few possessions, costumes or accessories. Yet their performances are often intriguing and unforgettable in their bizarre qualities.

P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, New York, 1978, pp. 149–69, 178–82.

36. M. Durand-Lefebvre, *Art gallo-romain et sculpture romane*, Paris, 1937, pp. 60–65; Adhémar, *Influences antiques*, pp. 186–89, includes the corbel figures among the various forms of Romanesque atlantes and caryatids. See also R. Crozet, 'Survivances antiques', *Bulletin monumental*, CXVII, 1956, p. 29; M. Renard, 'Des sculptures celtiques aux sculptures médiévales. Têtes coupées', *Latomus*, VII, 1948.
37. Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, ed. and trans. F. Granger, I: Book 1.5–7, Cambridge, Mass., 1962, pp. 9–13.
38. *Ibid.*, II: Book 6, Chap. VII p. 51.
39. L.D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission – A Survey of Latin Classics*, Oxford, 1983, pp. 440–43; C.H. Krinsky, 'Seventy-Eight Vitruvius Manuscripts', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXX, 1967, pp. 36–70; K.J. Conant, 'The After-Life of Vitruvius in the Middle Ages', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXVII, 1968, pp. 33–39; C. Ferguson O'Meara, *The Iconography of the Façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard*, New York, 1977, pp. 76–84, discusses Vitruvian texts describing the *scaenae frons* and their impact on the façade of Saint-Gilles.
40. Ch. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1877–1919, I, pp. 526–28. Atlas appears in Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV, 246, 741 as a musician.

    For classical representations of atlantes, see H. Stern, *Le calendrier de 354. Etude sur son texte et ses illustrations*, Paris, 1953, pp. 169–71 and pls. V 1–2, VI 1–2, VII 1; Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Rome, la fin de l'art antique*, pp. 145–47, fig. 137; K. Lehmann, 'The Dome of Heaven', *Art Bulletin*, XXVII, 1945, pp. 1–27; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertums wissenschaft*, II, Stuttgart, 1896, pp. 2122–133. Atlantes also appear in the form of centaurs and sirens. See Pauly-Wissowa, *ibid.*, pp. 2107–109.
41. A. Grabar, 'Trônes épiscopaux du XI[e] et XII[e] siècle en Italie méridionale', *Wallraf Richartz Jahrbuch*, XVI, 1954, pp. 7–52; Adhémar, *Influences antiques*, pp. 186–189; K. Noehles, 'Die Fassade von S. Pietro in Tuscania', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, IX/X, 1961/62, pp. 59–67; R. Barthal, *The Sculptural Program of the Cathedral of Oloron-Ste. Marie* (Unpublished diss., Tel Aviv University, 1985); Durand-Lefebvre, *Art gallo-romain*, pp. 208–09; E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, 'Les bénitiers cariatides', *Bulletin monumental*, LXXXII, 1923, pp. 185–88; R. Salvini, *Wiligelmo e le origini della scultura romanica*, Milan, 1956, pp. 84–85; C. Verzar-Bornstein, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State: The Sculpture of Nicholaus in Context*, Parma, 1988, pp. 58–67.
42. For atlantes in manuscript illuminations, see D. Gaborit-Chopin, *La décoration des manuscrits à Saint-Martial de Limoges et en Limousin du IX[e] au XII[e] siècle*, Paris, Geneva, 1969, pp. 86–100, and p. 166 (index: 'acrobate'), pls. 95, 97, 103; T. Sauvel, 'Les manuscrits limousins. Essai sur les liens qui les unissent à la sculpture monumentale, aux émaux et aux vitraux', *Bulletin monumental*, CVIII, 1950, pp. 117–44.

CHAPTER 3

Gothic marginal sculpture

In the thirteenth century the location of the corbel series changes drastically. Instead of being installed on the outside of Romanesque churches they are now placed inside them, as running friezes dividing the lower and upper zones of the walls. Thus, the series are situated much higher than before, still more remote from the observer's eye, almost entirely invisible in fact. On the other hand, they become more expansive, each series now comprising about 150 corbels.

Through the explicit rendering of articulated details, facial expressions and elongated proportions, the hermetic Romanesque corbels[1] give way to much more revealing images. Nevertheless, the two factors essential to the corbels' code of representation – gesticulation and transgression of the official language – continue to be their hallmark.

Facial expressions, however, now show a much wider range and postures are more numerous and varied. The pictorial formula for the depiction of emotions becomes more articulate – people are not shown only in the more extreme emotional states, such as shouting, laughing, and so on. They present a more complex range of feelings and emotions. Thus pain, despair and protest are now rendered more variably and with a greater repertoire of expressions and gestures. Transgressions of the official code can still be observed in the choice of imagery as well as in the choice of forms. Both have been derived from official art, but are deliberately used for purposes indigenous to marginal art.

The new Gothic subjects and images

Subjects that were rare in the Romanesque corbel series become common in the thirteenth century. Seated figures of merchants and craftsmen, identified by tools of their trade, can now frequently be observed; so can peasants, engaged in various occupations. At the same time, an entirely new set of images is introduced: the new class of burghers, with their urban costumes and attributes, can be seen, as well as images of the nobility and the clergy, including bishops.

But the most outstanding among the newly created images are those of the true

marginals of society. The sick, the paralysed, the lepers, the deformed and disabled, the physically and mentally defective – people who were at this time in history incapable of physical or mental rehabilitation – now become the dominant theme of various series. These expressive depictions of marginals are often accompanied by figures of domestic animals, such as dogs, or of monkeys, that look as hungry and neglected as their masters.

Unlike the Romanesque period, the relationship between Gothic marginal sculpture and Gothic official art manifests a dichotomy between form and image. A certain approximation to the forms used in the *smaller* items of official sculpture (for example, on archivolts) may now be observed; and certain details – depictions of flora, for example – are adopted equally in the official and marginal sculpture. However, the images of marginal sculpture become starkly realistic, depicting hundreds of types, occupations and professions on the one hand, and images of sickness and deformities on the other. Such renderings may be compared to certain medieval literary texts that describe the sick and the poor.

As in the Romanesque, most of the Gothic corbel series continue to be installed as part of an overall programme. In some series the corbels continue to serve as atlantes, in others they lose this function and just remain 'sitting in the margins'. Thus, in Gothic times the location seems to have been more meaningful to the patrons than the function of the individual figures.

Several prominent images from the twelfth century persist in the Gothic series, represented in different forms. However, their meaning for their creators and for their patrons appears to change. This transformation is epitomized in the treatment of the jongleur images. In the twelfth century the jongleurs had been widely acclaimed well-known artists, and had thus been depicted as painstaking professional performers, who were the outstanding protagonists of popular culture. In the thirteenth century the images of these performers become stereotyped as well as much less frequent. The depictions of jongleurs are now mostly limited to types of jongleur women who smile as they perform a somersault or an acrobatic act on hands and knees. The change in approach to the representations of jongleurs may indicate a change in their social status. In various towns jongleurs became citizens during the thirteenth century and were absorbed into the urban social structure. In many places they even formed their own societies or guilds.[2] Hence, the vagabond performers of yesteryear became part of urban life. In addition, the virtual disappearance of Romanesque images of monstrous creatures points perhaps to an urban society that was increasingly rational and less in thrall to fears of the unknown.

The patrons of Gothic marginal sculpture

It seems to me that in the thirteenth century the relation of the patrons to the corbels changed. This can be deduced from several factors: firstly, the corbels are located

inside the church; secondly, images of bishops and princes which might refer to the patrons themselves have been included in the series; and thirdly, the preoccupation with marginal people, the strong and constant images of the poor and the sick, hints that there was a feeling among the ecclesiastical and lay patrons that they were great performers of the Works of Mercy.

The change of imagery in the thirteenth century seems to reflect a new social situation and perhaps also different types of patrons, although the identity of the latter is only seldom known to us. This hypothesis will be examined by looking at two case studies, the first being the Gothic corbel series of the cathedral of St Maurice in Angers and the second, the series at the church of Notre Dame in Semur-en-Auxois.

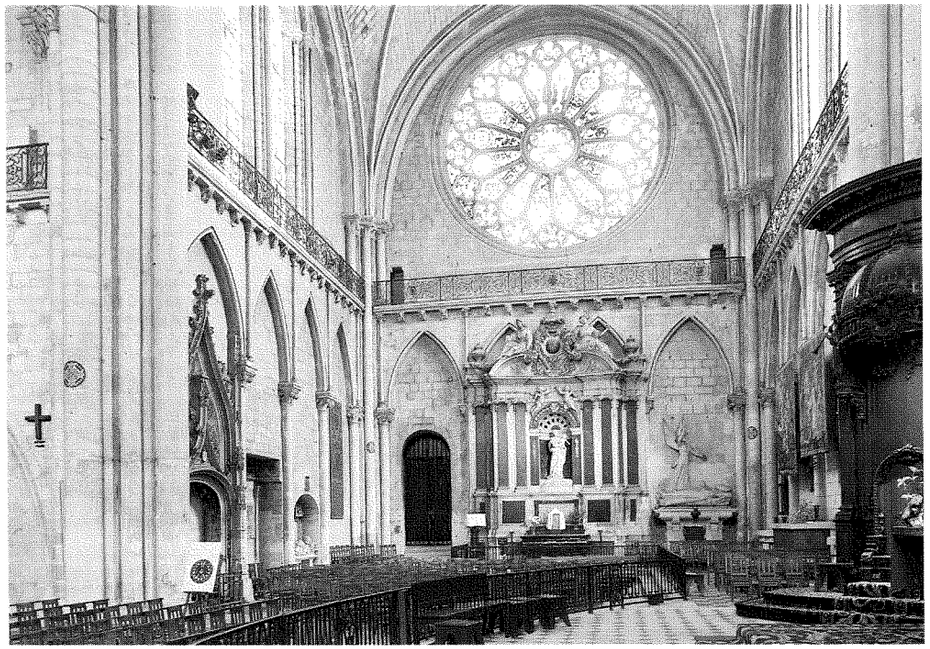
A Gothic mirror of society: the 150 corbels of Guillaume de Beaumont, Bishop of Angers (1202–1240)

Writing in about 1275, Cuonrad, cantor of Zurich Cathedral, included in his *Summa de arte prosandi* an impressive list of marginal people: *pauperes, debiles, ceci, claudi, manci, loripedes vel alios corpore deformati* (the poor, the crippled, the blind, the lame, the maimed, the crook-footed and others deformed in body), as well as various kinds of jongleurs, performers and musicians, prostitutes and the like.[3] The choice of such particular groups or types of people for a specific marginal programme reflects, I believe, the intentions and attitudes of individual patrons and artists.[4]

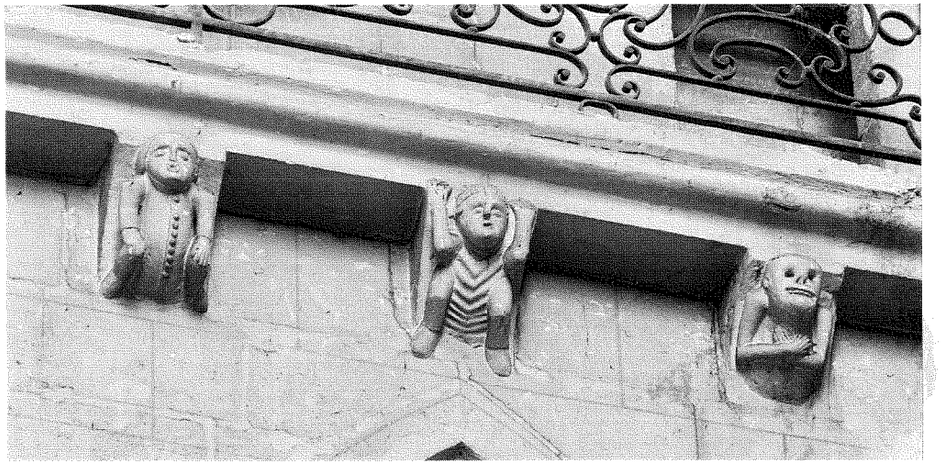
The corbel series of the cathedral of St Maurice in Angers, which has not yet been systematically studied, may serve as a case in point.[5] This series runs along the inner walls of the two transepts and the choir of the cathedral and divides the upper and lower areas of the wall (pl. 3.1–4 and App. VI).[6] The dating of the work can be deduced from the architectural history of the transepts and the choir. André Mussat has convincingly demonstrated that Guillaume de Beaumont, bishop of Angers during the years 1202–1240, initiated their construction.[7] Already, in the first years of his episcopate, he had established a foundation *ad fabricam* which was to finance the building of the cathedral for the next ten years.[8] In 1209 he forbade the taking of any of the cathedral materials for private use,[9] and in 1236 he gave up a part of the episcopal palace to allow for the building of the north transept.[10] Most scholars agree that by the time of his death in 1240 both transepts and the choir square were completed, as Guillaume was buried in the crossing and the canons moved their stalls there.[11] However, the date of the completion of the apse hemicycle is problematic. A charter of 1274 mentions that Charles of Anjou gave permission for the Gallo-Roman wall of the city to be breached to build the apse, yet Mussat remarks that the stylistic analogies between the apse and the square of the choir are remarkable, and therefore tends to date the apse's hemicycle to the 1250s.[12] Jane Hayward and Louis Grodecki share this opinion.[13] In fact, the hemicycle cannot be dated much later than 1250,

3.1 Angers, St Maurice, from the west.

3.2 Angers, St Maurice, interior from west.



3.3 Angers, St Maurice, north transept.



3.4 Angers, St Maurice, north transept, corbels of western wall.

because the cathedral's obituary informs us that Stephanus de Azario, who died in 1249, began to build *maximam partem capitis ecclesiae et duo membra, dextram scilicet et sinistram* (the greater part of the choir and the two divisions, that is the right and the left [meaning the transept]), and the work was completed within a short time.[14] Thus, the corbel series of transepts, choir and hemicycle seem to be of much the same period. Probably those corbels situated in the south transept are the earliest; the corbels of the choir square follow and the corbels of the north transept may be safely dated after 1236.

