem, *The Medieval French Drama*, Oxford, 1954, 76). For analysis of the dialogue between Adam and Eve see E. Auerbach, *Mimesis*, trans. W.R. Trask Princeton, 1953, 145-73. See also M. Fassler, "Representations of Time in *Ordo representatione Ade*," in *Contexts: Style and Values in Medieval Art and Literature*, special issue, *Yale French Studies*, New Haven, 1991, 109-113. The Old Saxon *Genesis B* similarly elaborates Eve's speech to tempt Adam (R. Woolf, "The Fall of Man in *Genesis B* and the *Mystère d'Adam*," in *Studies in Old English Literature in Honor of Arthur G. Brodeur*, ed. S. Greenfield, University of Oregon, 1963, 197). Early in the century E. Mâle examined Romanesque sculpture in relation to liturgical drama, including the façade of Notre-Dame-le-Grande of Poitiers in light of the *Jeu d'Adam* (*Twelfth Century*, 146-47). J.P. Colletta has pointed out, however, that the four prophets carved on this façade hold books or scrolls inscribed with texts of pseudo-Augustine's *Sermo contra judaeos, paganos, et arianos de symbolo* ("The Prophets of Notre-Dame-la-Grande at Poitiers: A Definitive Identification," *Gesta* 18 [1979]: 27-28).

to eat the apple and thereby sin. This gestural cue has analogues in biblical exegesis. In his commentary on the literal meaning of Genesis, Augustine emphasizes that Adam was aware of the consequences of accepting the fruit from Eve.[37] This fact is crucial for Augustine because:

> man would do the deed by his own free will and thus incur guilt, and he would have to undergo punishment according to God's justice to be restored to right order.[38]

Throughout his writings, including the widely read *City of God* (14.13-18), Augustine emphasizes that sin and evil originated in humans' free will. That Adam chose to sin was by no means universally assumed among church fathers. Ambrose, for one, argued that Adam had been deceived by Eve into eating the forbidden fruit.[39] Nevertheless, during

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[37] "Sic ergo illis primis hominibus iam uita erat dulcis, quam profecto amittere deuitabant, idque ipsum quibuscumque modis uel sonis significantem deum intellegere poterant. nec aliter eis posset persuaderi peccatum, nisi prius persuaderetur eos ex ilio facto non esse morituros, id est illud, quod habebant et se habere gaudebant, non amissuros: unde suo loco loquendum est. aduertant itaque, si quos mouet, quomodo potuerint intellegere inexperta nominantem uel minantem deum, et videant nos omnium inexpertorum nomina nonnisis ex contrariis, quae iam nouimus, si priuationum sunt, aut ex similibus, si specierum sunt, sine ullo aestu dubitationis agnoscere" (*De Genesi ad litteram*, sect. 3, part 2, ed. J. Zycha, Vienna, 1894, 256).

[38] "cur enim non crearet, quos praesciebat bonis profuturos, ut et utiles eorum bonis uoluntatibus exercendis admonendisque nascantur et iuste pro sua mala uoluntate puniantur?" (*De Genesi ad litteram*, 339-40). *Genesis B*, from the so-called Caedmon Genesis (Oxford, Bodleian, Junius 11), includes an extensive dialogue between Adam and Eve. Although Adam blames Eve for her deceit, he concludes that he knew God's will and the consequences of disobedience (*The Junius Manuscript*, ed. G.P. Krapp, New York, 1931, 28 [ll. 828-840]). For an English translation see R.K. Gordon, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, London, 1927, 122. Recently, the deliberate disobedience of Adam, Eve, and Satan in Genesis B has been related to political events in England around the year 1000 (G. Zimmermann, *The Four Old English Poetic Manuscripts: Texts, Contexts, and Historical Background*, Heidelberg, 1995, 36-46). In the *lais* of Marie de France, Adam alone is blamed for the Fall (B. Williams, "'Cursed Be My Parents': A View of Marriage from the Lais of Marie de France," in *The Fragility of Her Sex'? Medieval Irishwomen in their Eurpoean Context*, ed. C. Meek and K. Simms, Portland, Oreg., 1996, 73). Similarly, Marie's fables often place women in a favorable light (Marie de France, *Fables*, ed. and trans. H. Spiegel, Toronto, 1987, 24).

[39] "Bene praetermissum est ubi decipitur Adam, quia non sua culpa, sed uitio lapsus uxorio est" (*De paradiso*, CSEL 32/i, p. 322). On this point see E.A.Clark, "Heresy, Asceticism, Adam, and Eve: Interpretations of Genesis 1-3 in the Later Latin Fathers," *Genesis 1-3 in the History of Exegesis*, ed. G.A. Robbins, Lewiston, 1988, 101. The apocryphal *Vita Adae et Evae*, based largely on ancient eastern texts, stresses the penance of the couple, who claim they were deceived by the devil rather than actively deciding to sin. For a general account of medieval interpretations of Eve's role in the Fall see G. Duby, *Dames du XIIe siècle*, vol. 3, Paris, 1995, 57-88.

the twelfth century, many commentators on Genesis, most of whom, no doubt, were familiar with Augustinian doctrine, further examined the nature of Adam's guilt.[40] These included Rupert of Deutz[41] and Hugh of Saint Victor.[42] In one of his sermons, Julian of Vézelay assumes that Adam was fully aware of the consequences of accepting the apple from Eve.[43] Julian's paraenetic writings thus demonstrate an interest among Vézelay's monks in the moment of Adam's active decision to disobey God.

The consequences of this choice are also conveyed by Adam's hand-to-chest gesture, for the "comprehension" this hand signal denotes within a monastic context can refer to the knowledge of Good and Evil that results from eating the forbidden fruit. In the biblical account, Adam and Eve immediately manifest their Fall through awareness of their nakedness. Early medieval representations of this episode often present Adam and Eve covering their genitals with fig leafs, as they hold a fruit to their mouths. A miniature in the Carolingian Bible of Saint Paul Outside the Walls (fig. 77) conflates these successive events and thereby draws attention to the Fall as a sin of the flesh, an aspect highlighted by medieval theologians.[44] On the Vézelay capital, the bough which

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[40] Augustine's method of approaching the Bible permeated monastic scholarship, including that of Cluny. See, for example, J. Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, trans. C. Misrahi, New York, 1961, 97-98; Smalley, Study of the Bible, 45; B. Stock, Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past, Philadelphia, 1990, 118 and passim. D.W. Robertson offers the most sustained examination of the influence of Augustine's thought on medieval culture (A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives, Princeton, 1962).

[41] "Prius namque intus ad cor hominis per semetipsum locutus est spiritus diaboli, ut superbiret, Deumque praeceptroem ferre, vel mandatum ejus portare despectui haberert. Nisi enim intus per superbiam prius tumuisset, foris fentatus tam facile non cederet" (PL 167, 287).

[42] "Praeceptum datum est [to Adam and Eve], ut per meritum obedientiae gloriosius obtineret bonum. Multa concessa sunt, ut fragilitati humanae provideretur, et ut non posset excusari inobedientia" (PL 175, 40).

[43] "Mortem miser tot miseros facturus elegit" (Sermons, vol. 1, 132 [my emphasis]). See the discussion of the sermons in the introductory chapter.

[44] Kessler, "Hic Homo," Studies, 143. See also P. H. Jolly, Made in God's Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics of San Marco, Venice, Berkeley, 1997, 43-58; J. Philips, Eve. the History of an Idea, San Francisco, 1984, 64.

covers Adam's genitals and evokes the garden of paradise also foreshadows the figure's awareness of his nakedness. Moreover, the sensual figure of Eve alludes to the sin of concupiscence. Her flowing hair, in contrast to the covered heads of Vézelay's carved holy women, such as the Virgin Mary in the Nativity (fig. 9), reinforces her corporally sinful nature. Eve's seductively twisting posture, almost serpentine in its line, eases formal transition between the two sides of the capital, that is between the Temptation on the right and the consequent Shame, carved on the opposite side. In a visual rendering of a theme well represented in medieval theology, it is through Eve's body or flesh that the capital's narrative progresses from paradise to humanity's fallen state.[45]

In the scene of the Shame on the left side of the capital, Adam and Eve cower behind a lush bough in remorse for their sinful acts. The compunction conveyed in this scene is anticipated by the figure of Adam opposite, who strikes his chest. Striking the chest held significance outside monastic circles as well as within as an indication of the acknowledgment and repentance for a sin. Priests struck their chests during the regular, liturgical pronouncement of the *mea culpa*.[46] In his popular treatise on the sacraments, *De sacramentis*, Hugh of St. Victor states that:

> three things are involved in striking the chest (*in percussione pectoris*): the chest, the sound, and the hand. These signify the ways we sin, in thought, word, and deed, for which we must seek penance from God.[47]

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[45] For a discussion of this theme in patristic writings see P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*. New York, 1988; J. Bugge, *Virginitas: An Essay in the History of a Medieval Idea*, The Hague, 1975, 5-29; T. Shaw, *The Burden of the Flesh: Fasting and Sexuality in Early Christianity*, Minneapolis, 1998, 27-78.

[46] J.A. Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia, eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, vol. 2, Vienna, 1949, 267, n. 86.

[47] "Tria quae fiunt in percussione pectoris, id est pectus, sonus, manus, significant quod poenitendum est deiis quae mente, voce, opere peccavimus" (PL 177, 346). Passage cited by W. Suntrup, *Die Bedeutung der liturgischen Gebärden und Bewegungen in Lateinischen und Deutschen Auslegungs des 9. bis 13. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1978, 170. Suntrup provides further examples of the penitential significance of this gesture. In the *Play of Adam* (p.102), Adam and Eve strike their breasts as a sign of lament.

In addition, on the Vézelay capital Adam's flexing posture in the Temptation visually anticipates the crouching figures of the Shame.[48] It is interesting to note that the stage directions of the *Play of Adam*, discussed earlier, indicate that after the Fall the actors playing Adam and Eve should stoop slightly as a sign of their guilt.[49] A trope of classical and medieval literature maintained that peoples' upright stance, different from the pronation of animals, allows them to contemplate God.[50] Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (I.84–86), popular among monks in the early twelfth century, explains humans' erect posture in this way.[51] Christian theologians, including Bede, Isidore of Seville, and Rabanus Maurus, argued that Adam was created to stand upright in God's likeness. At the time of the Fall, however, the resemblance faded as human flesh became corruptible, subject to the ravages of time, in distinction to the incorruptible, timeless nature of God.[52] Biblical

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[48] The stage directions of the *Play of Adam* mention that a bent posture is the appropriate expression of the guilt of Adam and Eve: "Tunc ambo surgent, stantes contra figuram, non tamen omnino erecti sed ob verecundiam sui peccati aliquantulum curvati et multum tristes..." (p. 90); "Cum fuerint extra paradisum, quasi tristes et confusi, incurvati erunt solo tenus super talos suos..." (p. 100). The directions further indicate that Adam is to beat his breast in lamentation, a gesture of ancient provenance, after he is ejected from paradise: "...et residentes percucient pectora sua et femora sua, dolorem gestum fatentes" (p. 102). Adam's gesture on the Vézelay capital might convey this sense.

[49] *Play of Adam*, 90.

[50] Augustine, for example, observes: "Omnium enim animalium corpora, sive quae in aquis, sive quae in terra vivunt, sive quae in aere volitant, inclinata sunt in terram, et non sunt erecat sicut hominis corpus. Quo significatur, etiam animum nostrum in superna sua, id est in aeterna spiritalia erectum esse debere. Ita intelligitur per animum maxime, adtestante etiam erecta corporis formo, homo factus ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei" (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1, 28). Passage cited by H. Somers, "Image de Dieu. Les sources de l'exégèse augustinienne," *Revue des études augustiniennes* 7 (1961): 113. Somers provides many instances of similar arguements in Augustine's works. For the *status rectus* problem see R. Javelet, *Image et resemblance au douzième siècle*, vol. 1, Paris, 1967, 257-66; H. Schade, "Das Paradies und die Imago Dei," *Probleme der Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1966, 121-25. For early church fathers see M. Pellegrino, "Il 'Topos' dello 'status rectus' nel contesto filosofico e biblico," in *Mullus. Festschrift Theodor Klauser*, Munster, 1964, 273-81. For discussion of classical tradition see A. Wlosok, *Laktanz und die philosophische Gnosis: Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Terminologie der gnostischen Erlösungsvorstellung*, Heidelberg, 1960, 8-47, esp.

[51] The first and fifteenth book of Ovid were particularly popular in the twelfth century (S. Viarre, *La survie d'Ovide dans la littérature scientifique des XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Poitiers, 1966).

[52] For the Fall's relation to entrance into temporality/corporality see, for example, Ambrose, *De paradiso*, chap. 7, 35; Augustine, *De uere religione*, chaps. 30-31 (CCSL 32, Turnholt, 1962, 222-24); idem, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, chaps. 20-21; idem, *De diversis questionibus octaginta tribus*, nos. 51, 72

passages, such as I Corinthians 15 which contrasts Adam's animal (*animale*) body with the spiritual and eternal body of the last Adam or Christ, were cited in support of such claims.

That Adam points to his chest on the Vézelay capital suggests human frailty, a notion underscored by his unstable posture. It will be remembered that in monastic circles striking the chest could signal "infirmity." Interestingly, around the year 1100 many voiced concerns over the difficulty in recruiting able-bodied monks. There seems to have been a growing trend at this time for wealthy families to place disabled children within the care of monasteries, rather than donate their more healthy offspring. In the epistle prefacing the Cluny customary, Udalrich complains of the increasing number of monks that are maimed, deaf, blind, hunch-backed and leprous.[53] These semi-human, half-living (*ita semihomines vel ita semivivi*) monks, according to Udalrich, threaten the very existence of monasticism in France. The unsound bodies and limbs (*non carent sanitate corporali et membrorum integritate*) which Udalrich describes stand in marked contrast to the metaphor of the Church as a unified, integrated body, of which Christ is the head, that he uses later in the same letter.[54] It seems Peter the Venerable responded to this problem toward the middle of the twelfth century when he mandated that the abbot of Cluny should review all novices in order to avoid admitting children, idiots, and the infirm.[55]

(CCSL 44A, Turnholt, 1975, 78-82, 208); Cassian, *De institute coenobiorum, Book 12, 4 (Institutions cénobitiques*, ed. and trans. J.-C. Guy, 456): "haec ei sola cogitatio facta prima ruina est, obquam desertus a Deo, quo se credidit non egere, instabilis repente ac utabundus effectus et infirmitatem propriae naturae persensit et beatitudinem, qua Dei munere fruebatur, amisit." See also Javelet, *Image*, vol. 1, 261-62 and *passim*.

[53] PL 149, 635-37. See Valous, *Monachisme*, vol. 1, 43.

[54] "…ut non dicam quod Christus ita nos foederavit in unitate Spiritus, in uno corpore, quod est Ecclesia, sub uno capite, quod est ipse" (PL 149, 639).

[55] Constable et al., ed., "Statuta," 69-70. See also D. Knowles, "The Reforming Decrees of Peter the Venerable," in *Petrus Venerabilis 1156-1956: Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of*

The instability of Adam's posture, particularly the flexed and flailing legs, and the

infirmitas suggested by his hand-to-chest gesture act as visual metaphors for the fall from

a timeless, unchanging paradise into the vicissitudes of human history.[56] The *Rule* of

Saint Benedict, which guided conduct at Vézelay, repeatedly stresses the importance of

stability (*stabilitas*) for the observance of monastic discipline.[57] Metaphors of stability

and instability were widely applied in monastic writings. In his introduction to the book

of Genesis, for example, Guibert of Nogent describes the temptation to sin as instability

(*fluxu*) and a change in the posture of the soul (*animi mutato statu*).[58] Accordingly, the

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his Death, Studia Anselmiana 40, ed. G. Constable and J. Kritzeck, Rome, 1956, 11; Valous, *Monachisme,* vol. 1, 28.

[56] In addition, Adam's posture might have held an element of humor for Cluniac observers. The Cluniac liturgy called for monks to genuflect at various points in the liturgy, as well as during confession. In contrast, perusal of Cistercian customaries reveals that the newly created order explicitly forbade genuflection; rather, these monks were expected to bow deeply. Genuflection was not practiced in the Cistercian order during the twelfth century (A.A. King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders,* Milwaukee, 1955). Chapter 70, for example, describes attitude a penitent takes during confession: "humilet se profunde de loco suo versus abbatem. nec tamen super genua vel articulos: et sic resideat" (P. Guignard, ed., *Les monuments primitifs de la règle cistercienne,* Dijon, 1878, 167). I thank Professor E. Rozanne Elder for confirmation of this information. Calls for genuflexion in Cluniac liturgies are found in the customaries of Bernard and Udalrich (e.g., PL 149, 692, 705, 713, 714, 734, 764). In statute 53, Peter the Venerable mentions genuflexions taking place in a new monastery (or church): "...ubis sancta et secreta orationum aromata deo assidue accenderent, frequentibus metaneis vel genuflexionibus pio conditiori supplicarent, acribus saepe flagellis vel ob paenitentiam, vel ad meritum augendum corpus attererent, et his ac similibus sacris studiis, velut in heremo, ab hominum remoti conspectibus, incessanter se suosque dominoque commendarent" (Constable et al., ed, "Statuta," 105-6). See Peter's comments in Constable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable,* vol. 1., 55, 74. See also the notes in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis,* ed. M. Marrier, Paris, 1915, 117-18. Might the figure of Adam on the Vézelay capital, which neither fully bows nor fully genuflects, visually satirize the practices of the rival Burgundian order? A similar process is described by Freud in his analysis of joke techniques: "'condensation accompanied by the formation of a substitute'; and in the present example the formation of the substitute consists in making a 'composite word'." in *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious,* ed. and trans. J. Strachey, New York, 1960, 19.

[57] *Rule* of Saint Benedict, 4.78; 58.9; 58.17; 60.9; 61.5. See also C.W. Bynum, "Metamorphosis, or Gerald and the Werewolf," *Speculum* 73 (1998): 988; eadem, "Why all the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist's Perspective," *Critical Inquiry* 22 (1995): 17-18; Constable, *Reformation,* 102-07; W. Williams, "A Dialogue Between a Cluniac and a Cistercian," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 31 (1930): 170-73; Valous, *Monachisme,* 55-63.

[58] PL 156, 27. See also J. M. Miller, "Guibert De Nogent's *Liber quo ordine sermo fieri debeat*: A Translation of the Earliest Modern Speech Textbook," *Today's Speech* 17 (1969): 50-51. This recalls Paul Epistle to the Romans (6, 19): "I speak a human thing, because of the infirmity of your flesh. For as you have yielded your members to serve uncleanness and iniquity, unto iniquity: so now yield your members to serve justice, unto sanctification."

postures of Eve and Adam on the Vézelay capital could be interpreted as a typological antonym for monastic life which medieval theologians, including Gregory the Great and Paschasius Radbertus, often compared to a stable or harmonious paradise.[59] This state, according to these authors, was jeopardized only by yielding to temptation.

In sum, striking the chest had the potential to convey varied if associated meanings within a monastic context. That Adam performs this unusual gesture on the Vézelay capital might encourage a monk to ponder its varied associations and bring these to bear upon interpretation of the Fall narrative. Rather than feature a continuous narrative of Genesis, as in many Carolingian miniatures (fig. 78),[60] the Vézelay capital's narrative seems succinct. Yet Adam's gesture would have alluded to and interpreted various moments of the narrative for a monastic viewer, from the choice of sin to the consequences of yielding to temptation.[61] An analogue of this ruminative process of viewing is found in monastic reading practices, which have been masterfully described by Jean Leclercq.[62] As a monk read, he dwelt on the significance of each word, repeating it to himself, searching for associations in order to achieve deeper understanding. The

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[59] For this theme see, for example, B. Calati, "Monastic Spirituality: An Essay on the Rule or Methodology,"*The American Benedictine Review* 15 (1964): 443-45; J. Leclercq, *Otia monastica. Études sur le vocabulaire de la contemplation au moyen âge*, Studia Anselmia 51, Rome, 1963, 75, 105. See also the comments in the introductory chapter.

[60] Weitzmann and Kessler, *Cotton Genesis*, 55-56.

[61] The multiple but specifically monastic connotations of Adam's hand-to-chest gesture on the Vézelay and Cluny capitals may help explain its relatively frequent use, such as a capital at La Sauve-Majeure: P. Dubourg-Noves, *Guyenne Romane*, La-Pierre-qui-Vire, 1969, pl. 82; J. Houlet, "Une résurrection. Les ruines de la Sauve-Majeure," *Jardin des arts* (June, 1969): 19; idem and M. Sarradet, *L'abbaye de la Sauve-Majeure*, Paris, 196?. Later sculpted examples of this gesture include a pier relief from the Ancien Hotel-de-Ville at St.-Antonin (Porter, *Pilgrimage*, pl. 358) and a tympanum of St. Gabriel in Provence. A cycle of capitals featuring episodes with Adam and Eve existed at the collegial church of St.-Antonin, but Adam's hand-to-chest gesture is not used (J.-C. Fau, "Découverte à Saint-Antonin (Tarn-et-Garonne) d'un chapiteau consecré à Adam et Eve," *Bulletin monumental* 135 (1977): 231-35). This gesture also appears in manuscript illuminations, including one from the now-destroyed *Hortus Deliciarum*, fol. 17v (reconstructed in R. Green et al., *Hortus Deliciarum*, vol. 2, Leiden, 1979, 33). As this gesture was diffused, the specifically monastic meanings may have been less apparent to viewers.

[62] *Love of Learning*, 73.

multiple, simultaneous significances generated by a single word in monastic reading practices or by Adam's hand-to-chest gesture on the Vézelay capital resemble the semantic mechanics of the pun. A linguistic or visual form can generate multiple meanings that are not resolved. The viewer is thus presented with many possible interpretations, upon which he can ruminate.

The *Signum canis* and the *Index*

A number of intersections between carved gestures and those performed by monks may be identified in the central tympanum within the narthex (fig. 4). The main subject of this celebrated sculpture is the Pentecost, the moment the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles and enabled them to speak in various tongues.[63] At the center of the tympanum, rays of flame issue from the hands of Christ to touch the heads of the apostles. On the lintel and in the surrounding compartments, figures in exotic costume and human/animal hybrids are represented. These creatures represent the peoples of the earth, to whom the apostles will preach. The universal significance of the Pentecost is further underscored by the signs of the zodiac that feature in roundels on an archivolt that frames the tympanum. The subject of the sculpture seems appropriate within a cenobitic context because the Pentecost was widely regarded as the moment that the institution of monasticism was born; the apostles, as argued above, were considered by many medieval theologians to be the first monks. The iconographic content of this celebrated sculpture has been analyzed in many scholarly monographs, but its unusual gestures have received only cursory attention.

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[63] For bibliography see n. 2 in the introductory chapter.

What is striking on the tympanum is the many rhetorical gestures, suggesting its

figures speak. Although a central theme of Pentecost is the gift of tongues and

accordingly the representation of speech would seem appropriate, the repetition of carved

speech acts is unusually emphatic at Vézelay when compared to other medieval

representations of the story. The apostles on either side of Christ in Vézelay's tympanum

turn to one another and engage in animated conversation amongst themselves. Their

windswept garments and restive postures communicate their intensity. The foreigners of

the lintel and in the surrounding compartments do not stand idly, but perform a number of

histrionic gestures and even open their mouths to suggest vocal utterances. When

compared with miniatures illustrating the peoples of the world, as in illustrations of

Marvels of the East (e.g., fig. 79) where staid figures are aligned in rows, those on the

Pentecost tympanum appear unique.[64] Rather than portray them in serial fashion as a

series of curiosities, the tympanum represents these figures actively engaged in verbal

exchanges. In synaesthetic terms, this sculpture is very noisy. But why would a

monastery that observed a vow of silence so emphatically highlight speech in a

prominently positioned sculpture?

To address this paradox, I wish to begin with an analysis of two conversing

figures near the apex of the tympanum: the dog-headed men also known as

Cynocephalics (fig. 5). The figure on the right seems to listen to the growling figure on

the left, who holds a sword in one hand and points to his ear with the other. This gesture

seems particularly idiosyncratic when viewed in relation to other representations of this

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[64] For this pictorial tradition see. D. le Berrurier, *The Pictorial Sources of Mythological and Scientific Illustrations in Hrabanus Maurus'* De rerum naturis. New York, 1978; repr. of her Ph.D. diss., University

creature.[65] Near Eastern gospel miniatures of the Pentecost sometimes include dog-

headed men, including an Armenian example painted by T'oros Roslin in 1262 (fig.

80).[66] Coptic and Syrian apocryphal acts of Thomas and Bartholomew, which elaborate

upon the terse biblical accounts of the missionary efforts of these apostles, briefly

mention Cynocephalics and probably provided the impetus for including them in a scene

of the Pentecost. These creatures are mentioned in Latin versions of these texts as well.

As far as I am aware, however, there is no example of such creatures in an image of the

Pentecost which predates the Vézelay tympanum. The twisting postures of the Vézelay

Cynocephalics more closely resemble those found in Greek Psalters which often illustrate

Psalm 21:17 with a figure of Christ surrounded by dog-headed men: "For many dogs

have encompassed me: the council of the malignant hath besieged me."[67] In a miniature

of the Khludov Psalter (fig. 81), weapon-bearing Cynocephalics snap at Christ, who

proffers a benedictional gesture.[68] Dog-headed men were infamous for their viciousness

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of Chicago. 1975.

[65] Medieval illustrations of Cynocephalics include: The Hereford Map, Hereford Cathedral; London, Brit. Lib., cod. Cotton Claudius E V, fol. 4v; London, Brit. Lib., cod. Cotton Tiberius B.V., fol. 80; London, Brit. Mus., cod. Cotton Vitellius A. XV., fol. 100; 2 egs.; London, Brit. Mus., Harley 2799, fol. 243; Milan, Ambrosiana, cod. C. 246 inf., fol. 57; Montecassino, cod. 132, fol. 84v; Munich, Staatsbibl., Cod. arab. 464, fol. 211v; Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, lat. 291, fol. 75v. See le Berrurier, *Pictorial Sources*, 18-23; C.R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination*, Cambridge, 1954, 74; R. Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: a Study in the History of Monsters," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 159-97[repr. in idem, *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols*, New York, 1977, 50-61.] For a discussion of the Cynocephalics of Modena cathedral and their relation to medieval maps see J. Fox-Friedman, "Sacred and Secular: Modena Cathedral and Monumental World Maps," *Arte medievale* 10 (1996): 46-47.

[66] Walters Art Gallery Ms.W.539, fol. 379. S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore, 1973, 21-22. A fifteenth-century Syrian manuscript similarly features a Cynocephalic at the Pentecost (Paris, B.N. Syr. 344, fol. 7); see Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, fig. 27.

[67] For a listing of Byzantine manuscripts with this iconography see Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques*.

[68] Moscow, State Historical Museum, GIM 86795 or Khlud. 129-d, fol. 19v. See M. Shchepkina, *Miniatury khludovskoi psaltyri Grecheskii illiustrirovannyi kodeks IX Veka*, Moscow, 1977. See also *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era*, A.D. 843-1261, ed. H.C. Evans and W.D. Wixom,

in the West. Paul the Deacon reports that the Lombards would intimidate their enemies by claiming they had blood-thirsty Cynocephalics among their ranks.[69] Such militant associations might help account for the sword and grimacing features of the left figure at Vézelay, but not his curious ear-scratching gesture.

This feature may be more fully explained when viewed in relation to monastic gestural praxes. According to Bernard's and Uldalrich's sign lists, a monk signaled hearing by touching his ear.[70] The gesture of the Vézelay Cynocephalic may thus suggest that he is listening to his companion. Yet scratching the ear, according to Bernard and Udalrich, had another meaning: a monk signaled a book written by a classical author as follows:

> in addition to the sign of a book add this: you touch your ear with a finger just as a dog scratches itself with its foot, because the spirit of the unfaithful are not undeservedly compared with such animals.

> Pro signo libri secularis, quem aliquis paganus conposuit, premisso generali signo libri adde, ut aurem cum digito tangas, sicut canis cum pede pruriens solet, quia nec inmerito infidelis tali animanti conparatur.[71]

New York, 1997, 97-98. An eleventh-century relief in the Archeological Museum of Istanbul features two Cynocephalics, one of whom holds a shield (A. Grabar, *Sculptures Byzantines du Moyen Age. II (XIe-XIVe siècle)*, Paris, 1976, 39). A vicious hord of cynocephalics is represented in a fourteenth-century miniature of a copy of the *Romance of Alexander* (Venice, Istituto di Studi Bizantini, MS.D., fol. 107; cf. Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 11040, fol. 73). See le Beurrurier, *Sources*, 20-21; D.J.A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature*, London, 1963, 43-44; K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, Cambridge, Mass., 1959, 106; A. Xyngopoulos, *Les miniatures du Roman d'Alexandre le Grand dans le manuscrit de l'institut hellenique de Venise*, Athens and Venice, 1966, 122, pl. 64.

[69] *De gestis Langobardorum*, 1,11 (*Storia dei Langobardi*, ed. L. Capo, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1993, 26; cf. idem, *History of the Lombards*, trans. W.D. Foulke, ed. E. Peters, Philadelphia, 1974, 20).

[70] "Pro signo audiendi tene digitum contra aurem" (Jarecki, *Signa loquendi*, 140). This sign is found in many lists: Peter Boherius (ibid., 160); William of Hirsau (ibid., 215); from St. Victor (ibid., 247); from Fleury (ibid., 272); from Bury St. Edumunds (ibid., 295).

[71] Ibid., 134. Similar wording is found in related monastic sign lists, including one compiled by William of Hirsau at the end of the eleventh century (ibid., 207; cf. the sign list of Peter Boherius [ibid., 155]). Moreover, according to one of the lists related to Cluny's, a monk also signaled "dog" by touching his ear:

Even though monks were generally taught Latin by reading classical literature and authors like Peter the Venerable and Julian of Vézelay quoted these works in their writings, the sign seems to cast pagan writings in a negative light.[72] It might be suggested, however, that this passage condemns the pagans and not their writings because it is they who are compared to dogs. Regardless, the Vézelay figure seemingly makes a gestural pun; he hears as a dog or as a pagan and thus badly because of their pejorative associations. That the Cynocephalics of Vézelay's tympanum speak nonsense is further suggested by their postures. Each figure dynamically bends a knee toward the left, an inversion of the postures of Christ and Peter, directly below, who are conduits of the divinely inspired speech of the Holy Spirit.

Medieval descriptions of Cynocephalics stressed that these creatures barked rather than spoke. In his *City of God*, Augustine states that Cynocephalics are those whose "barking proclaim them beasts rather than men."[73] Herodotus, Pliny, and other antique authors had given accounts of the Cynocephalics, some mentioning these figures' barking, but it was Augustine's account that seems to have had the most profound impact on medieval descriptions.[74] In phraseology often strongly resembling the church father's,

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"Pro signo canis clauso pugno aurem cum indice extenso percute" (ibid., 282).- This is a fourteenth-century list from Bury St. Edmunds, which may reflect an earlier practice.

[72] The major work on the reception of classical literature in the Middle Ages remains to be E.R. Curtius. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1953.

[73]*The City of God*, trans. B. Dodds, New York, 1950, 531. In *The Consolation of Philosophy* (4.3). Boethius compares wicked men to a variety of animals including dogs: "The wild and restless man excercises his tongue in disputes: you will compare him to a dog" (ed. and trans. G.P. Goold, LCL 74, Cambridge, Mass., 1973, 334-35).

[74] See the important article of C. Lecouteux, "Les Cynocéphales. Étude d'une tradition tératologique de l'antiquité au XIIe s.," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 24 (1981): 117-28. See also L. Kretzenbacher.

Isidore, Rabanus Maurus, Honorius Augustodunensis and many others repeated that instead of speaking these creatures barked at one another. Tituli from a now-lost mural cycle of the Marvels of the East, the location and date of which is unknown, recorded in an eleventh-century manuscript, note: "Cynocephalic: this deformed human barks with canine harshness."[75] In light of the stress on these creatures' barking, the grimacing of the left Vézelay figure may be interpreted as a vocal utterance, which his companion may struggle to comprehend.

The exaggerated rhetorical gestures of the figures within all the tympanum's compartments seem to establish an opposition between the speech of the apostles and that of the unconverted peoples inhabiting the edges of the earth, between center and periphery. In one compartment (fig. 6), for example, a figure extends his index finger as he lunges toward another. His flame-like hair resembles that found on demons' heads throughout the nave (e.g., fig. 11), suggesting his speech is profane in nature. Elsewhere on the tympanum, other foreigners, from pig-snouted Ethiopians to large-eared Panotii, engage in conversations that seem absurd when viewed in relation to those of the apostles. The pagans on the edges of the tympanum seem an antitype of the apostles. The books the latter hold suggest that their speech is grounded in the Word of God, thus bearing little relation to the babble of the compartments and lintel. That several of the apostles in this scene point to their chest, a gesture, as argued above, that signals

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Kynokephale Dämonen südosteuropäischer Volksdichtung, Munich, 1968; J. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction,* Princeton, 1992, 77-81.

[75] "Cinocephalus: hic deformis homo latrat stridore canino" (M.R. James, "Ovidius de mirabilibus mundi," *Essays and Studies Presented to W. Ridgeway,* ed. E.C. Quiggin,Cambridge, 1913, 292). This is a transcription of Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean MS.7. For the manuscript see M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum,* Cambridge, 1912, 11-12.

"comprehension", seemingly confirms that they take to heart one another's divinely

inspired speech.

A similar contrast between Christians and the unfaithful visualized in the

tympanum, is articulated in a homily by Gregory of Nyssa read at Vézelay on the octave

of Pentecost.[76] The rituals of the Jews, according to Gregory, are limited in that they

only follow the letter, while those of the pagans are simply demonic; only Christian

observances are "imbued with the Holy Spirit." Although accusations of Jewish legalism

or pagan demonism, blind to the Spirit, were common in medieval polemics, Gregory's

sermon specifically casts this opposition in relation to the Pentecost. Analogously, the

procession on the left side of Vézelay's lintel, which includes a bull being led to

slaughter, evokes a pagan sacrifice that can stand as an antitype to the holiday suffused

with the Spirit represented above.[77] As suggested above, the manner of representing

speech in the tympanum establishes further oppositions.

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[76] "De sollemnitate huius diei pauca dicenda sunt, ut laetemur in spiritu, quoniam quidem aliae aliis sollemnitates geruntur. cultoribus autem uerbi in uerbo est celebranda festiuitas. quid enim tam aptum et quid tam conueniens uel quid ita laetificat rectam et rationabilem mentem quam eorum quae gerit accipere et agnoscere rationem? adhibete ergo animos et quid sibi festiuitas ipsa uelit audite. celebrantur etiam apud Iudaeos sollemnitates quaedam, sed secundam litteram, quia corporalem persequens legem Iudaeus in legem spiritalem non potest peruenire. celebrantur et apud gentiles, sed daemonibus festiuitas exhibetur pro eo quod aut uitii alicuius auctores sint aut propter uitia et per uitia colantur. idcirco etiam uitiorum et turpitudinum plena est eorum ipsa sollemnitas, ut honorem deo suo peccando deferant et magis se ei commendet is qui plus abundauerit uitiis. celebrantur etiam apud nos sollemnitates, sed sicut spiritui placet, id est ut uel dicamus honestum aliquid uel agamus" (CSEL 46, 141). This sermon is found on Lyon, B.M. 0555, fol. 178v; it was also found in many Cluniac lectionaries (Étaix, "Lectionnaire," 106).

[77] For this scene as an antique sacrifice see, for example, Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 149; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 177; Terret Manuscript, Notebook 6. Abou-el-Haj argues that tympanum serves as a vehicle to achieve a "consensus" concerning the economic tensions between abbey and town ("Audiences," 8). This argument is based in part on Feldman's identification of the scene as a procession of tithers to the monastery ("Monastic Self-Image," 47-75). Feldman and Abou-el-Haj's arguments are anticipated by a nineteenth-century popular tradition that believed this lintel represented people presenting tithes to the monastery (Turgot, *Histoire*, 228). This association with contemporary events remains, however, highly speculative. It seems more likely that the iconography of the lintel represents some sort of ancient or Jewish sacrifice. A very similar contrast, for example, is made in a portal at Charlieu, which juxtaposes an

No other surviving Romanesque site, it can be said, boasts so many carved

speech-acts as Vézelay. On the central portal, the jamb figures of the apostles, including

Peter and Paul, engage in conversation amongst themselves.[78] The damaged trumeau

figure of John the Baptist (fig. 3), holding a vessel that contains the paschal lamb, is

accompanied by the prominent inscription:

AGNOSCANT OM[ne]S QVIA DICITVR ISTE IOH[anne]S+
C[um] RETINET POP[u]L[u]M DEMONSTRANS INDICE XP[istu]M

Let all realize that this is meant to be John when he holds the attention of
the people, pointing out Christ with his finger.[79]

The meaning of "indice" in this inscription is ambiguous. Like a pun, it can signify

several meanings, including "sign" and "index finger." Both interpretations seem

appropriate here. If we read indice to mean "sign" it could refer to the *agnus dei* which

the saint proffers, while if it is taken to mean "index finger" it could synechdotally refer

to the prophesies of John the Baptist, the voice in the wilderness which proclaims the

coming of Christ. The figures bearing scrolls on either side of the trumeau, probably Old

Testament prophets, further allude to divinely inspired speech.

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ancient sacrifice on the lintel with a New Testament scene. Damage to the carving prevents certain identification of the latter scene. but the nimbed figure of Christ who sits at a table. suggests that either the Wedding of Cana or Last Supper is represented (R.C. Moeller. "Notes sur l'iconographie du Narthex de Charlieu," *Actes des journées d'études d'histoire et d'archéologie*. Charlieu. 1973. 35-46; E.R. Sunderland, *Charlieu à l'époque médiévale*, Lyon, 1971, 52-53, fig. 51). I have not seen R.C. Moeller's dissertation on this tympanum. Sacrifices of calves at altars are also found in manuscripts: an initial from a twelfth-century breviary from Montiéramy, for example, shows a group of figues witnessing the slaughter of a calf (Paris. B.N. lat. 796, fol. 235v; see Cahn, *Romanesque*, vol. 2, 91).

[78] See the discussion of this relief in chapter 1.

[79] C.B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions*. Toronto, 1998, 298-99. See also Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 439.

The index finger in Romanesque art often signifies orations. A line drawing accompanying a reading for the vigil of Pentecost in an eleventh-century lectionary from Burgundy (fig. 82) for example, depicts a figure extending his index finger.[80] The figure is positioned beneath the text and his finger points off the page. Thus, the gesture does not seem to be an early example of *Nota Bene* notation, but rather an indication of speech, perhaps inspired by the Holy Spirit. This modest miniature is significant because this manuscript has virtually no ornamentation, much less figural decoration, and thus suggests that the artist felt compelled to visually associate this holiday with a speaking figure.

Within the corpus of Vézelay's sculpture extended index fingers abound; they appear on roughly forty percent of the figural capitals.[81] What this gesture signifies, the content of the speech act, depends upon the narrative in which it is used. On one capital (fig. 30), discussed above, the woman who falsely accused Eugenia of rape points a finger at the saint, suggesting mendacious speech. On the capital of St. Martin and the pine, one figure points to the center of the capital as he converses with a companion (fig. 16). Here the gesture seems to underscore the subject of a conversation, namely the miracle at center. The repetition of extended index fingers throughout the sculpture of the nave encourages the viewer to compare the very different types of speech to which they refer, from the truth spoken by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit to the lies of a sinner. In this regard, the contorted mouths of demons that occupy several of the capitals (e.g., fig. 11) seem to present an antitype to the divinely inspired speech of the

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[80] Paris, B.N. lat. 10500, fol. 99v.

tympanum. Delimiting proper speech emerges as a recurrent theme of the nave sculpture, as a programmatic concern.

What might "proper speech" mean for the monks of Vézelay, who, of course, honored a vow of silence? Monastic writers were quick to condemn idle chatter as sinful and monks were prohibited from speaking during most of the day, including during meals.[82] But there were prescribed times during which monks were allowed to talk. Both in the chapter house and during the performance of the liturgy, monks would pronounce or hear a variety of sermons and expositions on the Bible and the *Rule* of Saint Benedict, which guided conduct at Vézelay.[83] These speech acts played an important role in the intellectual and moral development of monks. They offered opportunities to explore and define the meaning of the religious life.

Many of the sermons read at Vézelay, including those for Pentecost, address the nature of proper speech, which was considered to be exemplified in the figures of the apostles. Abbot Odilo of Cluny refers to "the unspeakable immeasurable glory, and majesty of this day [Pentecost], with the word presiding and with speaking tongues, which enabled us to speak properly."[84] He then encourages his listeners to imitate the

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[81] See comments on nave capital 4 in Appendix A.

[82] Important works on monastic silence include: M.-A. Dimier, "Observances monastiques," *Analecta cisterciensia* 11 (1955): 160-68; P. Salmon, "Le silence religieux. Pratique et théorie," in *Mélanges bénédictins publiés à l'occasion du XIVe centennaire de la mort de Saint Benoît par les moines de Saint-Jérôme de Rome*, Abbey of St. Wandrille, 1947, 13-57; Valous, *Monachisme*, vol. 1, 78-83; A. Wathen, *Silence. The Meaning of Silence in the Rule of St. Benedict*, Cistercian Studies Series 22, Washington, D.C., 1973.

[83] J. Longère, *La prédication médiévale*, Paris, 1983, 54; Valous, *Monachisme*, vol. 1, 327.

[84] "Indicibilis et immensa praesentins diei maiestas et gloria, verbo praesidente et linguis faventibus, vi propriae potestatis exigit..." (PL 142, 1014). See Diemer, "Pfingstportal," 99.

zeal of the apostles.[85] A homily by Gregory the Great for Pentecost, which is included in

a breviary from Vézelay for the holiday, addresses the Holy Spirit's gift of speech to the

apostles.[86] Gregory's sermon begins with a description of the sudden sound (*repentinus*

sonitus) that descended upon the disciples, whose hearts were transformed by the love of

the Holy Spirit. Gregory exhorts his listeners to allow God's love to guide their lives

and tongues. The invocation of love here as essential for communication recalls

Augustine's treatment of the subject in, for example, the *De doctrina christiana*. In this

work, Augustine argues that *caritas*, in contrast with the *amor* of Gregory, acts as a

bridge in communication between speaker and audience. These themes are also

addressed in Julian of Vézelay's sermon for Pentecost, which immediately poses the

question of communication itself.

> A man wishing to speak to others about the knowledge of God, namely the
> Holy Trinity, struggles with the mind, he is unable to find the right words
> to say that which is unspeakable. Therefore, he translates our poor words,
> which were created to please and be convenient to men to designate the
> creatures, their actions, as well as their passions.[87]

Communication and its difficulties are defined here in terms of speech (e.g., *loqui*,

indicibile, and *diceret*). Despite any anxiety Julian might have felt toward the

possibilities of effective speech, however, language was an essential tool for theology. It

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[85] PL 142, 1015. See also comments on the *vita apostolica* in Chapter 1.

[86] Lyon, B.M. 0555 fol. 170v; *Homelarium in Evangelica* 30 (PL 76, 1220-1222). This sermon is also found in eleventh- and twelfth-century lectionaries from Cluny (Étaix, "Lectionniare," 105; Elvert, *Clavis*, 58). Gregory's emphasis on serving the mandates of the Lord is echoed in Augustine's *Tractate* 74 on the Gospel of John (CCSL 36, 512), read at Cluny on Pentecost (Elvert, Clavis, 58; Étaix, "Lectionnaire,"105). This sermon is not transcribed in Vézelay's breviary.

[87] "Volens homo ad aliorum eruditionem quae de Deo suo, sancta uidelicet Trinitate, mente conceperat, loqui, uerba probria quibus illud indicibilie diceret non invenit. Transtulit igintur se ad uerbula paupertatis nostrae quae ad placitum conuenientiamque hominum inuenta, creaturis earumque actionibus uel passionibus designandis imposita sunt" (*Sermons*, vol. 1, 252).

will be recalled that one of Julian's sermons even applies the rules of grammar to "decline" evil, as one would decline a noun through its various case-endings.[88] Divinely inspired speech seems to be embodied by the carved apostles of Vézelay's tympanum, who turn toward one another, often touching their neighbor, as if engaged in fraternal conversation. The books they hold, resembling Bibles or gospels, assure the viewer that their speech is grounded in the Word, very different in character from the grotesque utterances of the surrounding figures. The *vita apostolica* is thus couched in part at Vézelay by differentiating it from its profane antitype.

Conclusion

The preceding analysis has been rooted in gestures represented in sculpture that resemble those performed by monks. I have tried to develop a method of interpreting these sculptures that is based in everyday practices. The formal resemblance of Vézelay's carved gestures to a number performed by monks, I argue, could engender multiple significances that would have been readily apparent for the viewer. These gestures seem to signify simultaneously divers, distinct meanings that are sometimes, though not necessarily, antithetical. Rather than describe this capacity with terms like "polyvalent" or "polysemic" that connote medieval hermeneutic method, including the ubiquitous quadripartite system for interpreting scripture, I suggest that these gestures can be described as "ambiguous", used here in the philosophical sense.[89] It should be stressed that "ambiguity" was not only tolerated by monastic thinkers in the early twelfth

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[88] Ibid., 264-84.

[89]Specifically this is an example of *M*-ambiguity (I. Scheffler, *Beyond the Letter: A Philosophical Inquiry into Ambiguity, Vagueness and Metaphor in Language*, Boston, 1979, 11-36). Scheffler's analysis owes much to Ludwig Wittgenstein's conception of the "language-game." See also L. Steinberg, "Leonardo's Last Supper," *Art Quarterly* 36 (1973): 298; idem, "The Seven Functions of the Hands of Christ: Aspects of Leonardo's *Last Supper*," in *Art, Creativity, and the Sacred: An Anthology in Religion and Art*, rev. ed., ed. D. Apostolos-Cappadono, New York, 1995, 40.

century, but was consciously sought to enrich readings of the Bible. Julian of Vézelay interprets given themes in multiple ways, returning to each repeatedly: his explanation of the episode of Adam's and Eve's Temptation in various and alternative ways—as an example of ignorance, death, sin, and innocence—results in a rich constellation of meanings. [90] That Julian revels in exploring these manifold significances distinguishes him from Scholastics, whose methods gained in popularity throughout Europe during the course of the twelfth century. Theologians like Peter Abelard attempted to resolve contradictions, to eradicate paradoxes among previous commentaries of biblical passages. Scholastic thought, which prized consistency of interpretation, differed very much in character from the discursive method of exegesis that flourished in monasteries earlier in the century. The delight monastic thinkers took in divergent, sometimes contradictory, significances of a word recalls the manner in which a pun simultaneously alludes to various meanings. Truth, for a monk, was not necessarily univocal.

An analogue to this monastic thought process may be identified in the ambiguous meanings engendered by Vézelay's carved gestures that visually pun monastic body movements. Because gestures like striking the chest or pointing to the ear were performed in a number of contexts within the monastery, they could foster a complex of interpretations for monastic viewers, which, like the pun, were often humorous in content. I suggest that the manifold significances of some of Vézelay's gestures, its visual puns, yield insight into the monastic character of its art. Previous attempts to identify features distinctive to monastic art have been limited in success in part because they have attempted to argue for the appropriateness of particular iconographies for abbey churches. Yet one finds subjects like the Temptation in parish chapels, in city cathedrals, and in cloisters, suggesting that the story could be used in a wide variety of contexts; there is nothing specifically monastic about the story. If one focuses on the

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[90]*Sermons*, 54, 132, 136, 146, 156, and 305.

question of how rather than what Vézelay's sculpture represents, its cenobitic character

becomes apparent.

CHAPTER 4

HAIR-PULLING AND DECAPITATION: CAPITAL PROGRAMMATICS

Four capitals in Vézelay's nave represent a man grabbing the hair of a victim's

head as part of an act of decapitation: the adversary's head is about to be severed from its

body by the swipe of a sword. Two other capitals feature executioners wielding swords,

although they do not pull at their victim's hair.[1] The appearance of images of

decapitation on roughly fifteen percent of the nave's figural capitals is noteworthy, for no

other Romanesque site boasts a comparable concentration of such scenes. One wonders

if Viollet-le-Duc may have recognized the stress on beheadings at Vézelay during the

course of his nineteenth-century restorations when he replaced a damaged nave capital of

a siren with one featuring Judith slaying Holofernes, a tale with well known references to

hair-pulling and decapitation.[2] The question is how best to interpret these repeated

motifs.

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[1]Four additional capitals in the nave represent one or more figures tearing at a victim's hair (62, 63, 85, 91). Another four capitals present a figure grabbing her own hair (nave 12, 21, 59 and narthex 6). Although this gesture commonly marks grief or distress, as in the father's reaction to the rape of his son Ganymede (12), at Vézelay this gesture seems to have other connotations. Isaac's wife, for example, pulls her hair at the moment that Isaac blesses Jacob (narthex 6). Because this is a ritual that she has successfully arranged, there would seem to be no reason for Rebecca to grieve at this moment. The obscurity of her reaction reminds against the dangers of lexical identifications of gestures' meanings (cf. Garnier, *Langage*, vol. 2, 84).

[2] Porter believed Viollet-le-Duc's restoration to be an original sculpture (*Pilgrimage*, pl. 44). For the siren capital and the subsequent restoration see: Adhémar, *Influences*, pl. 50; V.H. Débidour and E.M. Janet Le Caisne, *Vézelay*, 1962; Despiney, *Guide*, 97, 133; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie,"131, 323-24; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 22; *Viollet-le-Duc*, Paris, 1980, 151-53; D. Jalabert, "De l'art oriental antique à l'art roman. Recherches sur la fuane et la flore romane. II: Les sirènes," *Bulletin monumental* 95 (1936): 433-71; Salet,

This phenomenon could be cited as evidence for the limited visual vocabulary of Vézelay's sculptors, but the variations among the scenes of decapitation, including the disposition of the sword or the posture of the victim, suggest that they were not produced from a single cartoon or one design in a pattern book. Similarly, other compositional elements, like the number of figures on a given capital, vary among the examples under consideration here. As will be discussed below, sculptors manipulated narratives to incorporate motifs of decapitation even when this does not accord with the biblical account or iconographic traditions. The stress on decapitation among Vézelay's sculpture thus seems deliberate.