In general, the corbel series modifies the Romanesque sculptural tradition of western France, in which they were usually located under the roof and along the entire outer walls of churches. As I have shown elsewhere, Romanesque corbel series for the most part represented the following groups of subjects: (1) animals and monsters; (2) human images of people on the margins of society, such as vagabonds, jongleurs, acrobats and women in extreme emotional states. Because of their location on the outer walls of churches it was possible to create these series as marginal art, where the ideas of the sculptors and the intentions of the patrons could meet. Whereas the patrons regarded the marginal figures as a gallery of sinners, the artists used them to portray their own lay and popular culture.[15]

The corbel series

The south transept

In Angers the corbel series of the south transept is probably the earliest. It consists of 30 corbels occurring in groups of three above each arch (pl. 3.5–6). They present images from the urban and lower classes, several of them of allegoric nature. Unlike in Romanesque corbel series, only a few monsters appear dispersed among the figures. The majority of the figures can be identified by their costumes, gestures, and the way they are seated. The series includes various types, from a cowled monk seated on the floor in meditation to three variations of beard-puller images. All three of the latter variations are reminiscent of the allegorical Romanesque figure who expresses his despair through the gesture of pulling his beard.[16] Only one of the images calls to mind the older Romanesque model, however; the two others have been transformed into 'genre' pictures of seated men.

Other images in the series include three male urban figures, all seated frontally. The first wears a long draped habit and a bonnet tied under his chin; his hands are on his knees, displaying a round object (perhaps a covered jar). The second and third figures wear draped garments and square hats over their long stylized hair. These hats may be the kind worn by Jews of the period, being of the same shape as the hats worn by Old Testament figures from the Jesse scene in the archivolts of the central portal of Chartres Cathedral's northern façade.[17] The remaining figures in the south transept belong mostly to the burgher class, with some members of the lower classes, as, for

3.5 Angers, St Maurice, western wall of south transept, corbels: naked man in brick vessel; man holding up corbel.

3.6 Angers, St Maurice, western wall of south transept, corbels: bearded male bust; squatting male, with hood on chest.

example, two men wearing short tunics slit down the middle.

The choir

In the corbels on the two walls of the choir square a few members of the nobility and clergy are dispersed among people from the lower classes and the margins of society. An aged woman dances and laughs grotesquely, a male and a female acrobat perform a complicated act together, a woman acrobat performs on hands and knees. These – along with images of two peasants with comely faces and two musicians – are the most outstanding pieces. In addition, two men crouch on the floor, holding their cheeks with their hands and crying; a turbaned Moor with a short curly beard is crouched on the floor with legs folded Oriental fashion. Next to him, a warrior holding a sword (perhaps his master) is seated on a chair. These are shown alongside several images of nobles: a bust image of a young nobleman and a noblewoman, a hawk trainer, and the seated figures of learned high-status people – one is holding up his tablets to show to the worshippers, and another is reading from them. In the apse, the bust of a bishop appears next to figures of the handicapped, and the figures of angels and some dignitaries are depicted next to additional marginals.

The corbels of the choir and apse do not demonstrate a clear narrative sequence. Although images of the clergy appear on the apse, and those of the nobility mainly on the choir's northern wall, together they do not form a coherent narrative.

The northern transept

The corbel series of the north transept is unique. Here are depicted 34 individual figures of the sick and the poor (pl. 3.4, 7–13). Each of them is exhibiting his disability to the observer. People paralysed in the legs or hands, people with open wounds, people with hunger-swollen bellies, people with distorted faces, lepers with truncated limbs, together with the crippled and the frozen – all crouch on the floor in the company of several pilgrims and poor folk, who are shown standing. The costumes may be described as odd. Several are sleeveless draped tunics that cover the whole body. Others are buttoned tunics; the buttons may be square or round, sometimes few in number, in other cases running the length of the garment. Buttons are also depicted on the sleeve of one of the figures. (Buttoned costumes are a feature that date from the beginning of the thirteenth century: pl. 3.7)[18]

These figures were not created as depictions of human monsters or sinners, but as a gallery of *les misérables* begging for charity and care.

Models and sources

The formal models for the figures of the south transept and choir can be found in various groups of small figures represented in the official Gothic sculpture of the time.

3.7 Angers, St Maurice, western wall of north transept, corbels: cripple with swollen face and body; sitting man with buttoned garment.

3.8 Angers, St Maurice, north wall of north transept, corbels: squatting woman; deformed man.

3.9 Angers, St Maurice, north wall of north transept, corbel: figure with crippled leg.

3.10 Angers, St Maurice, west wall of north transept, corbel: one of the wretched.

3.11 Angers, St Maurice, north wall of north transept, corbel: crouching woman, afraid.

3.12 Angers, St Maurice, north wall of north transept, corbel: dwarfish man.

3.13 Angers, St Maurice, east wall of north transept, corbel: suffering man seated on floor.

One example is the contemporary expressive marmoset figures of the northern and southern façades of Chartres Cathedral.[19] Another example is the archivolt figures of the central portal of Chartres Cathedral's northern façade which demonstrate a preoccupation with small seated figures. However, there are many differences. The small seated figures[20] from the Old Testament in the Jesse scene of Chartres are seated on benches and thrones; they are well proportioned, their garments are formal or idealized, their gestures dignified.

In contrast, the figures on the corbels of Angers are of specific people, dressed in contemporary costume. These figures are naturalistic and differ from one another. Stereotypes are not repeated: instead of kings and revered persons, representations of living people are rendered. Hence, the Angers figures might be read as a deliberate deviation from – transgression of – the codes of the seated figures at Chartres. Moreover, the subject matter reflects elements indigenous to the tradition of Romanesque corbels in western France, as, for example, in the corbel series of the churches of St Pierre in Aulnay or of Matha-Marestay.[21] The originality of the Angers figures seems to be the product of an intentional deviation from the art of Chartres on the one hand, and a dependence on local sculptural traditions on the other. Indeed, the corbels of the south transept demonstrate a transitional phase between the expressive and grotesque Romanesque corbels and the explicit depiction of people with composed expressions and reserved gestures, and the realistic rendering of material objects.

The images of the wretched and disabled in the north transept cannot be traced to specific earlier pictorial sources, such as, for example, the representation of the sick in scenes of Christ's miracles or those of the saints. There, the paralytics and lepers are presented in conventional schemes, as those upon whom grace is bestowed. In Angers, in contrast, they are depicted autonomously and objectively. They receive neither punishment nor salvation but simply exhibit to the observer their terrible misfortunes. Compared to contemporaneous corbels with similar subjects, in the cathedral of St Pierre[22] and in the church of Ste Radegonde in Poitiers, for instance,[23] where the corbels depict marginal people as sinners and outsiders in a stylized manner, the Angers sick are concrete people. They confront the observer with the bitter reality of the margins.

The visual presentation of the poor and the sick in Angers can be compared to literary descriptions of the same people as they appear in hagiographic and miracle stories of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. P. Segal[24] has demonstrated that in these writings the misfortunes most routinely featured are those of various kinds of paralytics, the *mal d'ardent*, and the blind.

The codes

In the entire series social stratification is rendered in one way: by seating the figures in various postures. All figures representing the clergy, the nobility and the burghers

are seated on chairs and benches. In this context sitting indicates social rank, and reflects traditional images of an enthroned Christ and Virgin, and of kings, bishops, clergy and nobility seated on chairs and benches. In contrast, the poor, sick, and people from the margins of society mostly crouch on the floor, legs folded or distorted – the traditional mode for sinners or the poor. Thus, for example, the soldiers near the tomb of Christ in the scene of his resurrection usually crouch on the floor. The poor squat under the tomb of St Nicolas, as in the contemporary tympanum of the southern façade of Chartres Cathedral.[25] Hence, the mode of seating various figures serves the artists of Angers as an essential metaphor in communicating with the observer.

Garments are also symbolic – those of the upper classes, clergy, nobility and burghers being long and draped, and those of the marginals and lower classes being short, slit up the middle, sleeveless and often buttoned. Similarly, the expressions and gestures of the upper classes are reserved, while those of the lower world are extreme and expressive. One hard-to-decipher metaphor is the use of pairs of branches on four corbels. On two corbels, one depicting the bust of a noble man and another a seated matron, a pair of branches appears behind the figures, with the leaves rendered in great detail. On two corbels depicting the sick a pair of branches appear in front of the figures. Should these remind us of the Tree of Virtues and the Tree of Vices perhaps?[26]

The overall context

The corbel series of the transepts and choir should be seen in the context of the overall sculptural programme, which I believe to be composed of three zones.[27] The first, upper zone comprises two keystones and several sculptures on the vaults of the apse. The second zone comprises the capitals, and the third and lowest zone consists of the corbel series.

In the first keystone of the upper zone Christ the Judge is depicted showing his wounds. At his feet, in the middle of the apse vault, is a full figure of the crowned Virgin folding her hands as Mediatrix. On either side of her are the standing figures of the two St Johns, and two angels with the instruments of the Passion. These figures of the upper register correspond to figures appearing on keystones and apse vaults which Schreiner has shown to have prevailed in the region.[28] The capitals of the second zone are located on the combined pillars connecting the southern and northern walls of the choir and the eastern wall of the corresponding transept's arms. There are two cycles of figurative capitals and an additional one on the connecting *abaci*. The capitals that connect the north transept's eastern wall and the northern wall of the choir depict a narrative sequence from Genesis, from the Creation of Adam and Eve to the Expulsion from Paradise. On the frieze above these capitals, individual heads of the damned are rendered between pairs of threatening monsters. On the capitals connecting the south transept and the choir's southern wall, the elect peep from behind foliage, while on the friezes above them angels hold crowns and a pair of

angels are in the act of crowning the bust of a king.[29] Thus the damned and the elect are placed in a schematized form. They are situated on the right and left of Christ, who turns towards the Virgin and the figures of the saints and angels on the vaults of the apse below him, and not towards the human figures on the capitals. All these figures, saintly and mortal, demonstrate the same stylistic features as the figures on the corbels, and seem to have been executed by the same hand.

The corbel series forms the third or lowest zone of the programme. The images are situated close to the capitals but at a slightly lower level on the walls. The corbel series, then, is an addition to a programme of the Last Judgement depicted on the keystones and apse vaults, which is characteristic of western France;[30] such an addition must have been significant.

The patron

What might have been the possible intention of Bishop Guillaume de Beaumont in adding the corbel series depicting various social classes, including the sick and poor, to this regional scheme of the Last Judgement?

Guillaume de Beaumont was born in 1178 into one of the most prominent families of the region. Educated by his uncle, Raoul de Beaumont, bishop of Angers during the years 1178–1199, he became canon of the Saint Julien Cathedral in Le Mans (the city being the viscountcy of his family), and later of the cathedral of Angers. In 1202 at the age of 25, he was elected to the bishopric of Angers, having overcome substantial opposition.[31] In 1220, in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council, Guillaume promulgated constitutions which prescribe in great detail correct behaviour for the clergy, known ever since as his *constitutiones synodales*.[32] In this pastoral manual Guillaume instructs his clerics on which works of charity to demand from knights, merchants and other groups of society. The manual concludes by enumerating the Seven Works of Mercy, and by warning that whosoever neglects them will be condemned to hell.[33]

It is therefore plausible to assume that Guillaume de Beaumont commissioned the corbel series as a complementary cycle to that of the Last Judgement, in order to express the same idea in stone. According to this interpretation the corbels in the north transept represent the poor and the sick, the recipients of the Works of Mercy, while those in the south transept and choir mainly depict the more affluent classes requested to perform these works.[34]

Throughout his episcopate Guillaume was involved in administering the donations given to the Hôpital Saint Jean in Angers.[35] This hospital was founded between 1180 and 1182 by Etienne, seneschal, or steward, of King Henry II,[36] and was repeatedly endowed by the Plantagenet kings and their seneschals in the 1180s.[37] The statutes of the hospital, probably written in 1200, regulate the life of the hospital community, its clergy and its poor. They also define precisely the kind of people and sick to be admitted to the hospital, and stipulate that foundlings and the incurable ill –

paralytics, lepers, people with St Anthony's fever, for instance – were not to be admitted.[38] This stipulation contrasts starkly with the prominent place accorded to paralytics and lepers in the contemporary corbel series of the cathedral. Consequently, the unique group of 35 paralytics and lepers of the north transept may be taken as a proclamation that the church was willing to accept even those who were neglected by the hospital.

For Guillaume de Beaumont, a native of Anjou, the corbels probably played their traditional role and function. As the supporting elements of higher hierarchies, they depicted people and subjects from the lower order of the world. The figures on the corbels occupied the lowest place in the hierarchy of the Christological programme, but at the same time they were the closest figures to the clergy and worshippers. The laymen could recognize in the figures their own image as seen by the prelate, and those of the poor and sick they were requested to make charitable donations for.

Working in the service of Bishop Guillaume de Beaumont, the artists in Angers developed their specific codes for rendering the various social classes. The people of the margins were depicted as distorted and expressive figures. Their clothes were rendered in realistic detail and they were depicted crouching on the floor. In contrast, the depiction of people of town and castle remained stylized, balanced and idealized. In contrast to the creators of Romanesque series, who expressed protest and humour in their work, the Gothic sculptors used the corbels to mirror their own society.

The corbels of Semur-en-Auxois and Hugh IV, Duke of Burgundy

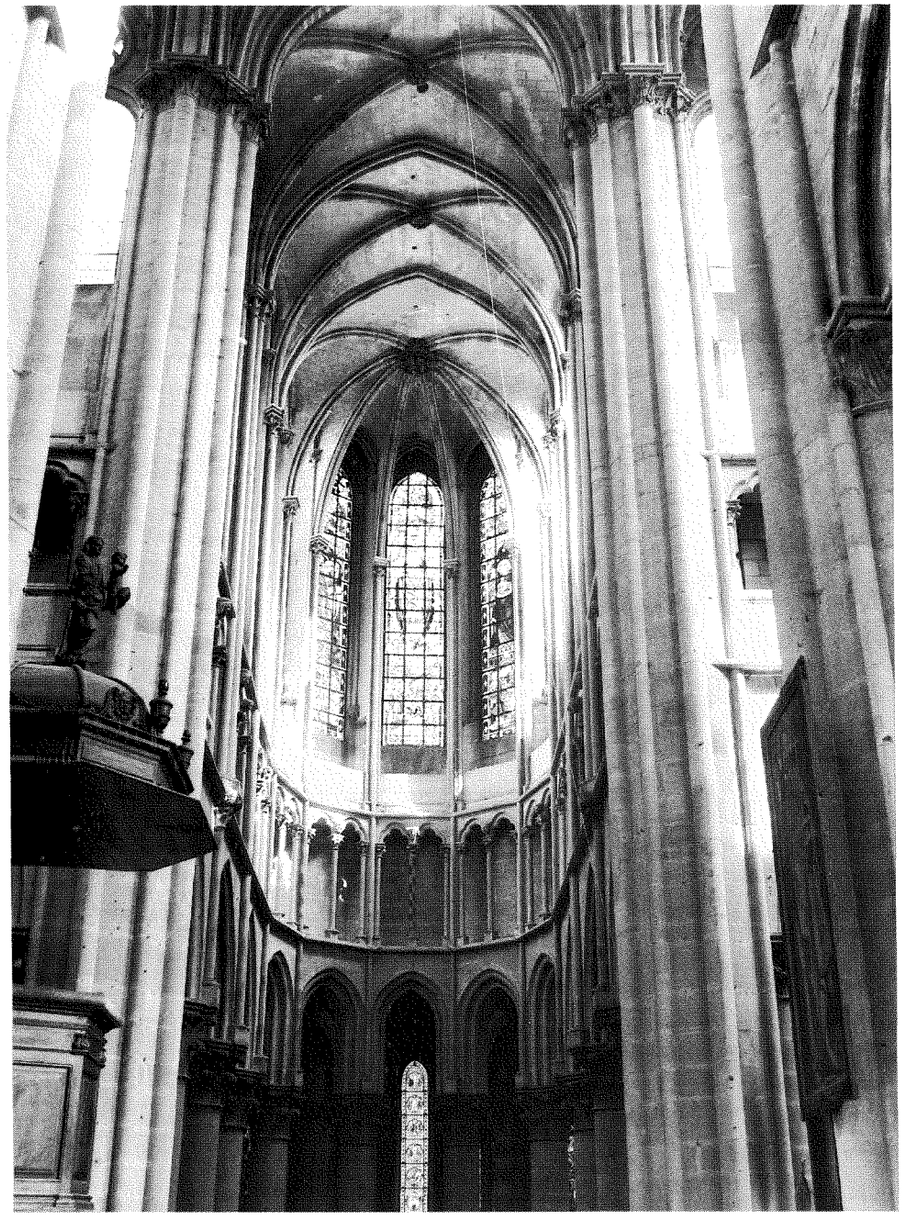
This second case study, of the sculptural programme of the church of Notre Dame in Semur-en-Auxois (pl. 3.14, 3.15), discusses the relationship between official and marginal sculpture. In it, I would also like to show that the sculpture in Semur-en-Auxois presents one unified plan that spreads over the whole church.

In Semur-en-Auxois the official sculptural programme has been studied and described but the large sculpted marginal programme and single sculpted marginal groups have been almost totally ignored. For example, the northern sculpted tympanum rests on impost figures which are marginal to it, but visually they constitute an integral part of the portal. As if transparent, these figures have not been seen by scholars studying the portal. And while the series in the inner church has been mentioned by various scholars, its meaning has been ignored.

The sculptural works of the church of Notre Dame are considered landmarks of mid-thirteenth century Burgundian sculpture.[39] However, of the church's many sculptural works, only two main groups have received consideration: the tympanum of the north transept portal[40] and several 'heads' situated along the inner and outer walls of the choir and the transepts.[41]

I would suggest that the church's various sculptural groups, including three series

3.14 Semur-en-Auxois, Notre Dame, from west.



3.15 Semur-en-Auxois, Notre Dame, interior, into apse.

of marginal sculpture, form a meaningful programme consisting of the following sequences:

The north transept portal, which today includes the tympanum of the Porte de Bleds and three large sculpted imposts, marginal to the tympanum, the last of which has hitherto been ignored. Since the portal had a northern porch, which was demolished between 1705 and 1707,[42] the portal's sculptures were probably part of the inner porch, a possibility that is also suggested by the missing jamb statues.

The triforium corbel series of the transepts and choir, consisting of the heads of men and women situated at regular intervals between the triforium arches.

The clerestory marginal sculpted series, which has five figures around each double window.

The four keystones, situated in the choir and transepts; two of the four are located on the choir vaults, the others are located in each of the transepts' vaults.

The external marginal sculpted series, consisting of full-length figurines, busts and heads, which correspond to the series in the inner church. Its sculptural works appear on several window frames of the outer choir's chapels and transepts.

Let us now consider these sculptural groups in some detail.

The North Transept Portal

The scenes on the tympanum depict the story of the Apostle Thomas in India (pl. 3.16).[43] In the top lunette, Christ conveys a blessing with his right hand while holding the orb in his left. The middle register below, reading from left to right, consists of: (1) The scene of Doubting Thomas; (2) Christ urging St Thomas to accept the invitation from Abbanes, steward to King Gandoforus, to serve as the king's architect in India. Abbanes is wearing a cowled habit and is holding a decorated sword in front of him with both hands; (3) The sea voyage to India which concludes the narrative in the register. Thomas stands in the boat next to Abbanes, who is still holding his sword. In the lowest register the narrative runs from right to left: (1) The wedding banquet, a scene which includes a tumbler (who according to the apocryphal text speaks Hebrew); (2) Thomas, the king and Abbanes discussing the future palace; (3) Thomas giving alms or bread to two poor people who are squatting on the floor; (4) Thomas blessing a kneeling woman, probably the princess, whose fiancé is shown in the palace tower. The tympanum is framed by an archivolt on which the scenes of the labours of the 12 months are depicted.[44]

Students of Gothic sculpture have remarked that the apocryphal story of the

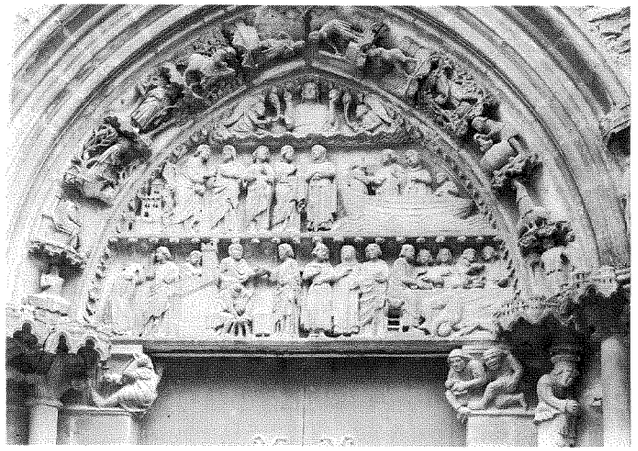
apostolate of St Thomas in India appears on only two thirteenth-century sculpted portals in France.[45] In addition to Semur, the story was sculpted on the right portal of the almost contemporaneous west façade of the cathedral of St Pierre in Poitiers.[46] There, the portal is situated to the left of the central Last Judgement portal, while the Coronation of the Virgin is depicted to its right. In both Poitiers and Semur the choice of the story is puzzling. Neither church is known to have had any particular association with St Thomas, and neither is known to have had his relics. The sculpted depictions in the two portals are also quite different from the many renditions of St Thomas in India found in contemporary glass windows of such major cathedrals as Chartres, Bourges or Tours, which generally include numerous scenes from the saint's life.[47] In the two sculpted versions, however, only a few scenes appear. In Semur, pride of place is given to the sea voyage to India, to the banquet scene and to St Thomas giving alms to the poor. In Poitiers, the central image is the heavenly palace, while the giving of alms is assigned a secondary place. The differing emphasis in the two churches may indicate the preferences of the different donors or patrons, for whom specific scenes may have held a special meaning. It seems plausible to assume, however, that both in Semur and in Poitiers the story of St Thomas in India was chosen as an *exemplum* to demonstrate the value of Works of Mercy: by performing charitable deeds, the Christian prince or knight builds himself a palace in heaven.[48]

In the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), preoccupation with Works of Mercy intensified.[49] Numerous provincial councils extolled such charitable acts as being instrumental in salvation and repeatedly urged their performance by both clergy and laity.[50] Contemporary literature that cited the Works of Mercy as a means of penance also proliferated.[51] In pastoral manuals and collections of *exempla*, acts of penance (weeping, for example) and the Works of Mercy were together extolled as major instruments of salvation.[52] The widely known story of the apostolate of St Thomas and his building of a palace in heaven by giving alms to the poor[53] is probably to be interpreted in this context. Hence, its appearance in sculptural form in Poitiers and Semur is comparable to the depiction of the Works of Mercy of St Nicolas, St Martin and St Gilles on the right portal (tympanum and archivolts) of the southern façade of Chartres Cathedral, where, as in Poitiers, it is located next to the central portal of the Last Judgement.[54]

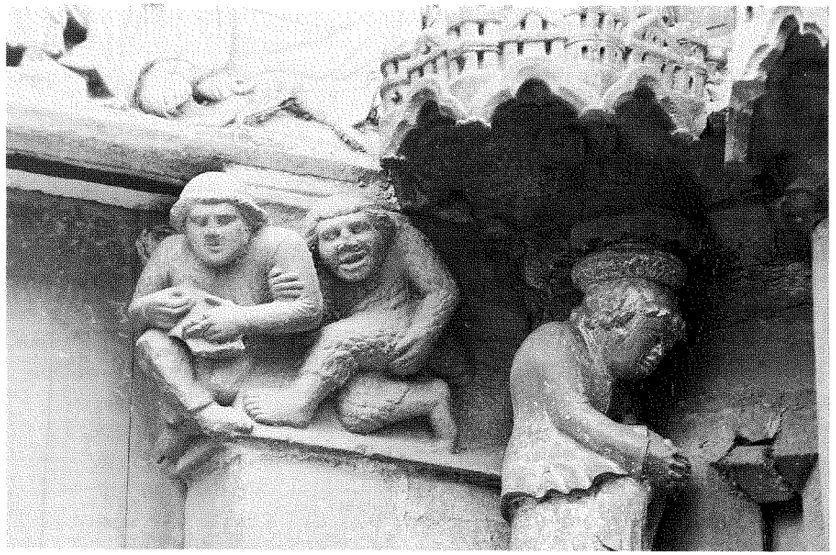
The ignored impost figures

The tympanum rests on four sculpted imposts. Two figures (A and B) are on the right-hand side of the portal; a single figure (C) is at a right angle to it in a corner (pl. 3.17); and a fourth figure (D) serves as an impost on the left-hand side of the portal.