The intent and methods of the sculptors, however, does not interest me here, rather I wish to explore the meanings that gestures of hair-pulling and decapitation would have held for monastic viewers. After presenting the corpus of examples on which these motifs appear, it will be suggested that these gestures might have been interpreted as symbols of many monastic practices, including the tonsure ceremony, that were framed in terms of sacrifice by many contemporary theologians. In addition to the meanings that hair-pulling or decapitation might have held for monks, the repetition of these motifs merits consideration as a feature that bears upon our understanding of program at Vézelay. It will be suggested that the use of similar gestures throughout the nave seems to confer formal and thematic cohesion to the heterogeneous group of capitals assembled in the abbey church. An analogue to this method of organization may be identified in other spheres of monastic cultural production, including poetry and chant. It will be argued that in the case of the capitals the appearance of similar gestures in different

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Cluny et Vézelay,156; Salet and Adhémar, La Madeleine,186-87; Saulnier and Stratford, Sculpture oubliée, 124.

narrative contexts encourages the viewer to compare and contrast very different biblical and hagiographic subjects, including the death of Absalom and the Sacrifice of Isaac. The discursive contemplation that can result from this viewing process, I will suggest, is not solely dependent upon textual or iconographic traditions, but arises out of the visual forms on the capitals.

The Corpus of Nave Capitals featuring Scenes of Decapitation

Scrutiny of a capital that features the combat between David and Goliath (50, figs. 23-24) sheds light on the ways in which Vézelay's nave sculpture stresses decapitation gestures.[3] Although the biblical account specifies that David beheaded his foe, the Vézelay capital, through its choice of narrative moments, brings this fact to the fore. The capital is heavily restored, but its present composition seem justified when compared to Viollet-le-Duc's drawings of the original.[4] The left face, the most heavily reworked on the capital, shows David with a sling winding a stone that he is about to hurl at Goliath, who stands opposite. The figure of the defeated giant spreads across the width of the capital's central face, underscoring his size. David strides atop his foe and cuts Goliath's neck with a sword. On the right face of the capital, the victor carries the vanquished's head over his shoulder. That this trophy dangles highlights the fact that it is separated from its body. The viewer is thus witness to the act of decapitation and its result.

Three of Vézelay's capitals feature the decapitation of a figure, even though the biblical narratives do not specify this form of death, further suggesting the stress on these

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[3] Aubert, *Richesses*, 16-17; Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 242; Crosnier, "Iconographie," 221; Despiney, *Guide*, 133; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 120, 330-31; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 23; Porée, *L'abbaye*, 58; Porter, *Pilgrimage*, pl. 34; Saulnier and Stratford, *Sculpture oubliée*, 126; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 156; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 187; Sazama, "Assertion," 187-88; Terret, *Cluny*, 64.

gestures in the nave sculpture. On a capital representing Moses slaying the Egyptian (49,

figs. 21-22), the protagonist is shown on the main face seizing the hair of his victim in his

left hand and slicing the figure's neck with the other.[5] That the hero decapitates his

enemy is underscored to the right, where the protagonist hides his victim's head among

some foliage. The only precedent for this latter feature of which I am aware is found in a

Byzantine *Sacra Parallela* (fig. 88), but it differs from the Vézelay capital in that Moses

is not shown beheading his foe.[6] Exodus 2, 13 does not specify how Moses killed his foe

and typically medieval representations of this scene feature Moses clubbing a victim,

rather than beheading him, as in a mosaic at San Marco in Venice (fig. 90).[7] The

iconography of the Vézelay capital is thus unusual.

Similarly, a capital of the Slaying of Absalom (53, fig. 25) represents the youth as

beheaded by Joab even though 2 Samuel 18, 14-15 specifies that he was pierced by three

darts.[8] Later, it is related, Absalom was struck dead by ten young men. Medieval

miniatures are typically faithful to the textual description. A tenth-century Bible from

Spain, for example, shows Absalom hanging from a tree, transfixed by a lance (fig. 89).[9]

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[4] See Saulnier and Stratford, *Sculpture oubliée*, fig. 149.

[5] Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 242; Crosnier, "Iconographie," 221; Despiney, *Guide*, 133; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 162, 329; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 23; Porée, *L'abbaye*, 57-58; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 156; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 187; Sazama, "Assertion," 185-87; Terret, *Cluny*, 63.

[6] (B.N. gr. 923, fol. 89r). An Aelfric Paraphrase (London, Brit. Lib. Cotton Claudius B. IV, fol. 75v) shows Moses brandishing a sword as he grabs the hair of his victim.

[7] O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco, Venice*, ed. H. Kessler, Chicago, 1988, pl. 60. Other examples include Bibl. Vat. gr. 747, fol. 73r.

[8] For this capital see Crosnier, "Iconographie," 221; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 331-33; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 22; Porée, *L'abbaye*,58-59; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 187; Sazama, "Assertion," 188-89; Terret, *Cluny*, 65.

[9] León, R.C. San Isidoro Cod. 2, fol. 138v. Other examples of this iconography include: Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Bibl. 59, fol. 4v (c. 1125); Bibl. Vat. gr. 333, fol. 60 (c. 1100); Bibl. gr. 752, fol. 22 (c. 1100); Milan, fourth-century fresco in the church of San Ambrogio (fourth-century; now destroyed); Mount Athos,

A group of men, presumably the ten youths of the biblical account, stand to the left. One

of these men throws a lance toward Absalom. Only three earlier examples feature Joab

brandishing a sword, all of them Byzantine miniatures, including one from a Greek

Psalter in the British Library (fig. 84).[10]

A capital featuring the slaying of Pharaoh's son by an angel (57, fig. 28),[11] seems

more in keeping with medieval iconographic traditions. Only the right half of this

sculpture survives on which a prince, identifiable by his crown, sleeps. Above him an

angel raises a sword above the boy's head, suggesting an impending beheading. The

biblical passage (Exodus 12, 29) specifies that the Lord killed the Egyptian firstborn.

Nevertheless, other monumental examples of this iconography feature an angel bearing a

sword, including a relief on the bronze doors of San Zeno in Verona (fig. 87).[12]

Although the iconography of the Vézelay capital is not unusual, it is striking when

viewed in relation to the other scenes of decapitation in the abbey church. Through the

use of similar motifs, these scenes seem to engage in a visual dialogue with one another.

The viewer is thereby encouraged to compare and contrast these very different narratives

in his mind.

Mon. Pantokrator 61, fol. 61 (ninth-century); Moscow, State Historical Museum, GIM 86795 or Khlud. 129-d , fol. 140v (ninth-century); Sens, an eleventh-century textile in the cathedral treasury.

[10]Bibl. Vat. gr. 1927, fol. 204R (c.1100); London, British Museum Add. 19352, fol. 181R (1066; Der Nersessian, L'illustration, fig. 284); Rome Bibl. Vat. gr. 752, fol. 22R (c. 1100).

[11] For this capital see: Crosnier. "Iconographie," 221; Despiney, Guide, 133; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 103, 337-38; Mâle, Twelfth Century, 366; Meunier, Iconographie, 24; Porée, L'abbaye, 60; Salet, Cluny et Vézelay, 157; Salet and Adhémar, La Madeleine, 188; Saulnier and Stratford, Sculpture oubliée, Sazama, "Assertion," 189-91; Terret, Cluny, 62; Viollet-le-Duc, Monographie, 24.

[12] W. Neumann, Studien zu den Bildfeldern der Bronzetür von San Zeno in Verona, Frankfort, 1979, pl. 35. For other, roughly contemporary examples of this iconography in monumental art see ; L. Pressouyre, "La "Mactatio agni" au portail des cathédrales gothiques et l'exégèse contemporaine," Bulletin monumental 132 (1974): 49-65.

The repeated use of gestures of decapitation at Vézelay makes it difficult to

discern the stories that some of the capitals were originally intended to represent. Artists

probably had recourse to painted inscriptions and thus they may not have felt compelled

to visually distinguish these narratives.[13] A capital generally interpreted as David

Ordering the Execution of Saul's Murderer (60, fig. 31) is a case in point.[14] This

identification is called into question when one compares the scene to one in the narthex

(3, fig. 47), which is generally labeled as the Beheading of John the Baptist.[15] Both

capitals feature a seated king, who watches an executioner grab the hair of his victim in

one hand and raise a sword in the other, but neither incorporates visual or thematic motifs

that definitively links it with either biblical episode. Similar compositions feature in any

number of contemporary manuscript illuminations of saints' martyrdoms and Old

Testament executions, such as a miniature of the Killing of the Idolatrous Jew (fig. 83)

from a Cîteaux Bible, now in Dijon.[16] Because the figural gestures and forms of these

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[13]For painted inscriptions see the comments in Appendix A.

[14] See Aubert, *Richesses*, 17; Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 242; Crosnier, "Iconographie," 221; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 341-42; Evans, *Art*, 83; Garnier, *Langage*, vol. 1, pl. 19; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 23; Porée, *L'abbaye*, 61; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 158; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 188-89; Sazama, "Assertion," 191-92; Viollet-le-Duc, *Monographie*, 24. Another nave capital (49) is often identified as Moses Slaying the Egyptian, although this is not certain: Calmette and David *Grandes heueres*, 242; Crosnier, "Iconographie," 221; Despiney, *Guide*, 133; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 329; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 23; Porée, *L'abbaye*, 57-58; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 156; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 187; Sazama, "Assertion," 185-87; Terret, *Cluny*, 63. If this identification is correct, the stress on decapitation is unusual when viewed in relation to iconographic traditions, but would be in keeping with the repetition of the motif in Vézelay's nave.

[15] See Despiney, *Guide*, 93; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 389; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 196.

[16] For bibliography on this manuscript see Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 72. Other narratives are illustrated in similar fashion in medieval art. A miniature from a Fulda manuscript (Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Lit. 1, fol. 135), for example, shows Paul's beheading in front of an enthroned Nero (Palazzo, *Les sacramentaires*, fig. 17). As argued in chapter 1, there is an emphasis on Petrine and Pauline iconography at Vézelay, including two capitals featuring episodes from their apocryphal lives. If either nave capital 60 or narthex capital 3 originally represented Paul's execution, this would have add to the corpus of representations of the monastery's patron saints.

capitals lack specificity, the narratives they were intended to represent will probably remain obscure.

Another capital, sometimes identified as the death of Haman (80, fig. 39), features gestures similar to those just enumerated.[17] On the central face of this capital two soldiers in mail raise their swords to strike a third. On either side stand two figures in armor. A figure on the left side raises his hand in a gesture that may indicate that it is Absalom giving instructions to his henchmen. The identification of this scene is tentative because the feast mentioned in the biblical text is not referred to in any way in the carving, nor do the few other examples of Amnon iconography seem to resemble the composition of the Vézelay capitals.

The gestures of decapitation on the nave capitals seem to find resonances in other sculpted narratives, even if decapitation is not specifically referred to. On a small pilaster capital of the Sacrifice of Isaac (90b, fig. 42),[18] Abraham grabs the hair of his son in one hand and holds a sword to his victim's throat in the other, suggesting he might behead his son. Indeed, the angel, who appears from a cloud bank above, has yet to stay Abraham's hand, a detail often found in medieval examples of the iconography. The anxiety of the episode is thus heightened. A capital of Joseph and the wife of Potiphar (85, fig. 41) represents the youth being beaten with clubs.[19] The manner in which one of his assailants raises his club and grabs the hair of his victim, recalls the gestures of other decapitation

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[17] Despiney, *Guide*,136; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 132, 362-63; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 26; Porée, *L'abbaye*, 65; Salet, Cluny et Vézelay, 159; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 191.

[18] Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 241; Despiney, *Guide*, 134; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 375; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 160; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 192; Turgot, *Histoire*, 233. This subject is repeated on narthex capital 45.

[19] Calmette and David, *Grandes heures*, 242; Despiney, *Guide*, 135; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 156, 370-72; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 28; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 160; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 191.

scenes (e.g., nave 60). On another capital of an unknown subject (91, fig. 43), a man's

head is pulled from a well.[20] Only the figure's tiny hand, scarcely visible from the

ground, informs the viewer that this head is not severed from its body as on other

capitals, including that of David and Goliath. These examples visually echo, sometimes

in an almost playful fashion, the motifs found on other capitals. In sum, there is an

unmistakable stress on gestures of decapitation, often in conjunction with hair-pulling, at

Vézelay. The question is how to best understand this phenomenon.

The Monastic Meanings of Hair-Pulling and Decapitation

It goes without saying that no medieval treatise addresses the significances of

hair-pulling and decapitation in art, but we are fortunate that other contemporary sources

survive which attach particular meanings to these actions. These texts should not be read

lexicographically in order to establish dictionary-like meanings.[21] Rather they can aid in

identifying some of the connotations that carved body-movements might have held for

medieval audiences. Early Burgundian law, for example, specifically forbade pulling the

hair of a man and meted out fines of up to six *solidi* for violations.[22] Fines were less if

the victim was a foreigner or a servant, but it is remarkable that hair-pulling is

specifically mentioned. If one considers the fines levied for other violent crimes, such as

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[20]Despiney, *Guide*, 134; Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 376-77; Meunier, *Iconographie*, 30; Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, 160; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 192.

[21] See the comments on the "dictionary fallacy" in chapter 3.

[22]"Si quis ingenuum hominem per capillos corripuerit, si una manu, II solidos ingerat, si utraque, solidos IIII, multae autem nomine solidos VI [If anyone grabs the hair of a native man once with the hand, he will pay two *solidi*, and if another time four *solidi*, and six *solidi* for several infractions]" (MGH Legum, vol. 2, pt. 1, 46). Saxon and German laws contained similar ordinances (MGH Legum, vol. 5, 49 n. 12).

fifteen *solidi* for knocking out a nobleman's teeth or twelve for raping a woman, some insight is gained into how negatively this insulting practice was looked upon. Similar attitudes persisted into the twelfth century. In John of Salisbury's political treatise the *Policraticus*, for example, the author speaks metaphorically of the injustices committed by corrupt officials in terms of hair-pulling and other corporal insults.[23] Although it is generally lawful to defend oneself against such actions, John warns his reader to exercise restraint when dealing with a tyrant lest one bear the brunt of even more violent acts. Decapitations could be ordered for crimes as minor as petty theft during the Middle Ages. This form of punishment was common until the late twelfth century when church officials, including Peter the Chanter, began to petition lay rulers to curb the practice.[24]

One could argue that the emphasis on decapitation and hair-pulling at Vézelay reflects the praxes of an incredibly violent society, from which monasteries were by no means exempt.[25] Images of battles and torture permeate monks' writings of the period, suggesting that metaphors of violence could be incorporated into religious ideologies.[26] But such an explanation, I would suggest, seems rather misguided: it casts violence as normative in medieval culture, and uncritically relegates to it the function of mimesis.

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[23] *Policraticus* VI, 1 (see the English translation in J. Dickinson, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, New York, 1927, 178).

[24] J. W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols., Princeton, 1970. For decapitation in the later Middle Ages see Y. Bongert, *Histoire du droit penal. Le droit penal français de la seconde moitié du XIIIème siecle à l'ordonnance de 1493*, Paris, 1970, 186-87. See also P. Lacroix, *Manners, Customs, and Dress during the Middle Ages and During the Renaissance Period*, London, 1874, 417-18; V. Gay, *Glossaire archéologique du moyen âge et de la renaissance*, vol. 1, Paris, 1887, 643.

[25] See the comments on violence in the discussion of St. Eustace in chapter 2. See also R.I. Moore important comments (*The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250*, London, 1987, 4-5).

[26] See the recent comments of Conrad Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life: Reading, Art, and Polemics in the Citeaux Moralia in Job*, Princeton, 1997, 8 n.13, and *passim*.

This is not to downplay the brutality or physicality of Vézelay's carved gestures

or to suggest that the actions should be read exclusively in symbolic terms. At Cluny the

phrase "letting a hair fall," adopted from the Old Testament, synechdotally indicated

bodily injury, as a passage from a biography of Abbot Odilo reveals.[27] Luke 21,18, "but

a hair of your head shall not perish," was often invoked by theologians, among them

Augustine and Alcuin, as manifesting God's salvific promise to protect his followers

from harm.[28] The metonymic associations of hair-pulling with corporal injury in these

figures of speech may help account for the relative frequency of the gesture in

contemporary manuscript illuminations. The twelfth-century Bible of Stephen Harding,

produced in the scriptorium at Cîteaux, represents the death of the idolatrous Jew as a

decapitation scene, in which the victim's hair is pulled by his executioner (fig. 83).[29] The

violent nature of the motifs of hair-pulling and decapitation would probably not have

been lost to twelfth-century viewers.

As far as can be determined, at Vézelay hair-pulling gestures in conjunction with

decapitation feature only in Old Testament narratives, including the death of Absalom

and Moses's slaying of the Egyptian. The stress on violent gestures in these scenes recalls

Christian polemics which contrasted the barbarism of the Old Dispensation with the

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[27]"...nec capillus ex eis cadet in terram..." (*Vita sancti Odonis*, PL 133, 101). This echoes many biblical verses including: 1 Sam. 21, 45; 2 Sam. 14,11, 26; 1 Kings 1:52; Acts 27, 34.

[28]Augustine, *In Joannis evangelium tractatus 124* (PL 125, 1773); Bede, *In evangelium sancti Joannis* (PL 92, 793); Alcuin *In evangelium Joannis* (PL 100, 916); Haimo Halberstat, *Homilia* (PL 118, 391); Zacharias Chrysopolitans, *De concordia evangelisterium* (PL 186, 446).

[29] Dijon, B.M. 14, fol. 13; see Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, vol. 1, fig. 133; Zaluska, *L'enluminure et le scriptorium de Cîteaux au XIIe siècle*, pl. 24.

peace of the New.[30] In his *Tractatus adversus iudaeos*, for example, Augustine argued

that Christ's sacrifice on the cross rendered the blood offerings of the Jews obsolete.[31]

Augustine's negative views on Judaism seem to have circulated widely in the West: one

scribe compiled the anti-Semitic passages from the patristic father's writings, both

authentic and apocryphal.[32] Twelfth-century authors further developed a theology that

cast Judaism negatively, including Alan of Lille, Guibert of Nogent, Hildebert of

Lavardin, Peter Abelard, and Richard of St. Victor.[33] Among other themes, their

writings typically contrast the violent nature of Jews with the pacific character of the

Christians. Peter the Venerable condemned the Jews as a murderous people from the

time of Cain, a trait made manifest by their crucifixion of Christ.[34] Fulbert of Chartres

argued that Christ had rendered the blood sacrifices of the Jews obsolete and criticized

this people for the superstitious practice of slitting throats (*jugulare*).[35]

In addition to highlighting violence, perhaps evocative of Old Testament

sacrifices, Vézelay's images of decapitation suggest the term "headless," *acephali*, which

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[30] See the comments in the introductory chapter on the predominance of Old Testament imagery in Vézelay's nave.

[31] PL 42, 52. B. Blumenkranz argues that the anti-Semitic content of Augustine's writings was exaggerated during the Middle Ages: "Augustin et les juifs, Augustin et le judaïsme," *Recherches Augustiniennes* 1 (1958): 240–41. Augustine's tract should be viewed in part as a response to the presence of large Jewish communities in North Africa, which would be seen as competing with Christianity (P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, Berkeley, 1967, 428).

[32] Oxford, Bodl. Rawlinson A, fols. 111v-148v.

[33] See B. Blumenkranz, "Anti-Jewish Polemics and Legislation in the Middle Ages: Literary Fiction or Reality?" *The Journal of Jewish Studies* 15 (1964): 131.

[34] *Adversus iudeorum inveteratam duritiem*, ed. Y. Friedman, CCCM 58, Turnholt, 1985; cf. PL 189, 614. Constable argues that this is restricted to religious doctrine and has no racial implications (*The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, vol. 2, 185). Others have characterized Peter as particularly anti-Semitical: B. Blumenkranz, "Kirche und Synagoge: Die Entwicklung im Westen zwischen 200 und 1200," *Kirche und Synagoge. Handbuch zur Geschichte von Christen und Juden*, Stuttgart, 1968, 119-24.

[35] *Tractatus contra Iudaeos* (PL 141, 309).

was often applied to Jews and heretics because they had no head or leader.[36] The "head" of orthodoxy was identified by theologians as any number of figures, from Christ, to the pope, to an abbot, and it was common in the twelfth century to refer to Christ as the head of a body, which in turn signified the church.[37] Odo of Canterbury stated this succinctly, "*caput Ecclesia Christus*," but similar metaphors were employed by Peter Comestor, Odo of Cluny, and Hugh of St. Victor, to name a few. Vézelay's scenes of decapitation that are taken from Old Testament narratives might thus suggest a typological antinomy. The headless Jews represented throughout the church might suggest, through a process of wordplay, that this religion has no leader. In contrast, the "head" of the New Dispensation, namely Christ, dominates the central portal at the west end of the nave (fig. 4); his prominent position within this sculpture seemingly authenticates the institution of the Church, created at the moment of the Pentecost.[38]

This is not to suggest, however, that Vézelay's program necessarily condones anti-Semitic persecution. Bernhard Blumenkranz in particular has demonstrated that the negative casting of Jewish ritual practices in medieval polemics is often a rhetorical foil, used to validate or explain Christian beliefs or practices, and thus cannot simply be

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[36] Isidore of Seville, for example, states: "Duo sunt genera clericorum, unum ecclesiasticorum sub regimine episcopali degentium, alterum acephalorum, id est, sine capite, quem sequantur ignorantium" (PL 83, 779). See the entry for "acephali" in Du Cange for numerous plays on this word. See also F. Châtillon, "Héros acéphales, vers acéphales," *Revue du Moyen Âge latin* 8 (1952): 56-58.

[37] A sermon found in Troyes, B.M. 878, fol. 9r states : "Caput Ecclesia Christus...hodie Christus ex hoc mundo transiuit ad Patrem, Christus, inquam, totus et integer, caput cum corpore, sponsus cum sponsa, Christus cum Ecclesia" (M.-M. Lebreton, "Recherches sur les principaux thèmes théologiques traités dans les sermons du XII siècle," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 23 [1956]: 14). Lebreton provides other examples of this metaphor. Hugh of St. Victor interweaves the head/body metaphor with the image of the dualism of matter and spirit: "Caput enim est Christus, membrum Christianus. Caput unum, membra multa, et constat unum corpus ex capite et membris et in uno corpore Spiritus unus" (PL 176, 415).

[38] See the comments on this tympanum in chapter 3.

conflated with the campaigns of violence against this people that often accompanied the crusades.[39] Authors of some of the most polemical works against Jewish doctrine, such as Bernard of Clairvaux, were quick to condemn hate crimes against Jews. The corpus of twelfth-century *contra iudaeos* writings were probably not aimed at the conversion of Jews, who would have had little inclination to peruse them, but rather stand within an age-old genre used to espouse Christian doctrine. In other contexts, in fact, theologians validated rituals, particularly the Eucharist, by citing Jewish sacrifices as prefigurations.[40]

The various ways of interpreting Old Testament narratives may have implications for our interpretation of Vézelay's sculpture. The capital of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac (fig. 42) might be construed either as a barbaric human sacrifice or as a prefiguration of Christ's crucifixion, and thus the Eucharist. Medieval theologians, including Peter Damian, often cast monastic life as a sacrifice prefigured in the Old Testament.[41] Images of Old Testament violence and sacrifice, whether textual or pictorial, could be ambiguous signs that might be interpreted or manipulated in a number of ways; they could be cast alternatively in a positive or negative light by medieval theologians.

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[39] B. Blumenkranz, *Histoire des juifs en France,* Toulouse, 1972, 31-32; idem and J. Châtillon, "De la polémique anti-juive à la catéchèse chrétienne," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 23 (1956): 40-41.

[40] Some medieval theologians were troubled by the implications of the New Dispensation replacing the laws of the Old Testament for it seemed unthinkable that God's laws could change. For a discussion of patristic writings which reconcile the two testaments see de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale,* 305-55. To the medieval theologian God was perceived as eternal, admitting change could be tantamount to negating His existence. In his *De Sacramentis,* for example, Hugh of St. Victor attempted to resolve this paradox by claiming that the sacrifices of the Old Testament served as symbolic prefigurations of Christ's crucifixion.

[41] PL 144, 305-306; passage cited by B. Calati, who gives further Cluniac examples ("Monastic Spirituality: An Essay on Rule or Methodology," *The American Benedictine Review* 15 [1964]: 451).

The sacrificial associations of decapitation in Vézelay's capitals are highlighted

by the fact that they resemble contemporary representations of the tonsure ceremony,[42]

the moment a monk "offered himself through his hair" (*per capillos se offere*).[43] In this

rite, a novice's hair was cut with shears or a razor and was then placed upon an altar,

along with a signed statement of his profession, symbolically marking his death to the

world and dedication to the religious life. A contemporary representation of this

ceremony is found in a roundel of the *Guthlac Roll* (fig. 85).[44] Here Guthlac's hair is

gathered in a thick lock, which resembles those grabbed by the executioners on Vézelay's

capitals; the large shears in the miniature seem analagous to the sacrificial swords at

Vézelay. Contemporary discourse on the tonsure supports such associations. Some Old

Testament figures, including Job to the Nazarite, provided obvious prefigurations for the

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[42]Early medieval psalters often illustrated Psalm 49:8 with a sacrifice "I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices: and thy burnt offerings are always in my sight." See S. Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques*. The typological association of Old Testament sacrifice with Christ's crucifixion had also been long associated by artists. Bede reports that among the images that Bishop Biscop brought back from Rome was one which associated Isaac's sacrifice with the Crucifixion: "...imagines quoque ad ornandum monasterium ecclesiamque beati Pauli apostoli de concordia veteris et novi Testamenti summa ratione compositas exhibuit: verbi gratia, Isaac ligna quibus immolaretur portantem, et Dominum crucem in qua pateretur aeque portantem, proxima super invicam regione, pictura conjuxit" (*Vita quinque ss. abbatum*, PL 94, 720). The Jewish practice of blood sacrifice was considered outmoded because of Christ's sacrifice on the cross.

[43]Recent analyses of tonsure in the Middle Ages include: P.C. Bock, "Tonsure monastique et tonsure cléricale," *Revue de droit canonique* 2 (1952): 373-406; P. Gobillot, "Sur la tonsure chrétienne et ses prétendues origines païennes," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 21 (1925): ; R. Naz, "Tonsure," *Revue de droit canonique*, vol. 7, Paris, 1965, 1289-93; T.J. Riley, "Tonsure," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 16, Palatine, IL, 1981, 199-200; Smith, *De tonsura clericorum* (PL 95, 328-332); L. Trichet, *La tonsure: Vie et mort d'une pratique ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1990.

[44] London, British Library, Roll Y.6, roundel 3; see G.F. Warner, *The Guthlac Roll: Scenes from the Life of St. Guthlac by a Twelfth-Century Artist*, Oxford, 1928. Similar images of decapitation include: Amiens, B.M. 195, fol. 9r (13th century); Besançon, B.M. 138, fol. 60v (Garnier, *Langage*, vol. 2, 77); Paris, B.N. lat. 16743-6, fol. 81r (c. 1200); Piacenza, Capitolare 32, fol. 1r (13th century); Smyrna, Lib., Evang. School, B. 8, fol. 57v (c.1100; illustrated in J. Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus*, Leipzig, 1899, pl. 20); Valenciennes, Bibl. Publique, 500, fol. 55r (12th century). A thirteeth-century reliquary in the Victoria and Albert Museum also represents such a scene (illustrated in H.P. Mitchell, "Some Works by the Goldsmiths of Oignies—I," *Burlington Magazine* 39 [1921]: 165).

tonsure ceremony because they had shaved their hair,[45] but even Jewish sacrifices were considered by medieval theologians to parallel the tonsure ceremony. This analogy was elegantly expressed by Pope Gregory VII, the ardent ecclesiastical reformer active during the second half of the eleventh century, in a letter which refers to the tonsure ceremony with the verb *decapillare*.[46] Rather than using the more common term "tondere", Gregory employs a verb that can signify either "tonsure" or "decapitate." We might identify a *double entendre* here that seems to encapsulate much contemporary thinking on the tonsure.

Validation of the tonsure ceremony for medieval thinkers seems to have stemmed from a number of sources. As a number of anthropological historians have demonstrated, long hair was associated with power and the nobility during most of the Middle Ages, while short hair often marked servitude.[47] Gregory of Tours relates, for example, that deposed Merovingian rulers were shaved, dramatically signaling their fall from power.[48] Theologians often described short hair as a sign of a person's subservience to God and dedication to the religious life, particularly among clerics. The act of cutting one's hair

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[45] The tonsure was compared to other Old Testament practices, including circumcision (PL 177, 138).

[46] "...videlicet quod ipse Iohannem Marovensem episcopum non percusserit neque sevientes eiusdem episcopi decapillari aut barbas eorum abradi preceperit aut occasione subterfugiendi synodum indutias per legatum suum petierit" (MGH Epistolae, vol. 2, pt. 1, 111; cf. PL 148, 351). In Burgundian law "scalping" is also referred to by the verb *decapillare*, see n. 22 above.

[47] For the association of hair-cutting and castration in anthropological research see Leach, "Magical Hair," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 88 (1958): 147-64. In contrast, C.R. Hallpike argues that hair-cutting is a reflection of social control: "Social Hair," *Man: The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* N.S. 4 (1969): 256-64. Hallpike's critique of Leach is probing, yet he seems to assume that a social symbol must have a single, consistent meaning. Sociologists, most notably critics of the Frankfort School (e.g., T. Adorno, M. Horckheimer, and H. Marcuse), have pointed out that any ideology necessarily incorporates contradictions. See also the illuminating survey on the meaning of hair in the Middle Ages by P. Bartlett "Symbolic Meaning of Hair in the Middle Ages," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1994): 43-60.

[48] See J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long Haired Kings*, London, 1962, 156-57.

was also moralized by medieval authors. In the widely read *Moralia in Job*, Gregory the Great argued that, "to shave the head is to free the mind from superfluousness."[49] In a passage on Absalom's hair, Hugh of St. Victor observed, "Carnal desire feeds and produces hair; the excrement of thought grows hair."[50] The notion that long hair made one susceptible to evil thought was widespread. A twelfth-century Islamic commentator living in the crusader-occupied Middle East records the advice of a Christian physician treating a woman considered to be an imbecile: "This is a woman in whose head there is a devil which has possessed her. Shave off her hair."[51]

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[49] "Caput ergo detondere est cogitationes superfluas a mente resecare," *Moralia in Iob*, CCSL 143, Turnholt, 1979, 109. This commentary turns, in part, on Numbers 6,18: "Then at the entrance of the Meeting Tent the Nazarite shall shave his dedicated head, collect the hair, and put it in the fire that is under the peace offering." Jerome criticized monks who let their hair grow long: "Sed ne tantum uidear disputare de feminis, uiros quoque fuge, quos uideres catenatos, quibus feminei contra apostolum crines, hircorum barba, nigrum pallium et nudi in patientiam frigoris pedes. haec omnia argumenta sunt diaboli" (Epistola 22, 28 in CSEL 54, Vienna, 1910, 185). Canon 25 of the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* (475): "Clericus nec comam nutriat nec barbam radat"; a phrase repeated often throughout Middle Ages. Burchard the Cistercian states, "Denique haec tonsio oculos et aures detegit, quia et ab audiendo uerbo dei usus superfluitatis facit impedimentum et nichil ominus oculos cordis obnubilat, ut qui hoc patitur nequaquam dicere valeati oculi mei semper ad dominum" (*Apologia duae*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnholt, 1985, 216). Burchard also makes the calvus/Calvary pun (p. 218). Encouragement to shave heads, as a sign of internal control, came from a number exegetes: Rabanus Maurus (PL 112, 885); Garnerus of St. Victor: "Quid enim moraliter per capillos nisi defluentes animi cogitationes accipimus...Caput ergo detondere est cogitationes superfluas a mente resecare" (PL 193, 163; cf. ibid. 157-61). See also Jeremiah 7, 19 and Jerome's commentary (PL 24, 734).

[50] "Appetitus carnis caesariem nutrit et producit, quia cogitationum superflua nutrit" (PL 177, 714). Exegetes, including Rupert of Deutz, often associated hair and its appearance with thought, especially in commentaries on the Song of Songs 4,1 : "Capilli tue sicut greges caprarum, quae ascenderunt de monte Galaad," (PL 168, 885-86). Richard of St. Victor states: "Capillis sponsae sunt meditationes sanctae, quae sicut capilli crescunt in capite, ita oriuntur in mente" (PL, 196, 451). Gregory the Great interpreted the Song of Songs differently: "Si per oculos praedicatores Ecclesiae designantur, quia caeteris viam ostendit, bene per capillos populi significantur, quia eidem Ecclesiae ornatum tribuunt" (PL 79, 507). The church often proscribed long hair. In 1096 the archbishop of Rouen, for example, banned any man with long hair from the church (R. Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, New York, 1965, 99).

[51] *Memoires of an Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, trans. P.K. Hitti, New York, 1929, 163. Ambrose suggested that fallen virgins shave their heads as a punishment: "Amputentur crines, qui per vanam gloriam occasionem luxuriae praestiturunt" (*De lapsu virginis* 8 (PL 16, 377). Female tonsure was not universally accepted. Jerome feared that women who shaved would be confused with worshippers of Isis: "nec rasis capitibus sicut sacerdotes cultoresque Isidis et Serapidis non esse debere" (*Commentarium in Ezechielem Prophetam* 44; passage cited by P. Oppenheim, *Das Mönchskleid im Christlichen Altertum*, Freiburg, 1931, 166).

The pejorative associations of long hair provided an ideological justification for

the monastic tonsure ceremony. In addition, biblical precedents were sought to validate

the practice. Among ancient prefigurations, Ezechiel 5,1 was particularly popular: "As

for you, son of man, take a sharp sword and use it like a barber's razor, passing it over

your head and beard."[52] The New Testament provided further justifications. In his first

letter to the Corinthians (11, 14), Paul contends that it is unnatural for men to have long

hair: "Doth not even nature itself teach you, that a man indeed, if he nourish his hair, it is

a shame unto him?" This passage was cited by a number of exegetes, including

Athanasius.[53] Rupert of Deutz punned *calvus*, bald, and Calvary in order to associate the

baldness of monks with Christ's humiliation and ultimate victory through crucifixion.[54]

It was common to compare receiving the tonsure with Christ's bearing the crown of

thorns, or simply to refer to it as the *corona*.[55]

Mandatory tonsure for clerics, an outward sign of their death to the world, was

included among the legislation of the French councils in the late eleventh and early

twelfth centuries.[56] The tonsure was an integral part of church reform in the minds of

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[52] See, for example, Isidore's *De tonsura* (PL 83, 179).

[53] PG 28, 842.

[54] "Hoc autem humilitatis insigne vocamus coronam, id est victoriam, quia fidelis illa Domini decalvatio, cujus haec rasura signum est, procul dubio victoria est, triumphus est, honor et gloria nostra est" (*De divinis officiis*, PL 170, 55). James Marrow provides an analysis of this passage in *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, Kortrijk, 1979, 68-76.

[55] A ninth-century letter makes the comparison explicit: "...imitationem spineae coronae, quae Domino ab illudentibus est imposita..." (PL 87, 885).

[56] *Council of Bourges* (1031), canon 1: "Ut tonsuram ecclesiasticam habeant, qui ministerium in ecclesia tractens omnes qui ministerium intra sanctam ecclesiam tractant, tonsuram ecclesiasticam habeant, hoc est, barbam rasam, et coronam in capite" (G.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 19, Paris, n.d., 501); *Council of Rouen* (1072), canon 11: "Item qui coronas benedictas habuerunt et reliquierunt, usque ad dignam satisfactionem excommunicentur..."(Ibid, vol. 20, 37); *Council of Lillebonne* (1080; can. 13), *Council of Poitiers* (1100), canon 1: "Ut nullus praetere episcopum clericis coronas benedicere praesumat exceptis abbatibus, qui illis tantummodo coronas faciunt quos sub regula beati

many. This is reflected in the manual sign language used in the monastery during observed periods of silence, discussed in the previous chapter. A monk signaled either "abbot" or the "*Rule* of Saint Benedict" by moving his hands like the folios of a book and then pulling his hair, a gesture carved on many of Vézelay's capitals.[57] The manual sign inextricably links tonsure with the *Rule* of Saint Benedict, even though this text nowhere discusses the practice.[58] Monks associated with Cluny were tonsured in the form of the crown, known as the *tonsura Petri*—a saint often represented with this haircut at Vézelay.[59] Other saints on the nave capitals are tonsured in this manner, including Benedict and Martin—even the female Saint Eugenia. It is thus interesting to note that according to the customaries of Cluny, monks were to shave at proscribed times during the year including on holidays associated with many of Vézelay's carved saints: namely the feasts of Martin, the Translation of Benedict's relics to Fleury, Peter's Release from Prison (fig.36), the Nativity (fig. 9), and others.[60] In total, Cluny's monks shaved at least fourteen times a year, in comparison to the seven times for their rivals, the Cistercians, even if it is not always clear in these texts if this refers to the beard, the tonsure, or both.[61]

Benedicti militaturos susceperint. Canon 2: "Ut nemo in faciendis coronis forpices, vel manutergia exigat." The council of Poitiers, with its provision for abbots to tonsure their sons, would have provided another form of independence for Vézelay abbots in relation to Autun bishops. Might there be a political allusion in these scenes?

[57] See signs 70, 77, and 84 in Appendix B.

[58] Chapter 1 of the *Rule* denigrates the sarabites who lie to god through their tonsure (*tonsura*) by acting in a manner contrary to monasticism. An oblique reference to the tonsure may be found in the *Rule's* seventh chapter, which addresses the virtue of humility: "Item dicit scriptura: voluntas habe poenam et necessitas perit coronam" (*ROB 1980*, 170).

[59] See remarks in chapter 1.

[60] For Cluniac descriptions of tonsure see Udalrich's customary (PL 149, 759-60) and Bernard's (Hergott 215-216).

[61] G. Zimmerman, *Ordensleben und Lebensstandard: Die Cura Corporis in den Ordensvorschriften des abendländischen Hochmittelalters*, Munster, 1973, 126-29; G. Constable, "Introduction," 116-17. In his

The many decapitation images at Vézelay that visually pun the tonsure ceremony would have metaleptically resonated with, and perhaps served to authenticate with biblical echoes, twelfth-century practices within the monastery. In this light, the distinctive untamed manes of Vézelay's carved demons (e.g., fig. 11) stand as a subversion of monastic ideals.

An Aesthetic of Repetition

In addition to the specific meanings Vézelay's hair-pulling and decapitation gestures might have held for twelfth-century viewers, the semiotic complexities of their repetition on capitals throughout the nave should be considered.[62] The sculptures on which these motifs appear are not arranged in accordance with any discernible principals of organization, but rather are disposed randomly throughout the church. We need not conclude, however, that there is no program among them. I suggest that the recurrence of scenes with similar gestures of decapitation and hair-pulling lends formal coherence to Vézelay's sculptural corpus. This notion of program is based upon resemblences among visual forms, rather than the linear development of iconographic themes.

Moralia in Job, Odo of Cluny states: "Quid per decisos capillos nisi sacramentorum subtilitus? Quid per caput, nisi summa sacerdotis designatur?" (PL 133, 1122) This statement echos those of Gregory the Great (*Moralia in Job,* PL 75, 583) and Rabanus Maurus's commentary on Ezechiel (PL 110, 598) In his *Vita sancti Hilarionis eremitae,* Jerome relates that the father of Palestinian monasticism required monks to cut their hair annually at Easter (PL 23, 32).

[62] In their analysis of the poetic meter, Russian formalist critics, inspired by the writings of Alois Riegl and Heinrich Wölfflin, argued that poetry is permeated with sound repetition. Two critical essays in this regard is O. Brik's "Rhythm and Syntax" and B. Tomashevskii's *Teorija literatury* (trans. and repr. in *Readings in Russian Poetics,* ed., M. Ladislav, Ann Arbor, 1978). See also the probing analysis of V. Ehrlich, *Russian Formalism,* The Hague, 1964, 213 and passim; P. Steiner, *Russian Formalism: A Metapoetics,* Ithaca and London, 1984, 172-98). Elaborating on the insights of Hume, G. Deleuze argues that repetition is not an "objective" phenomenon, but rather is a construct of the viewer that shapes the chaos of sensory experience (*Difference and Repetition,* trans. P. Patton, New York 1994 [1968], 70-128). A large literature on repetition exists, from Freud to Derrida. Works of interest for medievalists include: B. Duborgel, "Icones, repeints de l'invisible," *Figures de la repetition,* ed. idem, Saint-Étienne, 1992, 79-91; S. Naddaff, *Arabesque: Narrative Structure and the Aesthetics of Repetition in the* 1001 Nights, Evanston, 1991. See also the important remarks of René Passeron, "Poétique et répétition," in *Création et répétition,* ed. idem, Paris, 1982, 9-20.

A viewer versed in Latin is immediately struck by the seemingly deliberate grouping of assonant objects and actions on these sculptures: *caput* (head), *decapillare* (to decapitate, to scalp, or to tonsure), *capilli* (hair), and so on. The capitals can be seen to encourage phonetic associations between their carved subjects, such as hair-pulling (*trahens capillos*), and their architectural function, *capitulum*, which is playfully undermined by the emphatic scenes of de-capitation. Similar wordplay is found in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, widely revered in the Middle Ages, which notes that the word *capilli* comes from *caput*, just as hair grows from the head.[63] Frederick Ahl, as discussed in the previous chapter, has demonstrated that puns in Latin, a highly inflected language, tend to be based on syllables rather than entire words.[64] During the Middle Ages puns and homonyms were not considered to be mere phonological accidents, but could be the locus of profound meaning. During the *lectio divina*, a monk ruminated over the significances of each word, searching for phonic associations, in order to arrive at a deeper understanding of the text he was reading.[65]

Contemporary monastic poetry delights in repeating roots, as a few lines from Hildebert of Lavardin's poem on the Trinity, which ruminates on the omnipresence of God, illustrate:

super cuncta, subter cuncta,
extra cuncta, intra cuncta.
intra cuncta, nec inclusus,
extra cuncta, nec exclusus;
subter cuncta, nec substratus,

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[63] "*Capilli* vocati, quasi capitis pili..." (PL 82, 401). This etymology is repeated in Rabanus Maurus's *De universo* (PL 111, 137) and elsewhere (e.g., PL 101, 1105; PL 114, 819; PL 198, 646).

[64] See also M. Quereuil, "La réduplication synonymique en ancien Français moderne,"in *La répétition*, ed. S. Chaouachi and A. Montandon, Clermont-Ferrand, 1994, 73-84.

[65] See the comments on the *lectio divina* in chapter 3.

super cuncta, nec elatus.[66]

Over everything, under everything,
outside everything, inside everything,
inside everything, not contained,
outside everything, not excluded,
 under everything, not inferior,
over everything, not aloof.

The repetition of syllables, whose meanings are metamorphosed by different prepositions

and prefixes, may sound laborious to twentieth-century ears,[67] but it should be stressed

that Hildebert's poetry was greatly admired by contemporaries. In a moment of

unabashed hubris, Bernard of Cluny measures his own work against Hildebert's as a way

of extolling his own *De contemptu mundi*, Scorn for the World. Although its hexametric

verse, with internal and tail rhymes, is very complex, it shares much with Hildebert's

poems, as well as most monastic poetry of the period, in its use of alliteration, assonance,

and repetition:

Hora novissima, tempora pessima sunt-vigilemus.
Ecce minaciter imminet arbiter ille supremus.
Imminet imminet ut mala terminet, aequa coronet,
Recta remuneret, anxia liberet, aethera donet.

It is the final hour, the times are most wicked-be watchful!
See, the highest judge menacingly draws near.
He draws near to end evils, draws near to crown justice,
to reward virtue, to release from worries, to bestow heaven.[68]

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[66] *Hildeberti Cenomanensis episcopi carmina minora*, ed. A.B. Scott, Stuttgart, 1969, 46-47. For discussion of Hildebert's oeuvre see Peter von Moos, *Hildebert von Lavardin*, Stuttgart, 1965, 22-37, 371-76; F.J.E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1953 [1927], 265-73; idem., *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, Oxford 1953 [1934], 317-29; *Revue Bénédictine* 68 (1936): passim; J. Szöverffy, *Secular Latin Lyrics and Minor Poetic Forms of the Middle Ages*, vol. 2, Concord, 1993, 109-38.

[67] E. de Bruyne, for one, argues that the repetition of certain stems contributes to the "douceur" of twelfth-century verse: *Études d'esthétique médiévale*, vol. 2, Geneva, 1975[1946], 34.

[68] Jotsaldus's dirge for Odilo, *Planctus de transitu domni Odilonis abbatis cluniacensis*, demonstrates similar tendencies:

As has long been recognized, there was a tendency in the twelfth century for rhyme

schemes to become ever more sophisticated. In addition to using the final syllable,

twelfth-century poetry generally incorporated the penultimate syllable in rhyme schemes.

Internal rhymes within a single stanza, often at irregular, unpredictable intervals, began to

proliferate. Such poetic devices, as Bernard of Cluny and others argued, facilitated

contemplation of the verses' content.[69] This aesthetic has been observed in contemporary

vernacular poetry as well.[70] In the *Chanson de Roland*, Charlemagne tugs at his beard

seven times, a gesture described by almost identical phrases.[71] Such repetitions have

often been cited as evidence for the oral performance of these poems,[72] and we should

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Odilo non moritur, sed mortis funera spernit:
Odilo non moritur, sed viam duxit honestam.
Odilo non moritur, sed vitam morte recepit (PL 142, 1044).

See also Raby, *Christian*, 315-19; idem, *Secular*, vol. 2, 49-54. One could also cite the poetry of Fulbert of Chartres, whose poetry often makes use of tail rhymes. See, for example, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and trans. F. Behrends, Oxford, 1976, 254, 262, 264. Cluny owned a copy of Fulbert's poems, and he and Abbot Odilo exchanged several friendly letters.

[69] Bernard of Cluny, *De Contemptu mundi*, 4, 6.

[70] In addition, *chansons de geste* would have been performed to a repeated melody or melodies. The exact meaning of Jean de Grouchy's (c. 1300) famed statement concerning the performance *of chansons de gestes* (*idem cantus debet in omnibus versibus reiterari*) has been questioned: J. Chailley, "Études musicales sur la chanson de geste et ses origines," *Revue de musicologie* 85 (1948): 25.

[71] *The Song of Roland: An Analytical Edition*, vol. 2, ed. G. Brault, University Park, 1978, ll. 2414, 2906, 2930-31, 2943, 2982, 3712, and 4001. Queen Bramimonde tears her hair in l. 2596. When Charlemagne and the Emir battle, the former is struck on the head, which is metonymically referred to as the hair: "Met li l'espee sur les chevels menuz" (l. 3605). The hilt of Roland's sword contains a lock of St. Denis's hair, who was martyred by decapitation (l. 2347).

[72] J. Rychner, *La chanson de geste: essai sur l'art épique des jongleurs*, Geneva, 1955, 128-29; P. Zumthor, *Langue et Techniques poétiques à l'époque romane (XIe-XIIIe siècles)*, Paris, 1963, 128-31; idem, *Toward a Medieval Poetics*, trans. P. Bennett, Minneapolis, 1992, 378-79. Scholars of oral poetics in other cultures (e.g., Walter Ong) have made similar observations. See also the important study of J.A. Notopoulos, "Studies in Early Greek Oral Poetry," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 68 (1964): 1-79. H. Bannert states: "Strukturen entstehen durch Wiederholen: Wortwiederholung, Vers Wiederholung, aber auch Wiederholen von Szenen, oder wiederholtes Herstellen von Kontexten" (*Formen des Wiederholens bei Homer: Beispiele für eine Poetik des Epos*, Vienna, 1988, 25).

also bear in mind the effect this would have had for an audience. Scholars on *Beowulf*,

for example, have explored the ways in which repeated words and phrases can order the

seemingly inchoate structure of many medieval epics.[73]

Repetition played an important part in the organization of monastic life,

particularly in the ritual observances performed in abbey churches. In contrast to the

linear march of historical or eschatological time, the liturgical calendar was cyclical.

Monks, who chanted the divine office at prescribed hours, relived this temporal structure

each day. According to the *Rule* of Saint Benedict the entire Psalter was to be chanted on

a weekly basis, and under Cluny's liturgical elaborations an individual psalm could be

sung several times a week. Liturgical chants composed in the period delighted in the

repetition of tropes. In his widely circulated treatise on music, Guido of Arezzo

compared music to poetry and argued that in both art forms beautiful phrases should be

reemployed in those sections in which the melodic structure is particularly complex.

Citing the authority of Ambrose, he argued that it is the repetition of similar phrases that

lends structure to musical compositions.[74] Terms like "repetitio" and "resonare"

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[73] J. Blomfield, "The Style and Structure of *Beowulf*," *The Review of English Studies* 14 (1938): 396-403; E. Corrigan, "Structure and Thematic Development in *Beowulf*," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 66 (1967): 1-51; J. Leyerle, "The Interlace Structure of *Beowulf*," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 47 (1967): 1-17; J.R.R. Tolkien, "*Beowulf*: The Monsters and the Critics," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 22 (1936): 245-95.

[74] "Variabuntur hae vel omnes neumae, cumalias ab eadem voce incipiant, alia de disssimilibus secundum laxationis et acuminis varias qualitates. Item ut ad principalem vocem, id est, finalem, vel si quam affinem eius pro ipsa elegerint, pene omnes distinctiones currant, et eadem aliquando vox, quae terminat neumas omnes, vel plures distinctiones finiat, aliquando et incipiat; sicut apud Ambrosium curiosus invenire poterit" Guido of Arezzo, *Micrologus XV*, in M. Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissima*, vol. 2, Hildesheim, 1963 [St. Blasien, 1784], 16. For an English translation see, *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, trans. W. Babb, ed. C.V. Palisca, New Haven, 1978, 72. Guido of Arezzo is one of seven eleventh-century authors who appear in Cluny's twelfth-century list of manuscripts: V. von Büren, "Le grand catalogue de la bibliothèque de Cluny," *Le gouvernement d'Hugues de Semur à Cluny*, Cluny, 1988, 247.

permeate Guido's writings, suggesting the importance of repetition to his artistic temperament.[75]

A similar aesthetic prevails at Vézelay, it may be argued, through the placement of capitals with similar compositions throughout the church. These visual resonances and protensions lend formal cohesion to an otherwise eclectic group of sculptures. There is no apparent pattern in the disposition of the capitals with decapitation motifs in the abbey church. Rather the viewer must actively make associations among formally similar capitals that are asymmetrically arranged. This process, I argue, encourages the viewer to compare and contrast differing biblical and hagiographic subject-matters. Because these sculptures are randomly arranged, the viewer is constantly surprised by the re-appearance of similar compositions. This lack of predictability, which encourages ever new interpretations, seems appropriate at Vézelay, where, like other monastic settings, initiates were cloistered and *stabilitas* an ideal.

Insight into the types of associations that may originally have been possible for monks can be gained by focusing on two capitals that can be positively identified: one of David's victory over Goliath (figs. 23-24) and another presenting the death of the king's son, Absalom (figs. 25-27). There was consensus among exegetes in characterizing David's victory over his foe as one of good over evil, but divergences of opinions existed in interpreting Absalom's death. On the one hand, theologians from Augustine to Bernard of Clairvaux drew typological connections between the youth's death and that of Judas, for just as the former committed treason against his father King David, the latter

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[75] E.L. Waeltner, *Wortindex zu den echten schriften Guidos von Arezzo*, Munich, 1976. "Unde poeta [i.e. Virgil] verissime dixit: *septem discrimina vocum:* quia etsi plures sint vel fiant, non est aliarum adiectio, sed renovatio earumdem et repititio" (*Micrologus* V [Gerbert, 6]).

betrayed his Lord. Yet the same authors also referred to the rebellious son as the *pax patri*, peace of the father, for only through his death did the kingdom of Israel experience respite from war.[76] From the moral perspective, the third of four levels of medieval hermeneutics, Absalom's death had diverse, virtually paradoxical, meanings. Analogously, the Vézelay capital of this subject does not clearly communicate how the son's death is to be interpreted. No demons revel in Absalom's death, no angels swoop to receive the youth's soul.

Complex meanings for this episode are generated when its gestures of decapitation are compared to other examples at Vézelay. It could be visually associated with David's beheading of Goliath and thereby generate negative connotations, in keeping with medieval interpretation of this scene. Alternatively, it could remind the viewer of Abraham's gesture of sacrifice of Isaac (fig. 42), a story that was often cast in a positive light by theologians. The use of similar gestures in varied moral contexts engenders ambiguity in the interpretation of any single carving,[77] but the positive aspect of this is that such ambiguity supports a polysemic rumination. The viewer is encouraged to compare and contrast very different subject matters and thereby ponder their moral and

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[76]The exegetical tradition on Absalom's death includes: Augustine (PL 33, 807; PL 36, 73, 97; PL 37, 1347), Fulgentius (PL 65, 616), Isidore (PL 83, 412), Bede (PL 93, 443), Rabanus Maurus (PL 109, 105, 107), Hugh of St. Victor (PL 177, 714, 1077), Bernard of Clairvaux (PL 194, 72-73), Peter Lombard (PL 191, 77), Adam Scot (PL 198, 816-817), Thomas the Cistercian (PL 206, 817) and Martin Legion (PL 208, 917). Hugh of St. Victor, in a sermon contrasting David as representing Christ and Absalom as signifying the Jews, compared the latter's hair to Jewish superstition: "Cujus superflua caesaries capitis superstitionem recte designat Judaici aestimationis" (PL 177, 1180).

[77]Augustine recognized that a thing (*res*) could have opposite meanings (*contraria*) in different contexts which could result in ambiguity in the analysis of particular usages. This type of ambiguity differs, for Augustine, from polysemy, which refers to the ability of a thing to signify two or more meanings: *De doctrina christiana*, ed. and trans. R.P.H. Green, Oxford, 1995, 166-70 (iii.79-86). For a similar, recent analysis see Scheffler, *Beyond the Letter*, 14-20.

theological signficances. This form of rumination, what we might consider a visual exegesis, is fostered by the appearance of similar motifs throughout Vézelay's nave.

Conclusion

Rather than locating the notion of program in the "author's" systematic or hieratic disposition of sculptured elements, I have argued that the viewer was expected to relate and compare similar motifs while moving through the space of the church and that the cohesion of Vézelay's sculptural corpus therefore lies within the experience of the viewer. Vézelay's program is obscure because it is embedded within this primarily monastic viewing process. It is engendered by formally similar gestures and the relation of these to the cenobitic cultural context, and not by the physical mapping of a preconceived idea. In this way, Vézelay's program seems a plastic medium, like a language, articulated by each individual who uses it. Vézelay therefore stands apart as an example of an alternative practice in the ordering of visual imagery.

This conception of program differs markedly from the systematic sculptured schemas of Gothic façades, constructed during the age of the Scholastic *Summa*. These works have often been described as organizing sculpture in a hierarchical and systematic manner, thereby providing a visual manifestation of contemporary theology: Christ and/or Mary occupy the center of a universe populated by saints. One can closely observe a detail of a façade and then step back in order to determine its relation to the whole. This process of viewing is not possible for a group of capitals, spread throughout the church. Rather the structure of a program is of a very different nature at a church like Vézelay. The relationship among the capitals rests largely in the mind of the viewer, and thus results in ever-changing interpretations. This phenomenon may explain the

abandonment of the historiated capital in Gothic churches, but it need not be construed in

negative terms. It can stand as an exemplum of the artistic and intellectual achievements

of monasticism in the early twelfth century.

CONCLUSION

Victor Hugo dedicates a section of his *Les Misérables* to an analysis of monastic

culture in which he asserts: "au point de vue de l'histoire, de la raison et de la vérité, le

monachisme est condamné".[1] Images of shadows, death, and castration permeate his

discussion, decidedly *romanesque* elements--used here in the French sense of the word--

that recall Gothic novels set within monasteries, like Matthew Lewis's *The Monk*.

Hugo's vitriolic critique may surprise those familiar with his glowing praise of medieval

buildings, including the ekphrastic passages in his *Notre Dame*, but it must be understood

in terms of the teleological history that the author envisions: the "reason" and "truth" to

which humankind aspires are absolute terms, they are not culturally constructed.

In many ways, Hugo's criticisms seem to anticipate twentieth-century attitudes,

which can be gleaned in part from the pejorative connotations of the word "monkish".[2]

Within popular culture, monks are typically cast as evil-doers or as pietistic chanters that

were intellectually backward. Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose* encapsulates both

these visions. Even apologists for medieval cenobitic thought often situate it within a

diachronic framework, searching out elements that anticipate the Scholasticism that

flourished in the newly formed universities of the twelfth century. Monastic thinkers,

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[1] *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 11, ed. J. Massin, Paris, 1969, 389.

[2] The *Oxford English Dictionary* provides sixteenth-century examples of such a usage.

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who produced works likes the *florilegia* or the *tractatus*, have rarely been characterized as intellectually rigorous.

An analogous situation can be identified in much art-historical scholarship on twelfth-century programs. Many contend that there is a reason or rationale undergirding the Gothic façade, which is a metaphor of the overarching schemas of Scholastic thought that is lacking in earlier programs.[3] Accordingly, Romanesque façades may feature elements found on Gothic portals, such as human figures on engaged columns, but it was only on the latter that they were coherently integrated. Such views seem heavily indebted to evolutionary models of artistic development that derive from nineteenth-century biology and do not fully address the organizing principals of Romanesque sculptural programs in positive terms. This is probably due in part to the fact that they often do not conform to modern notions of order, like the linear development of themes. Yet these preconceptions fail to explain the unique ways in which Vézelay's sculpture coheres.

In order to develop a method with which to address this problem, this dissertation has intentionally focused on Vézelay's capitals, rather than its façade sculpture. Such an approach has the advantage of avoiding a discussion of Vézelay's sculpture as an ancestor of Chartres or St. Denis because historiated capitals rarely feature in Gothic churches. This art form seems to be germane to an earlier period and thus might offer insight into the unique qualities of the "Romanesque" art and its programs. In addition, I argue that a consideration of monastic culture is crucial to an investigation of this problem at Vézelay.

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[3] The most important formulation of this method is Erwin Panofsky's, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, Latrobe, Penn., 1951. This view has been reiterated in various forms. See, for example,

The choice of saints represented in the nave, for example, may seem somewhat puzzling at the monastery if there is a tacit expectation that Mary Magdalene be made visible to pilgrims. Viewed in relation to monastic history and liturgical practices, however, the saints represented in the nave—Anthony, Benedict, Eugenia, Eustace, Martin, Peter, Paul, and Paul the Hermit—seem a coherent group. The deep significance these sculptures originally held for their cenobitic audience can only be reconstructed from the flotsam of history, from the handful of documents that have survived the centuries. Nevertheless, there is much to suggest the importance of these saints for Vézelay's monks. Similarly, Vézelay's visual puns—the sculpted gestures that resemble those performed by monks that were discussed in chapter 3—had specific communal significance. These puns, like monastic thought, could simultaneously accommodate multiple meanings that would have enriched interpretation of the nave sculpture for its cenobitic audience. Instead of approaching the sculpture through the lens of exegetical texts, to which the monks may or may not have had access, a method rooted in cenobitic practices seem to afford insight into the immediate responses that would have been possible for monks as they looked at the monastery's sculpture.

The final chapter discussed the physical arrangement of the capitals within Vézelay's nave, an important element of its program. In comparison to other contemporary churches in Burgundy like Gourdon, which includes symmetrically arranged capitals of similar composition along the longitudinal axis of the nave, Vézelay's nave sculpture seems to be disposed in haphazard fashion. This has led many to doubt the existence of a program at Vézelay. Yet the insistent repetition of similar

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C.M. Radding and W.W. Clark, *Medieval Architecture, Medieval Learning: Builders and Masters in the Age of Romanesque and Gothic*, New Haven, 1992.

gestures of decapitation and hair-pulling at irregular intervals helps to structure the abbey church's program. Similar strategies of organization can be observed in other realms of cenobitic culture, in which repetition encourages the viewer to associate a variety of motifs and thereby engage in a contemplation of their content. At Vézelay, the capitals do not plot out a preconceived, unifying idea of an "author", but rather the viewer plays an active role in constructing interpretations of the interrelations among the sculptures.

The very different conceptions of "program" observable at Vézelay are interesting from more than a historical perspective, for I suggest that they can complicate and challenge the way we as art historians approach the important problem of order in the visual arts.

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A

CATALOGUE OF VÉZELAY'S ROMANESQUE CAPITALS

This appendix seeks to remedy the lack of a catalogue of Vézelay's Romanesque capitals in English. Four fundamental studies on the abbey church's sculpture have documented archeological evidence and iconographic precedents: Peter Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie der Kapitelle von Ste.-Madeleine, Vézelay," Ph.D. diss., Ruprecht-Karl-Üniversität, Heidelberg, 1975; Francis Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay. L'oeuvre de sculpteurs*, Paris, 1995; Francis Salet and Jean Adhémar, *La Madeleine de Vézelay*, Melun, 1948; and Lydwine Saulnier and Neil Stratford, *La sculpture oubliée de Vézelay*, Geneva, 1984. The present catalogue makes several amendments to these works and builds upon their findings.

Entries for each capital are designated by a number that corresponds to Salet's system, found on his plan of the building (fig. 1). Those capitals now housed in Vézelay's Musée Lapidaire are catalogued according to the position they originally occupied in the abbey church. A list of scholarly publications on each capital is provided at the end of each entry in the abbreviated form of author and date of publication; for full citations the reader should consult the bibliography. Reference to the unpaginated manuscripts of Victor Terret in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Dijon (Ms. 2214) and of Pierre Meunier in the Mairie of Vézelay is made only when their observations are novel or particularly important to identification. Non-scholarly publications on Vézelay, including guide books, which tend to depend upon scholarship already referenced in entries, have not been included.

Despite the many studies on the monastery that have appeared during the past two centuries, many of the capitals' subjects remain enigmatic because of their ambiguous

forms. Their iconography was probably clearer to medieval viewers. In addition to the carved *tituli* that identify several of the figures,[1] it is likely that many of the capitals originally had painted inscriptions that aided in the identification of subjects. Eighteenth-century visitors to the monastery recorded the presence of such an inscription, the date of which is unknown, on a nave capital (31) featuring an episode from the life of Benedict.[2] That so many subjects remain unidentified attests in part to the highly original character of Vézelay's imagery.

NAVE

South Aisle Wall

1: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 431; Salet (1995): 152; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 181.

2: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 431; Salet (1995): 152; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 181.

3: Education of Achilles (?)

This capital could be described as a composite of motifs commonly found in Romanesque Burgundian sculpture, including bow-hunting centaurs (e.g., Vézelay

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[1] For a complete list see P. Diemer, "Stil und Ikonographie," 439-42.

[2] Reprinted in Comte de Chastellux, "Une voyage de touristes dans l'Avallonis au XVIIIe siècle," *Bulletin de la Société d'études d'Avallon* 19 (1878): 143-47. See also Diemer "Stil und Ikonographie," 441; Saulnier and Stratford, *Sculpture oubliée*, 77; Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*, 135; Stratford, "Romanesque Sculpture," 246.

narthex façade XVIII) and centaurs with riders (e.g., capitals at Bois-Sainte-Marie

capital). Adhémar first suggested that Achilles and Chiron are specifically referred to on

this capital. This identification seems further supported by the close formal connections

between the carved youth and centaur, which might suggest the transmission of

knowledge: the youth's right arm seemingly mimes the arrow-drawing gesture of the

centaur and both wear similar belts around their waists. Representations of Achilles and

Chiron are rare in medieval art. One example that strongly resembles the Vézelay capital

is found in a miniature in an eleventh-century commentary on the sermons of Gregory of

Nyssa (see Weitzmann [1959]: 58, fig. 67). The iconography of the capital need not

have been based on a pictorial source. Statius's *Achilleid*, for example, provides imagery

that might have inspired the sculpture's design:

> [Chiron] taught me to go with him through pathless deserts, dragging me
> on with mighty stride, and to laugh at sight of wild beasts...Already at that
> time weapons were in my hand and quivers on my shoulders...
>
> mox ire per invia secum lustra gradu maiore trahens visisque docebat
> adridere feris...iam tunc arma manu, iam tunc cervice pharetrae...
>
> *Achilleid*, II. 102-106 (Mozley [1928]: 588-89)

During the Middle Ages, Statius's poetry was read widely in Europe, including at

Vézelay, as the sermons of Julian of Vézelay attest (Vorreux [1972]: vol. 1, 332).

Medieval *accessus* literature to this poem stresses Chiron's rôle as teacher. Dante was

probably the earliest author to claim that the antique poet was Christian (*Purgatorio*

22,73).

> Adhémar (1937): 246; Calmette and David (1951): 252; Despiney (1930): 124;
> Diemer (1975): 129, 268-70; Meunier (1862): 29; Porée (1909): 69; Salet (1995):
> 152; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 181; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 26. See also
> Bousquet (1980); Brugnoli (1988); Clogan (1968): 2-3 and *passim*; Lawrence
> (1994): 57-68; and Wright (1991): 139-41.

4: Unknown Subject

The oratorical gestures performed by the seated figures are the focus of this carving's composition. The dynamism of these gestures is augmented by the positioning of the two proportionately large hands slightly to the left of the capital's central axis, marked by an incised line of a symmetrically splayed leaf directly above the astragal and continued by the hollow between the orators' legs. Others of the capital's forms, such as the postures of the standing figures on either corner, further direct attention toward the carving's center. The emphasis on speaking gestures on this carving is not unusual at Vézelay, for similarly carved hands, especially with extended index fingers, are found on capitals throughout the nave (e.g., 21, 26, 53, 56, 57, 60, 80, 84, 91, 97), narthex (e.g., 6, 9, 38), and various reliefs on central portal of the inner façade. On some of these examples, the two forefingers are extended, suggesting benediction. Monastic viewers were probably particularly adept at interpreting carved gestures as they communicated by a manual sign language during observed periods of silence (see Appendix B). Unfortunately, the forms of nave capital 4 seem too generalized to relate them to a specific narrative. Compositions with seated and standing figures conversing are common in medieval art, such as a scene of Daniel before Nebuchadnezzar on a capital from Moissac's cloister (illustrated in Droste [1996]: 74). Diemer's tentative identification of the iconography as Daniel Convicting one of Susanna's Accusers seems possible, but there is no reference to the subsequent execution of the accusers found in other medieval examples of the iconography including the earlier Lothar Crystal in the British Museum (see Kornbluth [1992]; *eadem* [1995]: 31-48). Salet cautiously refers to this capital's theme as a council.

Despiney (1930): 125; Diemer (1975): 146, 271-73; Porée (1909): 70; Salet (1995): 152; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 181.

5: "Masters and Students"

A large seated figure, who articulates the central axis of a surrounding roundel, occupies the capital's right corner. He holds an open book on his lap and is flanked on either side by a smaller standing figure, one of whom holds another book. A similar composition is discernible on the left side of the capital, despite heavy damage. The capital's theme has been identified tentatively as "Masters and Students," and the repetition of *imagines clipeatae* certainly lends an emblematic quality to the carving. Yet the identities of these figures, particularly the larger, seated ones, may have originally been specified by inscriptions. Twelfth-century author portraits exist in which a seated figure speaks to a standing audience, including a miniature of Terence in a manuscript in Tours (B.M. 924, fol. 13v; repr. in Cahn [1996]: vol. 1, fig. 20).

Diemer (1975): 128, 274-75; Meunier (1862): 29; Porée (1909): 70; Salet (1995): 152; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 181.

6: Musicians and a Lustful Demon

At left, a musician holds a viol and bow in either hand and looks toward a woman. On the capital's central face another musician, with a viol slung over his shoulder, plays a pipe directly beneath the ear of a figure on the capital's right corner. The sensual quality of the music seems evoked by the lush, teeming vegetation from which two snakes emerge to attack the carved listener: one descends into his ear, the other's tail wraps around his leg. As one moves around the capital's right corner, the carved listener transmogrifies into a demon for only from this vantage point are the figure's clawed feet visible. From here, it is apparent that the demon fondles a naked woman and that the snake encircling his leg bites his genitals, while another snake descends to bite the demon's other ear. Crosnier first identified the subject of this capital as "Sacred and Profane Music" and most scholars have adopted this interpretation. There seems to be an

unmistakable reference to lust--a vice deemed particularly insidious in monastic circles--

on the capital's central and right faces, but the role of the two figures on the left face of

the capital is unclear, for they need not necessarily serve as a "sacred" contrast to

"profane" music. Such a distinction seems more clearly articulated, for example, in a

contemporary psalter miniature which juxtaposes David's musicians with secular

performers (St. Johns College B.18, fol. 1; repr. in Cahn [1996]: vol. 1, fig. 157). The

originality of the capital in relation to contemporary representations of musicians make it

difficult to interpret.

> Aubert (1930): 18, pl. 42; Crosnier (1848): 223; Despiney (1930): 125; Diemer
> (1975): 111, 275-76; Garnier (1982): pl. 21; Link (1995): 49-50; Mâle (1922):
> 236, 374 [English trans. (1978): 238, 373]; Meunier (1862): 29; Porée (1909): 70;
> Reuter (1938): 38; Salet (1995): 152; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 181-82; Sazama
> (1995): 158-65; Schade (1962): 72-73; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 27; Weir and
> Jerman (1986): 71.

7: Unknown Subject

A roundel, in which one or more figures stands, occupies each of the capital's

three faces. Two of the figures hold what appear to be clubs. No conclusive

identification has been proposed for these scenes, but those suggested include Rebecca

and Jacob (Terret ms.) and Judas (Despiney). Salet and Adhémar dismiss previous

interpretations, but offer no alternative. Nor does Diemer, although he suggested that the

hooded figure on the carving's left face may have been appropriated from another nave

capital (48).

> Despiney (1930): 126; Diemer (1975): 129, 276-77; Salet (1995): 152; Salet and
> Adhémar (1948): 182; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 27.

8: Four Rivers of Paradise

The sculptor seems to have attempted to overcome the problem of placing four figures on a three-sided capital by placing each figure underneath a volute—two on the corners and one on either side—thereby conveying a sense of quadripartite symmetry. The capital personifies the rivers as women rather than as reclining men, found in many classical and medieval examples. In this way, it resembles other Burgundian sculptures of the Rivers of Paradise, including capitals at Anzy-le-Duc and Cluny. That the figure on the right corner of the Vézelay capital spews water from her mouth, instead of pouring it from an urn, stands as another idiosyncrasy.

Adhémar (1937): 194 n.1; Aubert (1930): 18, pl. 42; Baltrusaitis (1931): 174; Calmette and David (1951): 241; Diemer (1975): 167, 277-78; Durand-Lefèvre (1937): 202; Evans (1950): 112; Meunier (1862): 29; Porée (1909): 70; Porter (1923): vol. 1, 92, pl. 22; Pouzet (1912): 104-108; Salet (1995): 153; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 182; Schlee (1937): 199-200; Terret (1914): 60. See also Aragonés Estella (1995); Cassagnes (1995).

9: "Et omnis caro videbit salutare dei" (?)

Musée Lapidaire

Viollet-le-Duc's modern reconstruction may well be justified by the capital's right half, lost since 1948, but which is recorded in a photograph (Marburg 33101). This fragment features a quadruped on its hind legs with a human figure standing to the side. This composition was duplicated in mirror image on the copy's left side. Because the cross on the capital's central axis is also a nineteenth-century reconstruction, Diemer questioned the identification of the scene as illustrating a passage in Luke 3, 6: "And all Flesh shall see the salvation of God."

Adhémar (1937): 173; Calmette and David (1951): 250-51; Despiney (1930): 126; Diemer (1975): 164, 278-80; Meunier (1862): 28; Porée (1909): 70; Salet (1995): 153; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 182; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 122-123, 255; Terret (1914): 30; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 27.

South Piers

10: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 431; Salet (1995): 153; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 182; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 25.

11: Combat among Monsters

Figures on both of the capital's corners, one of whom rides a horse, hurl stones at one another. The contorted, screaming expression of the left figure's mount intensifies the battle's drama. Interpretations of this capital's iconography include: a centaur with the Woman of the Apocalypse (Despiney); a ball game (Evans); a pygmy warrior (Schade); the Whore of Babylon fights a warrior of God (Terret). Diemer casts doubt on these identifications because none seems to fully explain the capital's forms. Moreover, combat scenes are relatively common within the monastery's sculpture, as well as in Romanesque art in general, and often they do not seem to refer to any specific narrative (e.g., nave capitals 14 and 77).

Aubert (1930): 17; Cahier (1874): 203-207; Carny (1962): 58; Despiney (1930): 124; Diemer (1975): 104, 280-82; Evans (1950): 80; Porée (1909): 62; Salet (1995): 153; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 182; Schade (1962): 130; Terret (1914): 98-99.

12: Rape of Ganymede

Virgil, *Aeneid* 5, 255-57

A flying eagle clutches an upside-down youth with its beak and a dog with its talons. The skyward motion of the group is further suggested by the boy's garments, which twist up into the central console block. A figure on the carving's left corner pulls at his hair. Two damaged figures stand behind him, while on the right side of the capital

a demon grimaces menacingly. Adhémar first identified this scene as the Rape of Ganymede, and both he and Forsyth draw attention to the rarity of this subject in medieval art. Forsyth contends that the presence of a demon encourages a moralized interpretation of the capital, perhaps an admonition against pederasty. This argument seems further supported when one compares the capital with a roughly contemporary bronze from the British Museum that clearly identifies the victim with the inscription "GANIMEDE[M]," but that does not include a demon (Weitzmann-Fiedler [1981]: 25-30, 76-77, fig. 3c).

Adhémar (1932); Adhémar (1937): 222-23; Aubert (1930): 17; Calmette and David (1951): 253; Crosnier (1848): 223; Despiney (1930): 124; Diemer (1975): 113, 282-85; Forsyth (1976); Kolve (1998); Mâle (1922): 368 [English trans. (1978): 366]; Meunier (1862): 26; Porée (1909): 62-63; Quinn (1989): 7-8, 185-88; Salet (1995): 153; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 182-83; Weisbach (1945): 145-47. See also Boswell (1988): 241, 243, 306, 308.

13: Animal Musicians

Musée Lapidaire

On the left corner, an ass plays a lyre and a lion bows a viol on the right. Similar figures, whose origins date back several millennia, are common in Romanesque sculpture (e.g., Beaune, Canterbury, Fleury-la-Montagne, Meillers, and Saint-Parize-le-Châtel). Adolf, Diemer, and Schaik trace the pejorative connotations of the ass and harp motif, which include the vice of *luxuria*, in medieval writings.

Despiney (1930): 124; Diemer (1975): 116, 285-88; Meunier (1862): 26; Salet (1995): 153; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 183; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 124-25; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 25. See also Adolf (1950); Reuter (1938); Schaik (1992).

14: Combat Scene

Two figures, the left in mail, raise swords against one another. The impending

clash of weapons is subtly suggested by the figures' feet, which overlap, as well as by the

lush vegetation that converges toward the capital's center. Pairs of onlookers stand to

either side; those on the right carrying swords sheathed in their scabbards. The theme of

combat is echoed on the torus of the base of the engaged column that supports this

capital, where two confronted animals battle. This is the only example of a figural

carving on a column base at Vézelay.

Aubert (1930): 17; Baltrusaitis (1931): 226; Despiney (1930): 124; Diemer
(1975): 116, 288-90; Porée (1909): 64; Porter (1923): pl. 30; Salet (1995): 153;
Salet and Adhémar (1948): 183; Sazama (1995): 138-47; Terret (1914): 48.

15: Ira and Luxuria

Figure 11

The twisting postures of the figures, who stand on either corner, and the wild

swirling forms of the vegetation lend a sense of agitation appropriate to the representation

of vices. The personification of Ira, at left, stabs himself with a sword. His disheveled,

flame-like hair, which disrupts the regular floral pattern on the carving's abacus, adds

further energy to the scene and probably would have been considered a sign of his

lasciviousness by tonsured monastic viewers (see comments on hair in chapter 4).

Opposite Ira, the personification of Luxuria writhes as serpents attack her pendulous

breasts. Both of these vices appear with some frequency in Romanesque sculpture.

Adhémar (1937): 198; Aubert (1930): 17; Cahier (1874): 200-202; Calmette and
David (1951): 248-49; Despiney (1930): 124; Diemer (1975): 104, 290-92;
Garnier (1988): 412; Meunier (1862): 26; Porée (1909): 64; Porter (1923): 93, pl.
34; Salet (1995): 153; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 15; Sazama (1995): 148-57;
Schade (1972): 72; Terret (1930): 49; Weir and Jerman (1986): 71. See also
Schapiro (1977): 36-38.

16: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 431; Salet (1995): 153; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 183; Viollet-le-Duc (1858-68): vol. 8, 186.

17: Conversion of Saint Eustace

Figures 12 and 13

AASS, Septembris, vol. 6, 123-24

On a stag hunt, the Roman general encountered a stag with an image of Christ between its antlers, whereupon he immediately adopted the faith. This capital, the earliest example of the iconography in France, emphasizes elements of the hunt. Unlike earlier Byzantine examples in which the saint kneels before the *imago Christi* (e.g., fig. 69), on the Vézelay capital a mounted Eustace blows an olifant and restrains a dog with a leash. Only a handful of later examples in the West, including two fourteenth-century ivories (illustrated in Koechlin (1924): nos. 255 and 1149), have similar compositions. The evocation of the chase on the Vézelay capital is further highlighted by the fact that all three carved quadrupeds lunge with two legs from left to right. The lateral movement conveyed by these forms is arrested by the stag, at the far right of the capital with a Greek cross on its forehead, that turns its head back toward its pursuers, thereby drawing attention to the moment of the saint's conversion. For a fuller discussion of this capital's iconography see chapter 2.

Adhémar (1937): 164; Aubert (1930): 17; Despiney (1930): 124; Diemer (1975): 116, 292-94; Doherty (1993): *passim*; Meunier (1862): 26; Porée (1909): 65; Porter (1923): 92-93, pl. 32; Reuter (1938): 34-35; Salet (1995): 154; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 183; Sazama (1995): 138-47.

18: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 431; Salet (1995): 154; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 183.

19: Libra and Gemini

Signs of the zodiac also appear on the nave façade's central tympanum as part of a larger cycle, resembling those at other sites (e.g., Autun). Diemer points out that the motif of a figure holding a clipeus containing Libra is unusual and he cites S. Savino in Piacenza as a parallel (see Nicklies [1995]: figs. 5 and 6).

> Adhémar (1937): 194; Armi (1983): 108; Aubert (1930): 17; Despiney (1930): 124; Diemer (1975): 114, 294-96; Meunier (1862): 27; Porée (1909): 66; Salet (1995): 154; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 183.

20: Mystic Mill

Figure 14

On this allegorical capital the figure of Moses pours the grain of the Old Dispensation into a mill, symbolizing Christ. Paul, distinguished by a receding hairline, receives the flour of the New Dispensation in a sack below. Although the Vézelay carving is the earliest example of the iconography to survive, slightly later inscriptions from Arles (Kendall [1998]: 203) and St. Denis (Grodecki [1961]:22-24; Panofsky [1946]: 74-75) provide succinct explanations of the mill metaphor. The seeming stress on Old Testament narratives in Vézelay's nave makes this capital's iconography particularly apt.

> Adhémar (1937): 244; Aubert (1930): 17; Calmette and David (1951): 249-50; Despiney (1930): 125; Diemer (1975): 83, 296-99; Mâle (1922): 167-68 [English trans. (1978): 169-71]; Meunier (1862): 27; Porée (1909): 66; Porter (1923): 138-39, pl. 40; Salet (1995): 154; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 184; Terret (1914): 85; Zink (1976).

21: Deaths of Lazarus and Dives

Luke 16, 22-23

This capital represents the conclusion of one of Christ's parables, in which a poor man is saved and a wealthy man is damned. On the carving's left face, Lazarus's soul, placed in a mandorla, is lifted by two angels. Opposite this scene, his soul rests in the

bosom of Abraham, a symbol of the heavenly Jerusalem. At center, Dives's soul

emerges from a reclining figure's mouth and is tortured by two demons. What appear to

be money bags, entwined with snakes, are tucked underneath the bed. Two figures look

on, including the rich man's wife who tears at her hair. The apparently random

disposition of this carving and its iconographic companion, located on the other side of

the nave (72), seems to speak against the systematic development of program(s) within

Vézelay's Romanesque sculpture.

Aubert (1930): 17; Calmette and David (1951): 249; Crosnier (1848): 223-24;
Despiney (1930): 125; Diemer (1975): 147, 299-302; Evans (1950): 105; Meunier
(1862): 27; Porée (1909): 66; Salet (1995): 154; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 184;
Sazama (1995): 133-37; Terret (1914): 90-91.

22: Lamech kills Cain

Apocryphal accounts of Cain's accidental death at the hands of Lamech, a blind

archer, circulated widely in the West, including in the Glossa ordinaria (PL 113, 101).

On the capital's left corner, a hunter, whose eyes appear to be swollen shut, draws a bow

to kill what he believes to be an animal. His son reaches toward him in an effort to

prevent the fatal shot. At right, the horned figure of Cain peers from behind a large leaf.

Diemer cites other examples of the iconography (e.g., Autun, the Roda Bible, and the

Byzantine Octateuchs), but does not believe that any of these served as a model for the

Vézelay capital. Given the emphasis on Cain, who appears on three of Vézelay's

capitals, and the number of fantastic creatures in the monastery's sculpture, particularly

on the nave façade's central tympanum, it is interesting to note that there was a rich

medieval tradition that viewed Cain as the father of the monstrous races (e.g., Ambrose,

De Cain et Abel [PL 14, 317]; Beowulf, ll. 102-114). Cain's death also features on a

narthex capital (12).

Aubert (1930): 17-18; Calmette and David (1951): 241; Despiney (1930): 125; Diemer (1975): 122, 303-304; Meunier (1883): 43; Porée (1909): 67; Salet (1995): 154; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 184; Sazama (1995): 124-37; Terret (1914): 100; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 26. See also Aptowitzer (1922); Hünemörder (1975): 106; Wisbey (1973).

23: Four Winds

At center, two figures holding bellows crouch and face one another. Their postures are emulated by the figures on either side, who face away from the center of the capital, resulting in a wonderful play of symmetry and asymmetry. Various identifications have been proposed for the figures, including apiarists and farmers. Porter first connected these figures with other personifications of the four winds, a theme known in antiquity. A hemicycle capital from Cluny that strongly resembles the Vézelay carving, as well as other examples of this iconography, seem to support his thesis (see Raff [1978-79]).

Adhémar (1937): 195, 204; Aubert (1930): 18; Despiney (1930): 125; Diemer (1975): 167, 305-306; Evans (1950): 114-15; Focillon (1931): 154-55; Garnier (1988): 192, 371; Meunier (1883): 44; Porée (1909): 67; Porter (1923): 93, pl.31; Pouzet (1912): 108-110; Raff (1978-79): 161-63; Salet (1995): 154; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 184; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 26.

24: David Slays a Lion

1 Samuel 17, 34-35

While still a youth, David displayed his military prowess by killing a lion that threatened his flock. On the center of the capital, a boy straddles a lion and pulls at its maw. The lion, in turn, paws at the shepherd's lamb, a feature that helps to identify the carving's protagonist; this is not, for example, Samson. A figure on the right side of the capital raises a club, as if to assist David. A miniature in the Winchester Bible has been cited as a parallel, particularly in its inclusion of a "helper". Alternatively, the two figures on the Vézelay capital could represent David at different narrative moments,

paratactically linked in the Bible. Other capitals in the abbey church's nave represent the same figure multiple times, including one of David and Goliath (50) that features the shepherd boy once on each of its three faces.

Aubert (1930): 18; Diemer (1975): 135, 306-307; Meunier (1862): 27; Porée (1909): 67; Salet (1995): 154; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 184; Terret (1914): 63.

25: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 431; Salet (1995): 154; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 185.

26: St. Martin and the Pine Tree

Figures 15-17

Sulpicius Severus, *Vita sancti Martini* 13

On a missionary journey through France, Martin encountered a pine tree that was worshipped by a group of pagans. The saint ordered them to fell this idol. They agreed on condition that the saint stand in the path of the falling tree. As the pine began to topple toward Martin, its path was miraculously diverted when he made a hand signal (*signum salutis*). The astounded witnesses immediately converted to Christianity. On the Vézelay capital, the angle of Martin's right arm is echoed by the trunk of the pine tree at center, which sways slightly to the left, and thereby emphasizes the power of his gesture. The console block of the central face, patterned after the leaves of the tree below, is shifted similarly off axis toward the left. The efficacy of Martin's gesture is further suggested by the three figures on the capital's right face, not mentioned in Sulpicius's text, who pull at the tree with ropes. A diminutively scaled figure stands on the left corner wielding an ax, behind whom stand two figures that seem to discuss the miracle. A mural in Tours, now lost, is the only known predecessor of this iconography (Kessler [1985]). An initial in a slightly later manuscript from Tours (fig. 72) is the only other

twelfth-century example of the iconography. For a fuller discussion of this capital see
chapter 2.

> Aubert (1930): 18; Calmette and David (1951): 245; Diemer (1975): 119, 307-
> 309; Evans (1950): 108; Mâle (1922): 227 [English trans. (1978): 227]; Meunier
> (1862): 27; Porée (1909): 67-68; Salet (1995): 154-55; Salet and Adhémar (1948):
> 185; Sazama (1995): 117, 166-75.

27: Daniel in the Lions' Den

Daniel 6, 16

Daniel's miraculous survival in the lions' den is a common subject in

Romanesque art and even features on another nave capital at Vézelay (34). The

symmetry of this sculpture is pronounced. The prophet stands in a mandorla that is

positioned on the capital's central axis, while two groups of lions, which are mirror

images of one another, approach from either side.

> Aubert (1930): 18; Calmette and David (1951): 243; Diemer (1975): 123, 309-
> 311; Meunier (1862): 27; Porée (1909): 68; Porter (1923): 94-95, pl. 33; Salet
> (1995): 155; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 185; Scheifele (1994); Viollet-le-Duc
> (1873): 27.

28: Foliate

Musée lapidaire

> Diemer (1975): 431-432; Salet (1995): 155; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 185;
> Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 123-24, fig. 141.

29: Jacob Wrestles an Angel

Genesis 32, 24-32

Jacob wrestled an entire night with an angel. When the patriarch realized he could not defeat his opponent, he refused to release the angel before receiving a blessing. On the capital's central face, a man grabs the garment of an angel, who raises his right hand in a pronounced benedictional gesture, a feature that secures the identification of the iconography. More puzzling is the gesture the angel makes with his left hand, gathering and raising his cloak. In addition to a capital from the outer façade (XIX) that repeats the iconography, this gesture is found throughout Vézelay's carvings, performed by both angels and humans. Examples include capitals of the nave (53, 84, 91, 94), the inner façade (II), and the narthex (19). Adhémar considered the gesture to be a revival of an antique motif and cited a miniature in a Terence manuscript (B.N. ms. lat. 7899, fol. 3) in support of his thesis. Its use throughout Vézelay's sculpture might suggest that it held further significance. For remarks on the repetition of motifs see chapter 4.

Adhémar (1937): 245, figs. 66, 67; Aubert (1930): 18; Calmette and David (1951): 242; Crosnier (1848): 221; Diemer (1975): 138, 311-12; Meunier (1883): 27; Porée (1909): 68; Salet (1995): 155; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 185.

30: Isaac Blesses Jacob

Genesis 27, 1-30

Although it was customary for the eldest son to receive the blessing of his father, Rachel desired the privilege for her younger son Jacob and devised a scheme to accomplish this. She sent her eldest child on a hunting trip and brought Jacob before the blind Isaac, introducing him as Esau. On the capital, Jacob wears pelts over his hands, an imitation of the skin of his more hirsute brother. Jacob, whose eyes are swollen shut, takes these hands between his and offers a blessing. Rachel looks on from the right, while to the left Esau returns from a hunt with his quarry slung over his shoulder. The

emphasis on the blessing of the second son was often used by Christian apologists to justify their faith in relation to Judaism. Perhaps this tradition would have particular resonance for monks, who were often second sons in noble families. A number of Vézelay's capitals trace the genealogy in Genesis: the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph are all represented. The blessing of Jacob is represented a second time on a narthex capital (7).

Calmette and David (1951): 241; Crosnier (1848): 221; Diemer (1975): 140, 312-13; Garnier (1982): pl. 18; Meunier (1862): 28; Porter (1923): 113-14, pl. 37; Salet (1995): 155; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 185; Terret (1914): 61.

31: Temptation of St. Benedict/ The Broken Bell Episode

Figures 18-20

Gregory, *Dialogues* 2, 1-2

During a prolonged period lived in solitude, Benedict had meals brought to him by a disciple named Romanus who, in order not to disturb the saint's solitude, rang a bell as a signal. The devil, envious of the piety of the monks, broke the bell. This is the moment carved on the capital's left face. The central and right faces of the carving feature one of Benedict's temptations by the devil, an episode that is also carved on a narthex capital (11). On the nave capital's center, a demon tempts Benedict with a woman, whom the saint seems to ward off with the sign of the cross, a gesture specified in Gregory's text. In addition, the gesture visually echoes many of Vézelay's other carved gestures and thereby provides a visual, if not thematic, cohesion. On the capital's right face, Benedict leaps into a thorn bush to mortify his flesh. The temptation and broken bell episodes are found on two different capitals at Fleury, the only known earlier examples of the iconography in monumental sculpture. These scenes are not found, for example, in the crypt capitals of St. Denis, although one capital does feature Benedict being fed by Romanus. For a more detailed discussion of this capital see chapter 2.

Aubert (1930): 18; Baltrusaitis (1931): 220; Calmette and David (1951): 245-46, 248; Crosnier (1848): 223; Despiney (1930): 125-26; Diemer (1975): 151, 313-15; Meunier (1862): 28; Porée (1909): 68-69; Salet (1995): 155; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 185; Sazama (1995): 111-23, 152; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 27. See also Blum (1981); Verdier (1977); Vergnolle (1985): 248-57.

32: Foliate

A number of capitals in the nave seem to have been reemployed from an earlier campaign. This can be inferred from a number of factors: the carving of these works is of a less developed style, and the dimensions of the capitals do not correspond to those of the engaged columns which they surmount. Diemer, Salet, and others have argued that these capitals were produced during the construction of Artaud's choir, completed in 1104 (see the remarks on building history in the introductory chapter). Indeed, the style of these works seems resembles sculpture at other sites, including Anzy-le-Duc, that dates to the turn of the twelfth century.

Diemer (1975): 432; Salet (1995): 155; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 185; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 110-11; Vergnolle (1978).

33: Foliate

Reemployed capital; see remarks on nave 32.

Diemer (1975): 432; Salet (1995): 155; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 185, pl. 13; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 110-11; Vergnolle (1978).

34: Daniel in the Lions' Den

Daniel 6, 16

On either corner of this reemployed capital (see remarks on nave 32) a figure sits with his hand to his cheek as lions approach from either side. Two other lions appear in truncated form on both sides of the capital, suggesting a continuation of the motif in the

carving's original state. The symmetrical, repeated forms of the capital suggest it is decorative, but a carved inscription "DANIEL IN LACU LEONEM," (Daniel in the lions' den) precludes such an interpretation. This capital's subject is the same as that of another in the nave (27).

Diemer (1975): 179, 316-17; Meunier (1862): 28; Porée (1909): 69; Salet (1995): 155; Salet and Adhémar (1948):186; Scheifele (1994).

35: Confronted Lions and Human Heads

Pairs of lions atop a tall band of vegetation are symmetrically arranged on either corner of this reemployed capital (see remarks on nave 32). Each beast places a paw on a human head on either corner. The two-tiered composition seen on this capital was commonly used in sculpture produced around the year 1100.

Aubert (1930): 18; Diemer (1975): 179, 317-18; Salet (1995): 155; Salet and Adémar (1948): 186; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 110-11; Vergnolle (1978).

36: Foliate

Reemployed capital; see remarks on nave 32.

Diemer (1975): 432; Salet (1995): 155; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 186; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 110-11; Vergnolle (1978).

37: Foliate

Reemployed capital; see remarks on nave 32.

Diemer (1975): 432; Salet (1995): 155; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 186; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 110-11; Vergnolle (1978).

38: Foliate

Reemployed capital; see remarks on nave 32.

Diemer (1975): 432; Salet (1995): 155; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 186; Saulnier and Stratford (198): 110-11; Vergnolle (1978).

North Piers

39: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 432; Salet (1995): 156; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 186.

40: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 432; Salet (1995): 156; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 186.

41: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 432; Salet (1995): 156; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 186.

42: Unknown Subject

On the central face of the capital a female figure with her hands, now broken, in front of her chest. On either corner, a nude male is entwined in vegetation. No identification of the iconography has been given which thoroughly explains the sculpture's forms. Suggestions include: the Tree of Jesse (Meunier); Mary Magdalene (Porter); Wisdom (Evans, Salet and Adhémar).

Despiney (1930): 133; Diemer (1975): 168, 318-320; Evans (1950): 81; Meunier (1862): 22; Porée (1909): 56-57; Porter (1923): pl. 41; Salet (1995): 156; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 186.

43: Unknown Subject

This badly damaged capital features two figures. On the left side, one holds his

shin and on the right a figure holds a stick. The arm of another figure is visible near the

latter. Identifications suggested for this capital's subject include: a game *du saut et du*

baton (Terret manuscript) and Tobias fishing (Calmette and David).

> Calmette and David (1951): 243; Despiney (1930): 133; Diemer (1975): 89, 320-
> 321; Meunier (1883): 30; Salet (1995): 156; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 186;
> Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 24.

44: Foliate

> Diemer (1975): 432; Salet (1995): 156; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 186, pl. 46.

45: Punishment of Avarice and Calumny

On both of the capital's corners confronted eagles form zoomorphic arches

underneath which figures punish personfications of the vices, imagery that has its roots in

Prudentius's *Psychomachia*. At left sits the figure of Avarice with money bags around

his neck and at right the tongue of Calumny is pinched with pincers.

> Baltrusaitis (1931): 355; Calmette and David (1951): 249; Despiney (1930): 133;
> Diemer (1975): 115, 321-23; Evans (1950): 81; Meunier (1862): 22; Porée
> (1909): 57; Salet (1995): 156; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 186; Terret (1914): 48;
> Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 24. See also Katzenellenbogen (1939):

46: Siren

> Musée Lapidaire

The nineteenth-century capital that currently occupies this position in the nave

represents Judith Slaying Holofernes, a subject for which there is no archaeological or

textual evidence at Vézelay. A fragment of the original features a siren that would have

held a tail in each of her hands on the left corner of this carving. Diemer speculates that the figure, which he interprets as a personification of Ocean, would have been juxtaposed with a figure of *Terra* on the right corner of the capital. The many examples of sirens in Romanesque sculpture that appear alone, including a capital Charlieu, should be noted.

Adhémar (1937): pl. 50; Débidour (1962): ; Despiney (1930): 97, 133; Diemer (1975): 131, 323-24; Meunier (1862): 22; *Viollet-le-Duc* (1980): 151-53; Jalabert (1936); Porter (1923): pl. 44; Salet (1995): 156; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 186-87; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 124.

47: Two Lions and a Bird

A pair of confronted lions occupies the central face while a bird pecks at grapes to the right.

Despiney (1930): 133; Diemer (1975): 166, 325; Meunier (1862): 22; Porée (1909): 57; Salet (1995): 156; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 187.

48: Summer and Winter

On the left corner stands a cloaked figure and on the right a nude figure appears to leap. Adhémar first identified this capital's iconography, which ultimately derives from classical calendrical imagery. An archivolt roundel from Autun's tympanum similarly juxtaposes personifications of these seasons.

Adhémar (1937):196; Despiney (1930): 133; Diemer (1975): 131, 326-28; Frandon (1998): 77; Meunier (1883): 31; Porée (1909): 57; Salet (1995): 156; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 187; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 24.

49: Moses Slays the Egyptian

Figures 21-22

Exodus 2, 11-12

Before his confrontations with the pharaoh, Moses killed an Egyptian who had

harassed some Jews. The subject is quite rare in medieval art. At center, Moses grabs

the hair of his victim with his left hand and holds a sword in his right. On the right side

of the capital, the hero hides the head of the Egyptian within some vegetation. A ninth-

century copy of the *Sacra Parallela* (fig. 88) features Moses burying the head in a similar

manner, and the Aelfric Paraphrase (Brit. Mus. Cott. Claudius B. IV, fol. 75v) shows

Moses brandishing a sword as he grabs the hair of his victim. More typically, Moses uses

a club as a weapon (fig. 90). See chapter 4 for further discussion.

Calmette and David (1951): 242; Crosnier (1848): 221; Despiney (1930): 133; Diemer (1975): 162, 329; Meunier (1862): 23; Porée (1909): 57-58; Salet (1995): 156; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 187; Sazama (1995): 185-87; Terret (1914): 63.

50: David and Goliath

Figures 23-24

1 Samuel 17, 48-51

Armed only with a sling, the young David took the challenge of battling Goliath,

a Philistine and enemy of the Israelites. The entire left face of the capital, on which

David attacks the giant with his sling, is restored in a way that seems justified when

compared to Viollet-le-Duc's drawings. On the main face, David beheads Goliath and on

the right he carries the giant's head. See chapter 4 for further discussion of this capital.

Aubert (1930): 16-17; Calmette and David (1951): 242; Crosnier (1848): 221; Despiney (1930): 133; Diemer (1975): 120, 330-31; Meunier (1862): 23; Porée (1909): 58; Porter (1923): pl. 34; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 126; Salet (1995): 156; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 187; Sazama (1995): 187-88; Terret (1914): 64.

51: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 432; Salet (1995): 157; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 187.

52: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 433; Salet (1995): 157; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 187.

53: Joab Kills Absalom

Figures 25-27

2 Samuel 18, 9-15

Absalom, a son of king David, lead a military rebellion against his father until his untimely death. On the capital's left face, Joab extends a sword to kill the youth, who, in accordance with the biblical account, hangs by his long hair that is caught in a tree. The capital's iconography differs from the description of Absalom's death in 2 Samuel 18, as well as from most medieval representations of the scene (e.g., fig. 89), in that the youth is decapitated rather than transfixed with three darts. On the right side of the capital, a mounted figure looks back toward the central face, on which a riderless horse walks. See chapter 4 for further discussion of this sculpture.

Calmette and David (1951): 242-43; Crosnier (1848): 221; Despiney (1930): 133; Diemer (1975): 121, 331-33; Meunier (1862): 23; Porée (1909): 58-59; Salet (1995): 157; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 187; Sazama (1995): 188-89; Terret (1914): 65; Turgot (1997): 233.

54: Confronted Elephants

The carving's symmetrical arrangement of flora and fauna, which strongly resemble a porch capital from Perrecy-les-Forges, is apparent despite severe damage and suggests that the capital's primary function is decorative rather than allegorical or

historical. It should be noted, however, that another nave capital (34) employs a similar symmetry, including a fourfold repetition of a figure surrounded by lions, but is clearly identified by a carved inscription as representing Daniel in the Lions' Den. Thus, it cannot be presumed that Vézelay's symmetrically carved compositions would have been interpreted by a medieval audience as decorative works, completely devoid of meaning. Exegetes, for example, often described Adam and Eve's chastity before the Fall as analogous to elephants' sexual innocence; a capital of the Fall (93) is located on the next pier to the west.

Baltrusaitis (1931): 207; Darling (1994): 133-34; Diemer (1975): 124, 333-34; Meunier (1862): 23; Porée (1909): 59; Salet (1995): 157; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 187; Thibout (1947). See also Grabar (1992); Hassig (1995) 131-33; Hicks (1993): 187-88, Mâle (1922): 340-63 [English trans. (1978): 341-63].

55: Two Demons and a Griffin

A demon astride a griffin grasps a lance in both hands on the right corner of the carving. To the left, another demon hunches over and holds an unidentifiable object. The grotesque quality of the carving is enhanced, in large part, by the sculptor's elaboration of the teeth and flailing tongues of the two figures at right. The gaping mouth of the left figure, which is badly damaged, may have originally featured a similarly elongated tongue. Although these grimaces may have held sexual or apotropaic connotations, the exaggerated mouths of the carved demons may have been simply an expeditious way for the sculptor to portray the depravity of these figures (see nave capitals 12 and 15). Hugh of St. Victor, for one, enjoined the novice to restrain his tongue, as well as other parts of his body, lest he appear to be of an unholy nature (PL 176, 949).

Aubert (1930): 17; Crosnier (1848): 222; Despiney (1930): 133; Diemer (1975): 105, 334-35; Meunier (1862): 23; Porée (1909): 59; Salet (1995): 157; Salet and

Adhémar (1948): 187-88. See also Camille (1993); Pennington (1991); Sutterlin (1989).

56: Moses and the Golden Calf

Exodus 32, 19

After receiving the Tablets of the Law from God, Moses descended Mount Sinai and discovered that the Israelites had begun to worship an idol of a Golden Calf. On the left corner of the capital, Moses raises a staff or club in one hand and two tablets in the other, ready to dash them to the ground. A braying idol and screaming demon occupy the central face. To the right, a figure carries a sacrificial lamb, presumably an offering to the graven image. Although the capital's iconography has long been recognized, it should be noted that its focus on the conflict between Moses and the idol is extremely unusual; Diemer could find no precedent. The only sculptural parallel is a later capital at Autun. An early thirteenth-century psalter shows Moses smashing the tablets before the Golden Calf, as a figure to the right, probably Aaron, looks on (*Psautier illustré (XIIIe siècle): Reproduction des 107 miniatures du manuscrit latin 8846 de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* Paris, n.d., pl. 3 [fol. 2r]). Diemer cites Isidore of Seville's description of the calf as the "diaboli...corpus" as influencing the sculptor to include a devil, but it should be stressed that the association occurs in a number of other medieval texts, including the apocryphal *Acta Thomae* 32, Gregory's *Regula pastoralis* 3, 19 (PL 77, 81), and writings of Rabanus Maurus, Rupert of Deutz and others (see Bori [1990]: 22-25). Moreover, a number of early psalters illustrated psalm 105 with the Golden Calf as verse 38 speaks of the Israelites sacrificing to demons (e.g., Mont Athos, Pantocrator 61, fol. 153r [Dufrenne (1966): 34, pl. 24]; Paris, B.N. gr.20, fol. 18r [Dufrenne (1966): 45, pl. 40]). Identifying

the exact text that may have provided the idea for the demon seems secondary to the fact that his presence suggests a strongly moralized reading of this event. Peter the Venerable, for example, begins his polemical *Adversus Iudeorum* with a reference to the Golden Calf, and Julian of Vézelay strongly condemns the sin of idolatry by citing this episode (*Sermons*, 246-48).