Figure A is a male seated with folded legs on a bench and wearing a tunic over a long-sleeved habit. His hair is stylized in curls that protrude from a small cotton cap, and he holds a writing scroll with both hands. Figure B is a hairy, smiling creature, holding the seated figure A by his arm in a friendly fashion. The two form a single



3.16 Semur-en-Auxois, Notre Dame, portal of north transept, tympanum.



3.17 Semur-en-Auxois, Notre Dame, portal of north transept, imposts on right.

group. On the outer right is a sculpted male figure (C) seated on a half column. His back is towards the church, and his head supports a capital. He is barefooted and dressed in a long elegant tunic and shirt, his hands are folded over his knees in sorrow, and his weeping face is twisted upwards (pl. 3.18). The figure seems to be a penitent (or a mourner) of noble birth. On the left impost, a half-naked figure (D) appears to push the lintel upwards with considerable force.

These four figures seem to derive from a different literary tradition from that of the story of St Thomas on the tympanum. I believe that figures A, B and C can be traced to the story of the Holy Grail,[55] with figure A being Blaise, figure B Merlin, and figure C Perceval. Of the manifold literary versions of the story, the closest to the sculpted rendition are Robert de Boron's *Estoire dou Saint Graal* and its prose version called *Joseph d'Arimathie*, and Robert de Boron's *Merlin* and its prose version which is *Didot-Perceval*.[56] It should be recalled that Robert de Boron was the first to bestow a Christian meaning on the story of the Grail, connecting the mysterious vessel with the Last Supper and the Passion of Christ.[57]

In the story, Perceval actually finds the Holy Grail after having confessed his sins and done penance.[58] Merlin,[59] described as a hairy creature, tells King Arthur of the fulfilment of the quest for the Grail and of Britain's disenchantment; he then relates these events to Blaise. I believe that in our sculpted version the hairy figure (B) is Merlin. A very similar figure of Merlin depicted as a hairy cheerful creature appears several times in a late thirteenth-century manuscript of the *Estoire dou Saint Graal*. In Semur-en-Auxois, Merlin is embracing his friend Blaise (A), who is rendered as a seated scribe holding a writing scroll. Blaise, the recorder of events, is conceived here in a manner almost identical to that of the Evangelist on the keystone of the north transept's arm of the church – demonstrating application of the traditional Evangelist scheme to the courtly scribe.[60] I believe that Figure C, a penitent knight, represents Perceval, hero of the quest; he is seated in isolation and faces the observer while his story is being recorded.

All three figures are presented in a dramatic fashion consistent with contemporary literary representations of the Arthurian legends. Earlier figures derived from these legends were only rarely depicted in monumental art. The best-known examples are the twelfth-century inscribed figures on the archivolt of the Porta della Pesceria in Modena Cathedral as well as the sculpted figures on that cathedral's tower,[61] and the Arthurian images in the twelfth-century mosaic pavement of the cathedral of Otranto.[62] In the first decades of the thirteenth century there was as yet no specific pictorial tradition of the Arthurian figures, including illustrated manuscripts. Figures such as Merlin and Perceval could assume various forms. In the manuscript illustrations, Merlin was depicted as a fool, a hermit or a hairy creature; Blaise was almost invariably presented as a scribe; and Perceval was mostly shown as a knight.[63] In Semur, Blaise and Merlin were sculpted in keeping with the traditions of the illustrated manuscripts.[64] However, the image of Perceval seated in penance, as it appears on the Semur transept column, has no parallel elsewhere.[65]

The figure on the left impost (D) seems to depict Samson pulling down the pillars of the Philistines, a prefiguration of the Harrowing of Hell.

Interpreting the portal programme

The sculptures on the tympanum and those on the imposts derive from two different literary traditions. The tympanum relates the apocryphal story of St Thomas, while the imposts depict the heroes of the courtly story of the Grail. Nonetheless, the two sets of sculptures have certain parallels. In both, the prince is called upon by a messenger to perform his Christian duties, and in the depiction of St Thomas's mission to India, no less than in the story of the Grail, there is a strong sense of adventure. A similar coexistence of courtly and ecclesiastical stories occurs frequently in thirteenth-century writings,[66] and their combination in one codex is routine.[67] Thus the presentation of the two stories together on the portal is analogous to such literary combinations. At the same time, a hierarchical relation between the two is maintained. The deeds of the Apostle Thomas appear in the upper part of the portal, the figures from the courtly tales in the lower, supporting parts. Furthermore, the story of the apostle is related in a traditional way as an everlasting *exemplum* and is therefore easily recognized by modern scholars; Merlin, Blaise and Perceval in contrast are depicted as isolated, pictorially idiosyncratic figures and are more difficult to decipher.

Hugh IV, patron of the Church

It is my belief that these parallel versions of a 'holy journey' were commissioned by and intended to celebrate a specific patron, namely, Hugh IV, Duke of Burgundy from 1218 to 1272,[68] in whose day the portal was erected.[69] He was a cousin of Louis IX and a prominent magnate of the realm.[70] Like Thomas and Perceval, Hugh embarked on voyages universally perceived as acts of zeal. He went on his first crusade to the Holy Land in 1236[71] and stayed there until 1241.[72] Together with Richard, Earl of Cornwall, he rebuilt the walls of Ascalon.[73] Though other noblemen left in 1240 he stayed until the walls were completed. In 1247, in a second venture, he joined the crusade of King Louis IX to Egypt and the Holy Land. Both Matthew Paris and Joinville report that Hugh played a prominent role in the siege of Damietta and, after the city's conquest, became its commander. Later he embarked from Acre with the king's brothers, Alphonse of Poitiers and Charles of Anjou, to seek the pope's help for the king, who remained in the Holy Land.[74]

Sources do not provide extensive details about Hugh IV's feats in the East, but they do report that he played a prominent role. Yet his participation in two crusades and his subsequent three pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela point to a bent for journeys coloured by a spiritual motivation,[75] an inclination that continued a family tradition. His grandfather Hugh III (d. 1192),[76] went on the Third Crusade and

commanded the French forces left in the Holy Land after the return of King Philip Augustus to France.[77]

Both the story of St Thomas's apostolate to India and the story of the Holy Grail were widely known and it is likely that Hugh IV was familiar with them. Robert de Boron was a native of Burgundy, and his patron was – as he himself declared – the Lord of Montbéliard, who died in 1212 on crusade in the Holy Land.[78] It is plausible that Hugh IV heard or read these tales, and that the sculpted stories of the Apostle Thomas in India on the Semur tympanum and the figures of Perceval, Merlin and Blaise on the Semur imposts refer to the travels to the East of Hugh IV. If the impost figure (D) indeed depicts Samson, it may allude to the Philistine town of Ascalon, the walls of which Hugh IV had rebuilt.

The northern portal may have been the dukes' entrance to the church; and the transepts and the choir, separated from the nave until 1707 by a wall, may have served as a ducal chapel.[79] In that case, the sculptural programme of the outer northern portal, alluding to Hugh IV's exploits, would be most appropriate. We shall now see that the sculptural programme of the purported ducal chapel may be taken to represent the virtues of the ideal Christian ruler.

The Triforium Series

The triforium series consists of the heads of handsome young knights, princes and princesses (pl. 3.15, 19–21).[80] Their features are small and elegant; some show a reserved smile. The beards of the young men are short and neatly trimmed. Some are wearing helmets, others caps, one has a bishop's mitre. The women are decked out in matrons' hats, or in crowns. This series of heads is occasionally interspersed with warning images of evil, such as a couple of sirens with dishevelled hair or a laughing, wrinkled old woman. One of the most remarkable heads in the group is that of a young knight with a short beard; he is wearing a hood and on top of it nest a pair of doves (pl. 3.19). The birds may represent actual doves sitting on the head of a piece of sculpture that existed elsewhere. Both the structure and the hood on which the doves sit are practically identical to those of the head of Abbanes on the tympanum.

The Clerestory Series

The clerestory series is constructed in groups each of which consists of five sculptures. In each group three figures are installed at the bottom of the window, and two at the top. The lower middle figure in each group supports the trumeau dividing the two parts of the window, and the two side figures support the framing pilasters. An alternating rhythm between the clerestory figures and those of the triforium is thus created.

The three lower figures in each window mark the triforium sculptures. Whereas in the triforium the heads are situated between the triforium arches, the clerestory

3.18 Detail of 3.17: Perceval (?).

3.19 Semur-en-Auxois, Notre Dame, triforium of choir, north wall, corbel: hooded male head with two doves.

3.20 Semur-en-Auxois, Notre Dame, triforium of choir, north wall, corbel: female head.

3.21 Semur-en-Auxois, Notre Dame, triforium of north transept, north wall, corbel: head of young man with hood.

figures correspond to the middle of each triforium arch. The central figures of each window appear in the following order: three figures on the windows of the wall in the northern choir and three on the windows of the wall in the southern choir. No figures are located on the eastern hemicycle. Additional figures are situated on two windows of the eastern wall of the south transept. Reading from the north to south choir wall, they represent marginal people serving as supporting atlantes of the double window's dividing colonnettes, in this order:

1. a fool
2. a tonsured male reading from a book (pl. 3.22)
3. a man with folded legs and sticking out his tongue
4. a woman seated cross-legged on the floor, holding two monstrous toads on her breasts
5. a man dressed as a peasant seated on the floor, pulling a thorn
6. a woman with dishevelled hair seated on the floor with toads picking at her cheeks
7. a seated man holding a monster
8. a seated man with an open mouth and coarse features.

On each side of the marginal figures, in the bottom corners of the window, there are a few smaller figurines of marginal people and busts of a young noble prince or princess. Several busts protrude from carved parallel lines symbolizing heaven. All the busts face towards the window's centre to stare at the coarse-featured figures of the marginal people seated on the floor. Stylistically these busts show an affiliation with certain busts of Notre Dame de Cluny.[81] Worth mentioning are two marginal figurines situated on the bottom of the first northern window. On the right-hand side a male is supporting with two hands the base of the window colonnettes, while showing his back to the observer; an additional male is seated on the floor, with naked upper body, leaning on his hand in grief.

Sculpted compositions of courtly busts staring at the miserable and wretched, who are depicted as full-length figurines, are known already from Romanesque stone sculpture. For example, on the summit of the archivolt of the left portal on the west façade of the church of St Nicolas at Civray,[82] we find busts of two knights looking in profile at the figures of a jongleur (pl. 2.15) and a seated stringed-instrument player in the middle of the archivolt. In the same tradition the window series in Semur depict the princes and princesses in the form of busts, and the sinners and *misérables*, recipients of their charity, as explicitly executed full figures seated on the floor. The busts on the upper parts of the windows near the rosettes include additional princely heads alternating with figurines of marginal people.

The Keystones

The clerestory programme continues on the keystones. The Coronation of the Virgin is depicted on the choir's large eastern keystone, followed by the image of Christ. Three Evangelists are depicted on keystones of the two transepts and an image of Christ on the fourth.

I would argue that the sculptures on the triforium, the clerestory and the keystones of the vaults together form a meaningful sculptural programme relating to the Christian prince. In the triforium, the youthful and heroic heads represent the glorification of the princes and princesses. In the upper series their relation to the poor is emphasized. Their good works recommend them to the Virgin Mediatrix, depicted on the huge eastern keystone of the first choir's vault, and to Christ and the Evangelists depicted on the other. The two sculpted series turn the transept and choir into a princely chapel.[83] Hence, it seems that fortitude, prudence and charity, the traditional virtues of the Christian prince, are the predominant theme in these series.

The exterior of the church

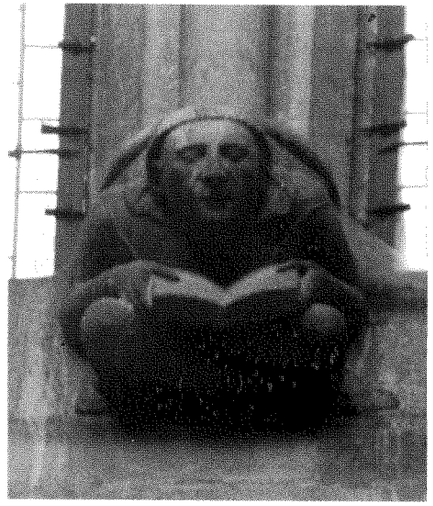
The series located on the external walls of the choir and transepts, roughly resemble the order of the sculptures inside the church. But here three figures support the frames of the upper parts of the windows rather than the lower ones. In all these instances the figures serve as supporting corbels. There is no systematic placing of different social classes; all classes appear everywhere. The series includes full-length figures as well as heads. Most of the figures depict marginal people: drunkards, naked people and persons showing their genitals (pl. 3.23–26).