Aubert (1930): 17; Calmette and David (1951): 242; Crosnier (1848): 221-222; Despiney (1930): 133; Diemer (1975): 102, 336; Garnier (1982): pl. 20; Link (19950; 20; Mâle (1978): 370-71; Meunier (1862): 23; Porée (1909): 59-60; Porter (1923): pl. 39; Salet (1995): 119; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 188; Sazama (1995): 191-92; Terret (1913): 62-62; Viollet-le-Duc (1858-68) vol. 2, 487-89; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 24. See also Peter the Venerable, *Adversus iudeorum inveteratam duritiem*, CCCM 58, ed. Y. Friedman, Turnholt, 1985, 1.

57: Angel Slaying Pharaoh's Firstborn

Figure 28

Exodus 12, 29

The final plague visited upon the Egyptians, who refused to release the Israelites from captivity, was the death of each family's firstborn. Only the right half of the capital has survived, on which a prince, identifiable by his crown, sleeps. Above him, an angel brandishes a sword, a motif common in medieval examples of the iconography. Diemer suggests that the other half of capital would have presented the antithetical figure of a sacrificial lamb. See chapter 4 for further discussion of this capital.

Crosnier (1848): 221; Despiney (1930): 133; Diemer (1975): 103, 337-38; Mâle (1922): 368 [English trans. (1978): 366]; Meunier (1862): 24; Porée (1909): 60; Salet (1995): 157; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 188; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): Sazama (1995): 189-91; Terret (1914): 62; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 24. See also Neumann (1979): pl. 35 and Pressouyre (1974).

58: Funeral of Paul the Hermit

Figure 29

Jerome, *Vita sancti Pauli primi eremitae* 16

Musée Lapidaire

According to Jerome, Anthony witnessed two lions preparing the grave of Paul the Hermit. The right half of the reconstruction closely follows the forms of a fragment of the original, on which a lion digs the grave of Paul, whose body is bound in a funeral cloth. In the reconstruction a second lion is added on the left side of the capital, as is the figure of Anthony. These additions were stipulated by Viollet-le-Duc (Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 106, n. 14), but seem accurate if one compares them to other Romanesque sculptured examples of the iconography, including capitals at Beaune and St.-Hilaire at Melle. For a more detailed discussion of this iconography see chapter 2.

Calmette and David (1951): 245; Despiney (1930): 126; Diemer (1975): 152, 339-40; Mâle (1922): 238-39 [English trans (1978): 240]; Meunier (1862): 24; Porée (1909): 60; Salet (1995): 157; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 188; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 121; Terret (1914): 108; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 24.

59: Trial of Saint Eugenia

Figure 30

Vitae Patrum (PL 73, 605-620; PL 21, 1105-22)

Saint Eugenia disguised herself as a man in order to enter a monastery near Alexandria. After rising to the rank of abbot, the saint came to be admired by a local woman, who tried in vain to seduce the monk. In frustration, the woman accused "Eugenius" of rape. At the ensuing trial, presided over by the saint's father, who was ignorant of the accused's identity, Eugenia disrobed to prove her innocence. It is this trial that is represented on the Vézelay capital, with the accuser on the left and the seated judge to the right. The figure of Eugenia is placed on the central axis, beneath an

elaborately decorated console block, and is represented frontally, a rarity among

Vézelay's carved postures. The focus on her disrobing invites the viewer to participate in

her judgment. A representation of this rather obscure saint at Vézelay may be explained

in part by the fact that a nearby church at Varzy was a center of Eugenia's cult. For a

more detailed discussion of this capital's iconography, the earliest known example in

Christian art, see chapter 2.

> Aubert (1930): 17; Bonnet (1981): vol. 2, 103-75; Calmette and David (1951):
> 248; Despiney (1930): 126; Diemer (1975): 150, 340-41; Loos-Noji (1990); Mâle
> (1922): 242-43 [English trans. (1978): 244-45]; Meunier (1862): 24; Porée
> (1909): 60-61; Salet (1995): 157-58; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 188; Sazama
> (1995): 152-54. See also Hotchkiss (1996): 131-41 and *passim*.

60: Unknown Subject

Figure 31

This capital's narrative has generally been identified as David ordering the death

of Saul's Executioner (2 Samuel 1, 5-16), yet this seems problematic upon close

examination of the carving's forms. An almost identical scene found on a narthex capital

(3) has commonly been labeled the Beheading of John the Baptist (Matthew 14, 1-12;

Mark 6, 17-29; Luke 9, 7-9), and the gestures and objects on both these capitals lack

specificity and thus cannot be definitively associated with any of these texts. That the

king on nave capital 60 places his hand to his cheek has been cited as evidence that the

grieving David is represented, but the gesture may also be associated with a regretful

Herod or any number of kingly figures. Compositions similar to the two Vézelay capitals

are found, for example, in scenes of Paul's execution. A miniature in a Fulda manuscript

depicts the apostle's beheading in front of an enthroned Nero (Bamberg, Staatliche

Bibliothek, Lit. 1, fol. 135r; illustrated in Palazzo (1994): fig. 17). According to the

apocryphal account, the emperor had ordered the execution of Paul in response to the

death of his favorite magician, Simon Magus; this could explain the *Trauriggeste* of this capital.

> Aubert (1930): 17; Calmette and David (1951): 242; Crosnier (1848): 221; Despiney (1930): 126; Diemer (1975): 163, 341-42; Evans (1950): 83; Garnier (1982): pl. 19; Meunier (1862): 24; Porée (1909): 61; Salet (1995): 158; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 188-89; Sazama (1995): 191-92; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 24.

61: Birds

A pair of birds pecks at fruit-shaped volutes on the left corner. Presumably the same composition was originally located on the damaged right corner.

> Despiney (1930): 126; Diemer (1975): 166, 343; Salet (1995): 158; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 189.

62: Fall of Simon Magus

Figures 32-34

Passio Petri et Pauli

The usual identification of this capital as a Vision of Saint Anthony is problematic because the capital represents two figures in monkish garb, one on each of the capital's side faces, instead of a single hermit that would be congruent with Athanasius's *vita*. Moreover, the large tower which dominates the central face of the carving has no real parallel in hagiographic literature concerning. The capital's forms seem more fully explained when viewed in relation to textual and pictorial accounts of the Fall of Simon Magus. This magician, a favorite of Nero, confronted Peter and Paul in a contest of miracles in Rome. The conflict reached its climax when Simon claimed he could fly from a wooden tower on the Campus Martius with the aid of angels. Because Peter and Paul did not wish people to believe this was a reflection of divine will, they prayed to God, whereupon Simon plummeted to his death. The figures engaged in prayer on either

side of the capital can be identified as the apostles: that on the left has a receding hairline

characteristic of Paul, and Peter, to the right, wears a Roman tonsure, known as the

tonsura Petri during the Middle Ages, in contrast to the celtic style, referred to by its

critics as the "Simon Magus". For a fuller discussion of this capital see chapter 1.

> Calmette and David (1951): 246; Crosnier (1848):222-23; Cuttler (1952): 36;
> Despiney (1930): 126; Diemer (1975): 151, 343-45; Evans (1950): 103;
> Hammann (1939): 446; Meunier (1862): 25; Porée (1909): 61; Salet (1995): 158;
> Salet and Adhémar (1948): 189; Viollet-le-Duc (1858-68): vol. 5, 30; Viollet-le-
> Duc (1873): 25. See also Lipsius and Bonnet (1896): 119-77; Trichet (1990): 19
> and *passim*; Weis (1963).

63: Temptation of Anthony

Figure 35

Athanasius, *Vita beati Antonii abbatis* 7

Musée Lapidaire

Throughout Athanasius's biography of Anthony, demons tempt the saint to

abandon his ascetic practices by physically tormenting him. The nineteenth-century

restoration seems justified when compared to the original, on the center of which

Anthony stands impassively as a demon attacks him from either side. The saint is

represented with a long beard, as on other capitals showing him at Vézelay. Teeming

vegetation fills either side of the capital. It was not until the late Middle Ages that

Anthony's cult became popular outside of clerical circles, especially among those

afflicted with skin diseases. It thus seems likely that the capital was primarily responding

to monastic interests. The theme of temptation on this capital finds parallels in twelfth-

century cenobitic writings which employ imagery of monastery's besieged by the armies

of Satan. For a fuller discussion of this iconography see chapter 2.

> Baltrusaitis (1931): 158; Chastel (1936): 218; Crosnier (1848): 223; Cuttler
> (1952): 36-37; Despiney (1930): 126; Diemer (1975): 151, 345-47; Mâle (1922):
> 239 [English repr (1978): 240-41]; Meunier (1862): 24; Porée (1909): 61-62;

Porter (1923): vol. 1, 113-14; Salet (1995): 158; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 189; Saulnier and Stratford (1948): 121-22.

64: Foliate

Fragments of the original are in the Musée Lapidaire.

Despiney (1930): 55; Diemer (1975): 433; Meunier (1898): 38; Salet (1995): 158; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 189; Saulnier (1978): 63-65; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 122, fig. 135; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 25.

65: Fall of Adam and Eve

Genesis 3, 1-7

Reemployed Capital; see remarks on nave 32.

The Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, in which the serpent is entwined, occupies the capital's central axis. To the right, Eve accepts the forbidden fruit in one hand and covers herself in shame with the other, a foreshadowing of things to come. Adam places his hand to his cheek, seemingly to indicate remorse for a sin that he has not yet committed. The conflation of various moments of the Fall narrative may also be identified on a later nave (93) capital of the same subject. Moreover, Vézelay's sculptors seem to have been sensitive to the forms of this reemployed capital. It is in clear view of capital 67, which includes soldiers placing their hands to their cheeks as to indicate sleep. The repetition of similar gestures, which have radically different meanings in their respective contexts, suggests a playful response on the part of the artists.

Crosnier (1848): 222; Deschamps (1922): 71-74; Despiney (1930): 126; Diemer (1975): 180, 347-49; Meunier (1862): 25; Porée (1909): 62; Porter (1923): 89, 91-92, pl. 28; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 189; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 110.

66: Foliate

Fragments of the original may be in Musée Lapidaire.

Diemer (1975): 433; Salet (1995): 158; Salet and Adhemar (1948): 189; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 105, n. 4.

67: Deliverance of St. Peter from Prison

Figure 36

Acts 12, 6-9

While the guards of Herod's prison slept, the story goes, an angel helped Peter to escape. On the central face of the nave capital an angel leads a tonsured, clean-shaven figure by the hand. On both of the capital's sides, two soldiers, with weapons in their scabbards, raise their hands to their cheeks in a gesture indicating sleep. Salet and Adhémar argue that the subject chosen here refers to the exile of Innocent II, who consecrated a chapel of pilgrims at Vézelay. Diemer questioned this hypothesis. Peter's deliverance is fairly common in sculpture, including capitals at Moissac and Mozac, and in manuscript illumination (e.g., BN nouv. acq. lat. 2246, fol. 113v [a Cluny lectionary]). It is thus difficult to argue that it responds to a specific, contemporary event, particularly since the pope's exile may have postdated completion of the nave. This same subject may have originally appeared on a capital of the narthex's west façade (V).

Aubert (1930): 17; Calmette and David (1951): 244; Carr (1978): 144; Crosnier (1848): 224; Despiney (1930): 126; Diemer (1975): 137, 349-50; Evans (1950): 101; Mâle (1922): 252 [English trans.(1978): 253]; Meunier (1862): 25; Porée (1909): 62; Salet (1995): 158; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 119-20, 189.

North Aisle Wall

68: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 433; Salet (1995): 158; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 189.

69: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 433; Salet (1995): 158; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 189.

70: Birds

A pair of confronted birds is placed on either corner of the capital, a symmetry that is played upon by the fact that the group at right picks at fruit, while those on the left peck another bird's head. A human head occupies the space above the volutes of the left corner. The volute on the right side of the capital is damaged.

Diemer (1975): 131, 350-51; Salet (1995): 158; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 189-90.

71: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 433; Salet (1995): 159; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 190.

72: Feast of Dives

Luke 16, 19-21

In a parable, Jesus described a wealthy man, Dives, who feasted in his house, while a poor man starved outside. On the main face of the capital, three figures stand behind an elaborate assortment of food. The lord of the house, at center, extends food to his wife in a gesture that seems to mimic antithetically the Eucharist. The gluttony of the

figures at table is underscored by the gaping maws of the lions' heads that function as volutes. On the right face of the capital an attendant carries two pots toward the feast. On the left face, the poor man Lazarus is licked by two dogs outside the gates of Dives's house. This is a companion piece to nave capital 21.

> Calmette and David (1951): 249; Despiney (1930): 133; Diemer (1975): 145, 351-52; Meunier (1862): 25; Porée (1909): 69; Salet (1995): 158; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 190; Terret (1914): 74.

73: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 433; Salet (1995): 159; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 190.

74: Basilisk and Locust-like Creature

A locust-like creature, with a beard and flame-like hair, stands before a man,who proffers a vessel, on the right corner of the capital. At left, a basilisk, with a long serpentine tail, raises its claw as if to scratch the figures opposite. Although the specific meaning of this scene, if any, remains opaque, it is interesting to note that monks signaled something "bad" by imitating the scratching of a bird (see Appendix B, number 113).

> Aubert (1930): 17; G. Bonnet (1981): vol.2 , 103-75; Cahier Despiney (1930): 126; Diemer (1975): 105, 353-54; Mâle (1922): 333-34 [English trans. (1978): 334]; Meunier (1862): 25; Porée (1909): 69; Salet (1995): 159; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 190; Terret (1914): 32.

75: Meal of Anthony and Paul

Figure 37

Jerome, *Vita sancti Pauli primi eremitae* 10

By divine providence, according to Jermome, Paul the Hermit was brought bread by a bird every day in order to sustain his ascetic observances. This portion was miraculously doubled on the day that Anthony visited the hermit. The saints gave thanks

for the Lord's mercy and broke bread. On the capital, the saints are identified by

inscriptions above: "S ANTONIVS BEATVS PAVLLS [sic]". The sculptor highlighted

the drama of the moment by placing the piece of bread on the carving's central axis as it

is being torn, thereby threatening to disrupt the rigid symmetry of the capital's forms.

Emphasis on breadbreaking seems appropriate in a monastic context given the many

connotations from the eucharist to the apostolic ideal, stipulated in the book of Acts, that

all things be shared in common. The Meal of Anthony and Paul also features on narthex

capital 13. For a fuller discussion of this iconography see chapter 2.

> Calmette and David (1951): 244; Despiney (1930): 126; Diemer (1975): 153, 355-56; Mâle (1922): 237-38 [English trans. (1978): 239-40]; Meunier (1862): 25; Meyvaert (1992): 133-35; Porée (1909): 69; Porter (1923): pl. 43; Salet (1995): 159; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 190; Sazama (1995): 99-110; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 190. See also Maeyvaert (1992): 131-35.

76: Raphael Binds the Demon Asmodeus

Tobias 8, 1-3

Musée Lapidaire

The angel Raphael, according to the biblical account, bound a devil that had

tormented Tobias's family. The nineteenth-century restoration seems justified when

compared to the left and central faces, which are preserved in fairly good condition. At

center, a haloed figure holds the arms of a demon, as two youthful figures engage in

conversation on the left side of the capital. These latter figures, as Diemer argued, can be

identified as Tobias and Sara, and thus secure the identification of the sculptured

narrative.

> Crosnier (1848): 223; Despiney (1930): 126; Diemer (1975): 138, 356-58; Mâle (1922): 368 [English trans. (1978): 366]; Meunier (1862): 25; Porée (1909): 69; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 190; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 123; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 25.

West Wall: Second Story

77: Two Men with Swords and Two Lions

Despiney suggests this is an allegory of struggle against demons.

Despiney (1930): 136; Diemer (1975): 133, 359; Salet (1995): 159 Salet and Adhémar (1948): 190.

South Clerestory

78: Bearded Man and Two Animals

Despiney identified this figure as Cain in the bushes, but nothing specifically relates it to Genesis iconography at Vézelay, for unlike the Cain of nave capital 22, this man has no horns.

Despiney (1930): 136; Diemer (1975): 155, 166, 360; Salet (1995): 159; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 191.

79: Suicide of Judas (?)

Figure 37

This capital has been generally identified as the suicide of Judas (Matthew 27, 5), who despaire over his betrayal of Christ, but this conclusion should be questioned. Unlike other Burgundian capitals on which the figure of Judas is hanged by a demon with a money belt, such as carvings of Autun and Saulieu, the hanged figure on the Vézelay capital is isolated. Moreover, on the right side of the Vézelay capital a figure, who presumably carries the dead "Judas", finds no parallel in contemporary art. Meunier and Porée both identified this scene as the Death of Haman (Esther 7, 10), an execution that features in several contemporary Burgundian miniatures (e.g., fig. 83 and B.N. lat. 16745, fol. 188), though other Old Testament hangings appear in these manuscripts as well. An

Old Testament subject would seem in accord with the seeming emphasis on scenes from Genesis, Exodus, and Kings among Vézelay's nave capitals.

> Calmette and David (1951): 244; Despiney (1930): 136; Diemer (1975): 110, 361-62; Meunier (1862): 26; Porée (1909): 64; Salet (1995): 159; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 191. See also Wind (1937-38); Zarnecki (1979).

79a: Atlantid

The arms and head of a figure emerge from two rows of acanthus leaves.

Despiney (1930): 136; Diemer (1975): 134, 362; Salet (1995): 159; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 191.

79b: Atlantid

On either face of the pilaster capital, a figure with a striding, contorted posture supports the abacus.

> Despiney (1930): 136; Diemer (1975): 125, 362; Salet (1995): 159; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 191.

80: Unknown Subject

Figure 39

On the central face of this capital two soldiers in mail raise their swords to strike a third. On either side stand two figures in armor. A figure on the left side raises his hand in a gesture that may indicate that it is a leader giving instructions to his henchmen. Some have identified this scene as the Slaying of Amnon (2 Samuel 13, 28-29), but there is nothing on the capital that specifically refers to this episode. Moreover, the few other examples of Amnon's death in medieval art, including Byzantine copies of the *Sacra Parallela*, do not closely resemble the scene on the Vézelay capital.

Despiney (1930): 136; Diemer (1975): 132, 362-63; Meunier (1862): 26; Porée (1909): 65; Salet (1995): 159; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 191.

81: Noah Builds the Ark

Genesis 6, 14-22

To the left, Noah wields an axe as his son works on the waddle and daub construction of a waddle and daub ark, which would save two of each of the creatures of the earth. The ship's form of construction, as Diemer noted, appears to be unique among other examples of this iconography.

Calmette and David (1951): 241; Despiney (1930): 136; Diemer (1975): 108, 363-64; Meunier (1862): 27; Porée (1909): 66; Salet (1995): 159; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 191.

81a: Lion Attacking Man

Salet (1995) suggested that Jerome is represented here. It is not clear, however, why the saint would be attacked by an animal that hagiographic legends describe as his companion.

Despiney (1930): 136; Diemer (1975): 134, 365; Salet (1995): 159; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 191.

82: Foliate

Despiney (1930): 136; Diemer (1975): 433; Salet (1995): 160; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 191.

83: Martyrdom of a Saint

Figure 40

On the central face of the capital, a figure, probably identifiable as a saint by his tonsure, is bound by the wrists to a tree while his legs extend to either side. With the help

of a beam, two figures appear to apply weight to the saint's legs in order to dismember him. Proposed identities for the saint include Alexander Janneus (Despiney) and Andoche (Salet and Adhémar). Diemer rejected these suggestions, including the latter, for no hagiographic material indicates that the saint was killed in the manner feature on this capital. Examination of the *vitae* of the martyred saints listed in Lyon, B.M. 0555, the Vézelay breviary, does not seem to yield further insight into this capital's subject.

> Despiney (1930): 136; Diemer (1975): 157, 365; Meunier (1883): 44; Salet (1995): 160; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 191.

84: Unknown Subject

On the central face, two figures, one of whom is seated and wears a crown, are engaged in conversation. On the right side, two figures face one another in speech. On the left side, a figure is raised or lowered by another into a barrel. No conclusive identification has been offered. Meunier interprets this as the Sedecias, King of Judah, ordering that Jeremiah be removed from a dungeon (Jer. 38, 8-13), an interpretation accepted by Salet and Adhémar. Accordingly, the right side of the capital features Abdelmalech speaking with someone. Diemer rejected this identification because the iconography is rare and because the rope of the Biblical passage is nowhere represented on the capital. Yet this omission might be an exigency of the carver. Diemer argued that the capital shows Joseph in the Well and Joseph before Pharaoh. He accounted for the group of conversing figures on the right by saying such crowds are a common motif. According to Diemer, this capital forms a pendent to the Joseph story on the adjacent capital (85). Related subjects, however, are not necessarily juxtaposed at Vézelay.

> Calmette and David (1951): 243; Despiney (1930): 136; Diemer (1975): 155, 366-70; Meunier (1862): 27; Salet (1995): 160; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 191.

85: Joseph and Potiphar's Wife

Figure 41

Genesis 39, 7-21

According to the biblical account, the wife of a pharaoh became enamored of a servant named Joseph and tried in vain to seduce him in her bedroom. As he escaped, his cloak slipped away. This article of clothing was used by the Potiphar's wife as evidence when she falsely accused the servant of attempted rape. On the left face of the capital, the pharaoh's wife grabs Joseph's cloak, which she is shown holding on the right side. At center, Joseph is beaten by two men in retribution for the crime he did not commit. The same subject is repeated on narthex capital 6.

> Calmette and David (1951): 242; Despiney (1930): 135; Diemer (1975): 156, 370-72; Meunier (1862): 28; Salet (1995): 160; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 191.

86: Foliate

> Despiney (1930): 135; Diemer (1975): 434; Salet (1995): 160; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 192.

87: Unknown Subject

On either side of the capital a pair of figures gestures toward the center. Here, a man leads a woman whose hands appear to be bound. Proposed identifications of this scene include: Joseph's Flight from Potiphar (Despiney); Binding of the Shorn Samson (Salet and Adhémar); and saint Lucia? (Diemer). The figures' gestures do not unambiguously support any of these suggestions.

> Despiney (1930): 135; Diemer (1975): 156, 372-73; Meunier (1883): 48-49; Salet (1995): 160; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 87.

88: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 434; Salet (1995): 160; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 192.

North Clerestory

89: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 434; Salet (1995): 160; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 192.

90: Two Waterfowl

Meunier identified these birds as pelicans and argued, in a manner recalling

Physiologus literature, that these were symbols of Christian, paternal love. Diemer

questioned this identification because it does not correspond to known examples of this

iconography, and suggests that this is a more generalized representation of waterfowl.

> Despiney (1930): 134; Diemer (1975): 110, 373-75; Meunier (1862): 22; Salet
> (1995): 160; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 192; Viollet-le-Duc (1858-69): vol. 2,
> 490.

90b: Sacrifice of Isaac

Figure 42

Genesis 22, 9-13

Following a command from God, the story goes, the patriarch offered his beloved

son as a blood sacrifice. Just before the youth's throat was slit, God, pleased with the

demonstration of the man's piety, sent an angel to stay Abraham's hand and He ordered

the sacrifice of a ram instead. On the capital, Abraham seizes the hair of his son and

raises a knife to his throat, while an angel appears from a cloud bank above. This theme

is extremely common in Romanesque sculpture. In addition to providing a prototype for

the Eucharist, Old Testament sacrifices were regarded as foreshadowing the monastic life (see chapter 4). This subject is also represented on narthex capital 45.

> Calmette and David (1951): 241; Despiney (1930): 134; Diemer (1975): 375; Salet (1995): 160; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 192; Turgot (1997): 233.

91: Unknown Subject

Figure 43

A seated man and standing woman converse on the central face. To the right a figure is pulled from a barrel by the hair. Meunier identified this as John the Baptist, but Salet and Adhémar drew attention to a hand that is clearly visible along the barrel's rim, which proves the figure was not decapitated. The latter suggest that the central face shows Herod and his wife, with the figure of John the Baptist being removed from prison to the right. However, Mark 6:28 specifies that John was beheaded in prison and representations of this scene in Romanesque sculpture typically feature the figure of Salomé, including an example at Saint-Étienne, Toulouse.

> Despiney (1930): 134; Diemer (1975): 376-77; Meunier (1883): 30; Salet (1995): 160; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 192.

92: Foliate

> Diemer (1975): 434; Salet (1995): 161; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 192.

92a: Atlantid

> Despiney (1930); 134; Diemer (1975): 377; Salet (1995): 161; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 192.

92b: Monster devouring Man

Despiney (1930): 134; Diemer (1975): 377; Salet (195): 161; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 192.

93: Fall of Man and Shame

Figures 44-46

Genesis 3, 1-7

The protagonists in this capital's narratives are chiefly displaced to the sides: the Fall at right, the Shame at left. At center, the serpent entwines himself within the lushly carved Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. The visual prominence of the tree highlights Adam and Eve's decision to sin. For a fuller discussion of this capital see chapter 3. The Fall also features on nave capital 65.

Calmette and David (1951): 241; Despiney (1930): 134; Diemer (1975): 109, 377-79; Meunier (1862): 23; Porée (1909): 58; Salet (1995): 161; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 192.

93a: Monster attacking Man

Diemer (1975): 134, 379; Salet (1995): 161; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 192.

94: Sacrifices of Cain and Abel

Genesis 4, 2-6

God commanded that the two brothers offer Him a blood sacrifice. On the capital's left, Abel holds a lamb while the *dexter Domini* appears from a cloudbank above in a gesture that sanctions this offering. To the right, Cain holds a bundle of grain, unacceptable to the Lord. A capital from Moutiers-Saint-Jean in the Fogg Museum strongly resembles this capital, but, as Salet and Adhémar note, Abel is bearded in the Vézelay example, an unusual feature.

Braude (1968); Cahn and Seidel (1979): 128-31; Calmette and David (1951): 241; Despiney (1930): 135; Diemer (1975): 109, 379-80; Meunier (1862): 23; Salet (1995): 161; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 192; Terret (1914): 60.

95: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 435; Salet (1995): 161; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 193.

96: Combat of Warrior and Dragon

This carving appears not to have been completed because many rough chisel marks are visible. On the right an armored figure raises a sword in his right hand as he grabs a dragon's maw in the other. Salet and Adhémar rejected Despiney's thesis that this is Daniel killing the Dragon of Babylon (Daniel 14, 22-26) because the Bible specifies that the act was accomplished without sword or club.

Angheben (1994); Despiney (1930): 135; Diemer (1975): 159, 381-82; Meunier (1862): 24; Porée (1909): 61; Salet (1995): 161; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 193.

97: Unknown Subject

On the main face of the capital a bishop or abbot holds a crozier in his left hand and performs a benedictional gesture with his right. On either side of the capital figures look toward the center. Sazama, following Despiney, identified this scene as the "Abbot as Judge". Salet and Adhémar rightly pointed out, however, that none of the central figure's attributes distinguish him as either an abbot or a bishop. The crozier, for example, was used by both ecclesiastics. Furthermore, the ambiguous nature of the cleric's gesture prevents one from labelling it as a sign of judgment. Thus, the significance of this scene remains unclear.

Despiney (1930): 135; Diemer (1975): 382-83; Meunier (1883): 37; Salet (1995): 161; Salet (1948): 193; Sazama (1995): 176-84.

98: Foliate

Despiney (1930): 135; Diemer (1975): 435; Salet (1995): 161; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 193.

98b: Figure doing Handspring

Despiney (1930): 135; Diemer (1975): 160, 384; Salet (1995): 161; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 193.

99: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 435; Salet (1995): 161; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 193.

Eclessia Roundel

This carving is the key of the third arcade on the south side of nave, and is generally cited as evidence for an 1120 fire at Vézelay on the basis of its inscription: "Sum modo fumosa sed ero post hec speciosa" (I am now smoky, but will soon be beautiful).

Armi (1983): 106-109; Aubert (1930): 18-19; Diemer (1975): 35-37; Meunier (1862): 29; Porter (1923): 90; Salet (1995): 161; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 193; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 231; Walter (1924).

INNER FAÇADE

Central Portal

I: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 431; Salet (1995): 146; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 173.

II: Unknown Subject

On the right face, an angel stands in water and points toward a nude figure, who appears to pour water over himself. On the left side, another nude figure bends over and holds a stick of some sort. It has been tentatively suggested that this capital features an apocryphal episode from the lives of Adam and Eve (Salet and Adhémar, Diemer).

> Diemer (1975): 87, 246-50; Meunier (1862): 18; Salet (1995): 146; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 173; Sanoner (1904): 456-58.

III: Woman Hunts a Bird-like Creature

To the left, a woman holds a shield and faces a two-headed bird (a third head may have broken off). A basilisk with a human head stands to the right of the other figures.

> Darling (1994): 265-97; Darling (1996); Diemer (1975): 87, 251-53; Hamann (1932): 207; Meunier (1883): 28; Pendergast (1988); Salet (1995): 146; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 173; Sanoner (1904): 458-59; Viollet-le-Duc (1858-68): vol. 8, 113-115.

IV: Saul's Sacrifice

1 Sam.13, 9

According to the biblical account, Saul offered a holocaust while battling the Philistines. Because he did not wait for Samuel to perform the sacrifice, the king was

reproved by the man of God. On the capital, a crowned figure holds a sword above a quadruped while a youth looks on, perhaps an attendant of sorts. A similar crowned figure appears on the adjacent capital (V), suggesting a continuation of the narrative. The frieze-like treatment of these capitals seems to anticipate the narrative cycles on the façades of Chartres and Étampes.

Baltrusaitis (1931): 24; Diemer (1975): 87, 254; Salet (1995): 146; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 174; Meunier (1862): 18; Sanoner (1904): 456.

V: Samuel Annoints David & David Plays the Harp for Saul (?)

1 Sam. 16, 13-23

Samuel performed a sacrifice in front of the sons of Isai, including David. At this time, the youth was anointed by the man of God. According to the biblical account, Saul became displeased shortly after this ceremony. On the left face, a bearded, balding man raises his left hand above a crouching youth, a gesture suggesting anointing. To the right, a king sits and raises his left hand to his cheek, as if in grief. It seems that a figure stood before the king, as drapery folds are still visible on the damaged corner of the capital. Diemer suggested that this could have been David playing the harp before Saul.

Diemer (1975): 82, 255-56; Meunier (1862): 17-18; Salet (1995): 146; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 174; Sanoner (1904): 456; Terret (1914): 56, 63; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 16.

South Portal

VI: Figure and a Siren

A siren-like figure holds a viol in one hand and a sword in another. A small seated figure raises his hands to his cheeks. It has been tentatively suggested that this is a

scene of Ulysses and a Siren, but there is no definitive reference to the myth on this capital.

> Adhémar (1937): 246; Diemer (1975): 93, 257-58; Porée (1909): 39; Salet (1995): 150; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 179; Viollet-le-Duc (1873): 14-15.

VII: Angel

A number of diagonals are created by this angel's extended arms, wings, and legs, as well as by the drapery folds. A strap holding an oliphant drapes over the figure's left shoulder.

> Abert (1930): 16; Baltrusaïtis (1931): 46-47; Diemer (1975): 92, 259; Meunier (1883): 17; Porée (1909): 39; Reuter (1938): 28; Salet (1995): 150; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 179.

VIII: Angel

Because the feet, wings, and oliphant of the carved figure overlap the surrounding band of the clipeus, its chiastic pose is lent further dynamism. The angel brandishes a lance in its right hand and raises the trumpet in the other. In its form and position, the curious flourish of vegetation at left suggests a volute.

> Aubert (1930): 16; Diemer (1975): 96, 260; Reuter (1938): 28; Salet (1995): 151; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 28.

IX: Faun-like Figures

A nude figure with a tail and cleft feet occupies either side of this capital. The figure on the right, enframed by a clipeus, holds a bow and seems to take aim at the figure on the left.

> Aubert (1930): 16; Diemer (1975): 96, 261-62; Meunier (1883): 17; Porée (1909): 40; Salet (1995): 151; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 179

North Portal

X: Basilisk

A basilisk, whose head and neck have been damaged, occupies the corner and left face of this capital. A lush arabesque of vegetation occupies the right face.

> Diemer (1975): 83, 263; Meunier (1883): 19; Porée (1909): 19; Salet (1995): 151; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 180.

XI: Angel Vanquishes a Demon

An angel raises both arms and strides toward a winged demon with a gaping maw, who cowers at left. Damage to the capital prevents certain identification of the angel's weapon, although what appears to be a hilt is discernible in the figure's right hand.

> Diemer (1975): 82, 264-65; Meunier (1883): 18; Porée (1909): 40; Salet (1995): 151; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 180; Terret (1914): 99-100.

XII: Angel Vanquishes a Demon

This capital is badly damaged but the major elements of the composition can be discerned. An angel bears a shield against a winged demon. The latter's flame-like hair has parallels elsewhere at Vézelay.

> Diemer (1975): 101, 265; Meunier (1883): 18; Porée (1909): 40; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 180; Terret (1914): 99-100.

XIII: Two Musicians

The figure on the right face holds a carillon and resembles figures at Autun and the fourth tone of plainchant at Cluny. The figure standing on the left face of the capital, who holds a stringed instrument, has no parallel in Burgundian sculpture, as Diemer has

argued. Thus, it is difficult to relate these to the iconography of various modes of

Gregorian plainchant.

Despiney (1930): 93; Diemer (1975): 101, 266-67; Pouzet (1912): 5-7; Salet (1995): 151; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 180. See also: Meyer (1952); Seebass (1973).

NARTHEX

Ground Floor: South Wall

1: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 436; Salet (1995): 164; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 196.

2: Foliate

Debidour (1962): pl. 32; Diemer (1975): 436; Salet (1995): 164; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 196.

3: Unknown Subject

Figure 47

See remarks on a similar capital in the nave (60).

Despiney (1930): 93; Diemer (1975): 215, 389; Salet (1995): 164; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 196.

4: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 436; Salet (1995): 164; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 196.

South Piers

5: Foliate

Aubert (1930): 18, pl. 43, fig. 2; Diemer (1975): 436; Salet (1995): 164; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 196.

6: Joseph and Potiphar's Wife

Genesis 39, 7-21

The same subject appears in the nave (85), but the present example is much abbreviated. The wife of Potiphar pulls her hair in a seemingly accusatory gesture (cf. the plaintiff of nave capital 59) and points with her other hand. Joseph twists and looks back toward a man who is about to beat him with a club.

Despiney (1930): 92; Diemer (1975): 213, 390; Meunier (1883): 15; Salet (1995): 164; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 196.

7: Isaac Blesses Jacob

Genesis 27, 1-30

In comparison to the nave capital of the same subject (30), this carving reverses the positions of Rebecca and Esau, the former now appearing on the left face, the latter on the right. Tituli are carved on the two arches of the central face and the arch on the right face to identify the figures beneath them: "BOƆAI ƆAASI IƺAV" (Iacob, Isaac, Isau). It could be argued that the backward inscriptions indicate the sculptor's illiteracy, but the unusual form of these letters creates a symmetry that would otherwise not be possible: the "ƆA" of "ƆAASI" is echoed in "BOƆAI" and the "SI" of "AASI" is

visually mirrored by the "I̧" of "I̧ AU". The centrality of the blessing figure of Isaac is thereby further reinforced.

> Despiney (1930): 92; Diemer (1975): 213, 390-91, 441; Meunier (1862): 12; Porée (1909): 36; Salet (1995): 164; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 196.

8: Foliate

Musée Lapidaire

> Diemer (1975): 437; Salet (1995): 164; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 196; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 90, fig. 61.

9: Peter and Paul Resurrect a Youth

Figures 48-49

Actus Petri cum Simone 28

The figures of Peter and Paul, identified by carved inscriptions [S̄ PET S̄ PAVI (Sanctus Petrus, sanctus Paulus)], pray on either side of a youth. On the right side of the capital, a crowned Nero sits and holds a staff in one hand and an animal in the other, as he is addressed by another figure whose elaborately decorated cuffs and collar resemble those on the figure of Simon Magus on a nave capital (62). Such an identification for this figure would accord with the magician's presence in textual versions of this miracle. On the left face, a man leads a woman by the hand, presumably the dead boy's parents. Several identifications of this scene have been proposed, including an episode from the life of St. Bénigne (Berland) and a prayer of Peter and Paul (Salet and Adhémar). Porter first identified the capital as the Resurrection of a Dead Youth, which seems compelling in light of the visual evidence. Diemer and Salet have since accepted Porter's identification. See chapter 2 for further discussion.

Aubert (1930): 16; Berland (1971); Carr (1978): 129-30; Despiney (1930): 92; Diemer (1975): 215, 391-99; Meunier (1883): 15; Porée (1909): 36-37; Porter (1923): pl. 36; Salet (1995): 164; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 196-97. For text see Lipsius and Bonnet (1891): 74-78.

10: Foliate

Aubert (1930): 18, pl. 43, fig. 4; Diemer (1975): 437; Salet (1995): 164; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 197.

11: Temptation of Benedict

Figures 50-51

Benedict's Temptation also appears on a nave capital (31), but there are slight differences in composition between the two. On this carving, the black bird, described in Gregory's *Dialogues*, appears on the left face, and the positions of the demon and the female temptress are reversed. Tituli are inscribed above each of the three figures on the central face: dIABOLV2 dIABOLV2 2C2 BENEdICT (diabolus, diabolus, sanctus Benedictus).

Aubert (1930): 16; Crosnier (1848): 223; Despiney (1930): 92-93; Diemer (1975): 215, 399-401; Mâle (1922): 237-38 [English repr (1978): 237-38]; Meunier (1862): 12; Porée (1909): 37; Salet (1995): 164-65; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 197; Sazama (1995): 111-23, 152; Weir and Jerman (1986): 71.

12: Lamech kills Cain

The same subject is represented in the nave (22). On the narthex carving, Cain, who raises his hand to his cheek, is more thoroughly engulfed by vegetation. Because of the damage to the volute above, it is not clear whether Cain originally had horns, as he does on the nave capital.

Calmette and David (1951): 241; Despiney (1930): 93; Diemer (1975): 216, 401-402; Porée (1909): 37; Porter (1923): pl. 35; Salet (1995): 165; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 197; Sazama (1995): 124-37; Terret (1914): 100.

13: Meal of Anthony and Paul

Figure 52

Jerome, *Vita sancti Pauli primi eremitae* 10

This narthex carving strongly resembles nave capital 75 in its representation of the moment that Anthony and Paul break bread, although the vegetation on the narthex carving is much more elaborate. In addition, the sculptor introduced a cupboard with two urns and two bowls or cups, the significance of which are not clear. Sazama argued that this feature, which she interprets as an altar, makes an unmistakable allusion to the Eucharist. Although such connotations may be present, the carved furniture's form does not necessarily correspond to contemporary altars or their representations (see Braun [1924]). Moreover, the two cups--rather than the single chalice that one typically finds in representations of the Mass--and two urns seem to suggest a shared meal. Thus, the carving seems to connote the ideal of the common life (*vita communis*) espoused in eleventh- and twelfth-century monastic circles.

Baltrusaitis (1931): 223; Calmette and David (1951): 244-45; Despiney (1930): 93; Diemer (1975): 217, 402; Mâle (1922): 237-38 [English trans. (1978): 239-40]; Meunier (1862): 12; Porée (1909): 37-38; Salet (1995): 165; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 197; Sazama (1995): 99-110. See also Chenu (1968): 206-07; Maeyvaert (1992): 131-35.

North Piers

14: Two Men and Grapes

Striding figures on either corner grab a bunch of grapes, growing from a vine on the carving's central axis. The man to the left stuffs the fruit into his grotesquely

enlarged mouth, highlighted by the striations carved on his neck. The other figure wields a club-like instrument that perhaps introduces a humorous element of the order of "Punch and Judy".

> Despiney (1930): 93; Diemer (1975): 215, 403-404; Meunier (1862): 11; Porée (1909): 34; Salet (1995): 165; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 197.

15: Foliate

> Diemer (1975): 347; Salet (1995): 165; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 197.

16: Hercules and the Nemean Lion (?)

The typical identification of this capital's narrative as Samson and the Lion (Judges 14:5-6) seems problematic given the carved figures on either side. At left, stands a harpie that does not seem to be accounted for by a biblical narrative and at right a man gestures toward the center. The man's youthful appearance precludes the possibility that he is Samson's father, as mentioned in the biblical account. These figures seem more fully explained in relation to the Labors of Hercules. Accordingly, the central face represents his struggle with the Nemean lion, a scene represented, for example, in roughly contemporary reliefs at St. Trophime and Borgo San Donnino. At left, stands either a harpie or a Stymphalian bird. The latter seems more likely, for several medieval mythographers, including Boethius (*Philosophiae consolationis* IV.7), listed this labor as immediately following Hercules's victory over the lion. The First Vatican Mythographer, perhaps Remigius of Auxerre, identified the Stymphalian birds as "arpies", because *arpo* is Greek for *rapio* (Kulcsár [1987]: 156). The identity of the figure at the right is difficult to ascertain with any certainty, but his outstretched hands, perhaps indicating a petition, suggest that it is Eurystheus, who had ordered Hercules to fight the Nemean beast. Alternatively, the figure could be one of Hercules's foes, such as Antaeus or Cacus. If one accepts the carving's subject matter as Classical, its formal

resemblance to a nave capital featuring David Slaying the Lion (24) visually relates pagan and Christian histories.

> Calmette and David (1951): 242; Despiney (1930): 93; Diemer (1975): 211, 404-405; Meunier (1862): 11; Porée (1909): 35; Porter (1923): 112-13; Salet (1995): 165; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 197-98. See also Adhémar (1937): 221-22; Chance (1994): 236; Nees (1991): *passim.*

17: Foliate

> Adhémar (1937): fig. 29; Diemer (1975): 437; Salet (1995): 165; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 198, pl. 48.

18: Death of John the Baptist/Jesus Heals or Teaches

Figures 53-54

Matthew 14, 1-12; Mark 6, 17-34; Luke 9, 7-11

On the left face, an executioner grabs the hair of John the Baptist and raises a sword to the victim's neck. On the right face his decapitated head is placed on a platter or he is pulled from a dungeon. These side scenes become identifiable only when considered in relation to the central face of the capital. Here, the cross-nimbed figure of raises his hand toward an onlooker. After John's execution, the Bible relates that Jesus taught and healed in the desert. Diemer cites the thirteeth-century mosaics from the Florence Baptistry as parallels (de Witt [1954]: pls. 10-13).

> Aubert (1930): 16; Despiney (1930): 93; Diemer (1975): 215; 405-407; Meunier (1862): 11; Porée (1909): 36; Salet (1995): 165; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 198; Terret (1914): 74.

19: Nathan Reproaches David

2 Sam. 12, 1-2

After committing adultery with Bathsheba and sending her husband Urias to his death, Nathan came to reproach David. On the central face of the capital, a crowned figure touches his chest, probably in demonstration of his guilt, as Nathan seems to speak to him. On the right face of the capital stands Bathsheba. The identity of the figure on the right side of the capital, who gestures toward the center, is difficult to determine. Diemer suggested his presence might stem from the symmetrical composition of the capital, while Salet and Adhémar suggested that it was Nathan preparing to meet David.

Aubert (1930): 16; Calmette and David (1951): 242; Despiney (1930): 93; Diemer (1975): 214, 408-409; Meunier (1862): 11; Porée (1909): 35-36; Porter (1923): pl. 38; Salet (1995): 165; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 198; Sazama (1995): 129-32; Terret (1914): 64.

20: St. Benedict Resurrects a Youth

Figure 55-56

Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 2

One of Benedict's miracles, according to Gregory, was the resurrection of the son of a farmer. On the capital the tonsured saint points to a dead youth, wrapped in a shroud, with his right hand and holds a book in the other. The boy's father looks on and places his left hand to his cheek. On the left face, another tonsured monk carries a flail, an object that coveys, in accordance with the textual account, that this miracle was performed after a day of working in the fields. On the right face, the boy and his father depart.

Aubert (1930): 16; Despiney (1930): 93; Diemer (1975): 214, 409-411; Evans (1950): 102; Mâle (1922): 236 [English trans. (1978): 236-37]; Meunier (1862): 12; Porée (1909): 36; Salet (1995): 165; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 198.

21: Unknown Subject

On either side of capital, an angel gestures toward the center of the capital. Here, two women, one of whom is crowned, appear to engage in conversation. Meunier, Despiney, and Porée identified this as David promising Bathsheba to give the crown to Solomon, but there is no man here. Salet and Adhémar tentatively suggested that it represents an apocryphal legend in which Mary Magdelene appears to a princess of Provence in order to ask for money. Diemer criticized this suggestion because it does not explain the angels, nor the "sack" on the right side of the capital.

Despiney (1930): 93; Diemer (1975): 215, 411-412; Meunier (1862): 12; Porée (1909): 36; Salet (1995): 166; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 198.

22: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 437; Lambin (1899): 297; Salet (1995): 166; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 198.

North Wall

23: Foliate

Aubert (1930): 18. pl. 43, fig. 3; Diemer (1975): 437; Salet (1995): 166; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 198.

24: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 437; Salet (1995): 166; Salet and Adhémat (1948): 198.

South Piers: Second Story

25: Unknown Subject

Musée Lapidaire

Three fragments of the original carving have survived: the lower part of a figure wearing a long robe; the hind quarters of a dragon; and the convergence of two volutes with a painted inscription "PAVLVS", of a later, though uncertain, date. These fragments do not permit identification of the scene. Salet and Adhémar's argument for the Dragon and Woman of the Apocalypse (Rev. 12:15) is based upon the nineteenth-century copy now located in the narthex.

> Despiney (1930): 136; Diemer (1975): 412; Meunier (1862): 12; Salet (1995): 166; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 199; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 91.

North Piers: Second Story

26: Foliate

Musée Lapidaire

> Diemer (1975): 437; Salet (1995): 166; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 199; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 81, 90-91, fig. 62.

NARTHEX GALLERY

Arcade Opening onto the Nave

27: Combat of Angels and Demons/Psychostasis

This six-sided capital, now in the Musée lapidaire, features the following scenes: an angel guides a nude soul; an angel grabs the wrists of a nude soul; a demon

approaches the figures of the preceding side; an angel vanquishes a demon with a lance; a psychostasis; two angels spear a dragon.

> Crosnier (1848): 224; Despiney (1930): 96; Diemer (1975): 165, 412-414; Meunier (1862): 14; Salet (1995): 166; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 199; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 103-104; Terret (1914): 95.

28: Foliate

> Diemer (1973): 437; Salet (1995):166; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 199.

29: Fluted

> Diemer (1973): 437; Salet (1995): 166; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 199.

30: Foliate

> Diemer (1973): 437; Salet (1995): 166; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 199.

31: Unknown Subject

This six-sided capital, now in the Musée lapidaire, features the following scenes:

a) A man with a viol slung over his shoulder holds a large piece of fabric. To his right stands a figure, the upper half of which is restored in plaster, that extends his hand toward a reclining figure on the next side.

b) A figure, whose torso is badly damaged, lies in bed. He is blessed by a figure with a crosier, presumably an abbot or bishop. The cleric is accompanied by two tonsured monks.

c) A figure holds the reins of two horses, while the head of a third appears to the right.

d) A saddled horse stands in front of an arcade.

e) An armed soldier holds a sword in his right hand and with the other he grabs the maw of the dragon on face "f".

f) A dragon.

Meunier, and others following him, interpreted the reclining figure as the dying Benedict, yet Gregory stipulates in his biography that the saint stood upright, supported by two monks, when he died (*Dialogues* II, 37, 3). This is how he is represented, for example, in a miniature in the Codex Benedictus from Monte Cassino (Vat. Lat. 1202, fol. 80r). Angheben has recently interpreted this same figure as Job, but this identification is highly problematic because Job is, as far as I am aware, never blessed by an ecclesiastic and almost always sits atop a mound, not a bed. A capital featuring the death of Saint Hilarius at St.-Hilaire-le-Grand in Poitiers seems more closely related to the scene on side "b". Study of Udalrich's customaries (PL 149, 769-778) reveals that various liturgical instruments, including a cross and container for Holy Water, were used in the ceremonies before and after a monk's death. Peter the Venerable notes that sick monks were to be anointed (Constable [1967]: vol. 1, 354-56). As none of these actions or objects are represented on the capital, the ailing figure may not be a monk. The identification of this scene is further complicated by the others of the capital which do not clearly relate. Do the horses of side "c", for example, belong to the clerics? The horse of side "d" appears to be that of the knight on "e". The latter has been identified by Salet as St. George, but the carved warrior has no halo. Moreover, figures in mail, who are not saints, appear elsewhere in Vézelay's sculpture (e.g., nave 96, narthex 51). The paratactic conjunction of scenes on this capital could suggest that a cycle of manuscript illuminations served as a model.

A possible source for this capital may be the Apocryphal acts of Thomas (Lipsius and Bonnet [1896]: vol. 2, pt.. 2, 147; cf. Pick [1909]: 250-59). In the account, the apostle, accompanied by some followers (face b?), comes across a youth who had been poisoned by a dragon (faces e-f?). Thomas eventually cures the youth by commanding the dragon to take back his venom. This identification is not without problems. Why, for example, is the youth in a bed? Why are there musicians present? This capital's iconography merits further study.

> Angheben (1994); Despiney (1930): 96; Diemer (1975): 164, 414-416; Meunier (1862): 14; Porter (1923): pl. 29; Salet (1995): 166; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 199; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 102-103. See also Valous (1935): vol. 1, 294-98.

South Tribune

32: Two Figures

Musée Lapidaire

Figures have been restored in modern plaster on the original as a man and a demon, but only their lower halves are original.

> *Centenaire de Viollet-le-Duc*, 151, 153; Despiney (1930): 96; Diemer (1975): 416-17; Meunier (1862): 14; Salet (1995): 167; Salet and Adhémar (1948):199; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 80, 91-92.

33: Four Figures

Musée Lapidaire

Underneath each of the of four volutes on the corners of this capital stands a cloaked figure.

> Despiney (1930): 96; Diemer (1975): 417; Salet (1995): 167; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 200; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 80-81, 97.

34: Foliate

Modern copy, the original of which is lost.

Diemer (1975): 437; Salet (1995): 167; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 200

35: Monsters Spewing Vegetation

Fragment of the original is now in the Musée Lapidaire.

Diemer (1975): 224, 418; Salet (1995): 167; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 200; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 97-98.

36: The Feast of Belshazzar

Daniel 5, 1-5

Musée Lapidaire

During a great feast held for Belshazarr's nobles, the story goes, the hand of God wrote a message on the wall. Of all the wise men in the kingdom, only Daniel was able to decipher the message, which foretold of disasters that would occur within the kingdom. On the main face of capital, three figures, each beneath an arch, sit behind a table. The two side figures gesticulate toward the *dexter Domini* which exits from a cloud bank and which points to the arch above the central figure's head. From either side of the capital, a servant bearing food approaches Belshazzar's table.

Aubert (1930): 16; Baltrusitis (1931), 205, n.1; Calmette and David (1951): 243; Despiney (1930); 96; Diemer (1975): 220, 418-419; Evans (1950), 76; Meunier (1862): 14; Porée (1909), 38; Salet (1995): 167; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 200; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 92; Terret (1914): 200; Wixom (1967): 66-67, 352.

37: Healing of Tobias's Blindness

Tobias 11, 12-17

A carved inscription on the abacus identifies the primary figures on this capital: "RAPHA[E]L TOBIAS TOBIAS". On the central face the son places a fish upon his father's eyes. Raphael stands to the left holding a staff with Sara standing behind him. Anna stands on the carving's right face. This capital seemingly complements nave 76, which represents another scene from the book of Tobias.

> Calmette an David (1951): 243; Despiney (1930): 96; Diemer (1975): 220, 419-20; Meunier (1883): 13; Porter (1923): vol. 1, 122-23; Salet (1995): 167; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 200; Terret (1914): 65.

38: Raising of Lazarus

Figure 57

John 11: 17-44

Musée Lapidaire

On the capital, Christ gesticulates toward a tomb held open by an apostle and from which Lazarus rises. Behind Christ stands Mary Magdelene, her only certain appearance in Vézelay's capitals from the Romanesque period. The figure of Martha who stands at the other end of the tomb, however, seems more fully distinguished for she raises her garment to her nose, a classic gesture of grief used in other carvings of this scene, including Lazarus's tomb at Autun. A large group of figures witnesses the event from the other sides of the capital.

> Calmette and David (1951): 243; Despiney (1930): 96; Diemer (1975): 221, 421-23; Meunier (1862): 14; Salet (1995): 167; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 200; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 98; Terret (1914): 73. For Martha's gesture in twelfth-century, but with no mention of the Vézelay example, see Lasalle (1971).

39: Heads Spewing Vegetation

Musée Lapidaire

On the double capital, grotesque heads, which substitute as volutes, spew forth vegetation.

Diemer (1975): 438; Salet (1995): 167; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 200; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 81, 99.

40: Confronted Animals

Musée Lapidaire

This capital features a quadruped on either corner. An unusually shaped vegetal form separates them.

Diemer (1975): 221, 423; Salet (1995): 167; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 200; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 99.

41: Unknown Subject

Musée Lapidiare

Two women and a seated man, identifiable by their clothing, appear on both sides of this capital. Meunier's identification of this scene as Pharaoh and the Midwives (Exodus 1, 15-19) has been accepted with reservation by most scholars, but the capital's damaged state prevents solid identification. Diemer doubted this suggestion because of the lack of iconographic precedent.

Despiney (1930): 96; Diemer (1975): 423-25; Meunier (1862): 14; Salet (1995): 167; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 200; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 93; Terret (1914): 62.

North Tribune

42: David and Bathsheba (?)

2 Samuel 11, 1-16 (?)

Musée Lapidaire

Only the left side of the capital is well preserved. Here, a figure, which a carved

inscription on the abacus identifies as "D[avi]D REX", stands behind a wall. On the

right side a fragment of a pearl border survives that might have been part of Bathsheba's

robe. If this identification is correct, it would stand, as Diemer points out, as the earliest

example of the iconography in the West.

> Despiney (1930): 96; Diemer (1975): 218, 425-26; Meunier (1862): 13; Salet
> (1995): 167; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 200; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 93-
> 94.

43: Confronted Animals (?)

A drawing by Viollet-le-Duc served as the model for the modern capital, which

features confronted animals. This reconstruction may have been inspired by any number

of other capitals at Vézelay which feature similar compositions.

> Diemer (1975): 426; Salet (1995): 167; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 200; Saulnier
> and Stratford (1984): 73, fig. 107.

44: Animals in Rinceau

Princeton Unversity Museum of Art

One bird and one quadruped inhabit a thick scrolling vine.

> Cahn (1971): 47; Diemer (1975): 219, 427; Salet (1995): 168; Salet and Adhémar
> (1948): 201; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 247.

45: Sacrifice of Isaac

Today a modern capital representing this subject, also featured on nave capital 90b, occupies this position. Although the original carving has been lost, a photograph of the fragment provides visual evidence (Marburg 33 116): Abraham stands behind Isaac, whose bound hands are clearly visible.

Despiney (1930): 96; Diemer (1975): 427; Meunier (1862): 13; Salet (1995): 168; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 201; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 255.

46: Ascension

Figure 58

Musée Lapidaire

Christ, surrounded by clouds, ascends to heaven. In contrast to the north tympanum of the inner façade, the Virgin is here included among the apostolic spectators in this carving, kneeling to the right of her son (see chapter 1).

Despiney (1930): 96; Diemer (1975): 219, 427; Meunier (1862): 13; Salet (1995): 168; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 201; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 94.

47: Unknown Subject

Musée Lapidaire (?)

It has been suggested that an inscribed fragment ("IACO[B]...") might come from the capital that was originally located here because the modern restoration features the Benediction of Jacob by Isaac. Saulnier and Stratford have persuasively demonstrated that another capital in the museum, that is badly damaged, originally occupied this position. On this carving, only an angel is clearly recognizable; the silhouettes of other figures are discernible. Saulnier and Stratford tentatively suggest that one of Christ's Temptations is represented.

Despiney (1930): 96; Diemer (1975): 428; Meunier (1862): 13; Salet (1995): 168; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 201; Saulnier (1978): 68-69; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 75, 94-95, 97.

48: Unknown Subject

Musée Lapidiare

The modern restoration, based on a lost drawing of Viollet-le-Duc, represents the Dream of Pharaoh. This subject does not seem to accord with the original carving. Although badly damaged, several quadrupeds are discernible on the various faces of the capital, including a saddled horse. The latter speaks against the iconography of the restoration.

Diemer (1975): 428; Salet (1995): 168; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 201; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 74, 184-85.

49: Unknown Subject

The modern carving of heads in a rinceau may, as Saulnier and Stratford argue, be based upon a lost drawing by Viollet-le-Duc. The original carving is lost.

Diemer (1975): 428; Meunier (1862): 13; Salet (1995): 168; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 201; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 74.

50: Unknown Subject

A drawing by Viollet-le-Duc provided the model for the modern carving of sirens that now occupies this position. The original capital has been lost.

Diemer (1975): 428; Meunier (1862): 13; Salet (1968): 168, Salet and Adhémar (1948): 201; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 74, fig. 111.

51: Holy Figure Battles a Dragon

Musée Lapidaire

Although the protagonist of this capital is often identified as St. George. The mounted, haloed figure could represent Christ or any other number of warrior saints. If this were George it would represent an early example in Western art. Yet this identification seems doubtful as similar compositions to this capital are found, for example, on Byzantine textiles which often do not specify the identity of the saint (Maguire [1995]: 57). Byzantine fabrics, of course, circulated widely in the West, as those in the cathedral treasury of Sens, among others, demonstrate. Moreover, other Vézelay capitals feature combat between humans and dragons, including nave 96 and narthex 31.

Angheben (1994); *Centenaire de Viollet-le-Duc*, Grand Palais, Paris, 1980, 150-53; Despiney (1930): 96; Diemer (1975): 219, 429; Meunier (1862): 13; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 201; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 95-96. See also:

52: Two Angels and Standing Figure

Musée Lapidaire

A badly damaged fragment features winged figures on the central and right faces. At left stands another figure, perhaps another angel.

Diemer (1975): 218, 430; Meunier (1862): 13; Salet (1995): 168; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 201; Saulnier (1978): 65-67; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 96.

53: Unknown Subject

The modern restoration of this capital represents the Holy Women at Christ's Tomb, a subject for which there is no evidence at Vézelay. The original carving is lost.

Diemer (1975): 430; Meunier (1863): 13; Salet (1995): 168; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 201; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 75.

53a: Rider

Diemer (1975): 218, 430.

OUTER FAÇADE

Central Portal

I: Unknown Subject

Musée Lapidaire

On this damaged capital, acanthus leaves are arranged symmetrically to form mandorla-like shapes on the corners of this capital. A console block with grapes and acanthus decorates the central face. It seems likely that figures originally stood on the corners, underneath the volutes. Meunier identified this capital as Christ surrounded by the symbols of the four evangelists.

Despiney (1930): 72; Diemer (1975): 208, 384; Meunier (1862): 4-5; Salet (1995): 161-62; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 193; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 45-46.

II: Standing Quadrapeds

Musée Lapidaire

This sculpture has been restored with modern plaster. Two confronted quadrupeds stand on the corner, with another animal on either side. Damage to the upper half of capital prevents identification of the type of animals represented.

Diemer (1975): 384; Salet (1995): 162; Meunier (1898): 7; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 193; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 43-44.

III: Foliate

Musée lapidaire

Diemer (1975): 435; Salet (1995): 162; Salet ad Adhémar (1948): 194; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 44, fig. 9.

IV: Unknown Subject

The original is lost.

Diemer (1975): 384; Salet (1995): 162; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 194.

V: Deliverance of St. Peter (?)

Acts XII, 6-9 (?)

Musée Lapidaire

This capital is severely damaged. The figure of an angel is discernible at the right and seems to extend its hand to a figure on the corner, perhaps Peter. Two figures, who may be soldiers, stand beneath an arcade on the left side of the capital. The Deliverance of Peter is represented on nave capital 67.

Despiney (1930): 72; Diemer (1975): 207, 384-85; Meunier (1862): 7; Porée (1909): 22; Salet (1995): 162; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 194; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 44-45.

VI: Annunciation

Luke 1:26-38

Musée Lapidaire

Gabriel strides around the corner of the capital with an upraised hand toward Mary, who stands beneath an arch, to announce that she will conceive the Son of God. Another figure stands behind the angel on the left face. The figures of this capital have

been heavily restored in modern plaster, but carved inscriptions secure their identities:
"ANGELVS" and "SCA MARIA". A Viollet-le-Duc drawing (M.H. 76 N 453) shows
that only the haloed silhouettes of these figures remained by the nineteenth century.

> Despiney (1930): 72; Diemer (1975): 207, 385; Meunier (1862): 7; Salet (1995): 162; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 194; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 46.

VII: Unknown Subject

This capital is lost.

> Diemer (1975): 385; Salet (1995): 162; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 194.

VIII: Foliate

Musée lapidaire

> Diemer (1975): 435; Salet (1995): 162; Salet and Adhemar (1948): 194; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 46.

IX: Birds

Musée lapidaire

Beneath the volutes at either corner, confronted birds stand atop a band of
acanthus. The composition, which resembles some of the reemployed nave capitals (see
remarks on nave 32), seems archaistic. Fragments of the original, with modern plaster
reconstructions, are now in the Musée lapidaire.

> Diemer (1975): 209, 385-86; Salet (1995): 162; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 194; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 47.

South Portal

X: Foliate

This capital is lost.

Diemer (1975): 435; Salet (1995): 162; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 195.

XI: Foliate

Musée lapidaire

Diemer (1975): 436; Salet (1995): 162; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 195; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 46, figs. 17-18.

XII: Angels

Musée Lapidaire

On the fragment of the original, an angel elevates his right hand, probably in either a speaking or benedictional gesture, and gathers its tunic with its left. The feet, lower garment, and extremity of a wing of another figure are visible to the left. Meunier identified this capital as Lot leaving Sodom.

Diemer (1975): 209, 386; Meunier (1862): 8; Porée (1909): 22-23; Salet (1995): 163; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 195; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 47-48, fig. 21.

XIII: Unknown Subject

This capital is lost.

Diemer (1975): 387; Meunier (1862): 8; Porée (1909): 23; Salet (1995): 163; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 195.

XIV: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 436; Salet (1995): 163; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 195.

XV: Foliate

This capital is lost.

Diemer (1975): 436; Salet (1995): 163; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 195; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 28.

North Portal

XVI: Birds and Fruit

Diemer (1975): 210, 387; Salet (1995): 163; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 195; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 27-28.

XVII: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 436; Salet (1995): 163; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 195; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 27-28.

XVIII: Female Centaur

Musée Lapidaire

A centaur turns her upper body backwards as she knocks an arrow. The dynamism of her bivalent pose is further underscored by the slight elevation of her forefeet in relation to the hind quarters, creating a chiasmatic composition. Fleshy flowers decorate the inner face of the capital. In contrast to nave capital 3, which also features a centaur, the absence of any other figures seems to preclude the possiblity that the capital alludes to any specific narrative.

Diemer (1975): 209, 387; Meunier (1862): 8; Salet (1995): 163; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 195; Saulnier and Stratford (1984): 43, figs. 3-5.

XIX: Jacob Wrestles an Angel

Genesis 32, 24-32

This subject also features on nave capital 29, but in this example Jacob grabs a nimbed angel by the shoulders with both hands instead of just one. The angel signals a benediction with his right hand and gathers his tunic in his left. The angel's desire to escape, recorded in the biblical account, may be signaled by his legs which are turned away from Jacob.

Despiney (1930): 72; Diemer (1975): 209, 388-89; Meunier (1862): 8; Salet (1995): 163; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 195.

XX: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 436; Salet (1995): 163; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 195.

XXI: Foliate

Diemer (1975): 436; Salet (1995): 163; Salet and Adhémar (1948): 195.

APPENDIX B

A Cluniac Sign List in Translation

The *Rule* of Saint Benedict places a premium on silence and proscribes speaking at various times, including during meals.[1] If a monk should need to communicate in the refectory, the *Rule* enjoins him to do so with a sound other than a voice.[2] In keeping with Benedictine ideals, the monks of Cluny seem to have valued the virtue of silence from a very early date. A *vita* of Abbot Odo (962-1049) relates that a group of monks from Cluny were captured by Vikings, one of whom attempted, without success, to force the clerics to break their vow and speak.[3] According to the account, divine favor for the monks' steadfast observance was displayed when their tormentor was miraculously struck down. Elsewhere in this same *vita*, indication is provided that the monks of Cluny were already using hand signals in the tenth century to communicate information during periods of silence, although a precise description is not provided.[4]

The earliest transcription of a sign list from Cluny is found within two of the monastery's customaries, which were compiled by the monks Ulrich and Bernard, during

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[1] See comments in chapter 3.

[2] "...sonitu cuiuscumque signi potius petatur quam voce..." *RB 1980*, 236 (chap. 38.7).

[3] *Vita sancti Odonis*, PL 133, 67. See B.H. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century*, Philadelphia, 1982, 98.

[4] PL 133, 57. See W. Jarecki, *Signa loquendi: Die cluniacensischen Signa-Listen eingeleitet und herausgegeben*, Baden-Baden, 1981, 11.

the last quarter of the eleventh century.[5] This sign list has been edited by W. Jarecki and

is that used for the present translation and the accompanying Latin text (Arabic numerals

to the left of each sign translation correspond to Jarecki's notation).[6] Similar lists, which

circulated throughout Europe, continued to be compiled, generally adding to the core

vocabulary found in this early list.[7] This is the case, for example, for a list compiled by

William of Hirsau at the end of the eleventh century.[8] Reminisces of Cluny's early sign

language, in fact, are found in a gestural language used by twentieth-century Cistercians.[9]

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[5] For dates see K. Hallinger, "Klunys Bräuche zur Zeit Hugos des Großen (1049-1109). Prolegomena zur Heuherausgabe des Bernhard und Udalrich von Kluny, " *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kannonistische Abteilung* 45 (1959): 129-38. Unfortunately, this edition was never published.

[6] Jarecki, *Signa loquendi*, 121-41. Jarecki's edition is based on the following manuscripts: Liège, Bibl. Univ. 1420 (12th century); Paris, B.N. lat 2208.2 (12th century); Paris, B.N. lat. 13874 (12th century); Paris, B.N. lat. 11732 (17th century); Paris, B.N. lat. 13877 (17th century); Paris, B.N. lat. 18353.2 (11th century); Paris, Bibl. Ste.-Geneviève 1614 (c. 1200); Trier, Stadtbibl. 497 [1238] (15th century). In addition, Jarecki consulted the following printed sources: L. d'Archery, *Spicilegium veterum aliquot scriptorum...*, vol. 4, Paris, 1661, 119ff; M. Hergott, *Vetus disciplina monastica*, Paris, 1726, 169-73; E. Martène, *De antiquis monachorum ritibus*, Lyon, 1690, 882ff. (repr. Antwerp, 1738, 827ff.). For a French translation of this list based on a different edition of the text see Valous, *Monachisme*, vol. 1, 391-96. See also the concordance found in G. van Rijnberk, *Le langage par signes chez les moines*, Amsterdam, 1953. After finishing this translation, I learned that S. Bruce is preparing a dissertation at Princeton University on this and other Clunaic lists that will contribute much to our knowledge of these signs.

[7] A rough contemporary to the early Cluny list is found in a manuscript composed in Anglo-Saxon (London, Brit.Lib. Tiberius A.III), the signs of which stongly resemble the list translated here. There are, nevertheless, some important differences. For a discussion, transcription, and translation of this text see D. Banham, *Monasteriales Indicia: The Anglo-Saxon Monastic Sign Language*, Middlesex, Eng., 1991. See also the insightful comments of N. Barley, "Two Anglo-Saxon Sign Systems Compared," *Semiotica* 12 (1974): 227-37.

[8] Jarecki, *Signa loquendi*, 29-32. A fourteenth-century copy of an eleventh-century list from Fleury strongly resembles the Cluniac list (A. Davril "Le langage par signes chez les moines. Un catalogue de signes de l'abbaye de Fleury," *Sous la règle de saint Benoît. Structures monastiques et sociétés en France du moyen âge à l'époque moderne*, Geneva, 1982, 55; Jarecki, *Signa loquendi*,).

[9] The sign for "fish", for example, is the same in both lists (cf. Robert A. Barakat, *Cistercian Sign Language*, Cisercian Study Series 11, Kalamazoo, 1975, 147; (repr. in J. Umiker-Sebeok and T.A. Sebeok, eds., *Monastic Sign Languages*, New York, 1987, 245). W. Jarecki has recently edited a versified sign list, which he suggests may have its origins at the end of the thirteenth century ("Die 'Ars signorum cisterciensium' in Rahmen der metrischen Signa-Listen," *Revue bénédictine* 93 (1988): 329-99).

It seems likely that the list presented here represents only a skeleton of the sign language used by monks. Because the signals described here are almost exclusively substantives, it would be nearly impossible to communicate any but the most rudimentary thoughts. That entire conversations were possible by means of gestures is suggested by criticisms of monks chattering away with hand signals.[10] An anonymous eleventh-century writer, for example, noted that the monks of Cluny were often so exhausted by the rigors of liturgical performances that they resorted to communicating by signs.[11] Many medieval monks were accustomed to consider gestures as a source of information, a conclusion that may have implications for our understanding of sculptured body movements in monastic sculpture. This list, however, should not be considered simply as a key with which to unlock the meanings of carved gestures. Rather, study of these signs suggests some of the many connotations these would have held for cenobitic viewers.

1 For the sign of bread make a circle with the thumb and its two adjacent fingers, because it is customary for bread to be round.	Pro signo panis fac unum circulum cum utroque pollice et his duobus digitis, qui secuntur, pro eo, quod et panis solet esse rotundus.
2 For the sign of bread, which is cooked in water and which is better than the bread served on most days,	Pro signo panis, qui coquitur in aqua et melior solet esse quam cotidianus, generali signo panis premisso hoc

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[10] See G. Constable's review of Jarecki's *Signa Loquendi* in *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 18 (1983): 331-34.

[11] PL 145, 874. Passage cited by Resnick, "Peter Damian," 172.

after making the general sign for bread,

add this: you place the palm of one hand

over the outside of the other as if

oiling and wetting.

adde, ut interiora manus super

alterius manus exteriora ponas et ita

superiorem manum quasi ungendo

vel imbuendo circumferas.

3 For the sign of marked bread, which is

which is commonly called *torta*, after

the general sign of bread add this: you

make a cross through the middle of the

palm, because bread of this type is

generally divided into quarters.

Pro signo panis sigalini et, qui torta

vulgariter appellatur, iterum generali

signo premisso hoc adde, ut crucem

per medium palme facias pro eo,

quod id genus panis dividi solet per

quadrum.

4 For the sign of flat cakes,

of which over a pound is generally given

on the five principal feasts, place the two

fingers closest to the thumb diagonally over

the same fingers of the other hand.

Pro signo tortule, que preter solitam

libram datur in quinque principalibus

festis, duos digitos, qui pollicem

sequntur, paululum divisos pone

oblique super duos alteros digitos

eorum similes de altera mau similiter

divisos.

5 For the sign of beans,

place the first joint of the thumb under

Pro signo fabarum primo pollicis

articulo sequentis digiti summitatem

the index finger and project that same thumb.	subpone et ita fac ipsum pollicem eminere.

6 For the sign of eggs

pinch one finger in the other like the shell

of an egg.

Pro signo ovorum cum digito in

alterio digito simula testam ovi

vellicantem.

7 For the sign of food cooked with oil

draw one finger over another, as if cutting

cooking herbs.

Pro signo pulmenti oleribus confecti

trahe digitum super alterum digitum,

quasi qui coquendas inciderit herbas.

8 For the general sign of a fish

move the hand like the tail of a fish in water.

Pro signo generali piscium cum

manu simula caude piscis in aqua

commotionem.

9 For the sign of a cuttle-fish

separate all fingers alternately and move

them, because the cuttle-fish seems to

have many parts.

Pro signo sepiarum divide omnes

digitos ab invicem et ita eos

conmove, quia et sepie ita

multiplices esse videntur.

10 For the sign of an eel

close both hands, as one holds

and presses an eel.

Pro signo anguille cumclude

utramque manum, quasi qui ita

tenet et premit anguillam.

11 For the sign of a lamprey
simulate on the cheek with a finger three or
four stingers, which the lamprey has under
its eyes.

Pro signo lamprede in maxilla cum
digito simula punctos tres vel
quatuor propter ipsos punctos, quos
lampreda subtus oculos habet.

12 For the sign of salmon or sturgeon
in addition to the general sign for fish add this:
you place a hand with an erect thumb under the
the chin, by which the dorsal fin is indicated,
because fish of this sort generally have
large dorsal fins.

Pro signo salmonis vel sturionis
premisso generali signo piscium hoc
adde, ut pugnum erecto subponas
mento, quo superbia significatur,
quia, superbi maxime et divites tales
pisces solent habere.

13 For the sign of a pike
you make the sign for fish quickly with
the hand, because the pike swims faster than
other fish.

Pro signo lucii iterum generali signo
premisso piscium hoc adde, ut cum
manu signum facias celeritatis, quia
lucius celerius quam alius piscis
natat.

14 For the sign of a trout
add this: you drag a finger
from one eyebrow to the other
because of the band women

Pro signo trute hoc adde, ut digitum
de supercilio ad supercilium trahas
propter ligaturas, que hoc in loco
feminis, et quia truta femineo

wear in this place, as trout are said to

to be a feminine species.

genere pronuntiatur.

15 For the sign of millet

make a circle with a finger in front of

yourself, because millet is turned in oil

with a spoon.

Pro signo milii fac girum cum digito

pro eo, quod et ipsum milium ita

vertitur in olla cum cocleari.

16 For the sign of *crispellae*[12]

or what others call *frigdolae*, take the

hair with a hand, as if you wish to make

it curly.

Pro signo crispellarum, ut alii dicunt,

frigdolarum cum pugno accipe

crines, quasi cupias ita eos facere

crispos.

17 For the sign of cheese

bring together both hands diagonally, as one

presses cheese.

Pro signo casei utramque manum

cumiunge per obliqum, quasi qui

caseum premit.

18 For the sign of cheese cakes

in addition to the signs of both bread and

cheese, bend the fingers of one hand and

cover them with the hollow of the other.

Pro signo fladonum premisso

generali signo et panis et casei de

una manu omnes digitos inflecte et

manu cava in superficiem alterius

manus pone.

---

[12] Probably made with flour, herbs, and oil.

19 For the sign of cakes or, as they are

called by the Germans, *craphoi*,

with the general sign of bread simulate

their little spirals with two fingers, which

are made in these out of that part where

they are folded together and almost round.

Pro signo rufeolarum vel, ut

theutonici loquntur, craphoium

premisso generalii signo panis

simula cum duobus digitis illas

minutas involutiones, que in eis

sunt facte, ex ea parte, qua sunt

conplicate et quasi rotunde.

20 For the sign of milk

press the little finger on the lip

because that is how an infant suckles.

Pro signo lactis minimum labiis

inpinge pro eo, quod ita sugit

infans.

21 For the sign of honey

make the tongue visible for a short while

and apply fingers, as if to lick them.

Pro signo mellis paulisper linguam

fac apparere et digitos applica, quasi

lambere velis.

22 For the sign of an apple, by far

the worst and most evil, enclose the

thumb with the other fingers.

Pro signo pomorum, maxime piri vel

mali, pollicem cum aliis digitis

conclude.

23 For the sign of cherries

add this: you place a finger under an eye.

Pro signo cerasearum hoc adde,

ut digitum subtus oculum ponas.

24 For the sign of uncooked leeks join and extend the thumb and index finger.

Pro signo porri crudi pollicem et digitum proximum simul coniunctos extende.

25 For the sign of other radishes extend a finger against a slightly puffed cheek because of the type of smell which is sensed from these.

Pro signo allii seu rafe extende digitum contra buccum paululum apertum propter id genus odoris, quod sentitur ex illis.

26 For the sign of water join all the fingers and move them diagonally.

Pro signo aque omnes digitos coniunge et per obliqum move.

27 For the sign of wine bend a finger and touch the lip.

Pro signo vini digitum inflecte et ita labris adiunge.

28 For the sign of a colored drink close the hand and then simulate grinding.

Pro signo potionis pigmentate conclude manum et ita simula molentum.

29 For the sign of the drink which is flavored with honey and wormwood,

Pro signo potionis, que est melle et absintio temperata, duos digitos, id

separate two fingers, that is the index
and middle, from the rest and move them
apart, because wormwood's leaves are so
divided.

est indicem et medium, a ceteris
disiunge et ipsos quoque ab invicem
disiunctos ita move, quia et
absintium in suis ita foliis est
divisum.

30 For the sign of mustard
place the distil joint of the little
finger under the thumb.

Pro signo sinapis articulo anteriori
minimi digiti pollicem subpone.

31 For the sign of vinegar
rub the throat with a finger, because
it feels acrid in the throat.

Pro signo aceti frica cum digito
gutur, quia et in guture eius
acrimonia sentitur.

32 For the sign of a saucer
extend the hand horizontally.

Pro signo scutelle manum latius
extende.

33 For the sign of the container
which holds the daily measure of wine,
incline the hand downwards and hold the
fingers, considerably bent, in the palm of
the hand.

Pro signo cyphi, qui capit cotidianam
vini mensuram, inclina manum
deorsum et ita cavam tene digitis
aliquantulum inflexis.

34 For the sign of the dish from which one drinks, bend three fingers considerably and hold them upwards.

Pro signo patere, ex qua bibitur, tres digitos aliquantulum inflecte et sursum tene.

35 For the sign of a glass drinking vessel add this to the previous sign: you place two fingers around the eyes, to signify the splendor of the glass to the eye.

Pro signo phiale vitree premisso signo precedente hoc adde, ut duos digitos circa oculum ponas, ut splendore oculi splendor vitri significetur.

Concerning things pertaining to clothing.

De his, que ad vestitutm pertinent.

36 For the sign of cloth hold your sleeve with three fingers, that is the smallest and the two that follow.

Pro signo staminie manicam eius tene cum tribus digitis, id est minimo et duobus sequentibus.

37 For the sign of underclothing add this, drag the hand up from the bottom of the leg, as one puts on underclothing.

Pro signo femoralium[13] hoc adde, ut manum in femore de deorsum trahas quasi qui se femoralibus vestit.

---

[13] Cf. *RB 1980*, 262 (chap. 5.13).

38 For the sign of a frock

hold the sleeve in the same way as for

cloth.

Pro signo frocci manicum eius tene

eodem modo, quo manica staminee

est tenenda.

39 For the sign of a cowl

add this: you touch the back of the head

with two fingers.

Pro signo cuculle hoc adde, ut cum

duobus digitis retro tangas capellum.

40 For the sign of sleeves

hold the sleeve of the frock and

add the sign for underclothing.

Pro signo manicarum tene manicam

frocci et signum, quod est pro

femoralibus, adde.

41 For the sign of a cloak

stretch all the fingers of one hand and

then draw the fingers together on the chest

as if binding a cloak.

Pro signo pellicii de una manu

omnes digitos expande et ita in

pectore positos contrahe, quasi

qui lanam constringit.

42 For the sign of shoes

circle one finger around another finger,

as one laces shoes with shoe-strings.

Pro signo calceorum digitum

digito circumfer, quasi qui

calceos cum corrigia ligat.

43 For the sign of shoes used at night

add this: you put the hand on the face just

Pro signo nocturnalium calceorum

hoc adde, ut manum in maxilla

as one does when sleeping.

ponas sicut dormiens solet.

44 For the sign of socks

make the sign for shoes and then add

this: you hold the sleeves of your

frock with your fingers.

Pro signo pedulium fac idem signum,

quod est pro calceis, et hoc adde, ut

cum digitis teneas manicam frocci.

45 For the sign of a cover

make the sign for a cloak, and then add

add this: you move the hand from the

bottom to the top of the arm, as one who

wishes to put a cover over himself.

Pro signo coopertorii fac idem

signum, quod est pellicii, et hoc

adde, ut manum in brachio de

deorsum trahas in sursum, quasi

qui coopertorium vult mittere super

se.

46 For the sign of a bed

move the hand along the arm in the same

way in which it was dragged for the sign

of a cover, and add this: you hold the sleeve

of the frock with fingers, because both a

frock and a bed are made from wool.

Pro signo cotti trahe manum per

brachium eodem modo, quo

trahitur pro signo coopertorii, et hoc

adde, ut cum digitis teneas manicam

frocci, quia utrumque et froccus et

cottus est de lana.

47 For the sign of bedclothes, which are

Pro signo strale, que substernitur et

spread out and called *lena* by Saint Benedict,

draw back both hands with the fingers joined

and then extend one hand from the chest in the

way one unfolds anything covered.

lena vocatur a sancto Benedicto,[14]

utrisque manus digitos super invicem

semel et secundo retrahe et ita unam

manum a pectore movens expande,

quasi qui aliauid involutum expandit.

48 For the sign of a pillow, or what is

commonly called *cussinum*, lift the hands and

move them with fingers extended as if flying;

afterward put your hand to your cheek as

one customarily does when sleeping.

Pro signo capitalis vel, quod

vulgariter cussinum appellatur, leva

manum et summitates digitorum

inflexas quasi ad volandum move;

postea pone manum ad maxillam,

sicut dormiens solet.

49 For the sign of a belt

circle one finger with another and from

both sides bring the fingers of both hands

together just as one who girds himself with

a belt.

Pro signo corrigie ad stamineam

digitum digito circumfer et de

utroque latere confer digitos manus

utriusque, quasi qui se corrigia

cingit.

50 For the sign of the belt for underclothing

make the same sign and add this: you draw

the hand onto the thigh from the back because

Pro signo cinguli femoralium fac

idem signum et hoc adde, ut manum

in femore de deorsum trahas propter

---

[14] Ibid., 262 (chap. 55.15).

of the boots and the undergarments, which are

attached to this belt.

femoralia et caligas, quibus hoc

ipsum cingulum est inserendum.

51 For the sign of a needle

strike one fist with the other, which

signifies metal, and then, as if you held

a thread in one hand and a needle in

the other, thread the eye of the needle.

Pro signo acus cum pucgno percute

pugnum, quod metallum significat,

et postea simula, quasi in una manu

teneas filum et acum in altera et

mittere velis filum per foramen

acus.

52 For the sign of thread

circle one finger with the other and then

simulate threading the eye of a needle.

Pro signo fili digitum digito

circumfer et hoc adde, quasi

mittere velis filum foramen acus.

53 For the sign of a knife

drag one hand through the middle

of the other palm, as one cuts anything

with a knife.

Pro signo cultelli trahe manum per

medium alterius palme, quasi qui

cum cultello aliquid incidit.

54 For the sign of a knife's sheath

drag one hand downward through the other

outer hand, as one puts a knife in a

sheath.

Pro signo vagine cultelli summitatem

unius manus trahe per alterius manus

extremitatem, quasi qui cultellum

mittit in vaginam.

55 For the sign of a comb

drag three fingers through hair, like someone

combing himself.

Pro signo pectinis tres digitos trahe

per capillos, quasi qui se pexit.

56 For the sign of a writing tablet

fold together both hands and then open them.

Pro signo tabularum manus ambas

conplica et ita conplicatas simul

evolve.

57 For the sign of a pen

strike one fist with another and then extend

a conjoined thumb and finger and then

simulate writing with these.

Pro signo graphii cum pugno

percute pugnum et digitum pollice

adiuncto extende et postea cum

eis simula scribentem.

Concerning those things which pertain to

the most divine observances.

De his, que ad divinum maxime

pertinent obsequium.

58 First for the sign of reading

press a finger of the hand to the chest and

then slightly bend it and move it, as one

turns the pages of a codex.

Primo pro signo lectionis manui

vel pectori digitum inpinge et

paululum atractum ita fac resilire,

quasi qui folium codicis evertit.

59 For the sign of response

Pro signo responsorii articulo

put the joint of a finger and thumb together
and then motion as if leaping down.

digiti pollicem subpone et ita fac
eum quasi desilire.

60 For the sign of an antiphon as well as a
verse of response put the thumb and the joint
of the smallest finger together and add that sign
which has been given for leaping down.

Pro signo antiphone vel versus
responsorii articulo minimi digiti
pollicem subpone et hoc, quod
premissum est de desiliente, adde.

61 For the sign of alleluia
raise the hands and bend the fingers to the
limit as if flying near the angels, because,
as it is believed, it is sung by the angels
in heaven.

Pro signo alleluia leva manum et
summitates digitorum inflexas quasi
ad volandum move propter angelos,
quia, ut creditur, ab angelis cantatur
in celo.

62 For the sign of prose, which is called
sequentia by the Germans, lift the hands
diagonally and move the away from the
chest inverting them, so that which was first
highest will be lowest.

Pro signo prose vel, quod a
theutonicis sequentia vocatur,
leva manum inclinatam et a pectore
amovendo eam inverte ita, ut, quod
prius erat sursum, sit deorsum.

63 For the sign of a tract
draw the hand across the stomach from
the bottom, which always signifies

Pro signo tractus trahe manum
per ventrem de deorsum, quod
longum semper significat, et contra

length, and apply the hand against the mouth, which signifies singing.

os applica manum, quod cantum significat.

64 For the general sign of a book extend your hands and move them like the folios of a book.

Pro generali signo libri extende manum et move, sicut folium libri moveri solet.

65 For the sign of a missal add this to the previous sign: you make the sign of the cross.

Pro signo libri missalis generali signo premisso adde, ut facias signum crucis.

66 For the sign of a text of the gospel add this: you make the sign of the cross on the forehead.

Pro signo textus evangelii adde, ut in fronte facias signum crucis.

67 For the sign of a book of epistles add this: you make the sign of the cross on the chest.

Pro signo libri epistolaris adde, ut in pectore facias signum crucis.

68 For the sign of a book, from which one reads at night, in addition to the signs of book and reading, you put your hand to your cheek.

Pro signo libri, in quo legendum est ad nocturnos, premisso generali signo et libri et lectionis adde, ut manum ponas ad maxillam.

69 For the sign of an antiphonary
to the sign of a book add a bent thumb
because neumes are bent.

Pro signo antiphonarii premisso
generali signo libri adde, ut pollicem
inflectas propter neumas, que sunt
ita inflexe.

70 For the sign of the *Rule*,
add this: you grab your hair hanging
above the ear with two fingers because
of the two names by which the abbot is
known, *abba* and *domnus*, because
Saint Benedict, author of this rule, was of
this office.

Pro signo regule adde, ut capillum
super aurem pendentem cum duobus
digitis aprehendas propter duo
nomina, quibus abba appellatur: abba
et domnus, quia et sanctus
Benedictus auctor regule huius erat
officii.

71 For the sign of a hymnal
add this: you join and extend the thumb
and index finger, by which the pressing
time known as prime is signaled;
this sign was invented for the hymnal because
the text begins with the words: *primo dierum.*

Pro signo hymnarii adde, ut policem
et digitum ei proximum proferas
summitatibus eorum coniunctis, quo
presens tempus vel, quod primum
est, significatur; et hoc signum ad
hymnarium inventum est pro
occasione huius solius verbi, quo
hymnarius ita incipit: primo dierum.

72 For the sign of a psalter add this: you place your hand on your head with fingers extended in the fashion of a crown which a king wears, because David, the author of the psalms, was a king.

Pro signo psalterii adde, ut summitates digitorum cava manu ponas in caput propter similitudinem corone, quam rex portare solet, quia et auctor psalmorum David rex erat.

73 For the sign of a secular book, which was written by any pagan, in addition to the sign of a book add this: you touch your ear with a finger just as a dog scratches itself with its foot, because the spirit of the unfaithful are not undeservedly compared with such animals.

Pro signo libri secularis, quem aliquis paganus conposuit, premisso generali signo libri adde, ut aurem cum digito tangas, sicut canis cum pede pruriens solet, quia nec inmerito infidelis tali animanti conparatur.

74 For the sign of an angel make the same sign which you make to signal alleluia.

Pro signo angeli, fac idipsum, quod facis pro signo alleluia.

75 For the sign of an apostle draw the right hand downward from the right side to the left and similarly from the left to the right because of the similarity to the pallia,

Pro signo apostoli trahe dexteram deorsum de dextro latere in sinistrum et iterum de sinistro in dextrum propter similitudinem pallii, quo

which are worn by archbishops. There is not another sign for bishops.

archiepiscopi utuntur. Et episcopi quoque non est aliud signum.

76 For the sign of a martyr place the right hand against the nape of the neck, as one kills anyone with a knife.

Pro signo martyris inpone cervici dexteram, quasi qui cum cultello aliquid incidit.

77 For the sign of a confessor make the same sign which you make for an apostle, if it is a bishop; if an abbot, then you make the sign for the *Rule* of Saint Benedict by grabbing hair.

Pro signo confessoris fac idem signum, quod facis pro apostolo, si tamen est episcopus; si abbas, fac illud, quod facis pro regula sancti Benedicti capillum conprehendendo.

78 For the sign of any sacred virgin draw your finger on the forehead from eyebrow to eyebrow, which is the sign of a woman.

Pro signo cuiusque sacre virginis trahe digitum in fronte de supercilio ad supercilium, quod signum est mulieris.

79 For the sign of a feast first make the sign of reading and then extend all the digits of both hands.

Pro signo festivitatis fac primo signum lectionis et profer omnes digitos utriusque manus.

Now an assortment of people, things,

Nunc mixtim de personis et rebus

and causes.

aliis et causis.

80 For the sign of a monk

grab your cowl's hood with your hand.

Pro signo monachi cum manu

tene capellum cuculle.

81 For the sign of a priest

circle the ears with a finger in a circle

to simulate the tonsure which a cleric has

on his head.

Pro signo clerici digitum auri

circumfer quasi girando propter

similitudinem corone, quam in capite

clericus habet.

82 For the sign of a layman

hold the chin with the right hand

because of the beard, for in the antiquity

this type of man did not shave.

Pro signo laici mentum tene cum

dextera propter barbam, quam

antiquitus non raserunt id genus

hominem.

83 For the sign of a monk, who was

brought up in a monastery in addition

to the sign of a monk, move the smallest

digit to the lips, because this is how an

infant suckles; if he is also literate, place a

finger against the chest, which is the sign

of knowledge.

Pro signo monachi, qui nutritus

est in monasterio, generali signo

premisso adde, ut minimum digitum

labris admoveas pro eo, quod ita

sugit infans; si bene est literatus,

digitum contra pectus submitte, quod

est signum sciendi.

84 For the sign of a the lord abbot

make the same sign which was given for the

Rule.

Pro signo domni abbatis fac idipsum,

quod pro signo regule est premissum.

85 For the sign of a prior

simulate holding a bell with two fingers

and sounding it.

Pro signo prioris simula cum duobus

digitis scillam tenere et ita eam

sonare.

86 For the sign for the major prior

add this: you extend a hand, which always

signifies something big, just as, in contrast,

something small is indicated by the

little finger.

Pro signo maioris adde, ut manum

extendas, quod semper aliquid

magnum significat, sicut e contrario

cum minimo digito, quod parvum

est, significatur.

87 For the sign of a sacristan

simulate ringing a bell [in a tower] with

the hands.

Pro signo custodis ecclesie cum

manu simula campanam sonare.

88 For the sign of the chamberlain

simulate counting money.

Pro signo camerarii simula denarios

numerare.

89 For the sign of the cellarer

simulate holding a key in the hand and

Pro signo cellararii simula in

manu clavem tenere et quasi

then inserting and turning it.

sere infixam evertere.

90 For the sign of the grainkeeper, who receives and serves provisions, simulate with joined hands a vessel filled for measuring provisions.

Pro signo granatarii, qui annomam recipit et servat, simula cum ambabus manibus conexis quasi alicui vasi annonam infundere ad metiendum.

91 For the sign of a gardner bend a finger and draw it across just as one who drags a hoe on the ground.

Pro signo ortolani digitum inflecte et adtrahe sicut, qui rastrum de terra trahit.

92 For the sign of guestmaster of the hospice, where guests who are wealthy are received, simulate drawing a sword from a sheath.

Pro signo custodis hospicii, ubi hospites, qui sunt ditiores, recipiuntur, simula gladium trahere de vagina.

93 For the sign of the almoner, who receives the poor, drag a hand from the right shoulder to the left side, just like the strap of the purse which poor people customarily carry.

Pro signo elemosinarii, qui pauperes recipit, trahe manum de dextro humero in sinistrum latus, sicut corrigia pere solet a pauperibus portari.

94 For the sign of the infirmarer, who tends
to the sick, put the hand against the chest,
which signifies infirmity, but not always,
because it also signifies confession.

Pro signo infirmarii, qui obsequitur
infirmis, pone manum contra pectus,
quod significat infirmitatem,
quamvis, quia et confessionem
significat.

95 For the sign of the refectorer,
make the same sign which is used for the
refectory: you move the conjoined thumb
and index finger downward against the mouth.

Pro signo refectorarii fac idem
signum, quod est refectionis, ut
contra os moveas in summitate
coniunctos pollicem et digitum
sequentem.

96 For the sign of the librarian and precentor
lift and raise the interior of the hand, just as one
sings in choir, and as everyone sings as well.

Pro singo armarii et precentoris
interiorem superficiem manus leva
et move, sicut qui innuit in choro, ut
equaliter ab omnibus cantetur.

97 For the sign of the master of the boys
place the little finger to the mouth and
place the thumb under the eye, which is
also the sign of seeing.

Pro signo magistri puerorum ori
admove minimum digitum et digitum
pollici proximum pone subtus
oculum, quod et signum est videndi.

98 For the sign of the master of the novices

Pro signo magistri noviciorum trahe

drag the hand sideways through the hair toward

the forehead, which is the sign of the novice,

and add the sign of seeing.

manum obliquam per capillos contra

frontem, quod et signum est novicii,

et adde predictum signum videndi.

99 For the sign of an old person

draw the hand directly through the hair against

the ear.

Pro signo senis trahe manum

directam per capillos contra aurem.

100 For the sign of horses

with two fingers hold the hairs near the

forehead on account of the mane which

(pack)horses have.

Pro signo marscalchi cum duobus

digitis tene capillos anteriores

propter iubas, quas habent caballi.

101 For the sign of an ass

raise a hand near the ears and move them

just like an ass's.

Pro signo asinarii prope aurem

erige manum et move sicut asinus

aurem.

102 For the sign of a compatriot or relative

hold the hand against the face and place the

middle finger on the nose because of the

blood which sometimes flows from there.

Pro signo conpatriote vel

consanguine tene manum contra

faciem et medium digitum naso

inpone propter sanguinem, qui inde

nonnumquam fluit.

103 For the sign of a man who speaks
another language touch a lip with a finger
on account of the speech.

Pro signo hominis, qui est alterius
lingue, cum digito labia tange
propter loquelam.

104 For the sign of speaking
hold a hand against the mouth and move it.

Pro signo loquendi contra os tene
manum et ita eam move.

105 For the sign of hearing
hold a finger against the ear.

Pro signo audiendi tene digitum
contra aurem.

106 For the sign of not knowing
touch the lip with a straight finger.

Pro signo nesciendi cum digito
erecto labia terge.

107 For the sign of prevaricating
draw a finger between the lips.

Pro signo mentiendi digitum intra
labia positum trahe.

108 For the sign of kissing
place the index and middle fingers against
the lips.

Pro signo osculandi duos digitos, id
est medium et indicem, labiis
appone.

109 For the sign of dressing, especially
with the alba, drag a hand along the chest

Pro signo vestiendi, maxime cum
alba, per pectus manum trahe

downwards.	deorsum.

110 For the sign of disrobing with the thumb and index finger drag the alba from the chest.

Per signo exuendi cum pollice et digito sequente albam a pectore trahe.

111 For the sign of washing feet alternately cover each hand with the other and move the top one a little.

Pro signo lavandi pedes ambarum manuum interiorem ad invicem converte et ita superioris manus summitates paululum move.

112 For the sign of anything you would say is good, whatever it may be, place the thumb on the jaw and the other fingers in a different way and so make them fall down extremely flatteringly from the jaw.

Pro signo boni, quidquid sit, quod bonum dixeris, pone pollicem in maxillam et alios digitos in aliam et ita fac eos in extremitate menti blande conlabi.

113 For the sign of something bad put spread fingers on the face simulating the claw of a bird scratching at something.

Pro signo mali digitis sparsim in faciem positis simula unguem avis aliquid lacerando adtrahentis.

114 For the sign of anything that has already been done, hold the hand evenly against

Pro signo cuiusque rei, que iam facta sit, tene manum equaliter

the chest, so that the interior part of the hand faces upwards, and then move it away from the chest.

contra pectus, et interior pars manus sit sursum versa, et ita eam adhuc plus sursum a pectore move.

115 For the sign of an announcement lift the hand moderately and move it not inverted, but so the exterior of the hand faces upwards.

Pro signo annuicionis leva manum moderate et move non inversam, set ut exterior superficies sit etiam sursum versa.

116 For the sign of negation place the middle finger and thumb together moving downward and then separate them.

Pro signo negacionis summitatem medii digiti pollici subpone et ita fac resilire.

117 For the sign of speed place one hand and above the other and move it quickly in the manner of a saw, as one draws a saw.

Pro signo celeritatis pone manum super alteram manum in modum serre et ita eam celeriter move, quasi serram trahit.

118 For the sign of lateness draw the hand slightly from the navel to the stomach above.

Pro signo tarditatis de umbilico trahe manum paulatim per ventrem sursum.