The images of this series are similar to other thirteenth-century marginal series outside Burgundy. However, whereas elsewhere such series are located inside the church (as, for example, in the cathedral of St Pierre in Poitiers),[84] in Semur they were installed outside – perhaps because of the church interior's specific programme.

The innovative images of Semur are all placed on the fringes of the sculptural programme. The impost figures are marginal to the sculpted tympanum and the heads and clerestory figures are so distant as to be barely visible to the observer. Although their location does not permit a direct confrontation, the artist did create new imagery for the benefit of the patron of these works at least.

In sum, the two corbel series of St Maurice in Angers and Semur-en-Auxois show much greater individuality of artistic intention and style. Furthermore, the images and subjects can be more clearly understood as products of the patrons' intentions and the messages they wanted to convey.

This Gothic marginal sculpture presents a mature phase in the development of the 'marginal language'. Compared to the archaic stage of the Romanesque corbels, the pictorial tradition of the margins becomes readable and achieves here a high degree of articulation.



3.22 Semur-en-Auxois, Notre Dame, clerestory, corbel: tonsured monk reading from book.

3.23 Semur-en-Auxois, Notre Dame, head below window at east end.

3.24 Semur-en-Auxois, Notre Dame, exterior window of southern choir: at lower right drunkard, with cup and pitcher.

3.25 Semur-en-Auxois, Notre Dame, exterior window of northern choir: in centre a shouting figure.

3.26 Semur-en-Auxois, Notre Dame, exterior window of centre choir: in centre a devil squatting above a man displaying his genitals

Image and style of the Gothic marginal language

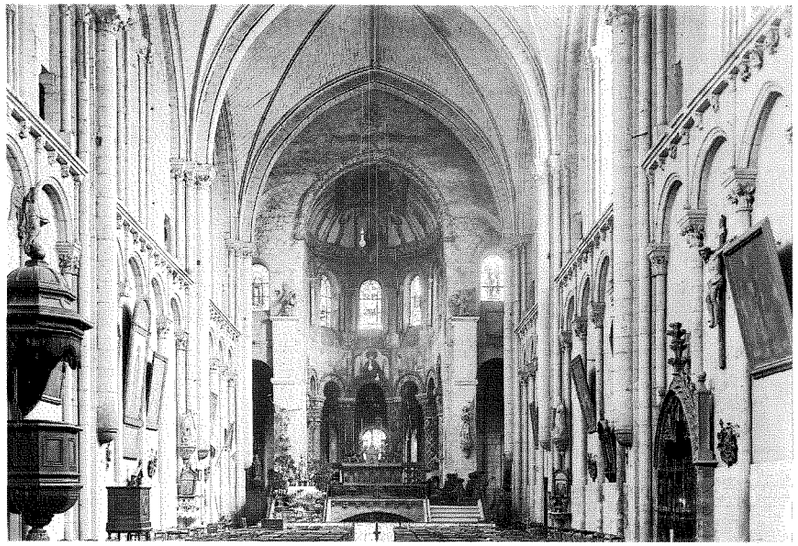
I have chosen three series to illustrate the pictorial language of Gothic corbels: the series at Ste Radegonde in Poitiers;[85] the series of 150 corbels at the cathedral of Metz (dated 1230–1250);[86] and the series at the cathedral of St Pierre in Poitiers (dated to the same two decades).[87] The first and third series have been reviewed by Brisset and Maillard,[88] but their style and meaning have not been investigated before. The series at Metz Cathedral has never previously been photographed or studied.

The corbel series at Ste Radegonde runs along the walls of the church's single nave and along the interior of the western wall (pl. 3.27–37 and App. VIII). In the first and second bays of the nave (from east to west) the series features sinners in the form of monsters, the figure of a woman being devoured by an animal, a male figure showing his posterior, and even a wild man. The third bay from the east has busts, as well as figures facing each other, such as a musician sitting opposite a jongleur doing a somersault (pl. 3.29), and a man-monkey facing a cock. The corbels supporting the eight pilasters in the sacristy, on the other hand, show the bust images of kings, queens and additional nobles in the manner customary in official art (pl. 3.38–42). These figures, depicted in a closed space, offer a strong contrast to those appearing on the two walls of the nave and the inner western bay. Here we find the poor and the sick, figures lacking hands, a figure with its back flayed, a witch, a prostitute, a figure exposing his buttocks and defecating, and other frightened, miserable people. They may have been people who were part of the almshouse run by the sisters of Ste Radegonde and who presumably used to sit at the entrance of the church. Or they may have been pilgrims, sick people or beggars visiting Ste Radegonde's tomb, and not necessarily permanent inhabitants of the town.[89]

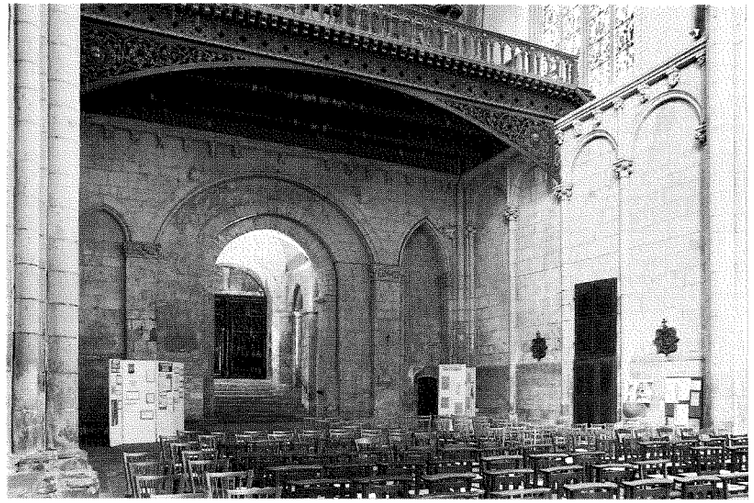
All the figures are seated on the floor and are shown performing convoluted movements. Their faces bear extreme, twisted expressions and their depiction is stark and jarring. Thus, for instance, one can observe feet shown with great precision to have turned into bones; the empty sleeves of a coat; a back with its skin stripped off, half of which looks like one large single bone; squatting figures talking to one another, their knees reaching to their chins; a female jongleur doing a somersault while the musician next to her is not only playing but also watching curiously to see whether the somersault is being executed properly.

Some of these figures are shown shrunken, as it were, because they have been carved with sharp, angular lines. Some of their limbs are of exaggerated size, so as to bring out more clearly their deformities or the activities they are engaged in. Almost no figure is presented with a frontal view of its face; most are seen from the side or in three-quarter view from behind. Some other figures have soft contours and rounded chiselling allows them to merge into the square frame of the corbel.

The Ste Radegonde series shows figures of the sick and miserable in an extreme fashion and does so by applying the same Romanesque techniques that depict jongleurs and artists in western France.[90]



3.27 Poitiers, Ste Radegonde, interior looking east.

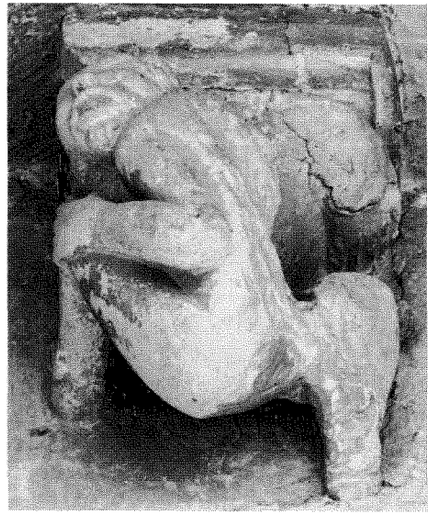


3.28 Poitiers, Ste Radegonde, interior, west end of nave.

3.29 Poitiers, Ste Radegonde, south wall of nave, corbels: musician; acrobat.

3.30 Poitiers, Ste Radegonde, south wall of nave, corbels: monkey man; crouching man.

3.31 Poitiers, Ste Radegonde, south wall of nave, corbels: woman; green man.



3.32 Poitiers, Ste Radegonde, west wall of nave, corbel: man with damaged back.

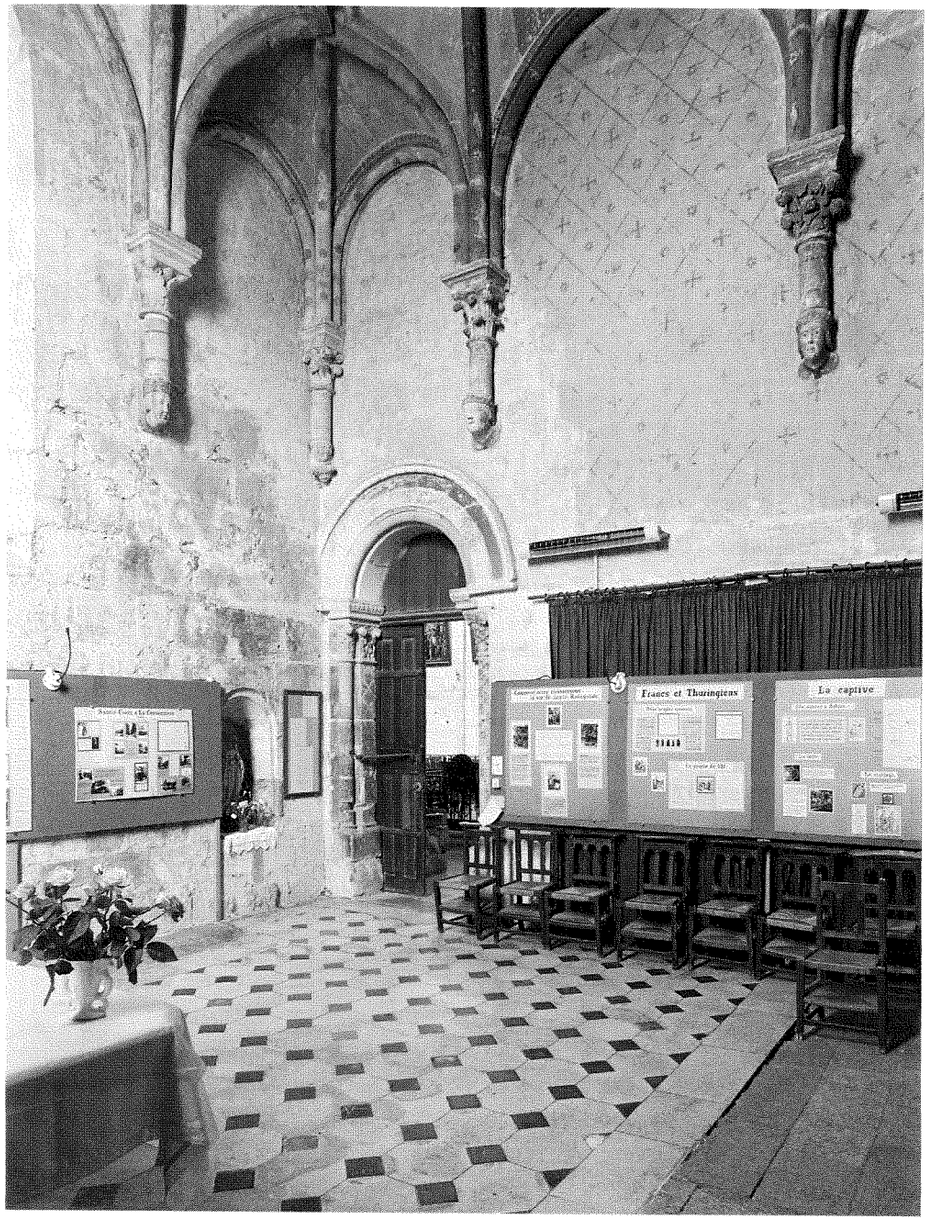
3.33 Poitiers, Ste Radegonde, west wall of nave, corbel: naked man.