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ROMANESQUE VÉZELAY: THE ART OF MONASTIC CONTEMPLATION

Volume II

by

Kirk Thomas Ambrose

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Ilene H. Forsyth, Co-Chair
Associate Professor Elizabeth L. Sears, Co-Chair
Associate Professor Thelma K. Thomas
Associate Professor Theresa L. Tinkle

ILLUSTRATIONS

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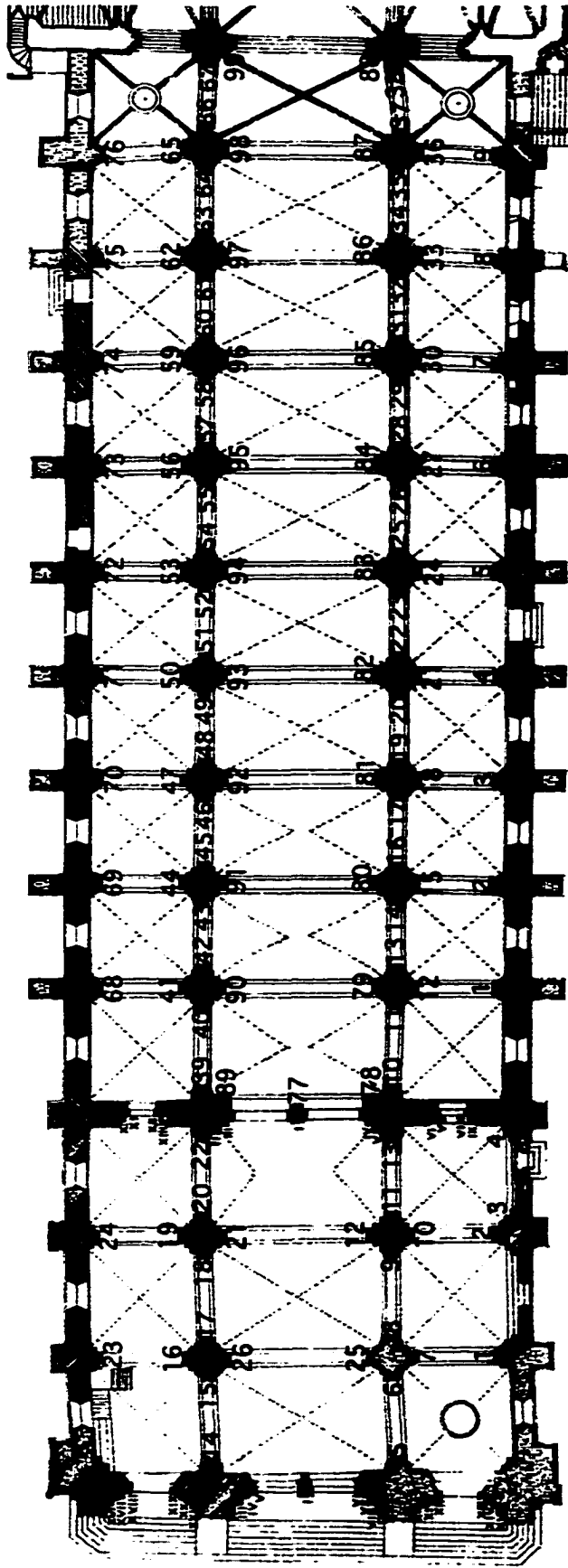
1. Plan of Vézelay's Nave and Narthex
After Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*
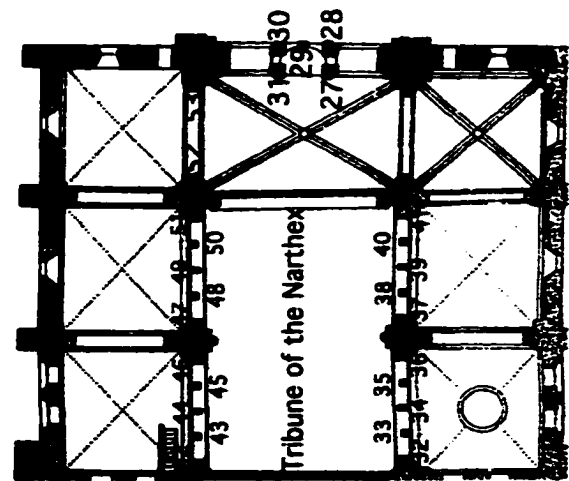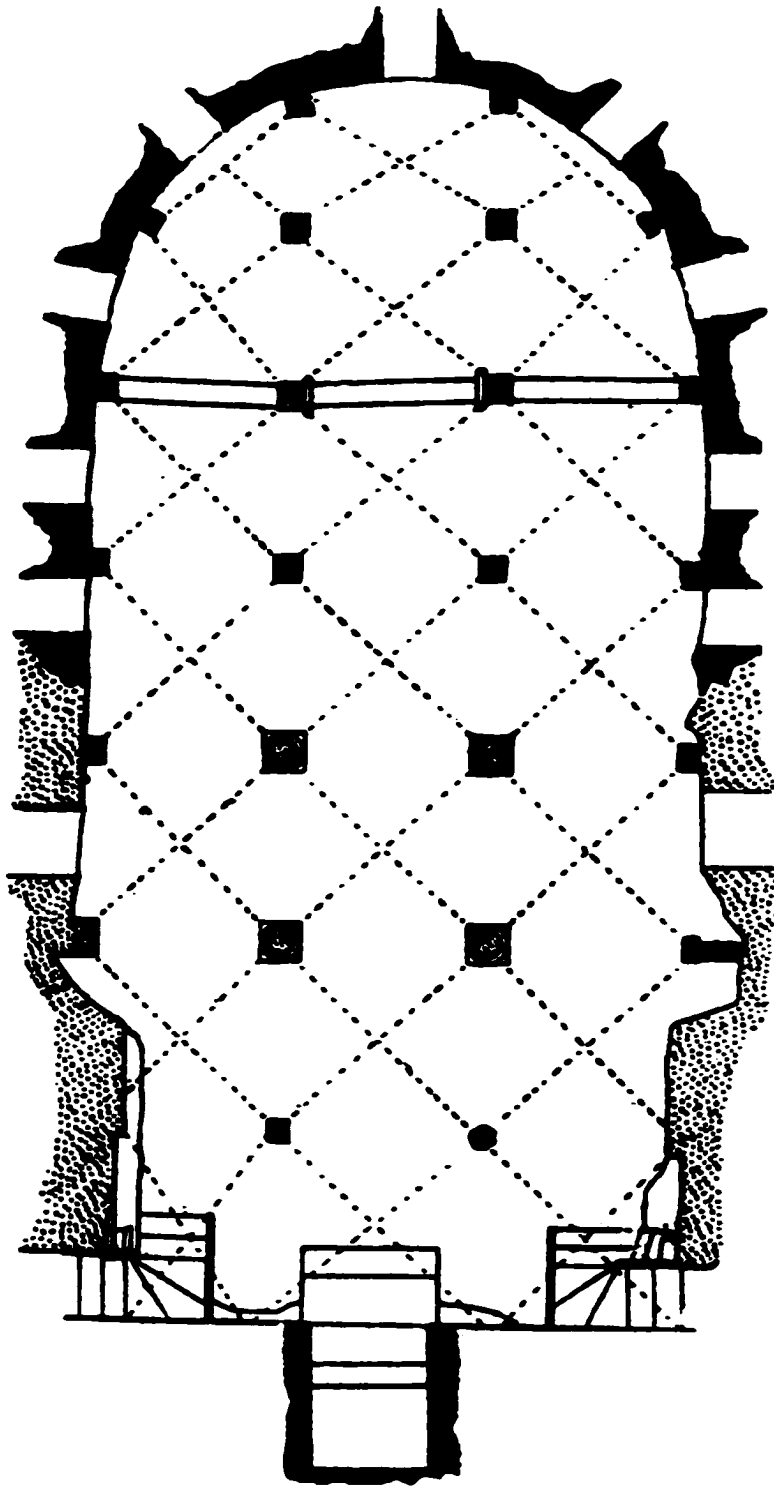
2. Plan of Vézelay's Crypt
After Salet and Adhémar, *La Madeleine*

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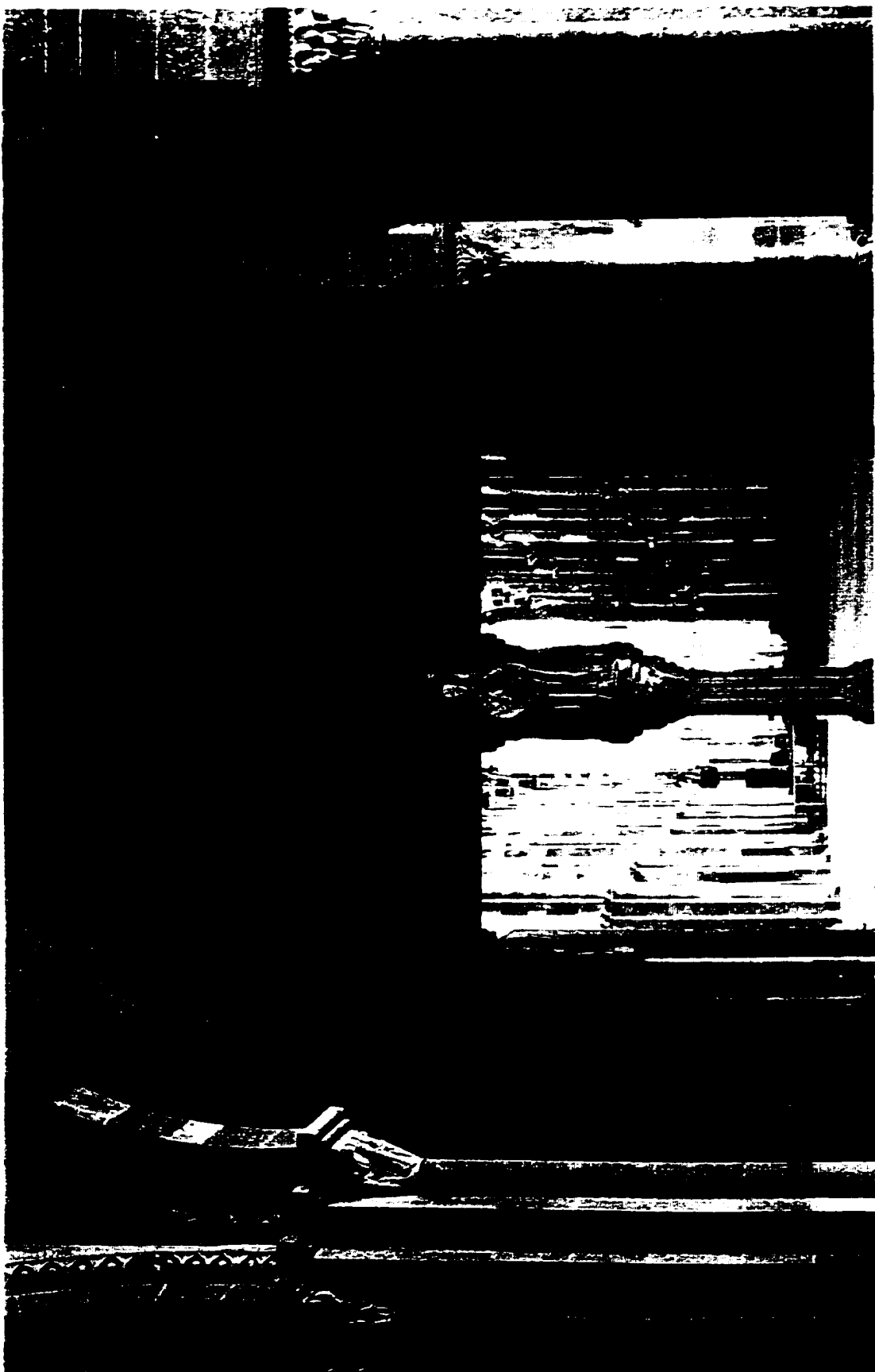
3. Vézelay, central portal within the narthex.
Photo: James Austin.
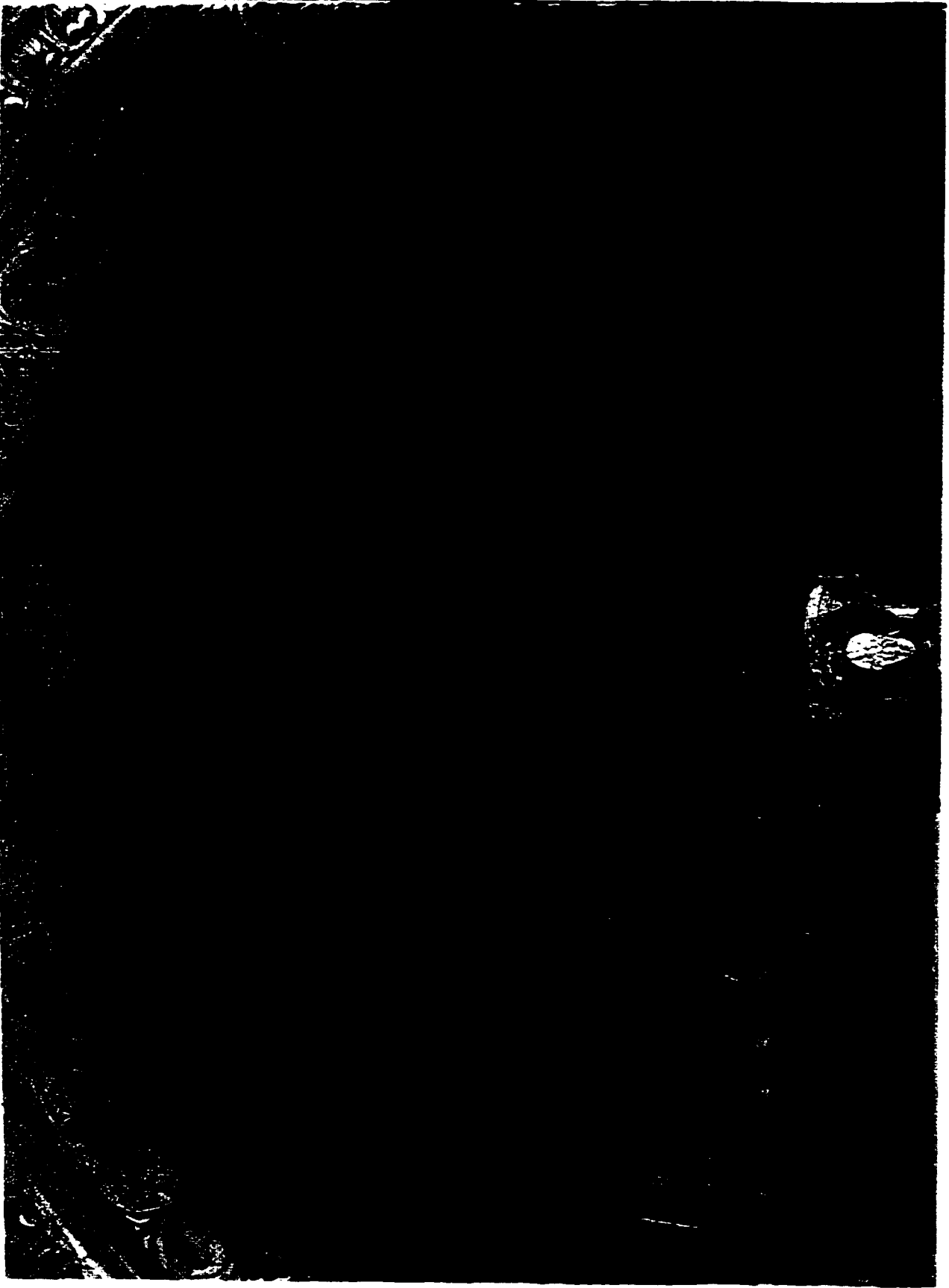
4. Vézelay, tympanum of the central portal within the narthex, Pentecost.
Photo: James Austin.

5. Vézelay, detail of the tympanum of the central portal within the narthex,
cynocephalics.
Photo: Photographie Véritable.

6. Vézelay, detail of the tympanum of the central portal within the narthex, conversing figures.
Photo: James Austin.
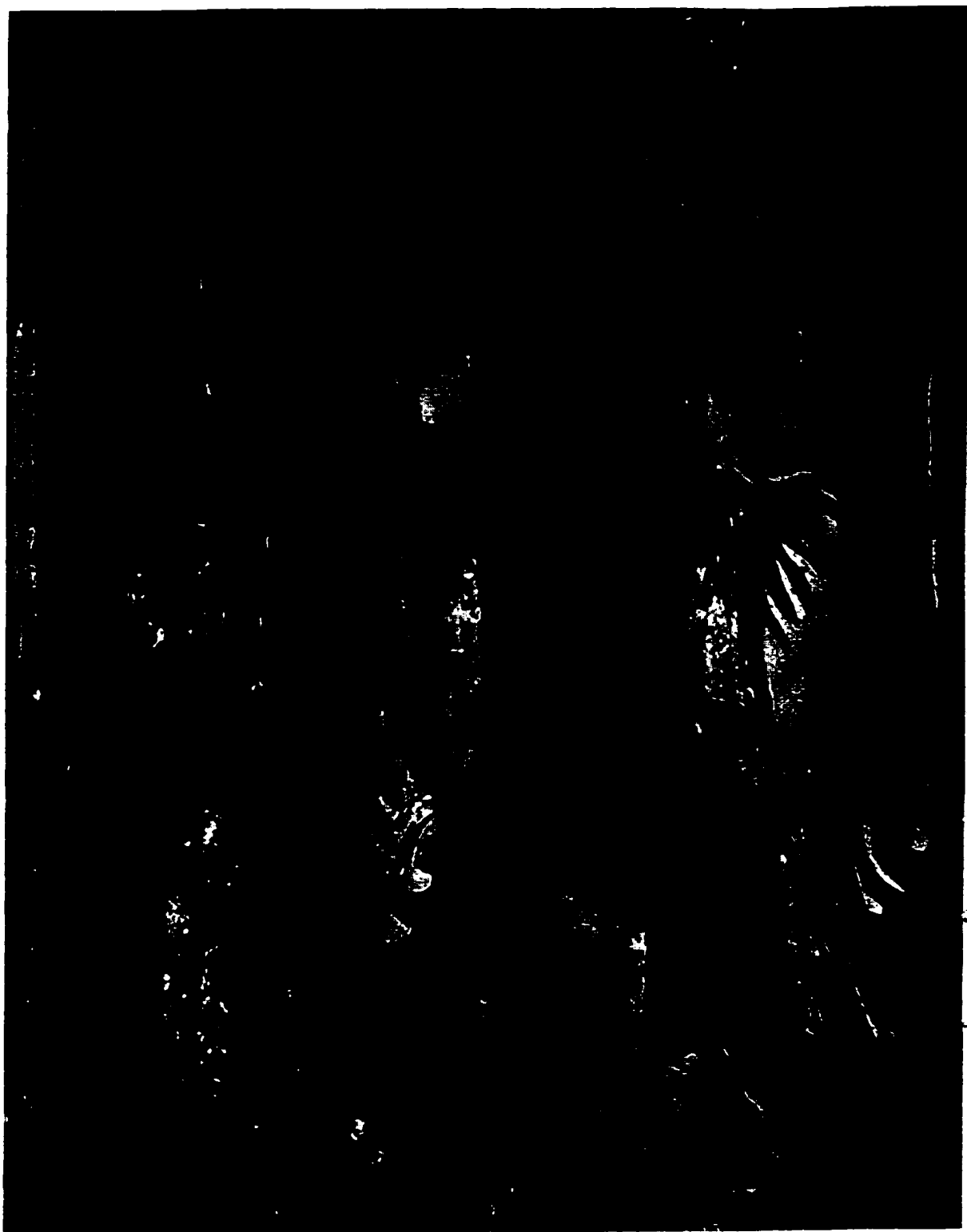
7. Vézelay, right jamb of the central portal within the narthex, St. Peter and St. Paul
After Vogade, *Vézelay*.

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8. Vézelay, north tympanum within the narthex, the Ascension, the Journey to and Meal at Emmaus. Photo: James Austin.
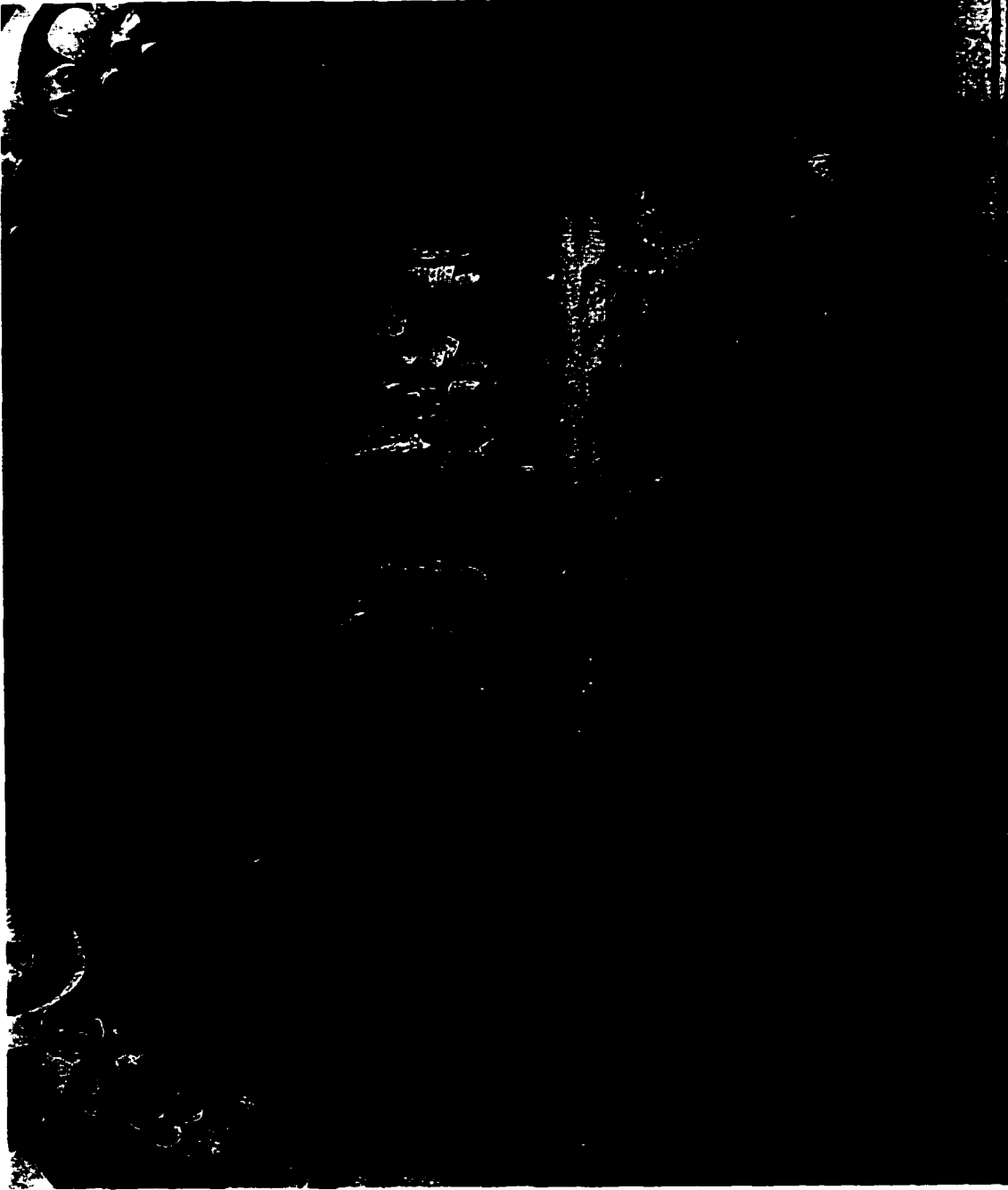
9. Vézelay, south tympanum within the narthex, Adoration of the Magi, Annunciation, Visitation, and Nativity. Photo: James Austin.
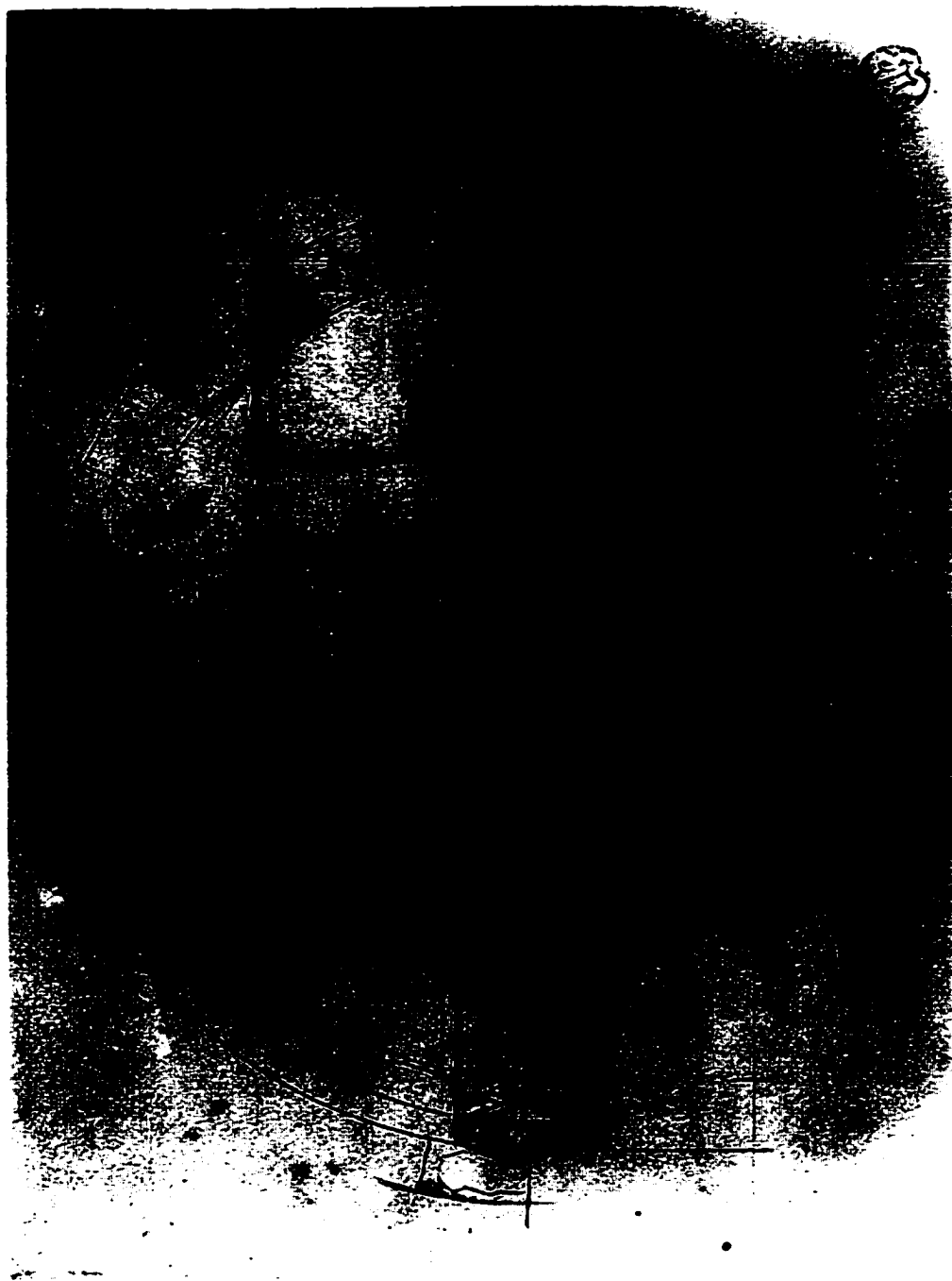
10. Vézelay, Viollet-le-Duc drawing of the central tympanum of the outer façade.
Photo: Monuments Historiques.
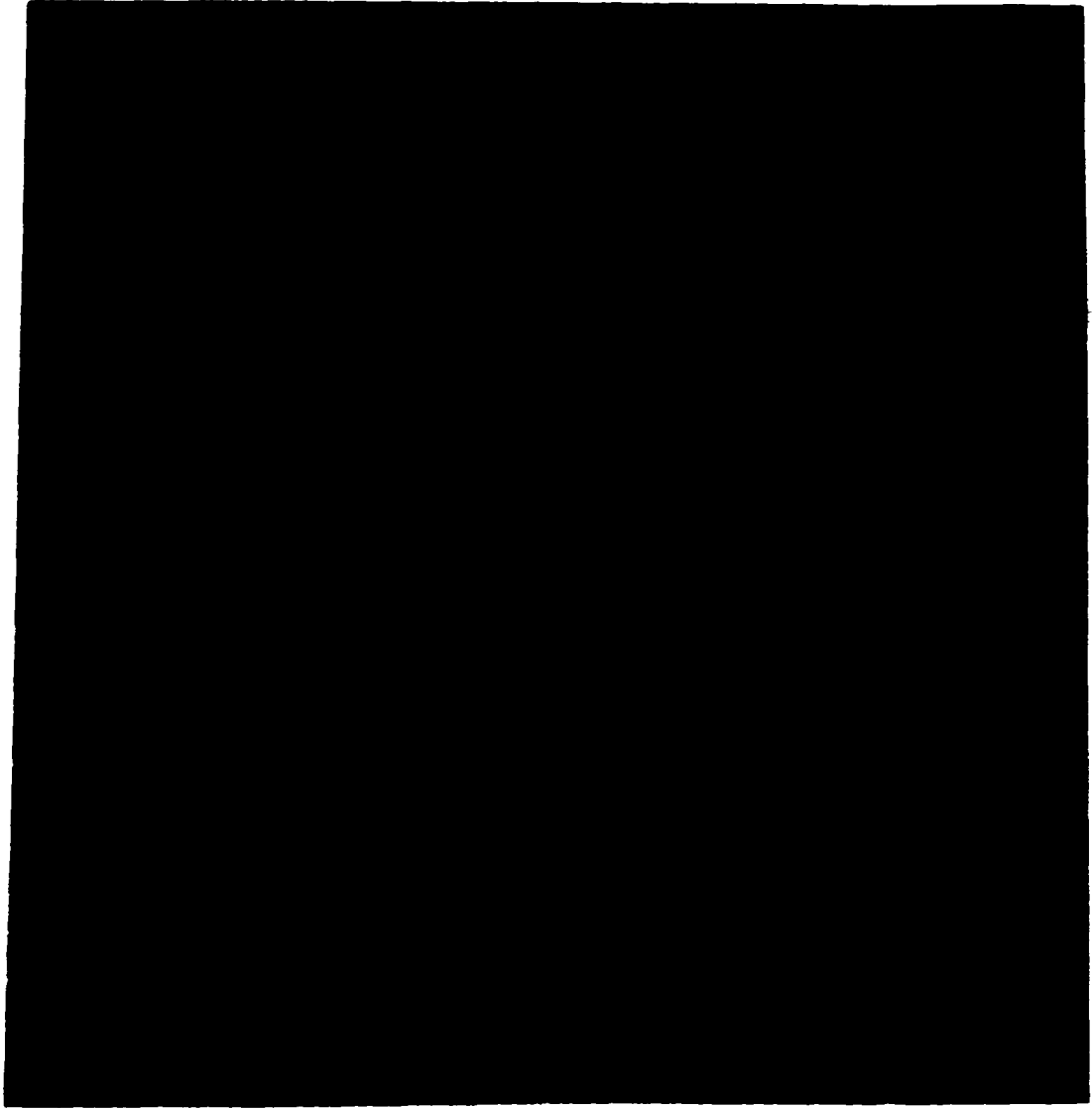
11. Vézelay, nave capital 15, Ira and Luxuria.
Photo: James Austin.

12. Vézelay, nave capital 17, St. Eustace.
Photo: James Austin.

13. Vézelay, nave capital 17, hound and stag.
Photo: James Austin.

14. Vézelay, nave capital 20, Mystic Mill.
Photo: James Austin.
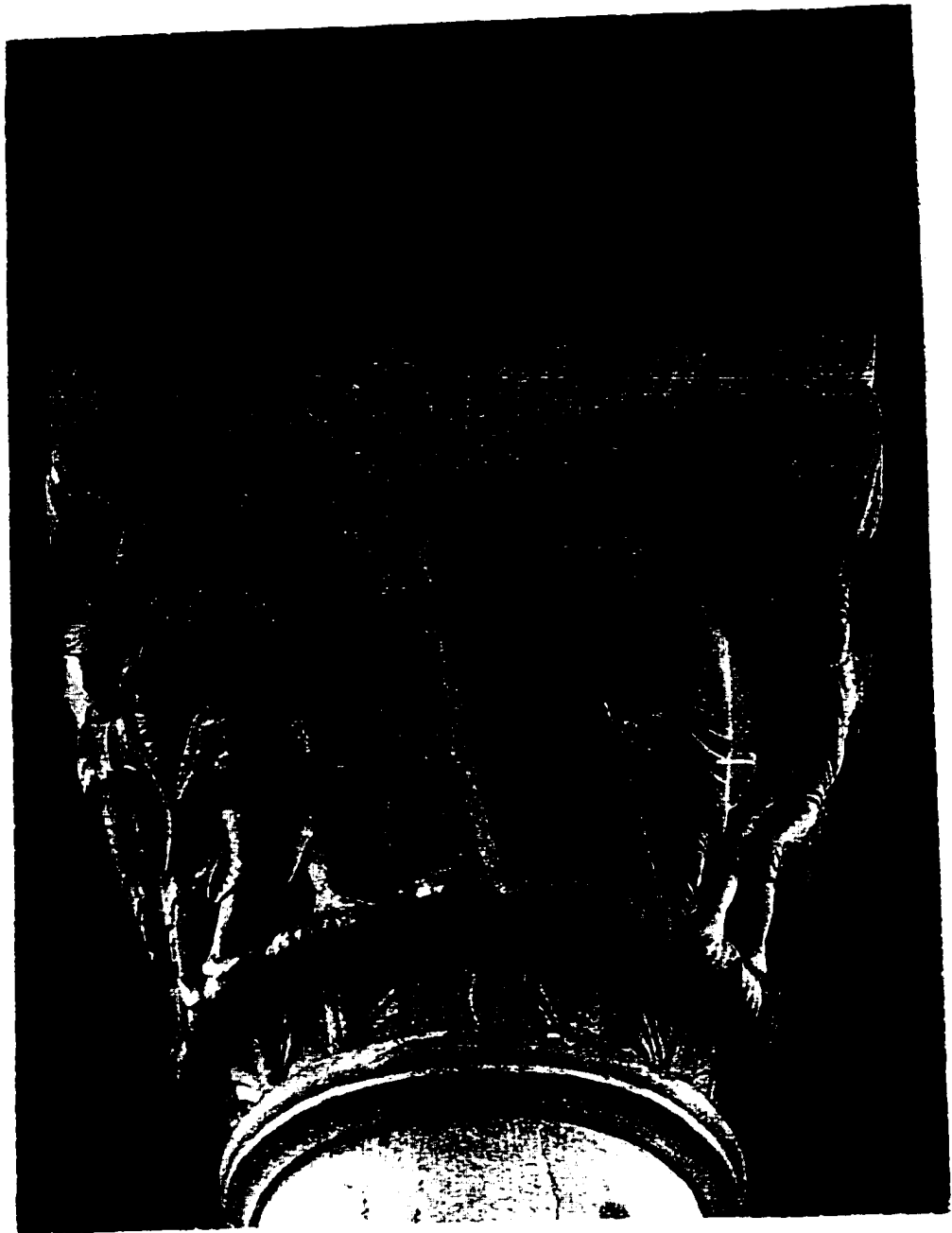
15. Vézelay, nave capital 26, St. Martin and the pine tree.
Photo: James Austin.
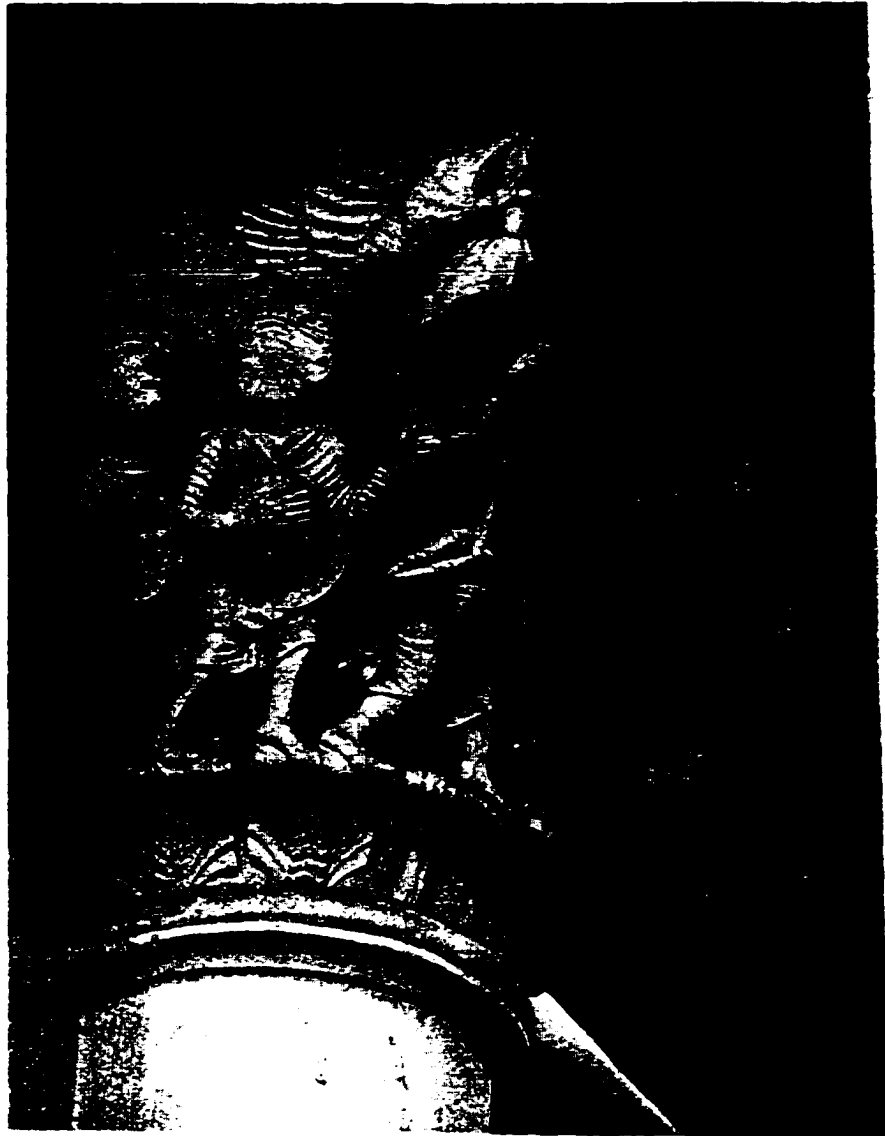
16. Vézelay, nave capital 26, figures converse.
Photo: James Austin.
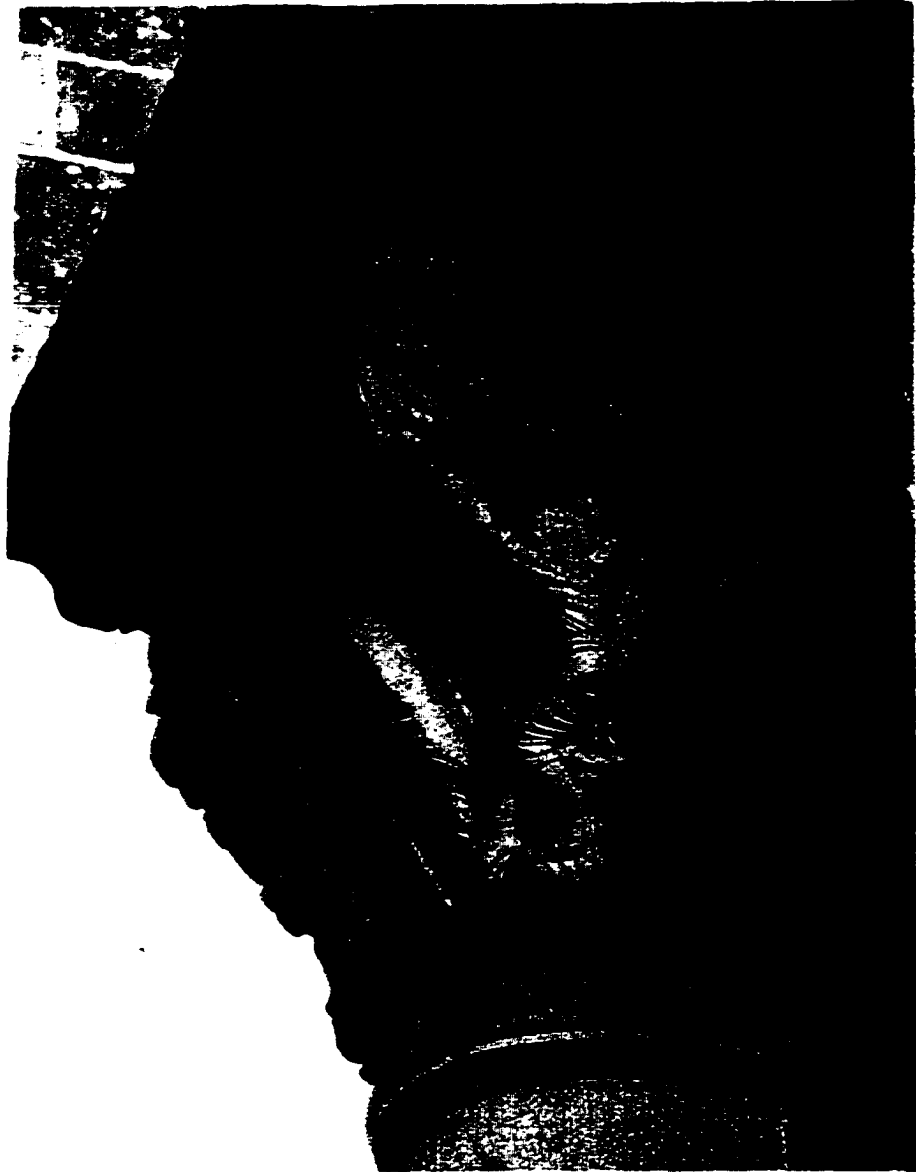
17. Vézelay, nave capital 26, pagans fell the pine tree.
Photo: James Austin.

18. Vézelay, nave capital 31, demon breaks a bell.
Photo: James Austin.
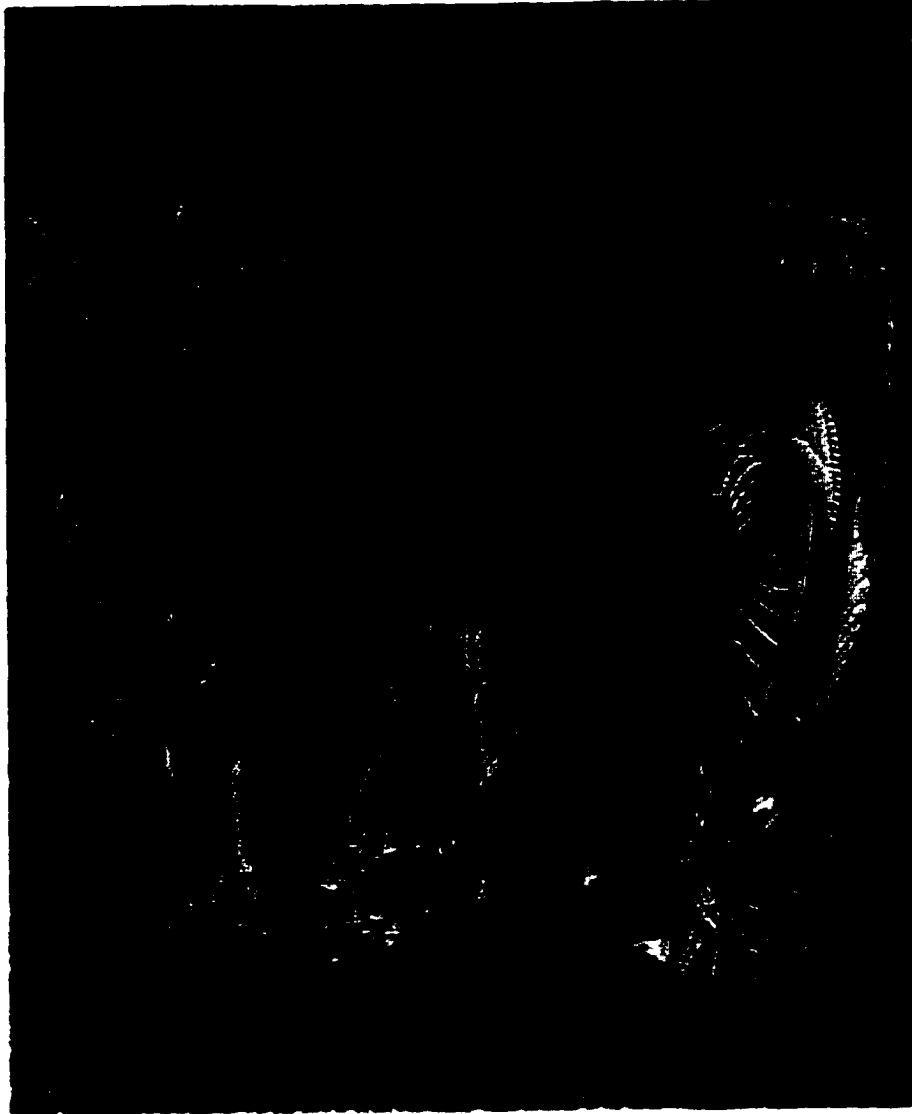
19. Vézelay, nave capital 31, temptation of St. Benedict.
Photo: James Austin.

20. Vézelay, nave capital 31, St. Benedict mortifies the flesh.
Photo: James Austin.
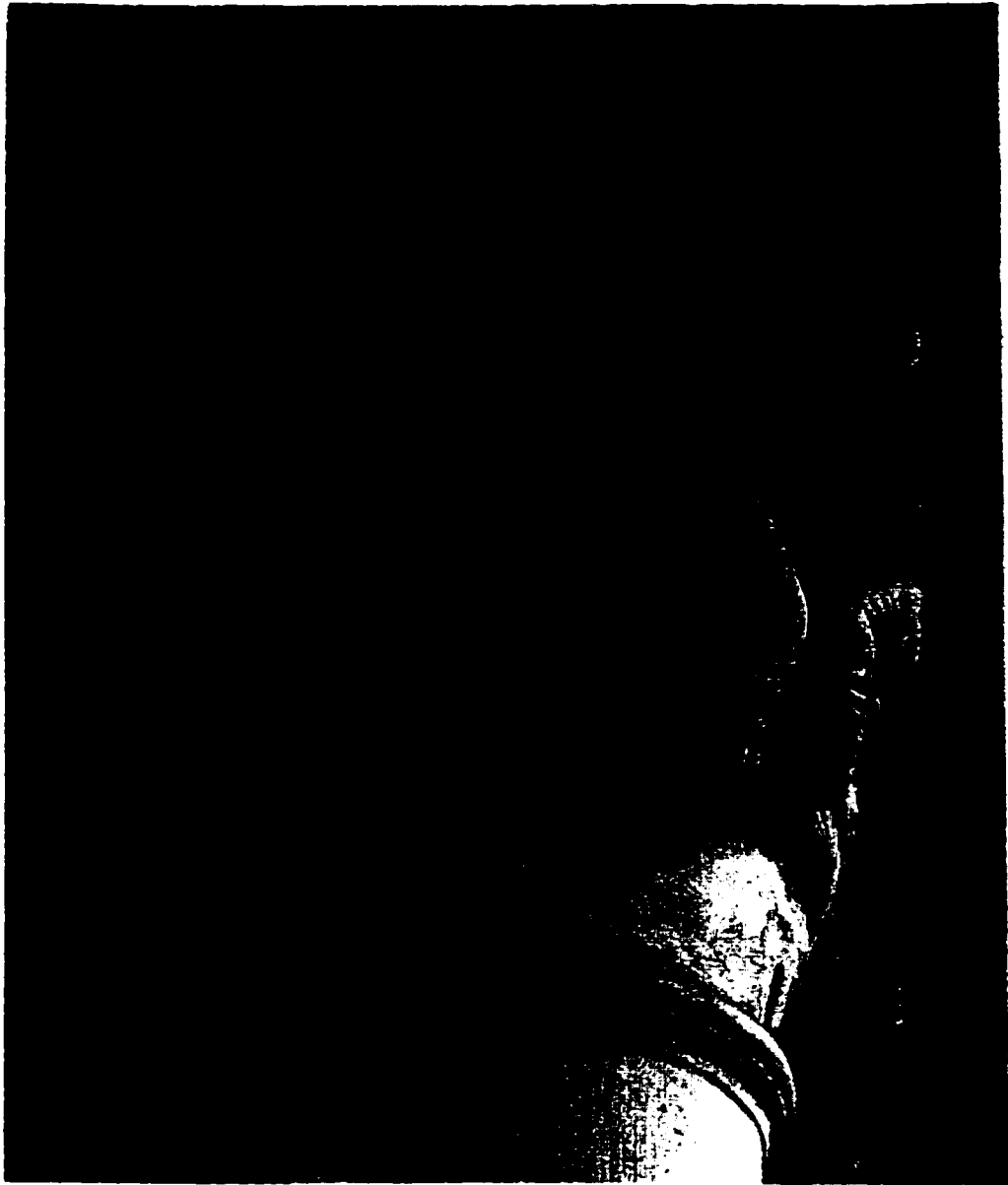
21. Vézelay, nave capital 49, Moses slays the Egyptian.
Photo: James Austin.

22. Vézelay, nave capital 49, Moses buries the Egyptian.
Photo: James Austin.
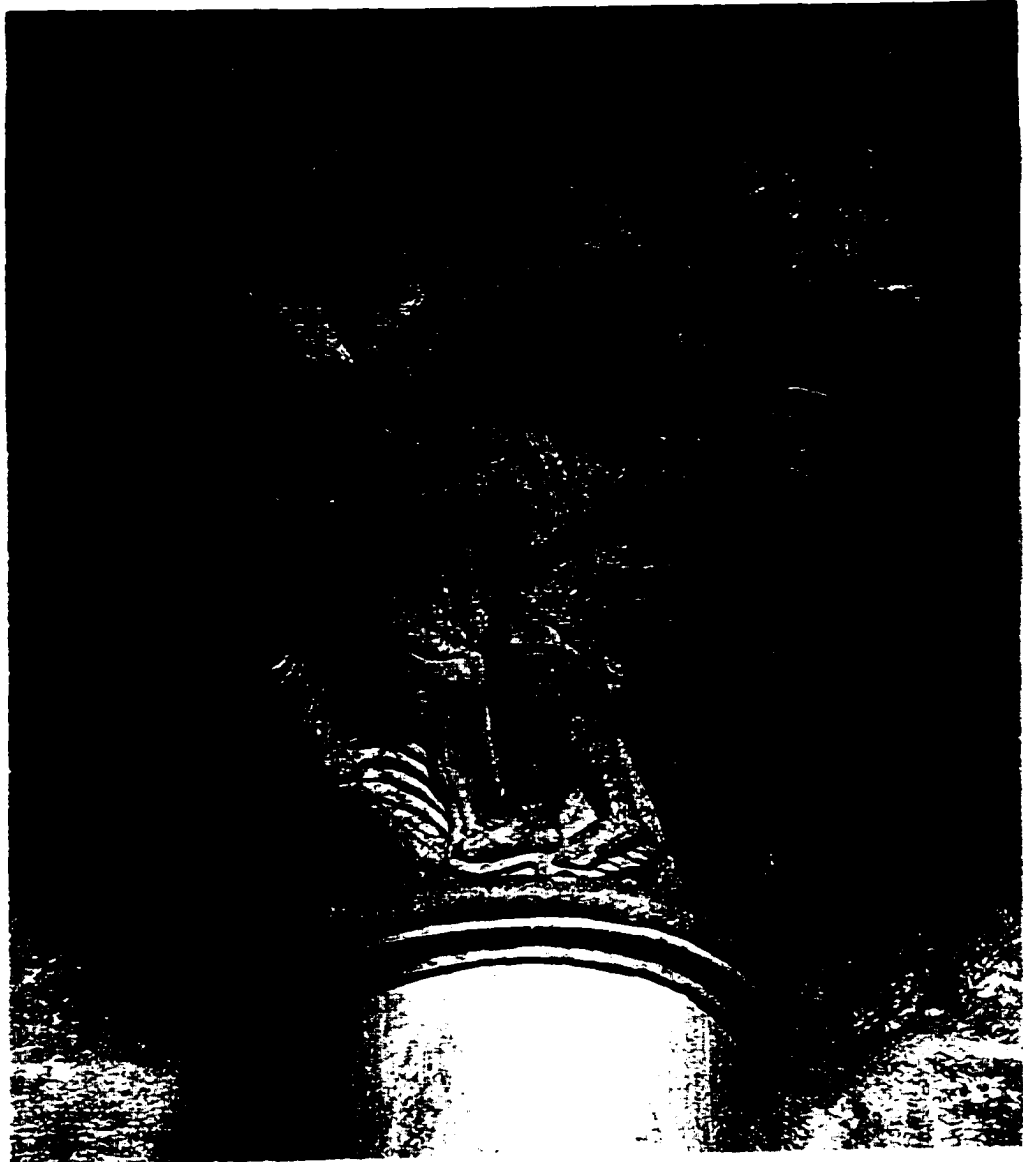
23. Vézelay, nave capital 50, David beheads Goliath.
Photo: James Austin.

24. Vézelay, nave capital 50, David carries Goliath's head.
Photo: James Austin.

25. Vézelay, nave capital 53, Joab beheads Absalom.
Photo: James Austin.

26. Vézelay, nave capital 53, Absalom and his horse.
Photo: James Austin.
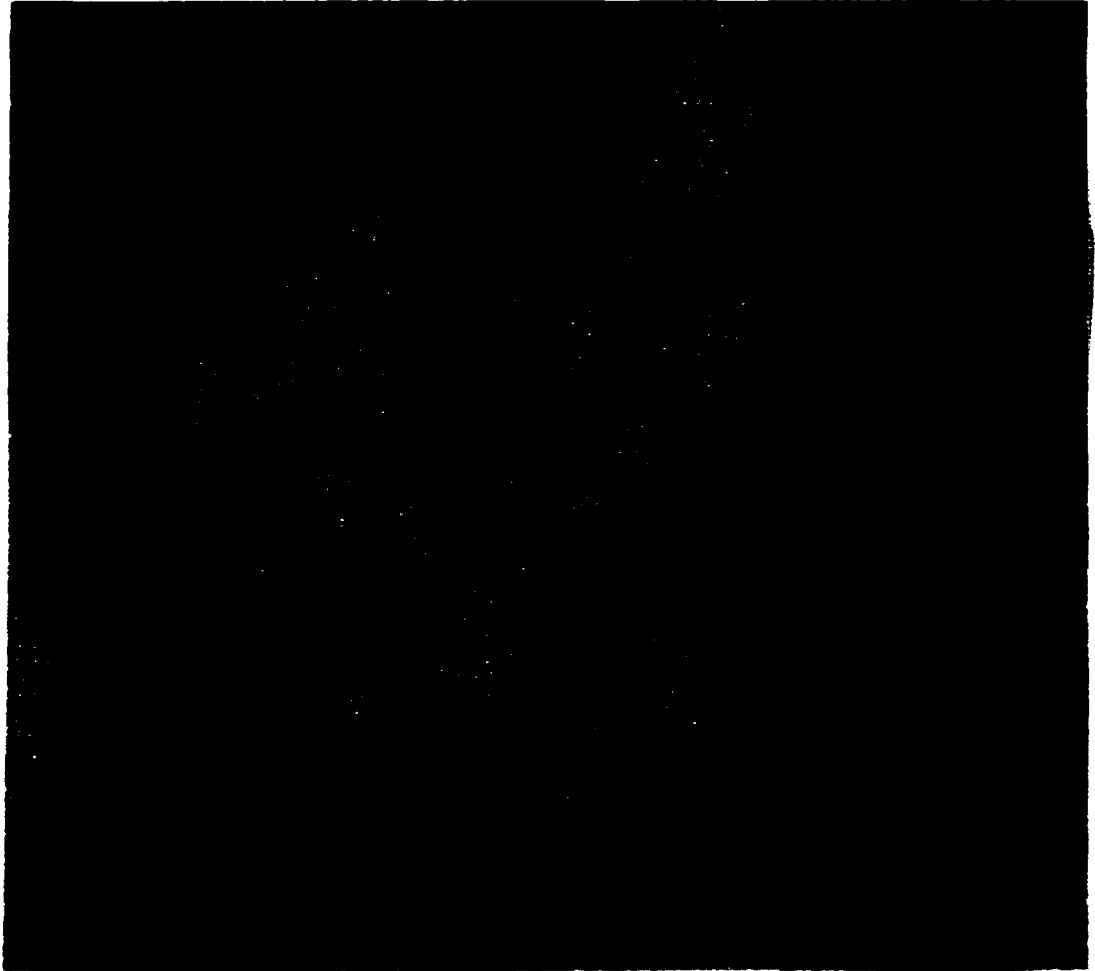
27. Vézelay, nave capital 53, rider.
Photo: author.
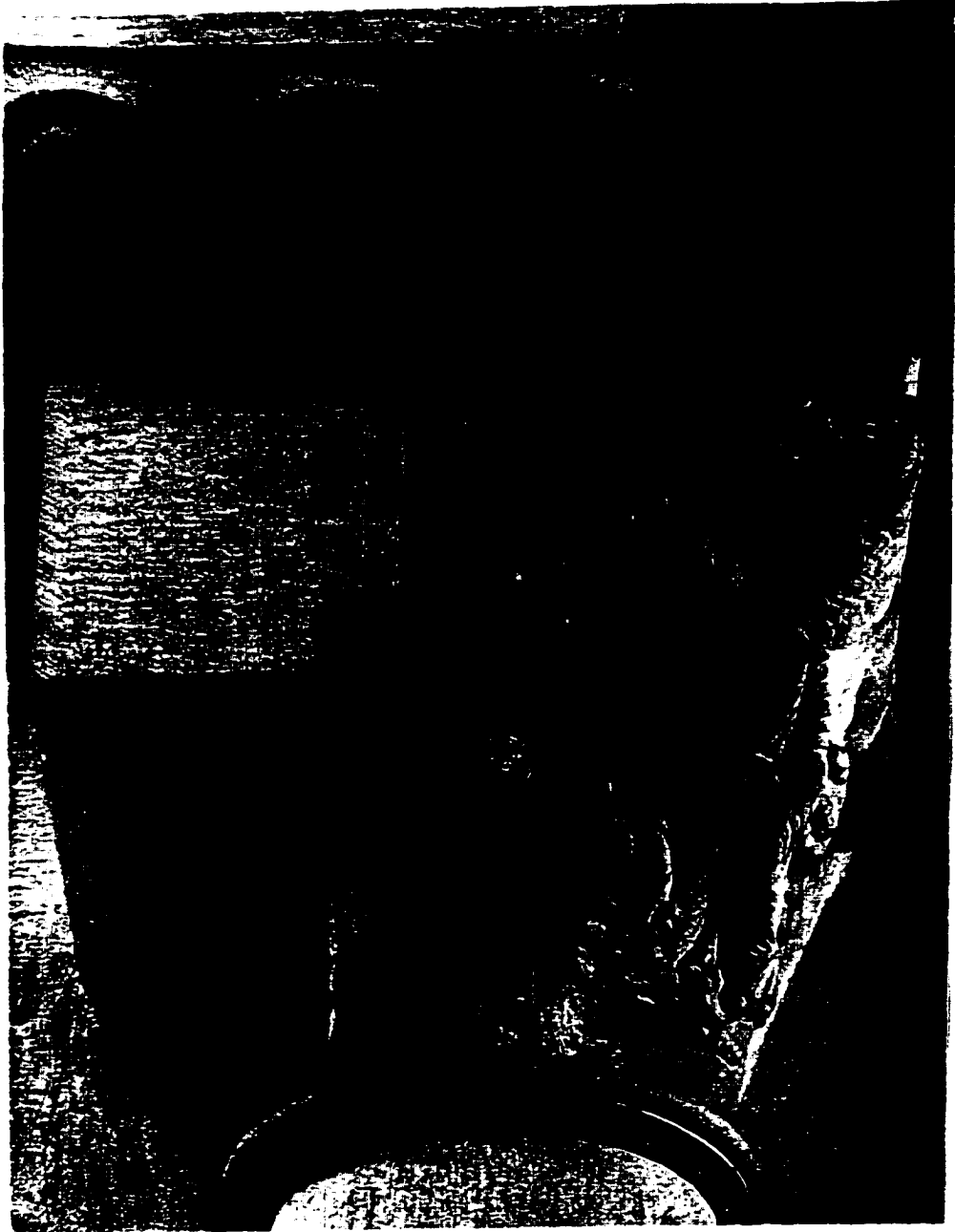
28. Vézelay, nave capital 57, an angel slays Pharaoh's firstborn.
Photo: James Austin.
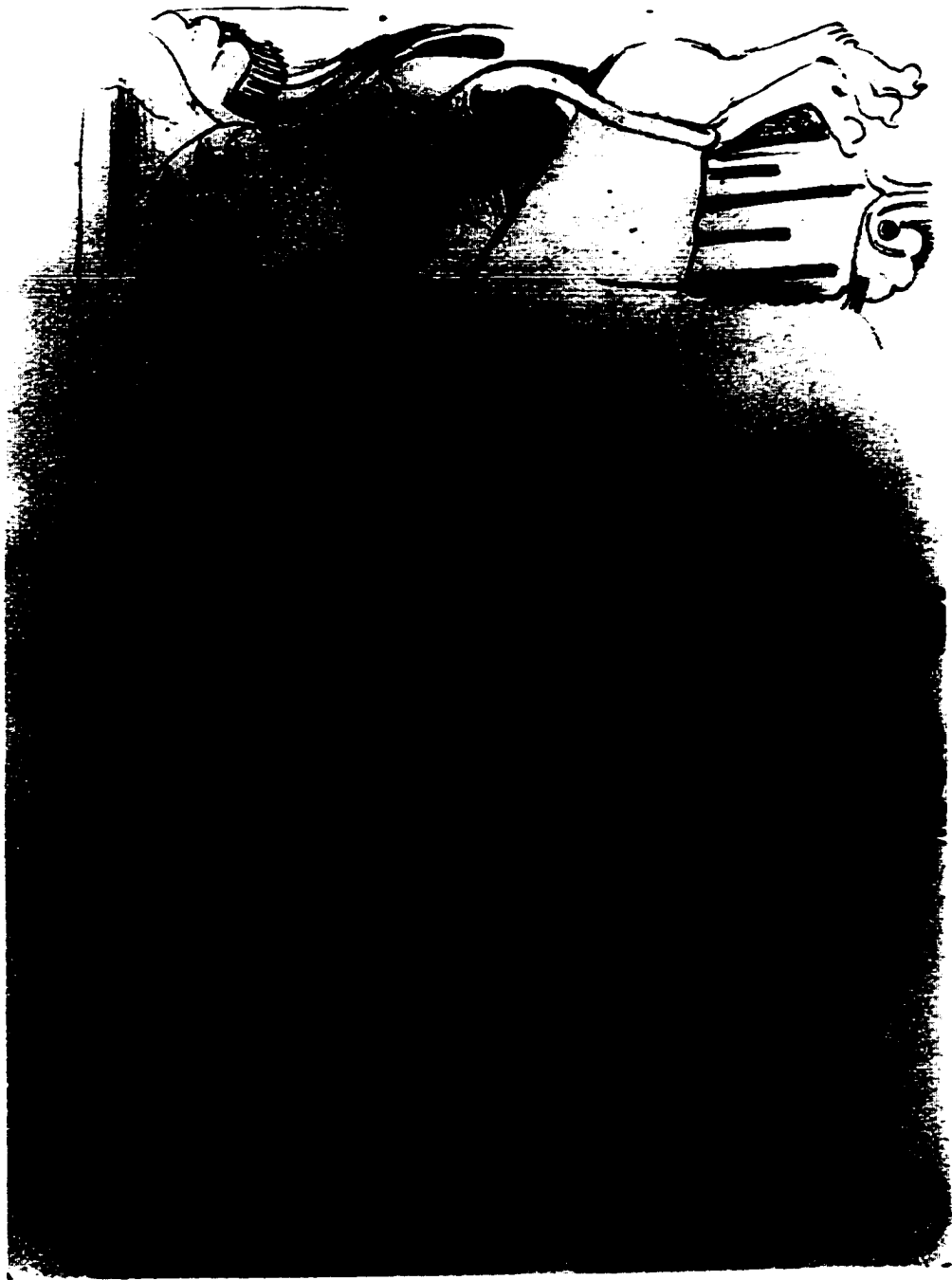
29. Vézelay, Viollet-le-Duc drawing of nave capital 58, funeral of Paul the Hermit. Photo: Monuments Historiques.
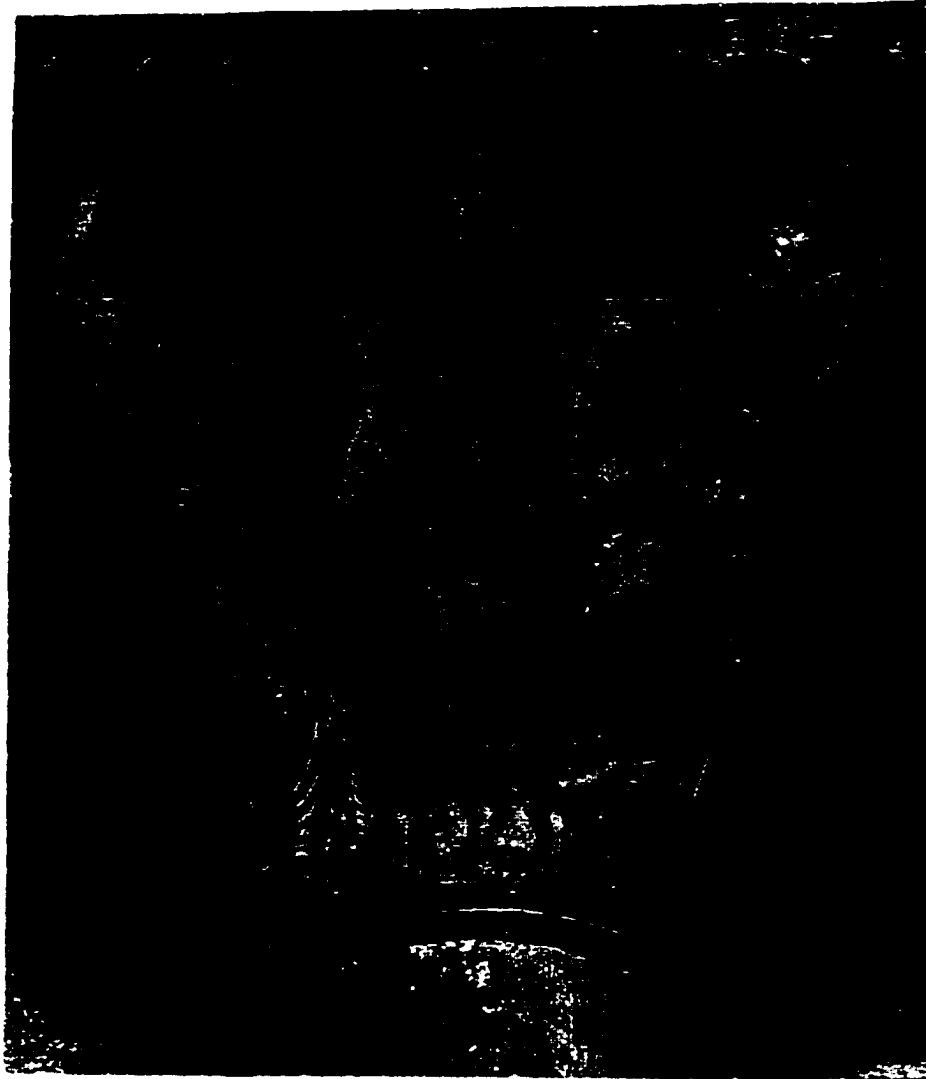
30. Vézelay, nave capital 59, the trial of St. Eugenia.
Photo: James Austin.
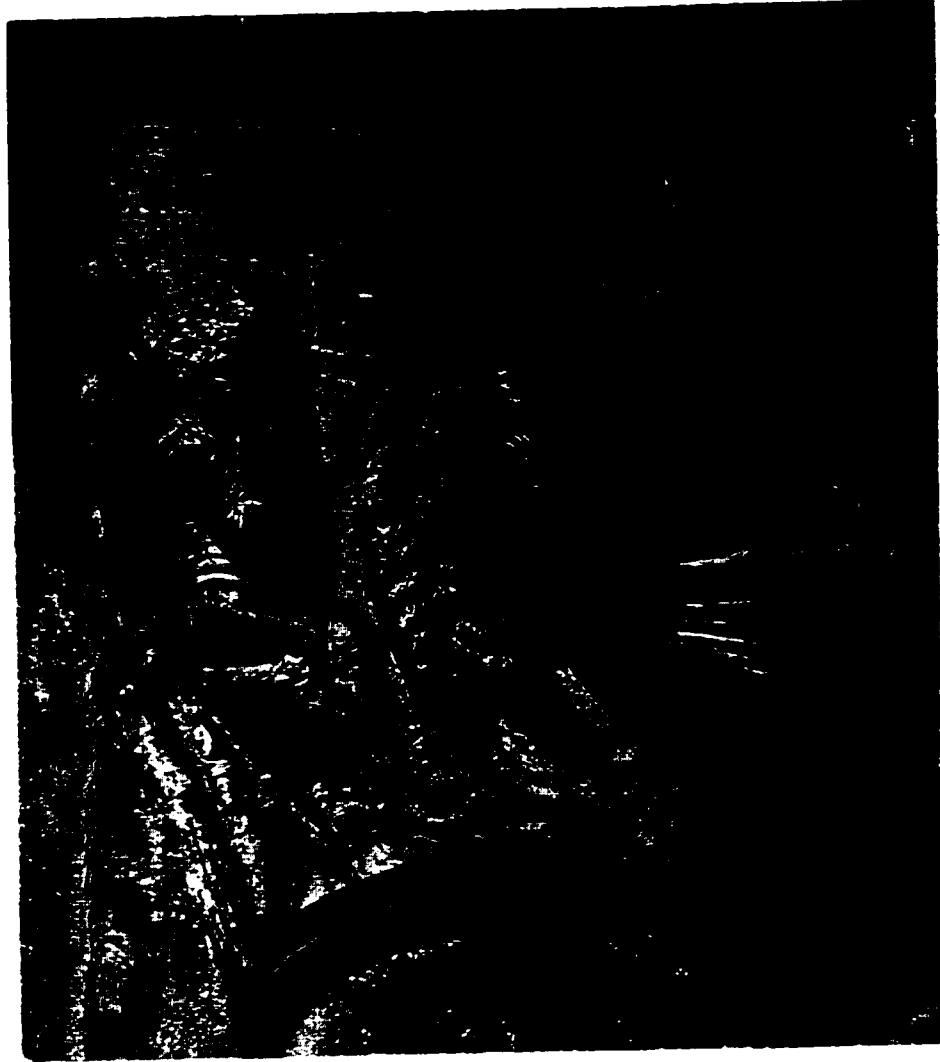
31. Vézelay, nave capital 60, unknown subject.
Photo: James Austin.

32. Vézelay, nave capital 62, fall of Simon Magus.
Photo: James Austin.

33. Vézelay, nave capital 62, St. Paul.
Photo: James Austin.

34. Vézelay, nave capital 62, St. Peter.
After Vogade, *Vézelay*.

35. Vézelay, Viollet-le-Duc drawing of nave capital 63, temptation of St. Anthony. Photo: Monuments Historiques.
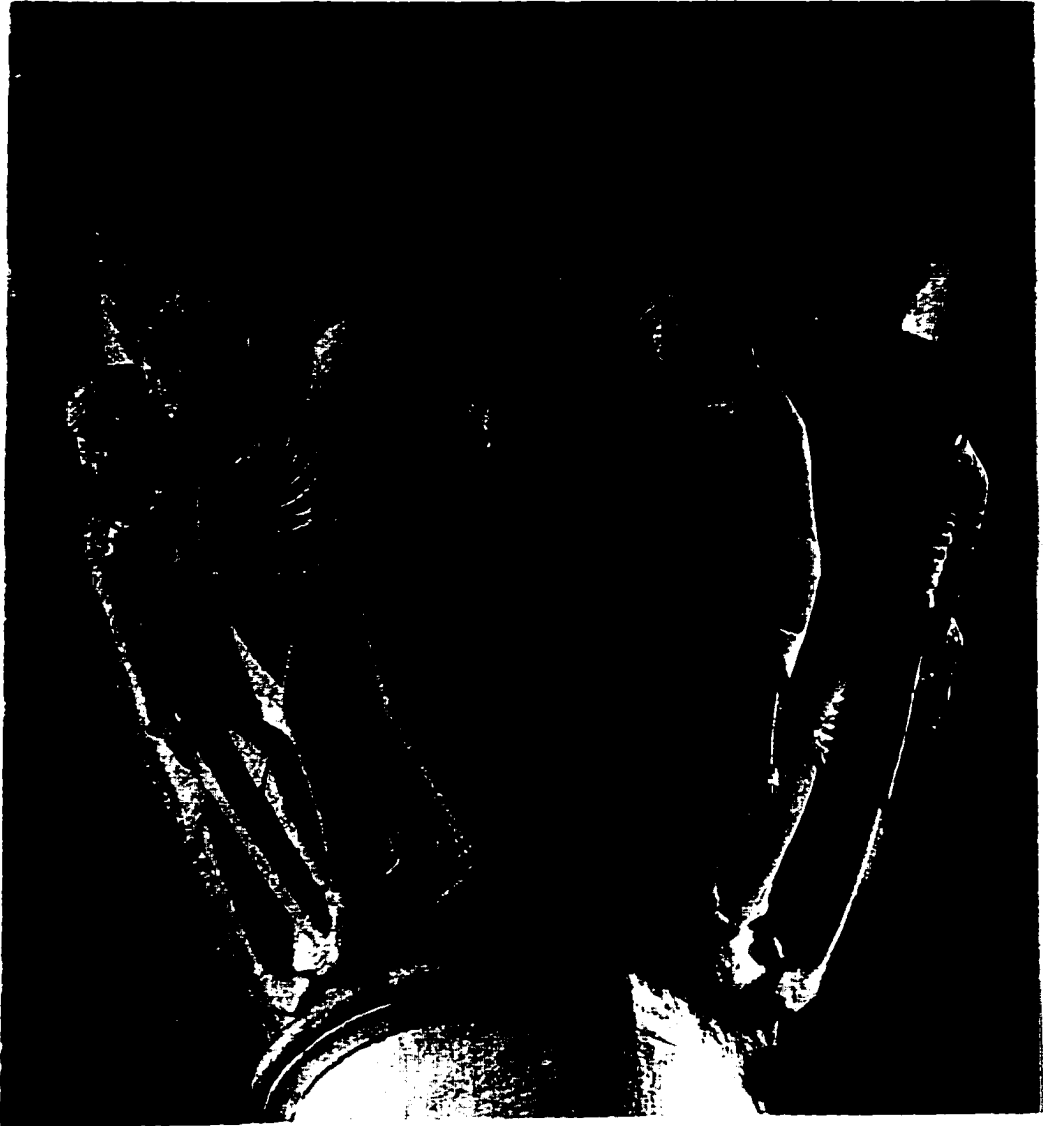
36. Vézelay, nave capital 67, St. Peter escapes from prison.
Photo: James Austin.
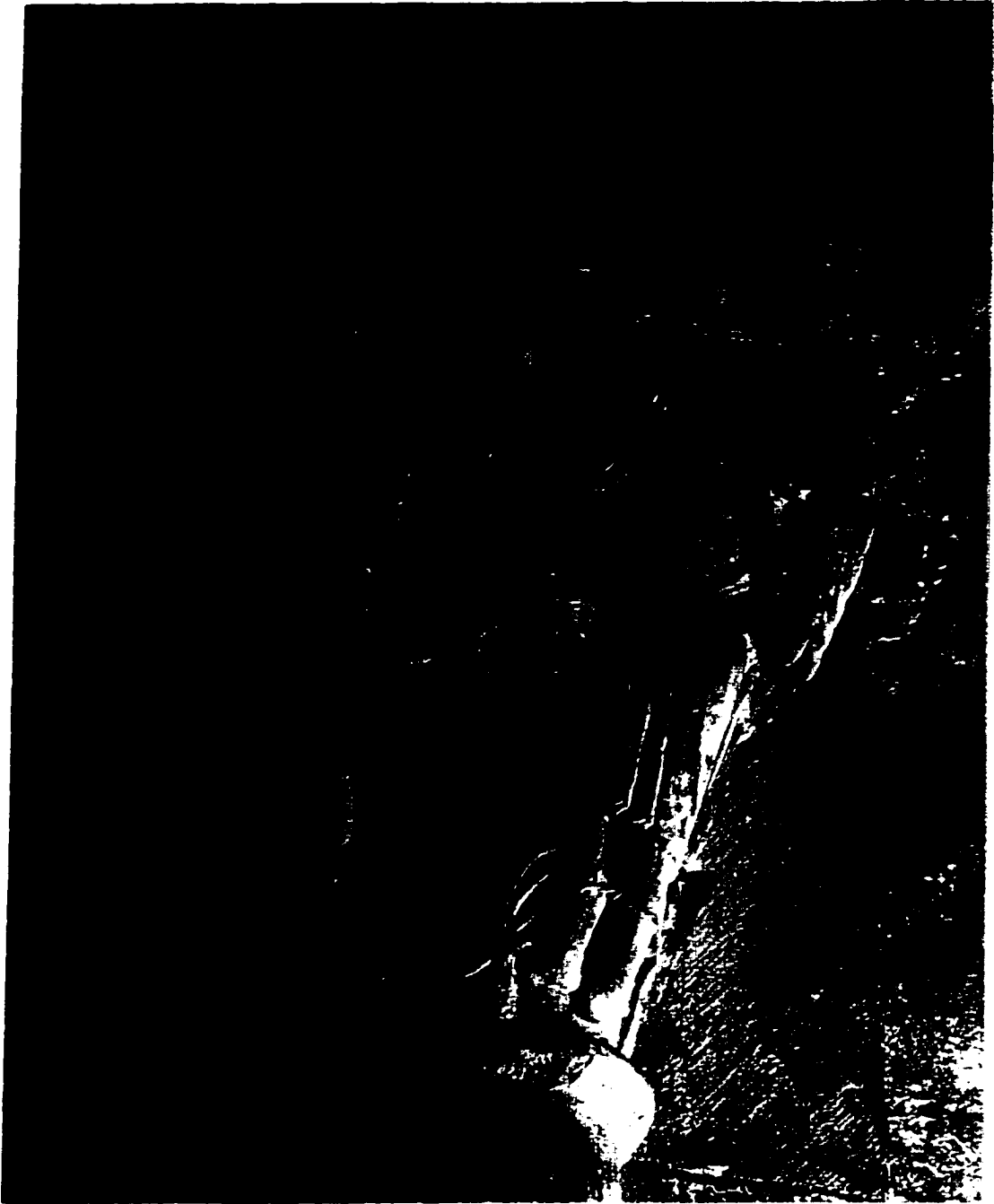
37. Vézelay, nave capital 75, meal of St. Anthony and St. Paul the Hermit.
Photo: James Austin.
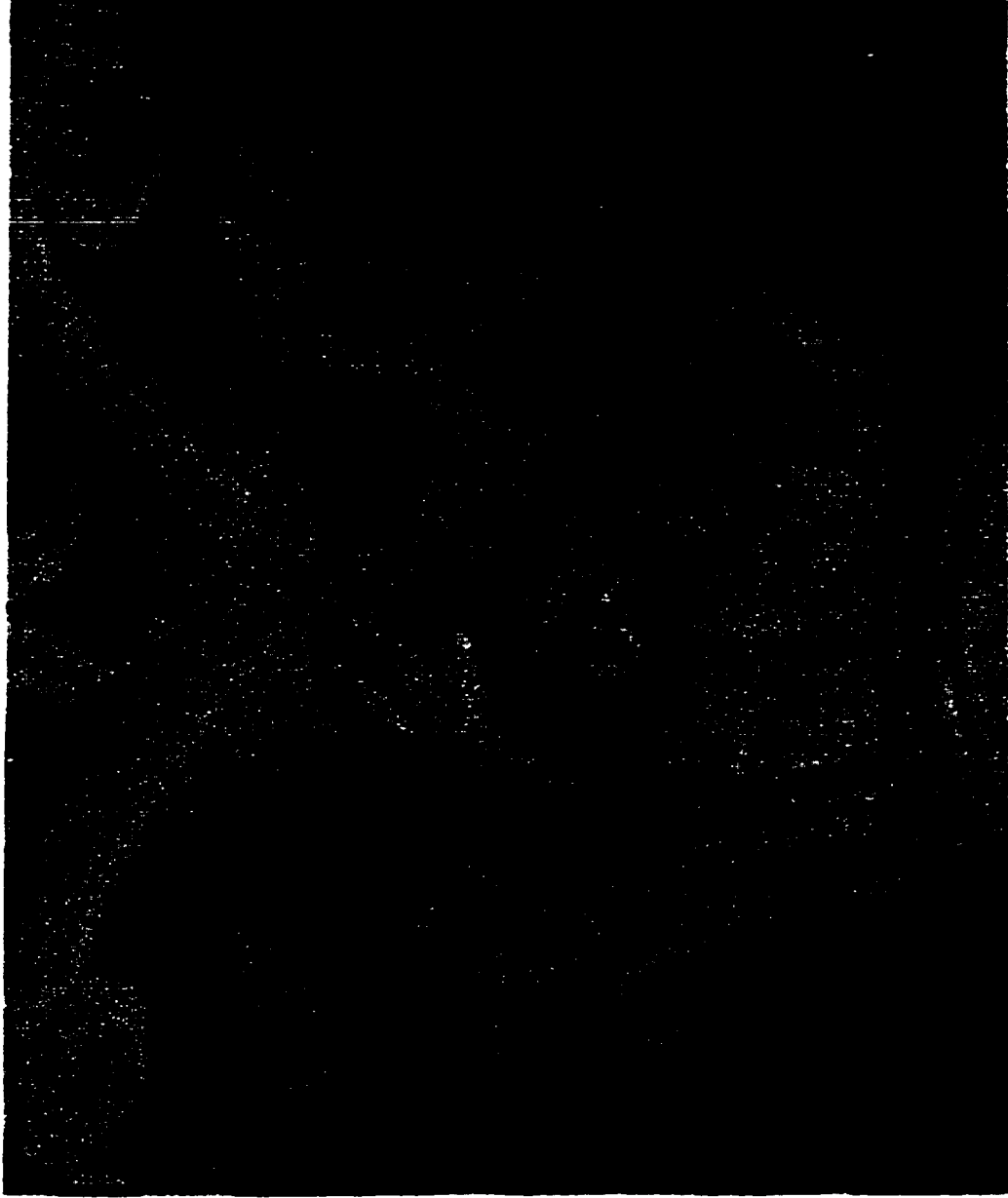
38. Vézelay, nave capital 79, suicide of Judas (?).
Photo: James Austin

39. Vézelay, nave capital 80, unknown subject.
Photo: James Austin

40. Vézelay, nave capital 83, martyrdom of an unknown saint.
Photo: James Austin.
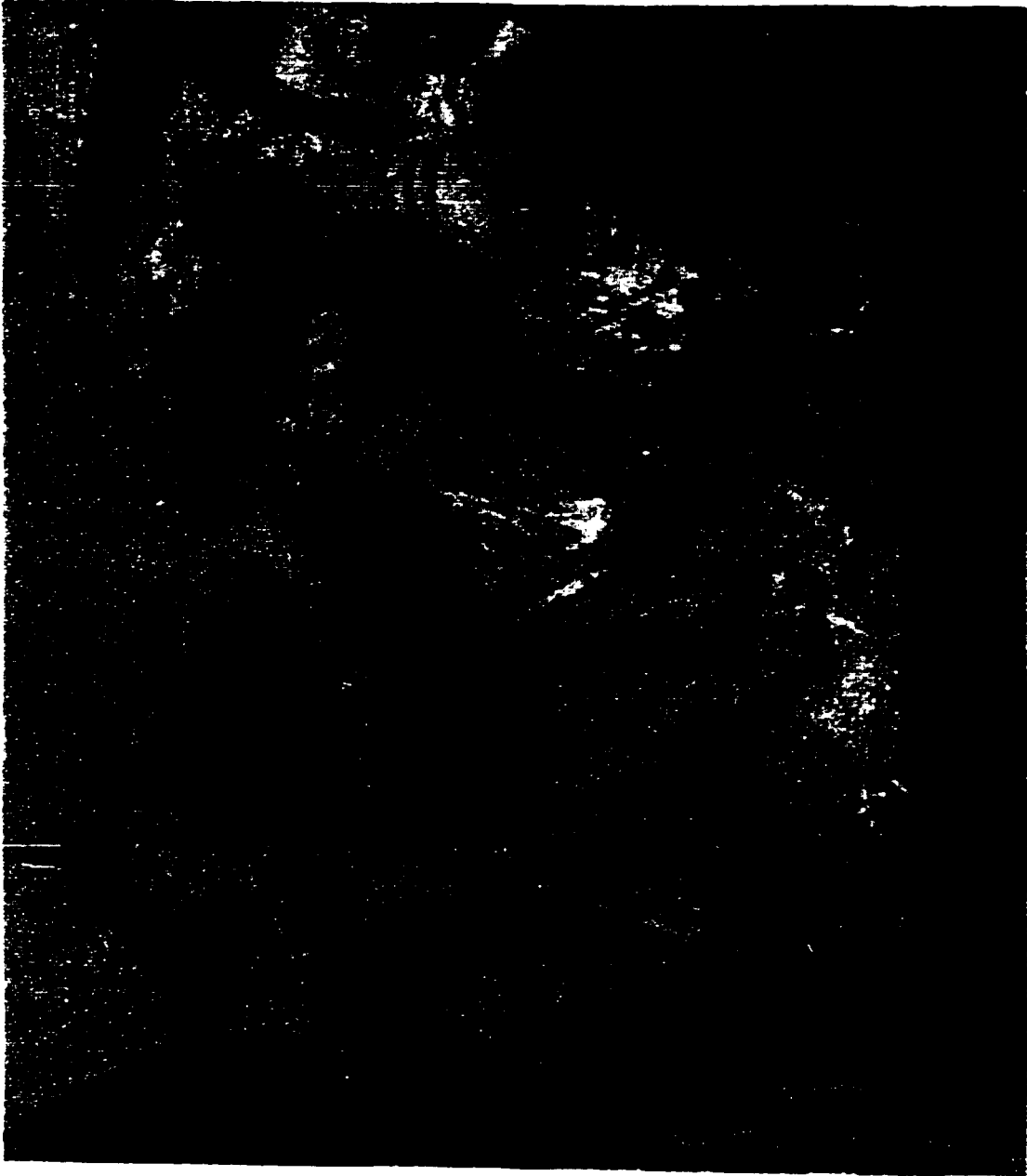
41. Vézelay, nave capital 85, Joseph beaten.
Photo: James Austin.
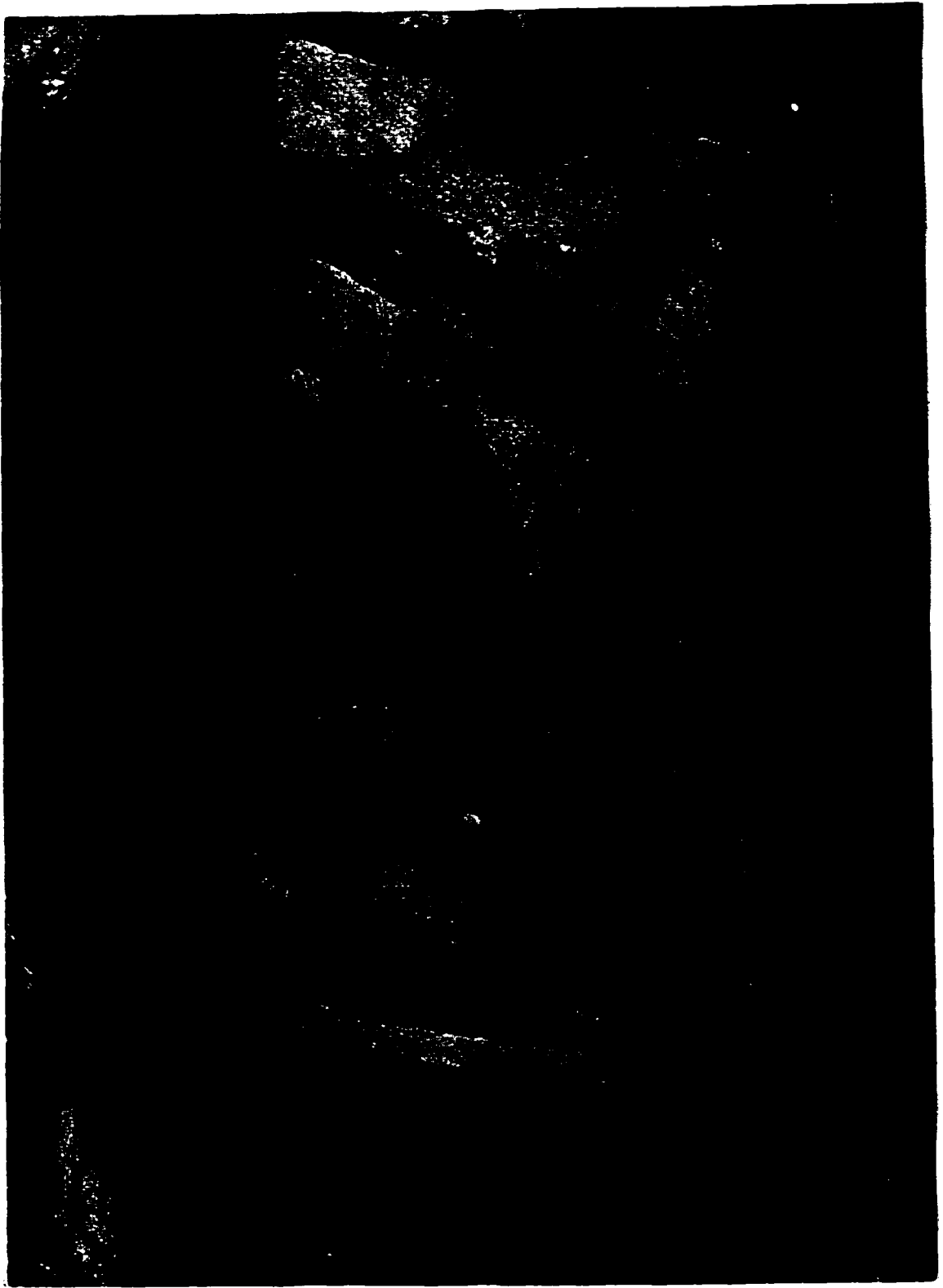
42. Vézelay, nave capital 90b, sacrifice of Isaac.
After *Le monde de Vézelay*.

43. Vézelay, nave capital 91, man pulled from a well.
Photo: James Austin.

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44. Vézelay, nave capital 93, the Fall.
Photo: James Austin.

45. Vézelay, nave capital 93, the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil.
Photo: James Austin.

46. Vézelay, nave capital 93, the Shame.
Photo: James Austin.

47. Vézelay, narthex capital 3, unknown subject.
Photo: James Austin.
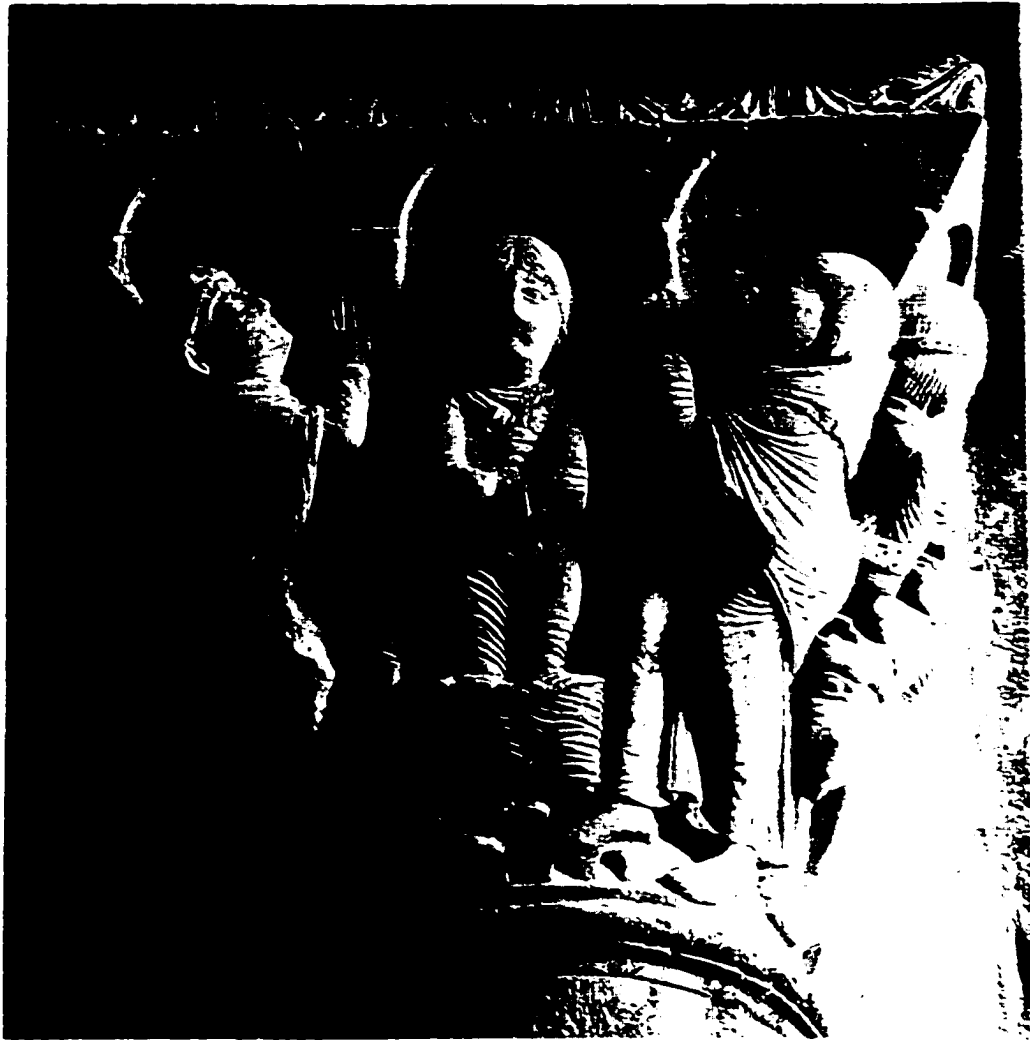
48. Vézelay, narthex capital 9, St. Peter and St. Paul resurrect a youth.
Photo: James Austin.

49. Vézelay, narthex capital 9, Simon Magus (?) and Nero.
Photo: James Austin.

50. Vézelay, narthex capital 11, temptation of St. Benedict
Photo: James Austin.
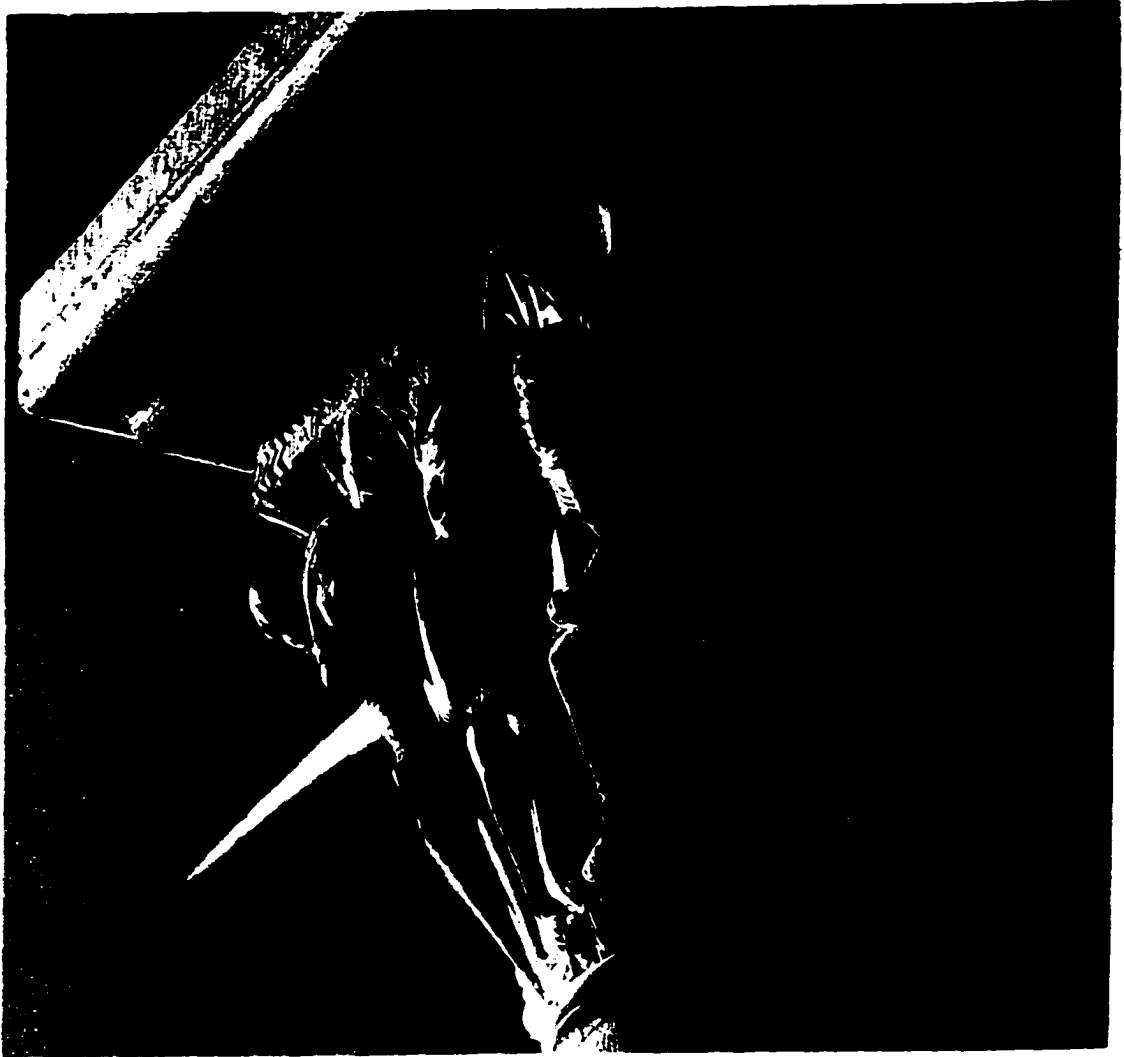
51. Vézelay, narthex capital 11, St. Benedict mortifies the flesh
Photo: James Austin.

52. Vézelay, narthex capital 13, meal of St. Anthony and St. Paul the Hermit.
Photo: James Austin.

53. Vézelay, narthex capital 18, death of John the Baptist/Jesus heals or teaches.
Photo: James Austin.
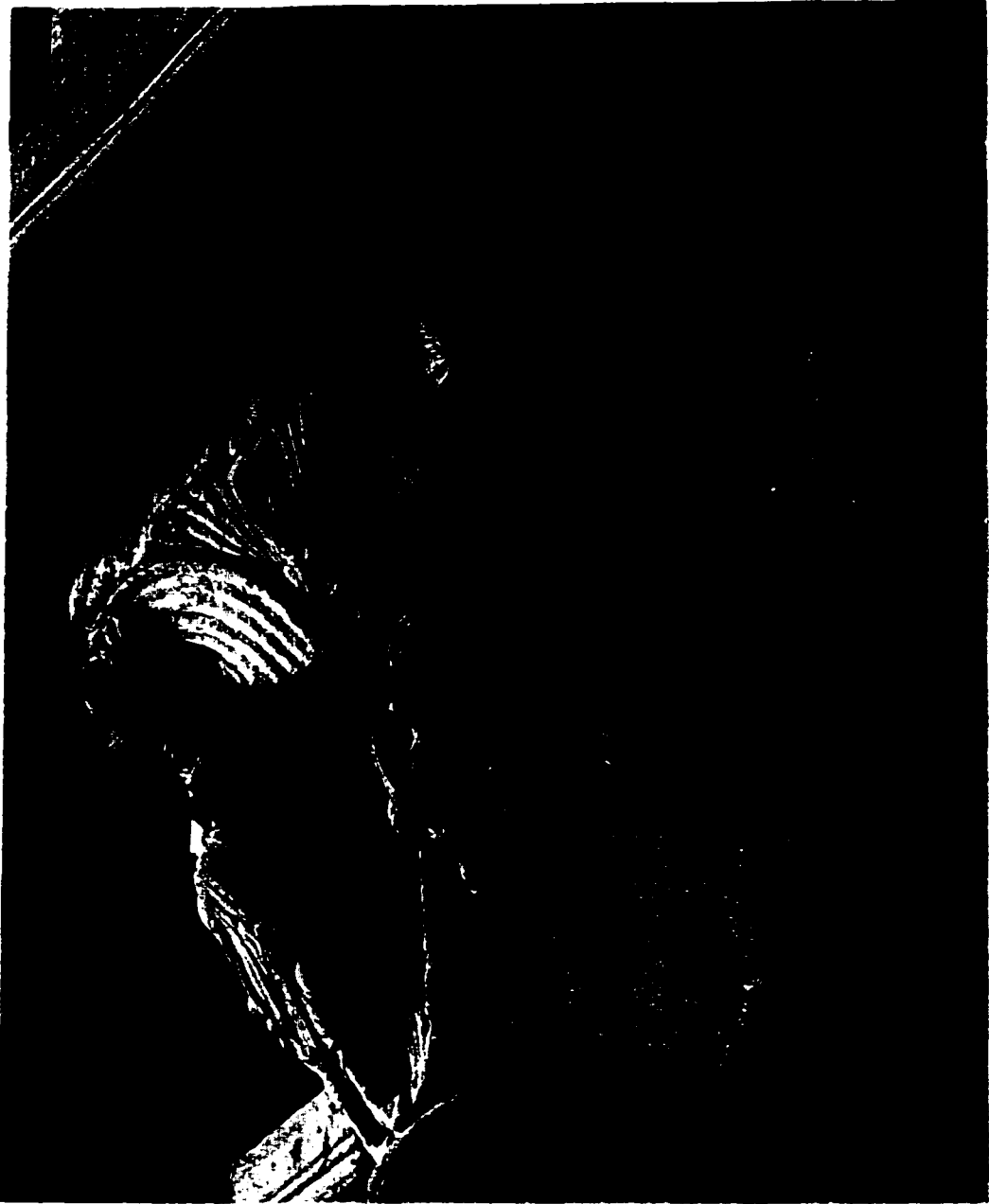
54. Vézelay, narthex capital 18, St John the Baptist is taken from prison (?).
Photo: James Austin.
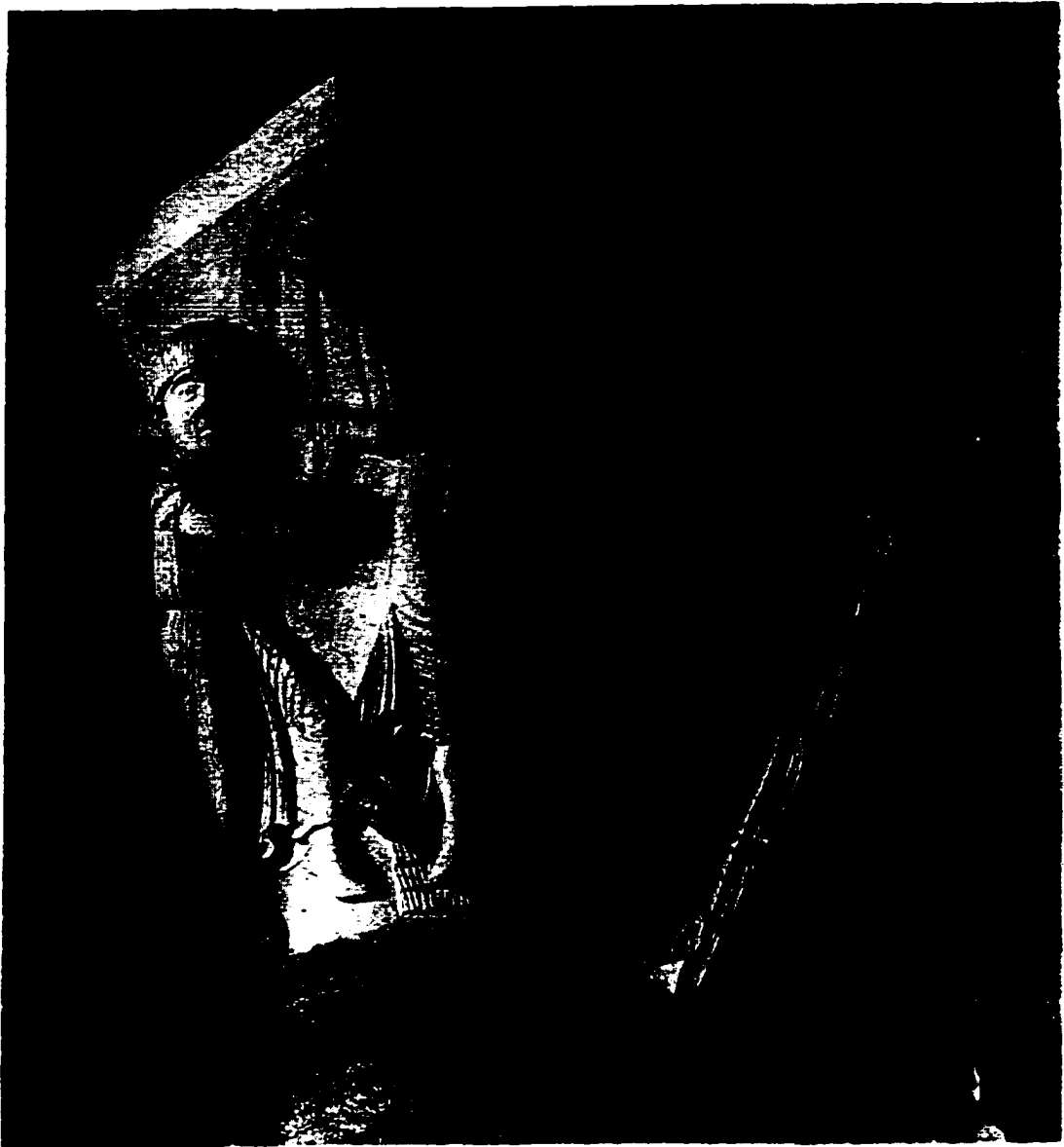
55. Vézelay, narthex capital 20, St. Benedict resurrects a youth.
Photo: James Austin.
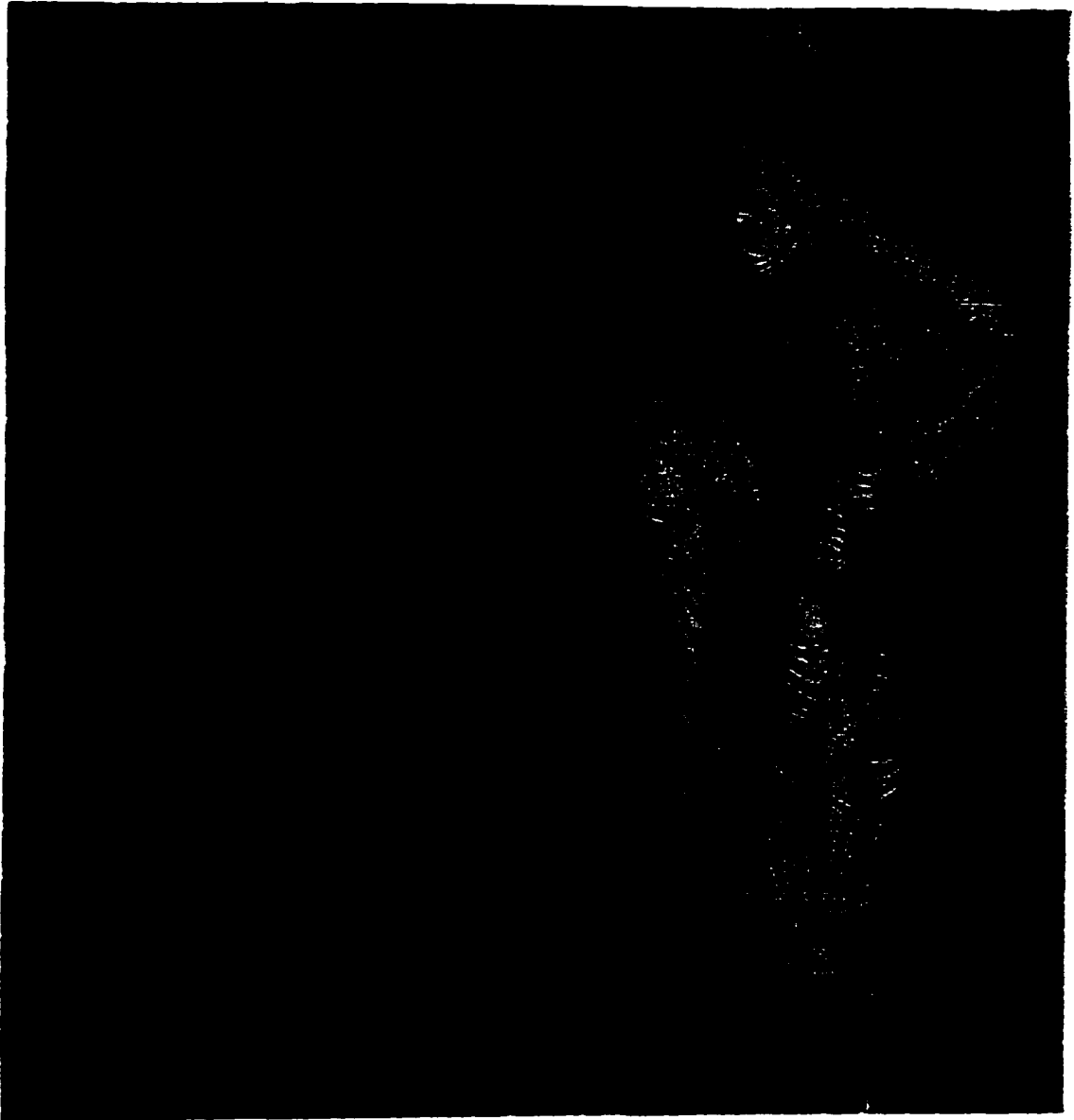
56. Vézelay, narthex capital 20, father and resurrected son.
Photo: James Austin.