3.34 Poitiers, Ste Radegonde, north wall of nave, corbel: man with bony legs.

3.35 Poitiers, Ste Radegonde, north wall of nave, corbel: woman displaying her genitals.

3.36 Poitiers, Ste Radegonde, north wall of nave, corbels: monkey man with broken leg; devil's head.

3.37 Poitiers, Ste Radegonde, north wall of nave, corbels: musician; head with beard and moustache.



3.38 Poitiers, Ste Radegonde, interior of sacristy.

3.39 Poitiers, Ste Radegonde, sacristy, corbel: man holding horned head.

3.40 Poitiers, Ste Radegonde, sacristy, corbel: queen.

3.41 Poitiers, Ste Radegonde, sacristy, corbel: queen.

3.42 Poitiers, Ste Radegonde, sacristy, corbel: knight.

Similar formal principles of representing images can be found at the cathedral of Metz (pl. 3.43).[91] There, the corbel series run along the two walls of the central nave and are placed very high up. The artists (at least two, to judge by marked differences in style) present figures similar to those in the Ste Radegonde series. Here, a large number of the figures are seen frontally though. The various social classes are represented together: a priest, a bishop, a nun, a woman from a burgher family, are situated alongside marginal types. Salient among the latter are women shown with animals, a 'monkey-man', and figures with huge twisted heads sitting on the floor naked, cross-legged or displaying amputations. The range of expressions is extensive, from pain and convulsion to misery and fear. The heads are very large in proportion to the small bodies (pl. 3.44–55 and App. IX).

The Metz corbels appear to use the sculptural forms employed in the cathedral at Reims, dating to the same decades.[92] The Metz artists reveal their links with Reims by employing the same fine and delicate stone chiselling associated with the third and fourth workshop at Reims,[93] but they present a world of crouched and twisted figures not found in a similar manner even in the Reims masks.[94] In fact, the Metz series presents a clear-cut dichotomy between the forms and working methods taken from Reims and their application in depicting marginal figures. The twisted figures are presented almost in miniature, but the details are worked out with the precision typical of the Reims workshops. It would appear that in rendering the gamut of expressions at Metz, the artists took the Reims masks as their model but carried that model to extremes of grotesquerie, pain and desperation. The body movements of those in pain resemble the movements of acrobats, and recur in many of the corbel figures; they look as if folded in two. Whereas the Reims figures display a delicate balance between the body and the head, the images at Metz, particularly those of the southern wall, almost entirely lack bodies. Heads are huge and it is the detail, such as a shock of hair or a mouth with sensuous lips, that is painstakingly worked out (pl. 3.44–51).

In the marginal language, with its specific images and codes, one can clearly discern the handwriting of various artists. At Metz, it is possible to distinguish clearly between at least two workshops. One produces gross, heavy figures found mainly on the northern wall; the other, whose work is found mainly on the southern wall, shows greater artistic affinity with the cathedral at Reims. Its figures are sharp and more finely honed; they look like miniatures drawn with the fine lines of graphic art. The Metz series employs artistic refinement and technical sophistication to present an almost sarcastic rendering of marginal figures. The breaking of official codes is accomplished here with regard to the topic as well as to the formal elements, which originated in the cathedral of Reims where they were used to depict the heavenly world. Their use in Metz for the depiction of entirely different themes brings out the contrast all the more sharply.

The large series at the cathedral of St Pierre at Poitiers (pl. 3.56–60 and App. X)[95] shows the personal styles of entirely different artists. Here, the sculptures spread from

3.43 Metz, St Etienne, interior, looking east along north wall of nave.

3.44 Metz, St Etienne, south wall of nave, corbel: man with long hair and beard (a Jew ?).

3.45 Metz, St Etienne, south wall of nave, corbel: monstrous male figure.

3.46 Metz, St Etienne, south wall of nave, corbel: man touching his ear.

3.47 Metz, St Etienne, south wall of nave, corbel: seated man.

3.48 Metz, St Etienne, south wall of nave, corbel: male head.

3.49 Metz, St Etienne, south wall of nave, corbel: bearded man sitting on floor.

3.50 Metz, St Etienne, south wall of nave, corbel: a matron.

3.51 Metz, St Etienne, south wall of nave, corbel: naked man with distorted leg and huge head.

3.52 Metz, St Etienne, north wall of nave, corbel: woman with bagpipes.

3.53 Metz, St Etienne, north wall of nave, corbel: seated man.

3.54 Metz, St Etienne, north wall of nave, corbel: gesturing woman.

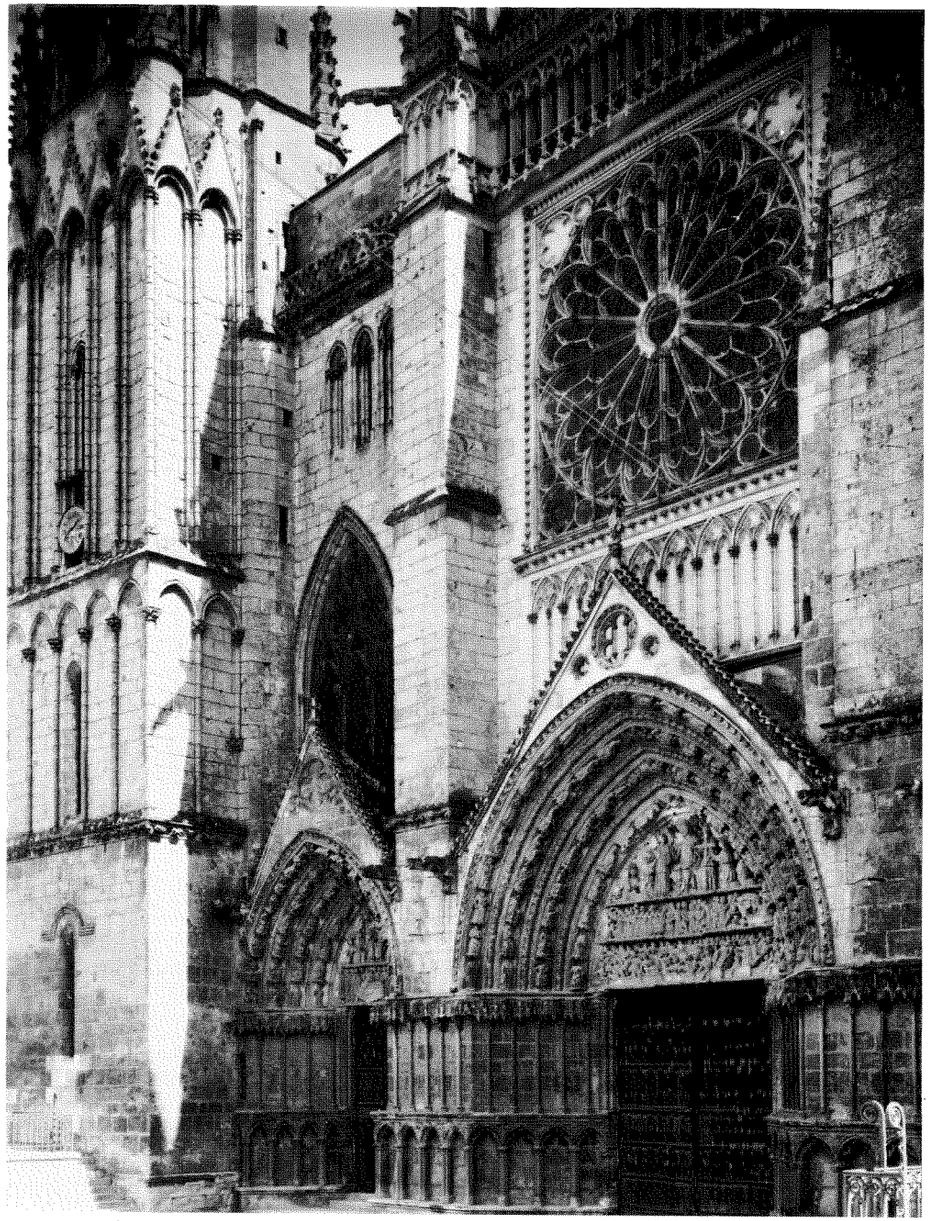
3.55 Metz, St Etienne, north wall of nave, corbel: man baring his buttocks.

east to west – a fact that has been observed by many scholars, such as Mussat,[96] who investigated their development. As the sculptures of the two eastern bays apparently belong to the end of the twelfth century, while those from the crossing and further to the west belong to the thirteenth century, the sculptural programme of St Pierre is much richer than that of either Metz or the neighbouring church of Ste Radegonde. It includes a greater variety of people from many different social classes, from marginal types, peasants, pilgrims and urban craftsmen, to noblemen, clerics, royalty and court musicians.

Here, too, as in the cathedral of St Maurice at Angers or in the northern part of Notre Dame at Semur-en-Auxois,[97] it seems possible to discern an overall iconographical programme. In the first bay west of the transept, on the southern wall, one can identify figures of the nobility, the clergy, royalty, and the blessed being received into heaven; by contrast, on the northern wall opposite them, appear people asking for alms, a woman with a child sitting on the floor, peasants and urban craftsmen, among them a pharmacist holding an instrument of his craft. The difference in social standing is highlighted by the fact that the lower orders are shown engaged in their activities, whereas the higher classes are identified by their attributes and are shown seated frontally in a ceremonial setting.

The sculptural programme on the interior walls of St Pierre may be connected with the programme on its western façade, dated to the third quarter of the thirteenth century. The central portal of the cathedral shows the Last Judgement, the right-hand portal the story of St Thomas in India, and the left-hand portal the crowning of the Virgin. The portal of St Thomas may hint at Works of Mercy which the noblemen and kings – their thoughts turned to the immediacy of the Last Judgement – were required to perform in their lifetime. The allusion is to the story that St Thomas used the sum given to him by the king of India to build him an earthly palace as alms for the poor, and thus built the king a palace in heaven.[98] If this interpretation linking St Thomas to the Last Judgement is correct, then possibly the above-mentioned representations in the corbel series of some people giving charity, and others receiving it, may (as at Semur-en-Auxois) signify that the interior corbels go on unfolding – in their own fashion – the idea which is stated more clearly and more expressively on the façade.

The style of the figures in the cathedral of St Pierre – whether of kings, noblemen or the lowly – can be described as a court style: official, sumptuous and stately. Thus, unlike the corbel figures in the church of Ste Radegonde or the cathedral of Metz, most of those at St Pierre are shown frontally and their clothes are depicted in great detail. The frontal presentation reflects, I believe, the official and the ceremonial aspect, while lateral presentation introduces a more marked touch of realism. In the St Pierre series the polished stone and the figures themselves do not support the cornice with their heads, as atlantes do; rather, in many cases, the head protrudes a little beyond the frame. Although the figures, such as peasants and craftsmen are engaged in some type of manual work (as on the Ste Radegonde or Metz series), they have oval-shaped, elongated heads and do not show any extremes of emotional



3.56 Poitiers, St Pierre, west façade.

3.57 Poitiers, St Pierre, north wall of nave, corbel: woman with distorted legs, holding child.

3.58 Poitiers, St Pierre, north wall of nave, corbel: male figure with bird's beak and feet, holding axe.

3.59 Poitiers, St Pierre, north wall of nave, corbels: bird with human head; peasant holding scythe.

3.60 Poitiers, St Pierre, south wall of nave, corbels: female bust holding Eucharist; male bust, praying.

expression; rather, they display a quiet, moderate look. Even the more starkly drawn figures, like the cripple with his crutches on the floor beside him, are embellished and resemble the figures of people from the elevated classes (although lacking their attributes) according to the prerequisites of the court style.

The St Pierre series shows some affinity to the motifs of Angers Cathedral. However, in their stylistic approach they are closer to the courtly figures of Semur-en-Auxois. In both churches the primary focus of expression is on the beautiful and the beautified. A comparison can also be made between the corbel figures of Ste Radegonde at Poitiers and those of the cathedral of St Maurice at Angers. Both share similar themes: the images of the sick, the miserable and the destitute. The personal style employed at Ste Radegonde's is much harsher, and is, as we have seen, further stressed by the representation of figures from behind, or in three-quarters view. This focuses attention on the more intimate, less public aspects of a figure. At the cathedral of St Maurice at Angers, the same type of sick and miserable people are nearly all shown frontally, though with a great deal of realistic accuracy.

Thus, the presentations of the sick and the miserable in these three cathedrals and a church offer four different solutions to the problem of how to show marginal types. In the cathedral of St Maurice, it is possible to speak of a new, realistic style, used not only to represent the sick, but also other figures from a variety of social classes. The realism is stressed by a frontal presentation of the deformities and defects of the figures shown. This kind of realism does not, however, slide over into extremism and exaggeration; it uses frontal presentation as a way of displaying forms that constitute a link between all the figures included in the series, and so balances, by its more restrained formal approach, the gruesome themes it describes.

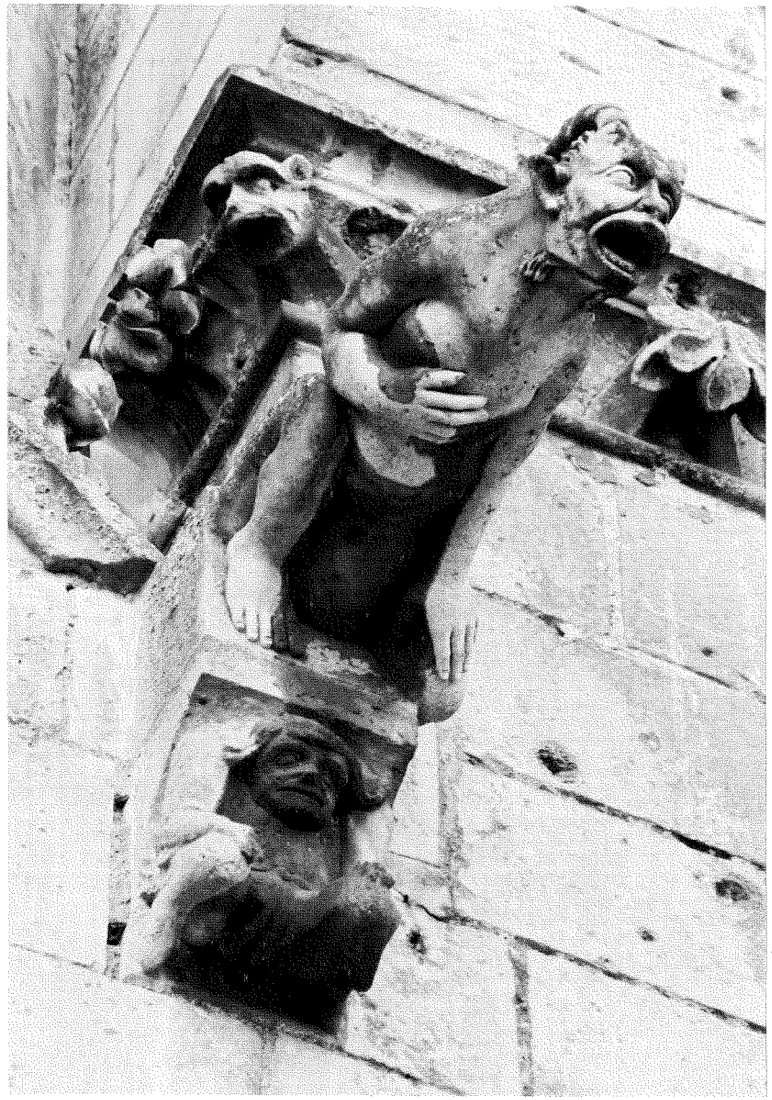
In contrast, the style used in the series of the cathedral of Poitiers strives to idealize even the most horrifying figures, so that it is fittingly called the court style. It is a style that embellishes and moderates the awful nature of the defects and deformities and humiliation suffered by the figures it presents.

Other styles can be found in the corbel series in the transept of the cathedral of Vendôme[99] or in the series depicting the calendar with the labours of the months in the church of St Pierre at Saumur.[100]

To sum up, the language of thirteenth-century corbels possesses a variety of artistic expressions and of individual combinations of meaningful elements. It is through this very language and its texts that the social as well as artistic concepts of Gothic sculptors (which are not always revealed in the official art) can be deduced.

As in Romanesque corbel series the sculptors' self-representations appear in the Gothic marginal sculpture. Their images are more elaborate and detailed; thus, for example, the image of the architect appears on a corbel in the corner of the transept of Vendôme's cathedral.[101] Dressed in a long habit, he bends down to carry the pilaster while holding the compass in his hands. At the same time he stares from this bowed position at the corbels depicting princely couples on the walls opposite him.

The sculptors who over several centuries created an artistic language through the



3.61 Poitiers, St Pierre, west façade, gargoyle: screaming figure, with seated male on corbel below.

3.62 Poitiers, St Pierre, west façade, gargoyle: naked figure with monster's head, screaming.

hundreds and thousands of marginal images in churches and cathedrals in the various regions of France must have been aware of the significance of the location of the series. Their images were to be located on the far frontiers of the edifice – the far frontiers of the known world in a sense – reflecting the marginality of their subjects as perceived by the patrons. However, I believe that the sculptors must have understood the power of images situated on the margins. The sculptures demonstrate a conviction that bold and intense manifestations of emotional, dramatic and comic expression, as well as of vulgar protest, have the power to reach and move the observer. Yet, it was probably understood that this was both the strength and the limitation of this emotional and sensual world, that its impact was forceful and immediate – unforgettable if momentary. Furthermore, the human images of the series were the protagonists of popular culture – the sculptors' own culture. These were and are the actors of the streets and squares, who constantly enact a drama of tears and laughter.

It seems to me that these images of marginal people served the sculptors as an artistic form of social criticism. In their choice of expressive and unsubtle forms (which are often an insult to respectable society) their language seems to transcend the official language. Such transgressions against the official code of artistic language take the observer to the ultimate limits of artistic norms, beyond which is life itself. By taking as their central subject matter crude, grotesque characters and extravagant emotions, gestures and behaviour – all formulated in stone – the corbel series provide a link between accepted artistic norms and the harsh realities of popular culture.

Notes

1. By describing the Romanesque corbels as 'hermetic' I borrow from the terminology of the troubadour literature. The latter is known as a 'langue fermée' (*trobar clus*). See R. Nelli and R. Lavaud, *Les troubadours*, Bruges, 1966, II, p. 632. See also Giraut de Borneil's poem about the 'trobar clus' in *Anthology of Troubadour Lyric Poetry*, ed. and trans. A.R. Press, Austin, IX 1971, pp. 128–131.
2. The initial stage of this social process is rooted in the twelfth century. Official documents from Saintonge and Aunis mention various jongleurs who served as witnesses or made donations to the local churches, such as Alelmos who made a donation to the church of Ste Marie of Barbezieux for the remission of his sins. See 'Barbezieux, son prieuré aux XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles, ses origines bordelaises, ses premiers seigneurs', in *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XLI, 1911, p. 61.

   Another example is of the jongleur Eberaldus who donated a vineyard to the church of Saint-Macout. See *Cartulaire de Saint-Jean-d'Angély*, I, *ibid.*, III, 1901, pp. 139, 342.

   Documents from Toulouse refer to the admired jongleur Pelardit after whom a street was named the 'carraria Pilistaiditis joculatoris'. See J.H. Mundy, 'Urban Society and Culture: Toulouse and its Region', in *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, eds. R.L. Benson and G. Constable, pp. 236–37. The same Pelardit served as a witness in a house sale in Toulouse: *ibid.*, nn. 7, 9, and 'Appendix of troubadours of Tolousan origins', pp. 244–47; M. Schapiro, 'From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos (1939)', *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers*, I, New York, 1977, pp. 46–47, n. 114.

   The well-known necrologue of the confraternity of jongleurs and bourgeois from Arras (1194–1361) demonstrates the struggle of the jongleurs for their rights. Tradition attributes the founding of the confraternity to two jongleurs who had been called upon by the Virgin to stop an epidemic in the town. See R. Berger, 'Le nécrologe de la confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d'Arras (1194–1361)', *Mémoires de la Comission départementale des Monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais*, XIII/2, 1970, pp. 247–63; E. Faral, *Les jongleurs en France au Moyen-Age*, Paris, 1964 (1910), pp. 133–39.
3. *Summa de arte prosandi, compilata a Cuonrado, cantore ecclesiae Tigurinae*, ed. Rockinger, in *Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen Geschichte*, IX, p. 426.
4. The insistence that all these sculptures are deprived of symbolic meaning seems to rely on E. Mâle's approach to Gothic sculpture that depicts floral and animal subjects. See Introduction, p. 2, nn. 2, 24 above.
5. L. de Farcy, *Monographie de la cathédrale d'Angers*, Angers, 1910, I, pp. 197–206. Farcy describes the corbels on the transepts and choir, as well as those of the nave which were partly restored and partly carved in the fifteenth century, but does not make any distinction between them. Ch. Urseau, *La cathédrale d'Angers* (Petites monographies des grandes édifices de la France), Paris, 1929, pp. 39–45; L. Schreiner, *Die frühgotische Plastik in Westfrankreich*, Cologne, 1963, figs. 71–73.
6. The series of Angers is one of several corbel series which appear in cathedrals and churches of the continental capitals of the Angevin realm. In addition to St Maurice the most prominent series appear in such major edifices as the cathedral of St Pierre and the church of Ste Radegonde in Poitiers (see pp. 148–50, 152–57 below), Notre Dame de La Couture in Le Mans and in Saint Florent in Saumur. Individual corbels of the same nature appear in the thirteenth-century transept of the cathedral of Vendôme. The corbel series of these edifices, dated to the first decades of the thirteenth century, are systematically situated in the inner churches, in the area between the upper and lower walls. In other words, they appear on the margins of the lower zone of the inner walls of the churches and form a frieze or a running gallery. Each series comprises a large number of corbels, much larger than in the Romanesque churches. The series of St Pierre in Poitiers, for example, consists of 150 corbels; that of Ste Radegonde in Poitiers of 130 and at Angers of 150 corbels.

   See the following works relevant to these churches: F. Brisset, 'Étude comparée des modillons des galeries de circulation de l'église Sainte-Radegonde et de la cathédrale Saint-Pierre de Poitiers', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 4^{e} sér., XIV, 1977/78, pp. 483–510; E. Maillard, *Les sculptures de la cathédrale de Poitiers*, Poitiers, 1921, pp. 38–73.
7. A. Mussat, 'La cathédrale Saint-Maurice d'Angers. Recherches récents', *Congrès archéologique*, CXXII, 1964, pp. 22–36, esp. p. 36; A. Mussat, *Le style gothique de l'ouest de la France*, Paris, 1968, pp. 192, 199–201. Mussat does not accept the results of previous scholarship stating that Bishop Raoul de Beaumont, the uncle of Guillaume (1178–1197), was the initiator of the southern transept (*ibid.*, pp. 199–201). Guillaume de Beaumont is repeatedly mentioned as builder and benefactor in the cathedral obituary and in a fourteenth-century eulogy. Ch. Urseau, *L'obituaire de la cathédrale d'Angers*, Angers, 1930, p. 31: 'Ecclesiae fabricam renovavit, vario supellectile ornavit, omnibus virtutibus decoravit'. Farcy, *Angers*, II, p. 146.
8. J. Avril, *Le gouvernement des évêques et la vie religieuse dans le diocèse d'Angers (1148–1240)*, 2 vols., Université de Lille, n.d. I, ns. 63, 64; II, pp. 747–49.
9. Mussat, *Style gothique*, p. 192, n. 7; Avril *Gouvernement*, II, pp. 745–48.
10. Avril, *Gouvernement*, II, p. 748, n. 40; Mussat, 'Cathédrale', pp. 32–33.
11. Farcy, *Angers*, II, pp. 146–48; J. Hayward and L. Grodecki, 'Les vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers', *Bulletin monumental*, CXXIV, 1966, pp. 7–10; Mussat, *Style gothique*, p. 199.
12. Mussat, *Style gothique*, p. 200.
13. Hayward and Grodecki, 'Vitraux', p. 52.
14. Urseau, *L'obituaire*, pp. 36–37; Mussat, *Style gothique*, pp. 193–94, seems to confuse Stephanus d'Azario the architect with Stephanus de Azaio, *sacerdos venerabilis et canonicus*. Cf. Urseau,

L'obituaire, p. 36, n. 3.