57. Vézelay, narthex capital 38, Raising of Lazarus.
After Saulnier and Stratford, Sculpture oubliée, figs. 93-94.

58. Vézelay, Viollet-le-Duc drawing of narthex capital 46, the Ascension. Photo: Monuments Historiques.

59. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Barb. Lat. 2733, fol. 89, drawing of the murals of John VII's Oratory in Old St. Peter's Rome. By Giacomo Grimaldi. Photo: Foto Biblioteca Vaticana.
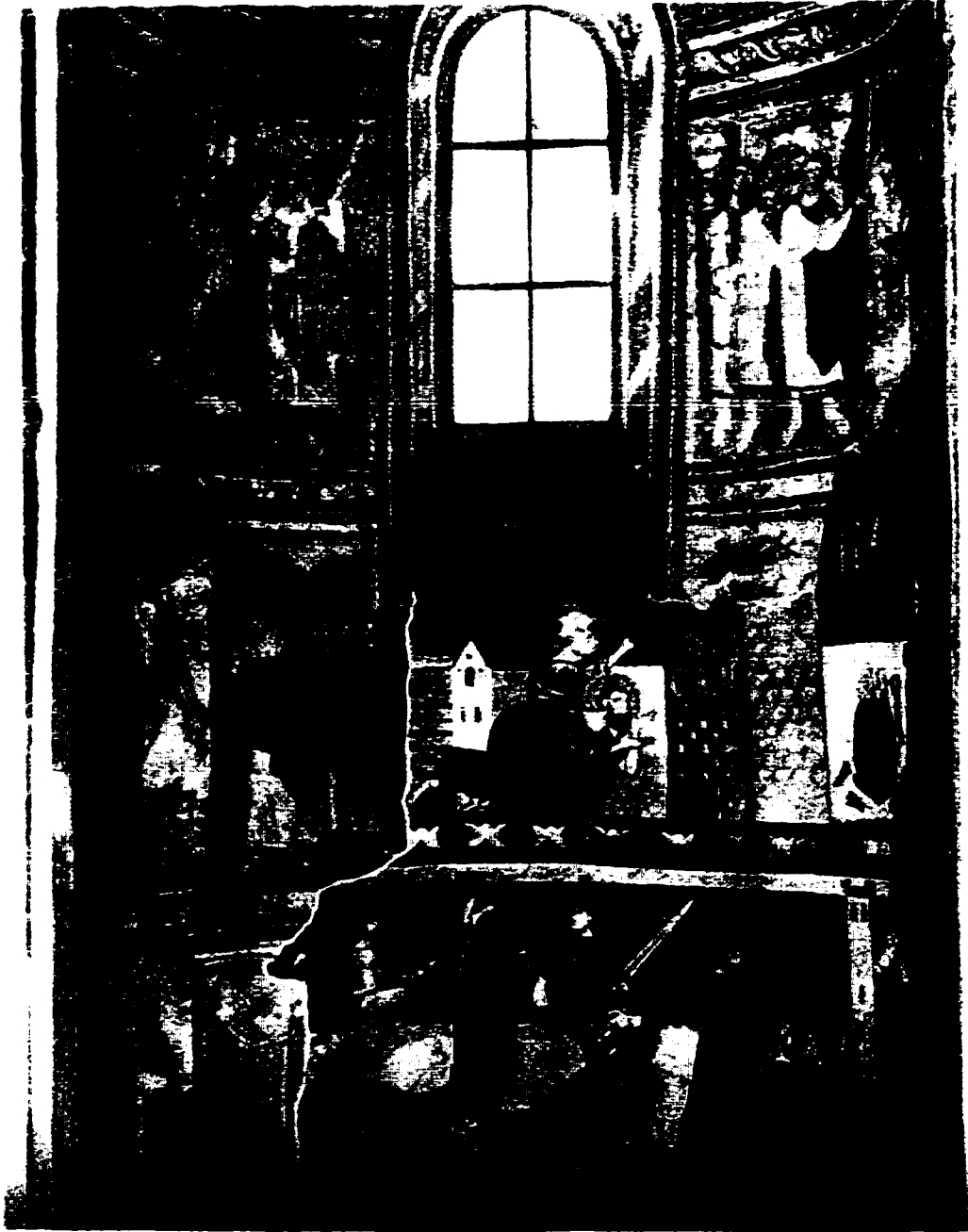
60. Müstair, apse frescos.
After Weis, "Petruszyklus," fig. 24b.
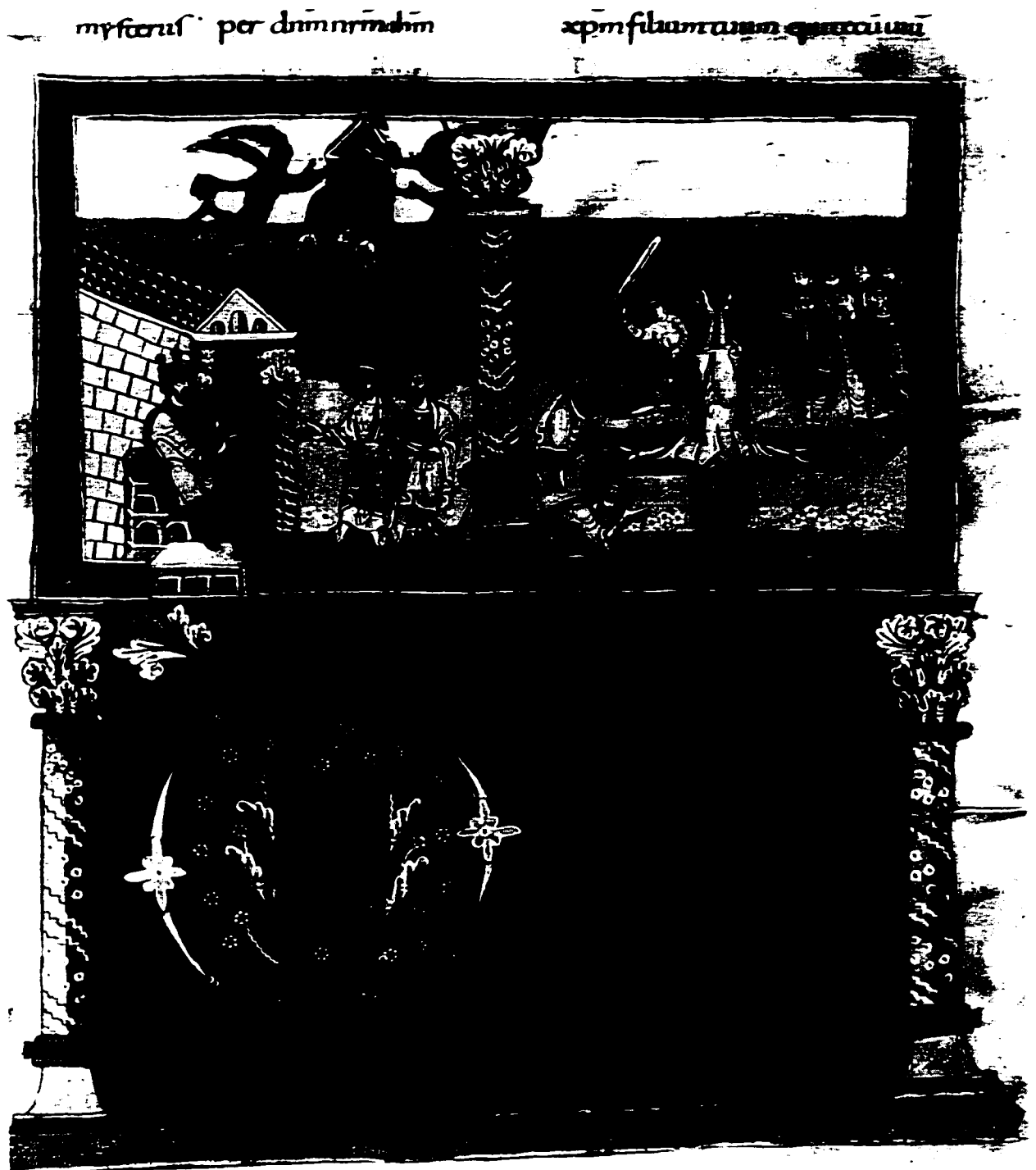
61. Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. theol. 231, fol. 83, the fall of Simon Magus.
Photo: Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen.

62. Moissac, cloister capital, the fall of Simon Magus.
Photo: James Austin.

63. Autun, St. Lazare cathedral, nave capital, the flight of Simon Magus.
After Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, fig. 35.
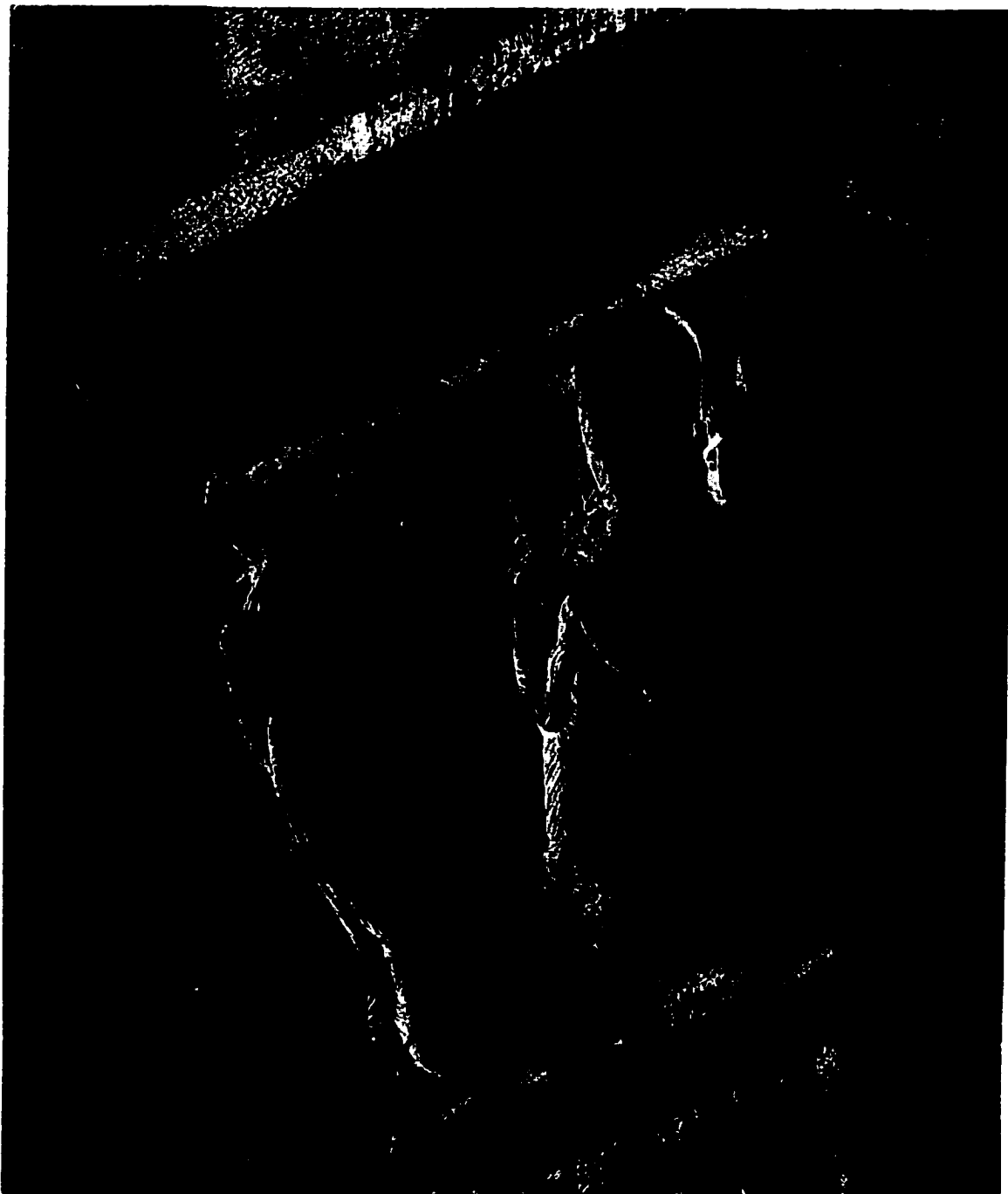
64. Autun, St. Lazare cathedral, nave capital, the fall of Simon Magus.
After Grivot and Zarnecki, *Gislebertus*, fig. 38a.

65. Toulouse, St. Sernin cathedral, the fall of Simon Magus.
After Rupprecht, *Romanische Skulptur*, fig. 19.
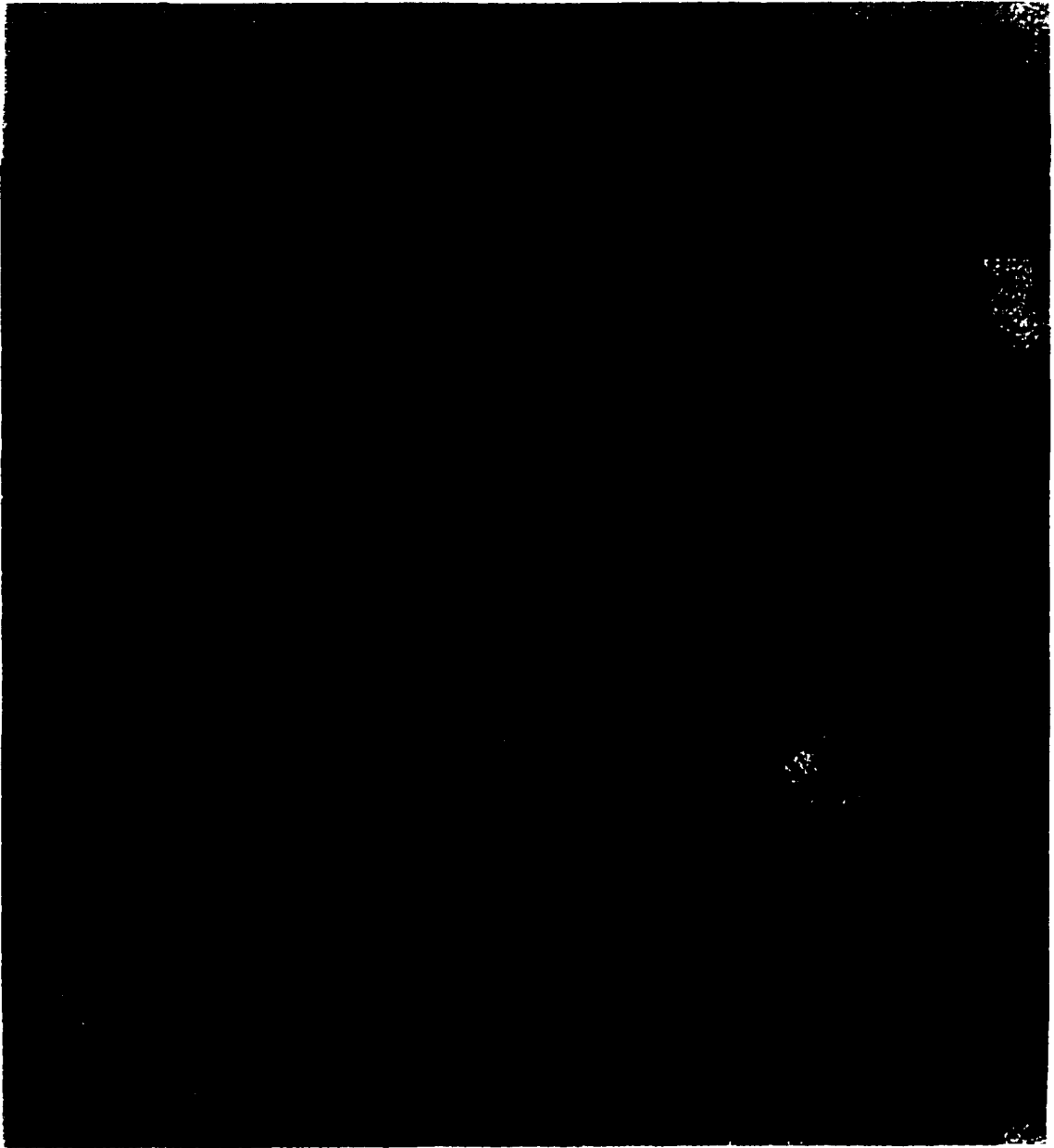
66. Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum, Graphische Sammlung, inv. No. Ramboux, 33, the fall of
Simon Magus. By J.A. Ramboux, after Cimabue
Photo: Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.
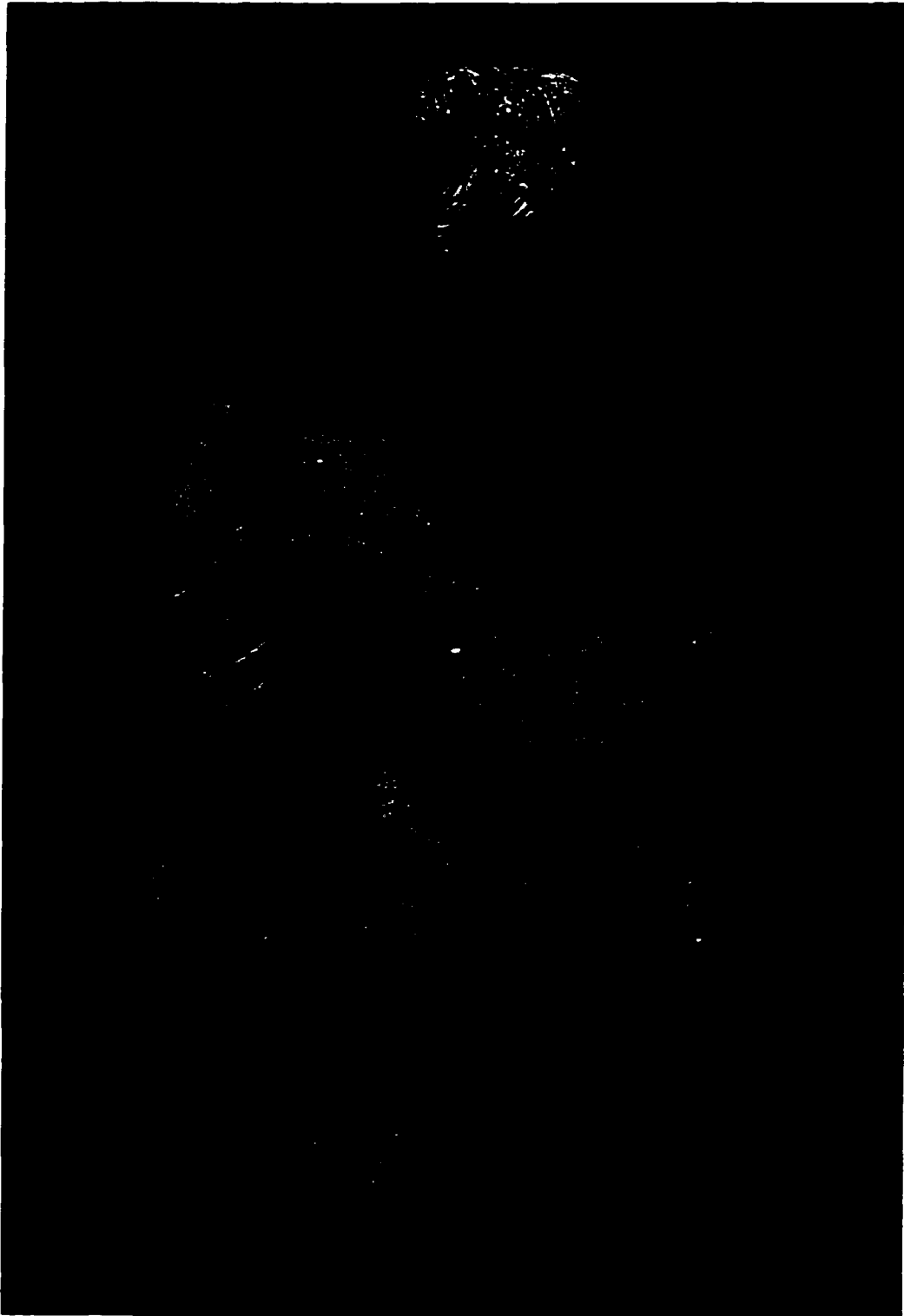
67. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, museum appropriation, St. Peter from Cluny III.
Photo: Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.
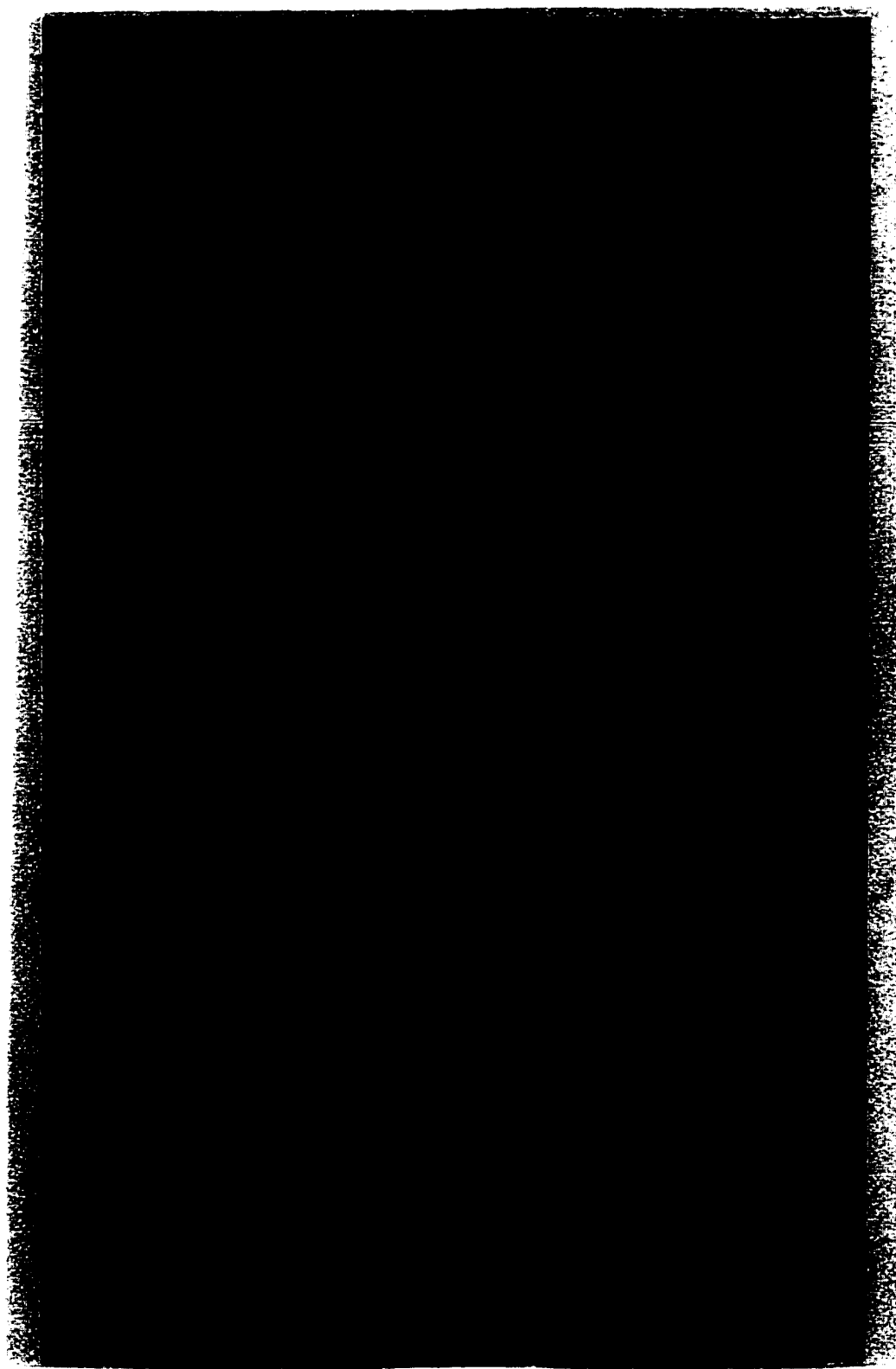
68. Cluny III, lithograph of the west portal of the nave, first published in 1836 after a drawing of Émile Sagot.
Photo: Neil Stratford.

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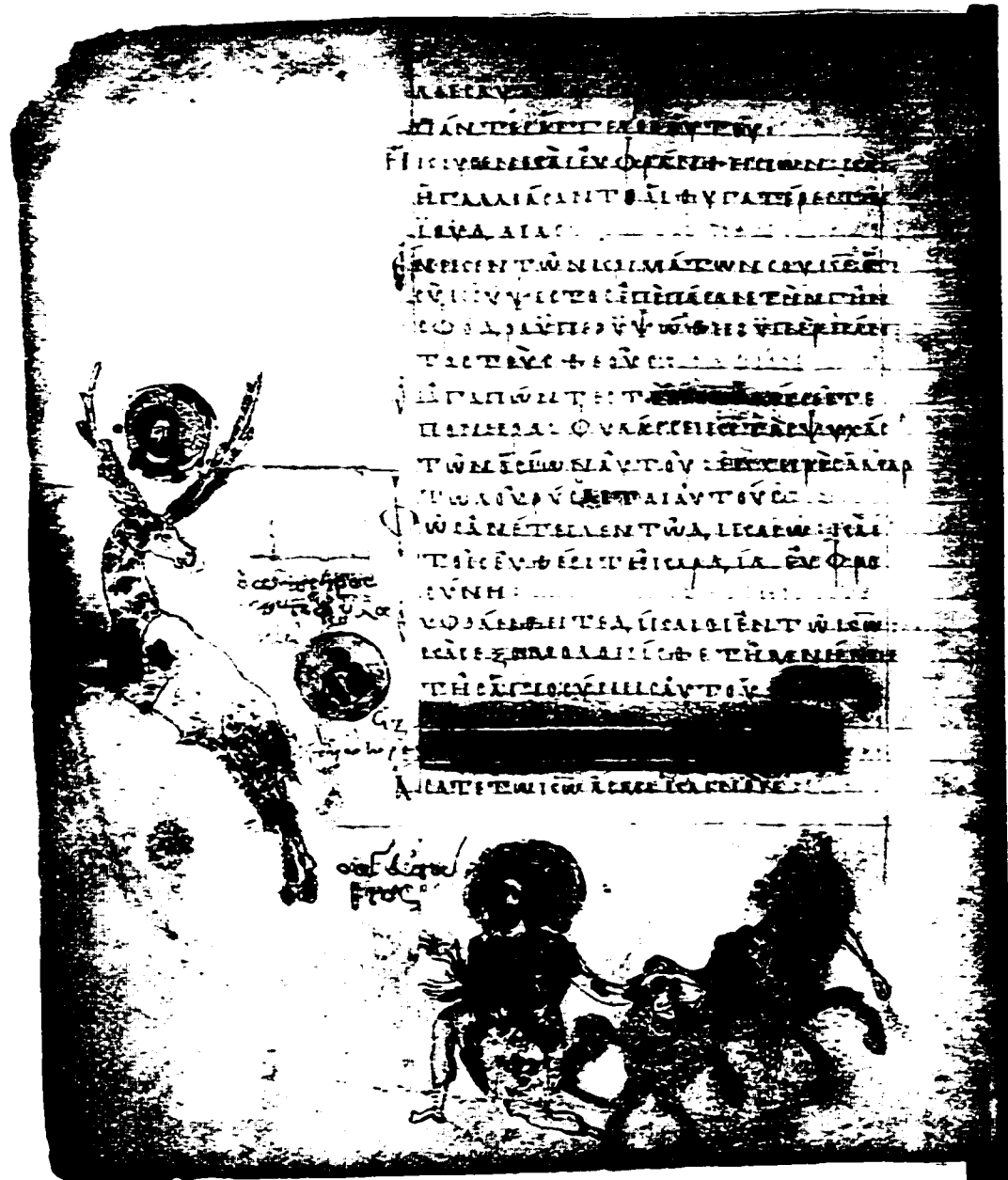
69. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 29, fol. 58v, St. Eustace.
Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
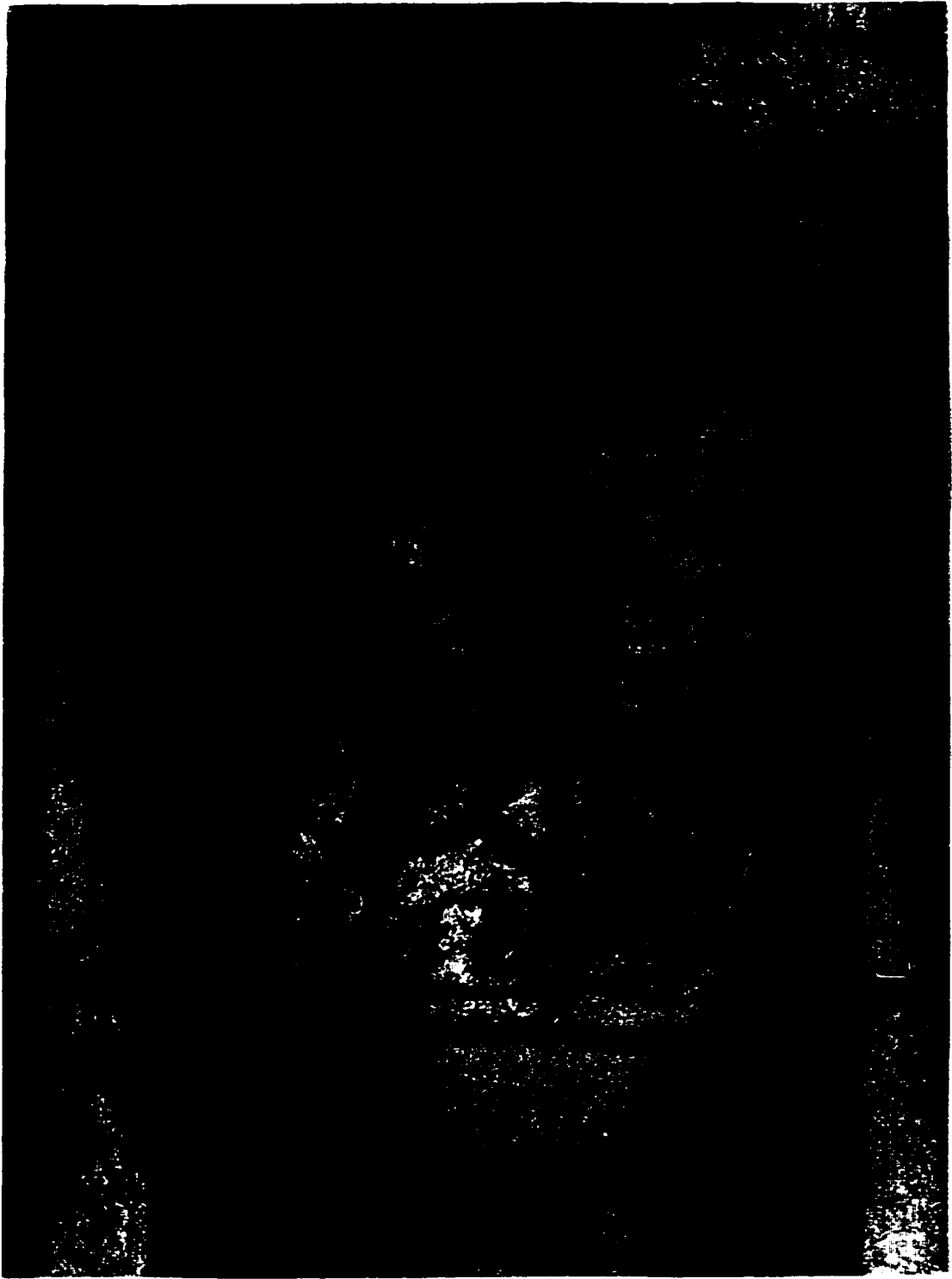
70. Autun, capital of the west façade, St. Eustace.
After Grivot and Zarnecki, Gislebertus, pl. 52b.

71. Ravenna, mosaic in the Archbishop's Palace, St. Eugenia.
After Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten*, fig. 238.

72. Bibliothèque de Tours, ms. 193, fol. 78v, St. Martin and the Pine Tree.
Photo: Bibliothèque de Tours.

73. Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, nave capital, temptation of St. Benedict
Photo: James Austin.

74. Cluny III, nave capital, the Fall.
Photo: James Austin.

75. Anzy-le-Duc, south tympanum.
Photo: James Austin.

76. Neuilly-en-Donjon, tympanum.
Photo: James Austin.

77. Rome, Saint Paul Outside the Walls, Bible, fol. 8v, Genesis frontispiece.
After Kessler, *Bibles from Tours*, fig. 4.

78. London, British Library, Cod. Add. 10546, fol. 5v, Genesis frontispiece.
After Kessler, *Bibles from Tours*, fig. 1.

79. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Pal. Lat. 291, fol. 75, Marvels of the East. After le Berrurier, *Pictorial Sources*, fig. 2.

80. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W.539, fol. 379, Pentecost.
After Der Nersessian, *Armenian Mauniscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, pl. 83.

81. Moscow, State Historical Museum GIM 86795 or Khlud. 129-d, fol. 19v,
Christ surrounded by cynocephalics.
After Shchepkina, *Miniatury khludovskoi psaltyr*.

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82. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10500, fol. 99v.
Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

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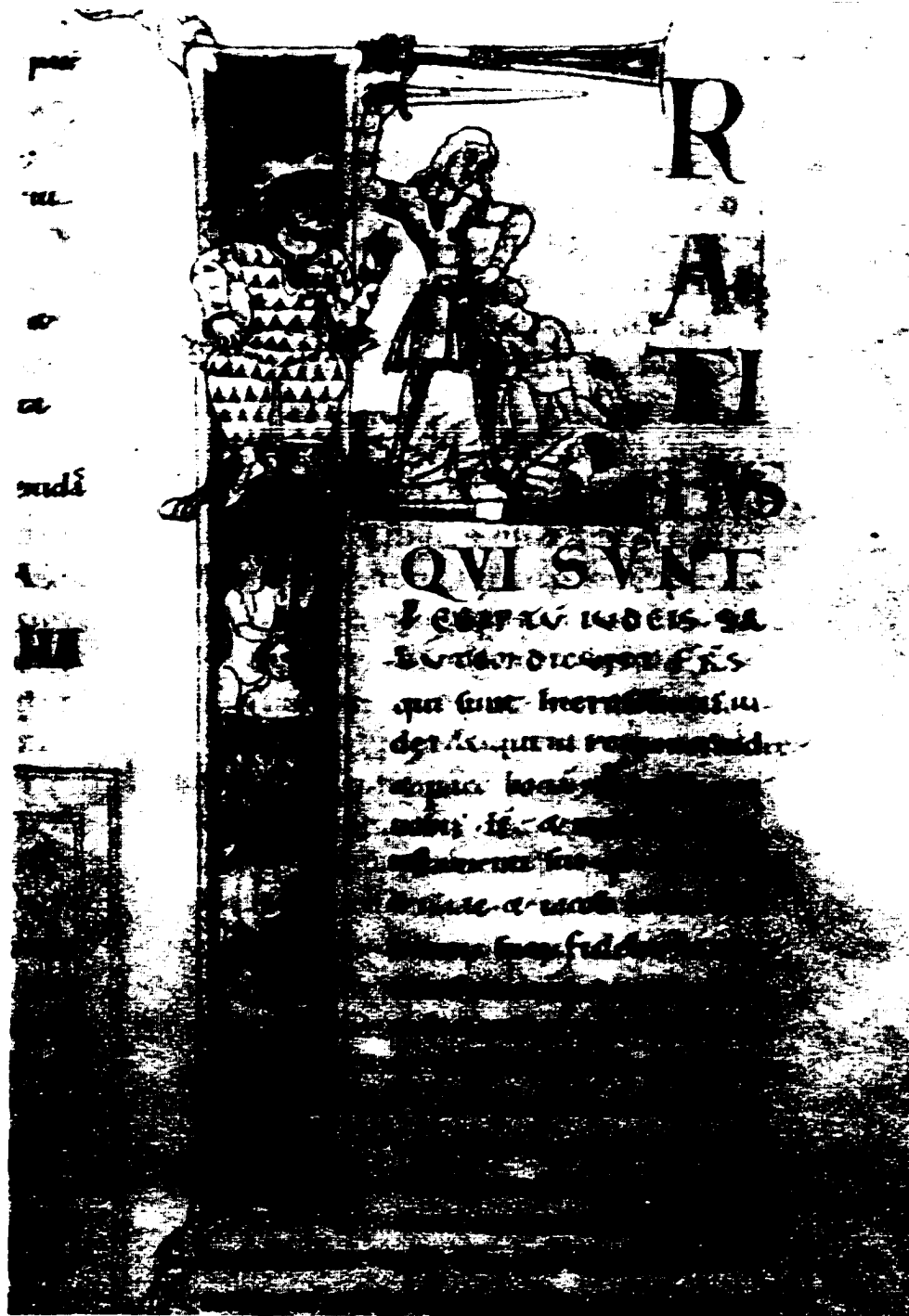
83. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 14, fol. 173, death of the idolatrous Jew.
Photo: Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon.

84. London, British Library, ms. Add. 19352, fol. 181, death of Absalom.
After Der Nersessia, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, fig. 284.

85. London, British Library, ms. Harley Roll Y.6., Guthlac is tonsured.
After *The Guthlac Roll*, fig. 3.

86. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 14, fol. 122v, death of Haman.
Photo: Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon.

87. Verona, San Zeno, bronze doors, an angel kills Pharaoh's son.
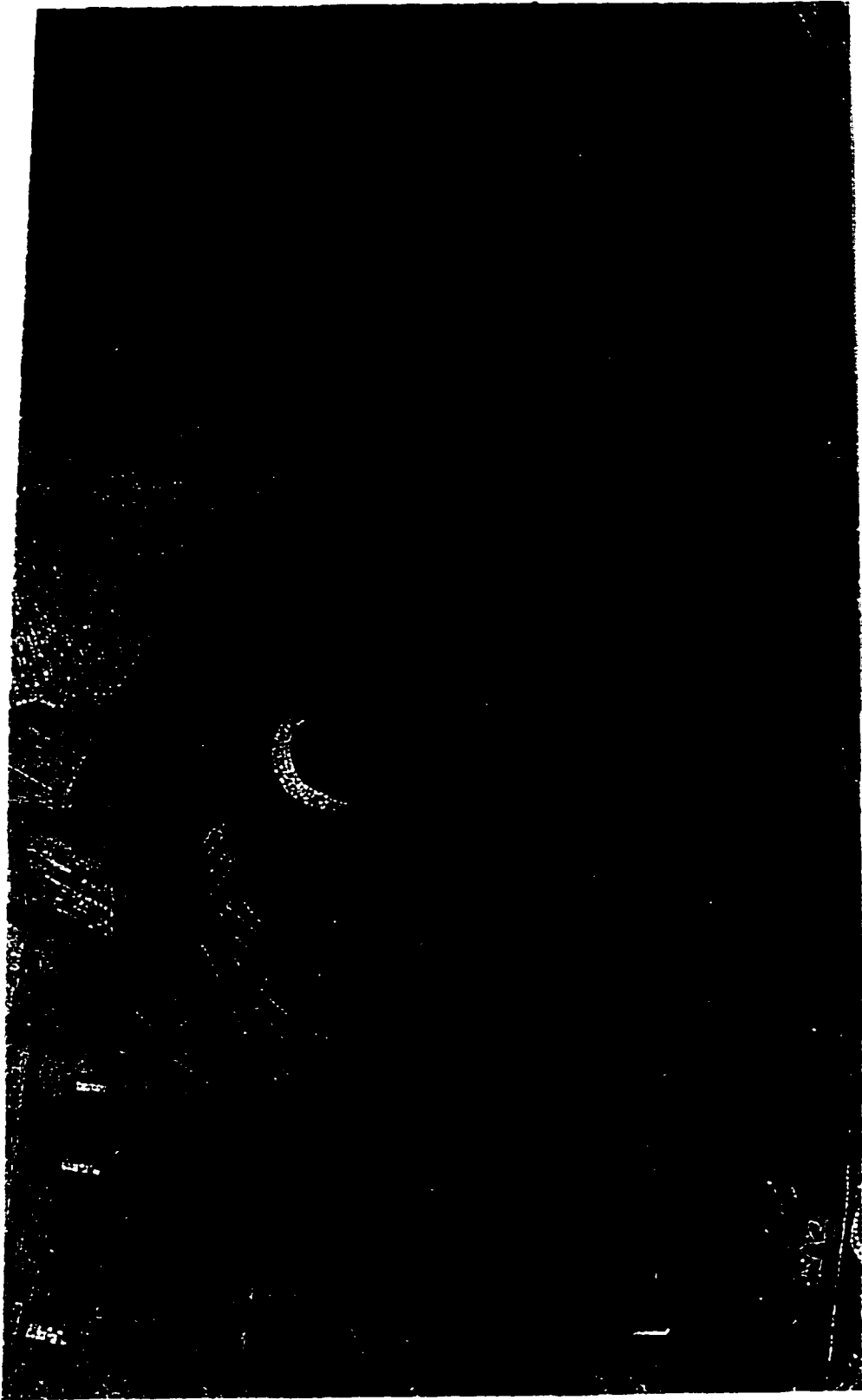After Neumann, *Studien zu den Bildfeldern*, fig. 35.
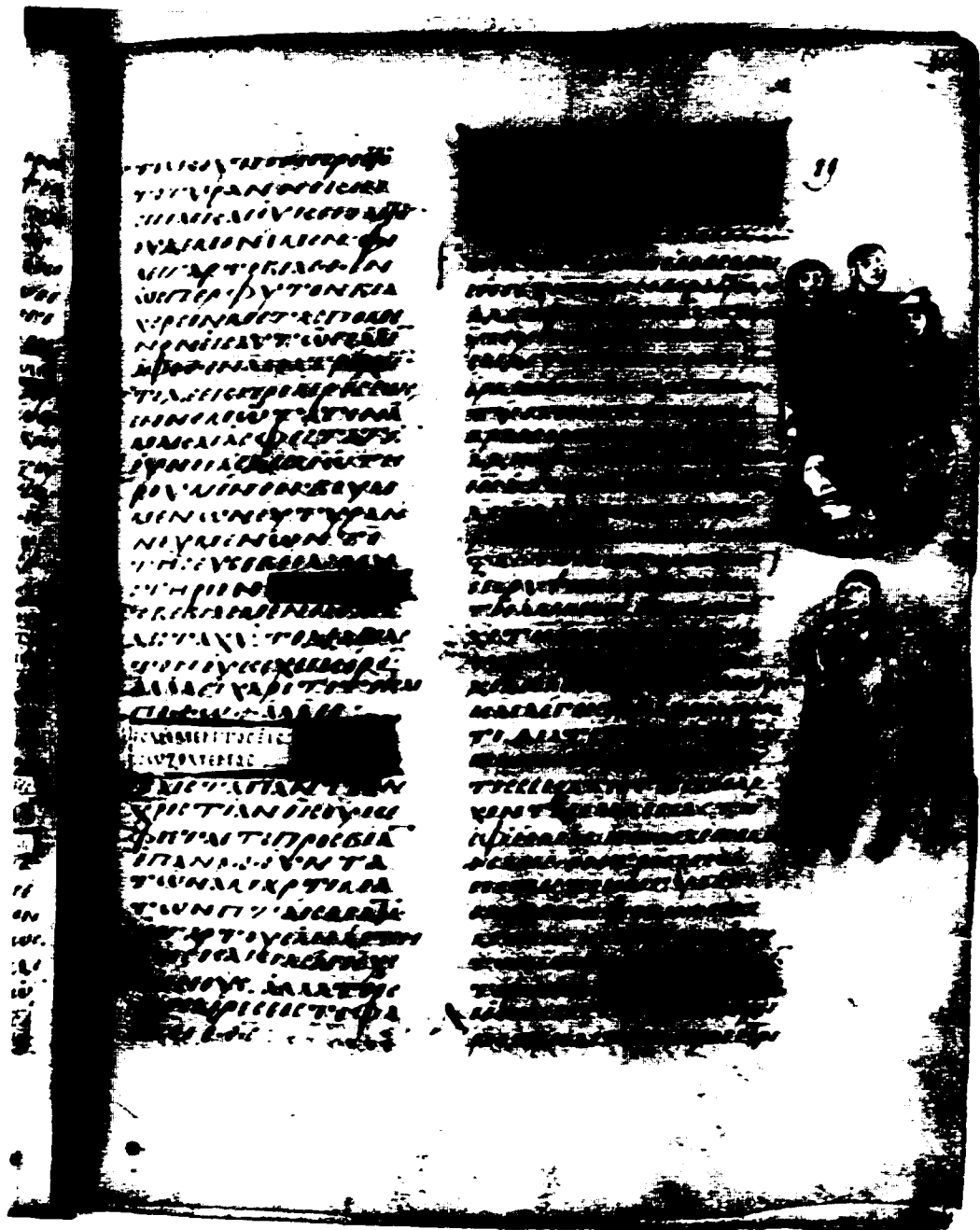
88. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 223, fol. 89, Moses buries the head of the
Egyptian.
Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

89. León, R.C. San Isidoro Cod. 2, fol. 138v, the death of Absalom.
After *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965): pl. 8d.

90. Venice, San Marco, Moses cupola, detail, Moses slays the Egyptian. After B. Bertoli, *I mosaici di San Marco*, Milan, 1986, pl. 67.