15. N. Kenaan-Kedar, 'Les modillons de Saintonge et du Poitou comme manifestation de la culture laïque', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, XXIX, 1986, pp. 311–36. See Chap. I above.
16. Z. Jacoby, 'The Beard Pullers in Romanesque Art: An Islamic Motif and Its Evolution in the West', *Arte Medievale*, I, 1987, pp. 65–83.
17. W. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France (1140–1270)*, London, 1972, p. 38, pls. 80–81.
18. J. Laver, *A Concise History of Costume*, London, 1974, pp. 56–63.
19. The marmoset figures of Chartres have not yet been accorded a specific study. I find there are remarkable stylistic features that are common both to them and to the Angers corbels. See Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, pls. 82, 83, 92, 93.
20. See n. 17 above.
21. Kenaan-Kedar, 'Les modillons', pp. 315–16, fig. 9.
22. Maillard, *Poitiers*, pl. IX, mod. 2, 58.
23. Brisset, 'Etude . . . des modillons . . .' pp. 483–510.
24. P.A. Segal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale*, Paris, 1985, pp. 227–55.
25. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 434–35, pl. 119.
26. M.L. Therel, 'Caritas et Paupertas dans l'iconographie médiévale inspirée de la Psychomachie', *Etudes sur l'histoire de la pauvreté*, ed. M. Mollat, Paris, 1974, pp. 297–317, esp. p. 311.
27. Ludwig Schreiner in his *Frühgotische Plastik* was the first to investigate the small sculptures of the early Gothic churches of western France. He claimed that the keystones on the vault of these churches formed a succession of Christological programmes, such as the Last Judgement, The Tree of Jesse or Old Testament narrative scenes. Schreiner (p. 101, n. 106) suspected the importance of the contemporary corbel series but did not discuss them.
28. Schreiner, *Plastik*, pp. 135–40.
29. Urseau, *La cathédrale*, p. 44.
30. Schreiner, *Plastik*, pp. 135–52.
31. Urseau, *L'obituaire*, p. 31; Avril, *Gouvernement*, I, pp. 381–82.
32. J. Avril, 'Clercs et laïcs devant la richesse d'après les statuts synodaux d'Angers de la fin du moyen âge', in *Etudes sur l'histoire de la pauvreté*, ed. M. Mollat, Paris, 1974, II, pp. 573–76.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 575–76.
34. This programme of the Works of Mercy excludes the performers of the works and depicts in detail its recipients. This is in accord with the regional nature of the small sculpture programmes. It differs from the twelfth- and thirteenth-century traditions of depicting the Works of Mercy. See W.R. Levin, *Studies in the Imagery of Mercy in Medieval Italian Art*, Ann Arbor, MI, 1983, 3 vols., I, pp. 48–63.
35. C. Port, *Inventaire des archives anciennes de l'Hôpital St Jean d'Angers, suivi d'un cartulaire de cet Hôtel-Dieu*, Paris–Angers, 1870, p. 114 (XXX), p. 115 (XXXIII–XXXIV), p. 116 (XXXVI), p. 117 (XL–XLII), p. 118 (XLIII).
36. The literature on the hospital of St Jean in Angers is vast. I quote mainly from the following: Port, *Cartulaire*, pp. 105–06 (III-VI); P. de la Tuillerie, *Description de la ville d'Angers*, Angers, 1869, pp. 514–15; Avril, *Gouvernement*, I, pp. 497–511; A. Mussat, 'L'hôpital Saint Jean à Angers', *Congrès Archéologique*, CXXII, 1964, pp. 78–87, esp. pp. 78–79; J.M Bienvenu, 'Pauvreté, misères et charité en Anjou au XI^e^ et XII^e^ siècle', *Moyen Age*, LXXII, 1966, pp. 389–424, LXXIII, 1967, pp. 5–34, 189–216, esp. pp. 206–10.
37. Port, *Cartulaire*, pp. 107–09 (VI–IX).
38. *Ibid.*, p. 155; Avril, *Gouvernement*, I, pp. 504–11; Bienvenu, 'Pauvreté', p. 212.
39. For the history of Semur-en-Auxois and Notre Dame de Semur and their architecture see A. de Vaulabelle, *Histoire générale de Semur-en-Auxois*, Paris, 1927, pp. 17–29, 152–61; M.J. Garnier, *Charte de Communes*, II, pp. 356–58; M. le Vicomte Pierre de Truchis, 'Semur-en-Auxois', *Congrès archéologique*, LXXIV, 1907/08, pp. 64–80; W. Sauerländer, *Von Sens bis Strassburg*, Berlin, 1966, pp. 120–26; *idem*, *Gothic Sculpture in France (1140–1270)*, pp. 503–04, pl. 291; R. Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture*, London, 1960, pp. 179–80; A. Prache, 'Notre Dame de Semur-en-Auxois', *Congrès archéologique* (Auxois-Catillonnais), 1986, pp. 291–301 (further literature).

40. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 61, 503–04; J. Contant, 'Le tympan de la porte des Bleds', *Bulletin de la Société du Semur*, 1932, pp. 48–51.
41. P. Quarré, 'Le visage humain dans la sculpture monumentale du XII^e^ siècle en Bourgogne', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*, 1966, pp. 7–12; *idem*, 'Le décor sculpté de Notre-Dame de Dijon', *L'Information d'Histoire de l'Art*, 1967, pp. 199–205; W. Sauerländer, 'Über einen Reimser Bildhauer in Cluny', in *Gedenkschrift E. Gall*, München-Berlin, 1965, pp. 255–68.
42. Vaulabelle, *Semur*, p. 155; see also *Vue de la ville de Semur-en-Auxois (1611). Dessin original de Joachim Duviert* (BN, étampes, v. 23, fol. 345).
43. For the earlier interpretations, see Vaulabelle, *Semur*, p. 158. For the St Thomas story see, for example, Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, trans. T. Forester, London, 1968 (1853), I. pp. 252–64.
44. These were dated by Sauerländer to 1249–1250: *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 503–04.
45. Maillard, *Poitiers*, pp. 115–16.
46. *Ibid*, pp. 115–22.
47. For Bourges see Cahier and Martin, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Bourges*, Paris, 1841/44, Ch. II. See also L. Grodecki, 'A Stained Glass Atelier of the Thirteenth Century: A Study of Windows in the Cathedrals of Bourges, Chartres and Poitiers', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, II, 1948, pp. 87–111.
48. See E. Maillard, 'Les sculptures de la façade occidentale de la cathédrale de Poitiers', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1920, pp. 288–308.
49. R. Foreville, 'Latéran I, II, III et Latéran IV', *Histoire des conciles oecuméniques*, VI, Paris, ed. S.J. de l'Orante, 1965, p. 445; V.L. Kennedy, 'Robert Courson on Penance', *Medieval Studies*, VII, 1945, pp. 294–336.
50. Avril, *Gouvernement*, I, ns. 63, 64, II, pp. 747–49.
51. J.C. Payen, *Le motif du repentir dans la littérature française médiévale des origines à 1230*, Geneva, 1967, pp. 559–78.
52. Avril, 'Clercs et laïcs', pp. 573–76.
53. See Payen, *Le motif du repentir*, pp. 517–19.
54. A. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, New York, 1964, pp. 81–82.
55. From the vast literature on the Romance of the Holy Grail I quote only: R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1959, A. Micha, 'Les manuscripts du Merlin en prose de Robert de Boron', *Romania*, LXXIX, 1958, pp. 78–94, 145–74; Payen, *Le motif du repentir*, 404–19; *idem*, 'Sur Robert de Boron, *Joseph* V. 34155', *Moyen Age*, XX/7, 1965, pp. 423–32.
56. J.C. Payen, 'L'art du récit dans le *Merlin* de Robert de Boron, Le Didot-Perceval et le Perlesvaus', *Romance Philology*, XVII/3, 1964, pp. 577–85.
57. P.I.E. Gentil, 'The Work of Robert de Boron and the Didot-Perceval', in R.S. Loomis, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, pp. 251–62.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 257–58.
59. The medieval literature concerning Merlin is vast. I quote here only: C.E. Harding, *Merlin and Legendary Romance*, New York, 1988, pp. 159–61; C. Gaignebet and J.D. Lajoux, *Art profane et religion populaire au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1985, pp. 291–310, fig. 293.

    Considering his form as a wild man and as a counsellor to King Arthur his figure is often metamorphosed. See R. Bernheimer, *The Wildman in the Middle Ages. A Study in Art, Sentiment and Demonology*, New York, 1979, pp. 13–14.
60. C.R. Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Art*, London, 1938, fig. 226.

61. R.S. Loomis, 'The Modena Sculpture and Arthurian Romance', *Studi Medievali*, IX, 1936, pp. 4–17; G.H. Gerould, 'Arthurian Romance and the Date of the Relief at Modena', *Speculum*, X, 1935, pp. 355–76; J. Stiennon and R. Lejune, 'La légende arthurienne dans la sculpture de la cathédrale de Modène', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, VI, 1963, pp. 281–96; J.L. Scheideger, 'Renart et Arthur à la cathédrale de Modène', in *A la recherche de Roman de Renart*, ed. K. Varti, II, Geneva, 1991, pp. 391–414.
62. Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Art*, figs. 9, 9a, 10.
63. *Ibid.*, figs. 224–26, 233. For the image of Merlin see BN, Ms. Fr. 93126.
64. *Ibid.*, figs. 224–26.
65. *Ibid.*, fig. 266. In this miniature Perceval is depicted as a knight kneeling before the hermit and confessing his sins.
66. *Idem*, 'The Modena Sculpture', pp. 7–9.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.
68. E. Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race capétienne*, Dijon, 1891, IV, pp. 482–83.
69. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 61, 503–04.
70. Hugh IV bought property in the city of Semur in 1251. Petit, *Histoire des ducs*, IV, p. 63.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 84–93; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1955, II, pp. 212, 214, 217, 229, 257, 266; J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1979, II, pp. 321, 337, 340–41.
72. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols., London, Rolls Series, 1872–1883, IV, pp. 138, 167, 290, 527.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 559; Runciman, *Crusades*, II, pp. 212, 214, 217, 229, 257, 266; Richard, *Latin Kingdom*, II, pp. 324–25, 337–38.
74. Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. M.R.B. Shaw, Harmondsworth, 1963, pp. 201, 223–25. Matthew Paris also related the event of 1247 when some of the blood of the Lord had arrived in a 'most beautiful crystal container' and was received by the king and magnates in Westminster. See Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 118.
75. Petit, *Histoire des ducs*, IV, pp. 55–57.
76. Richard, *Latin Kingdom*, I, pp. 16, 22.
77. Hugh III was offered the regency of Jerusalem if he would marry Baldwin IV's sister, Sybilla, to which he would not agree. *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 195, 197.
78. Gentil, *Robert de Boron*, pp. 251–52.
79. This series recalls the request of Duke Hugh IV's father, when he made donation to the church of St Jean in Semur for a mass to be said each year for the Princes, his predecessors, Vaulabelle, *Semur*, pp. 19–20.
80. P. Quarré, 'La sculpture en Bourgogne au XII^{e} siècle', *Bulletin de la Société des Amis du Musée de Dijon*, 1961–1963, p. 21.
81. *Ibid.*
82. See Chap. 2 above.
83. Quarré, 'La sculpture en Bourgogne', p. 21. The fact that the choir and transepts were divided from the nave by a wall may support this assumption.
84. See the discussion below.
85. A. Aigrain, *Sainte-Radegonde* (Les Saints), Paris, 1918, pp. 116–58; E. Briand, *Histoire de Sainte Radegonde, Reine de France et des sanctuaires et pèlerinages*, Bruxelles, 1909, pp. 287–358 (for the history of the church), pp. 1–281 (for Saint Radegonde's life); see also Carolus de Smedt, *et al.*, 'Miracles de sainte Radegonde, XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècle', *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXIII, Bruxelles, 1904, pp, 433–47; 'Eglise de Sainte-Radegonde', *Congrès archéologique*, LXXIX, 1912, pp. 270–79; J. Bidaut, 'Eglise Ste-Radegonde de Poitiers', *ibid.*, CIX, 1951, pp. 96–117; 'Histoire de l'abbaye Sainte-Croix de Poitiers' *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 4^{e} série, tome XIX, 1986 (further bibliography).
86. J.B. Pelt, *Etudes sur la cathédrale de Metz*, Metz, 1930; *idem*, *La cathédrale de Metz*, Metz, 1937.
87. Mussat, *Style gothique*, pp. 48–51, 263–67; Maillard, 'Façade occidentale', pp. 288–308; *idem*, *Poitiers*, pp. 31–73; *idem*, 'Cathédrale Saint-Pierre', *Congrès archéologique*, LXXIX, 1912, pp. 252–69. For the stained glass of the cathedral, see Grodecki, 'A Stained Glass Atelier', pp. 87–111; *idem*, 'Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Poitiers', *Congrès archéologique*, CIX, 1951, pp. 138–63; R. Grinnell, 'Iconography and Philosophy in the Crucifixion Window at Poitiers', *Art Bulletin*, XXVIII, 1946, pp. 171–96.
88. Brisset, 'Etude', pp. 483–510; Maillard, 'Façade occidentale', pp. 288–308, and *idem*, *Poitiers*, pp. 31–73.
89. A study of the almshouse of Ste Radegonde was carried out by Robert Favreau in *Histoire de l'abbaye Ste. Croix* (n. 85 above), pp. 126–47.
90. See Chapt. II above.
91. See n. 87 above.
92. H. Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Reims*, Paris, 1963, pp. 155–62, 163–77.
93. *Ibid.*, pls. 33–40.
94. W.B. Wadley, *The Reims Masks – A Reconstruction: Stylistic Analysis and Chronology of the Corbel Sculptures on the Upper Stories of Reims* (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin), Ann Arbor, MI, 1990.
95. See ns. 86, 89 above.
96. Mussat, *Style gothique*, pp. 48–51, 167–263; Maillard, *Poitiers*, pp. 7–16; *idem*, 'Façade occidentale', pp. 288–90.
97. See the above discussion of the two churches.
98. See n. 43 above.
99. Schreiner, *Frühgotische Plastik*, pp. 135–52.
100. Archives Benjamin Z. and Nurith Kedar.
101. Schreiner, *Frühgotische Plastik*, pp. 135–52.