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The Impact of Eleanor of Aquitaine on the Visual Arts in France

ABSTRACT

This article investigates the possible patronage of Eleanor of Aquitaine of the portals of Le Mans and Angers Cathedrals. The architecture and sculptural programs of the portals reflect Eleanor's dynastic consciousness as well as its Christological intentions. The forms of these portals suggest that their models and origins are in Chartres Cathedral's west facade portals. Their adaptation on the portals of Le Mans and Angers has never become a focal issue in art history research. The portals merely constituted, together with the early Gothic portals of the Île-de-France such as those of Etampes or St. Loup de Naud, part of the early Gothic corpus. I contend that the transference of the portals from the Île-de-France to the two Angevin capitals was meaningful and not just « a migration of forms ». I argue that Eleanor of Aquitaine, supported by Henry II, deliberately used these forms as political and dynastic declarations. Indeed, her great-great-grandfather Guillaume Le Grand was already a great supporter of Chartres Cathedral at the time of Bishop Fulbert. My contention is that Eleanor already had a very specific impact on the sculptural program of Chartres Cathedral's west portal when she was Queen of France, and Louis VII, her husband, was also connected to the Cathedral. The specific usage of the Chartres Cathedral scheme in Le Mans and Angers, as the iconography demonstrates, was thus not haphazard but expressed her political intentions and attitudes. Finally, I suggest that in Eleanor's old age, the rebuilding of the Palace in Poitiers was a continuation of a select specific visual repertory of forms as a personal statement of consciousness.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article étudie le possible patronage d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine sur les portails des cathédrales du Mans et d'Angers. Il suggère également que l'architecture et le programme sculpté de ces portails reflètent la conscience dynastique d'Aliénor aussi bien que des intentions christologiques. Leurs formes puisent leurs modèles et leurs origines dans ceux de la façade occidentale de la cathédrale de Chartres. Leur adaptation sur les portails des cathédrales du Mans et d'Angers ; ceci n'a jamais constitué un problème essentiel dans la recherche en histoire de l'art et n'a donc pas été étudié comme un phénomène exceptionnel. Au contraire, ces portails ont été simplement considérés comme une partie du corpus du premier gothique, avec ceux d'Étampes ou de Saint-Loup de Naud en Île-de-France. J'avance ici que le transfert des portails de l'Île-de-France aux deux capitales angevines était chargé de sens, et qu'il ne saurait se limiter à une simple « migration de formes ». Aliénor d'Aquitaine, appuyée par Henri II, a donc délibérément utilisé ces formes en tant que déclarations politiques et dynastiques. En effet, son ancêtre Guillaume le Grand apparaissait déjà comme un promoteur important de la cathédrale de Chartres du temps de l'évêque Fulbert. Mon point de vue est qu'Aliénor avait déjà eu une influence très spécifique sur le programme sculpté du portail occidental de la cathédrale de Chartres, quand elle était reine de France, et que Louis VII, son mari, avait également un lien avec cette cathédrale. L'utilisation particulière de l'agencement de la cathédrale de Chartres au Mans et à Angers, comme le démontre l'iconographie, n'était pas aléatoire, mais exprimait des arrière-pensées politiques. En

conclusion, on verra que pendant la vieillesse d'Aliénor, la reconstruction du palais de Poitiers n'était que la poursuite d'un répertoire visuel spécifique de formes et qu'une affirmation personnelle de sa conscience dynastique.

Eleanor of Aquitaine's patronage of the visual arts during her reign as queen of France (1137-1152), as duchess of Aquitaine and queen of England (1154-1173), and as Queen Mother (1189-1204), has been only rarely the subject of scholarly research.¹ The almost total lack of written documents from the first period, and their scarcity in the later ones, have left these rare studies tentative. They had limited impact on the main discourse about the development of the major monuments of early Gothic sculpture in the Île-de-France between 1137-1152,² and of Romanesque and early Gothic monuments in the west of France between 1154-1173, and of the High Gothic art between 1189-1204.³

My discussion of certain artistic projects in France as reflecting the possible patronage of Eleanor of Aquitaine is a preliminary one. It is based on her charters whose phrasing reveals her consciousness of being part of the great chain of the ancient dynasty of the dukes of Aquitaine, and of her present family. Many of them confirm privileges that had been traditionally conferred by the dukes of Aquitaine, her ancestors.⁴

In the following I also offer a new reading of certain sculptural and painted cycles as visual texts and narratives attesting to the patronage or impact of Eleanor, with circumstantial evidence provided as further argumentation.

My investigation of Eleanor's impact on the visual arts follows a chronological order:

1. - The development of early Gothic portals in the Île-de-France during Eleanor's reign as queen of France (1137-1152).
2. - Eleanor's impact as queen of England and duchess of Aquitaine (1154-1173):
 - a. The transplantation of Gothic portals from the Île-de-France to Le Mans and Angers, the capital cities of Henry II in Maine and Anjou.
 - b. The introduction of specific motifs of Romanesque sculpture into Poitou and Saintonge.
 - c. The patronage of St. Pierre Cathedral in Poitiers, built in the early Poitevin Gothic style.

1. Major works concerning the life and works of Eleanor are: E.R. LABANDE, "Pour une image véridique d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine", *Bull. soc. Antiq. Ouest*, 4^e, II (1952/54), p. 175-234 (repr. in *Histoire de l'Europe Occidentale XIV^e s.*, London, 1973), p. 31-234; Labande's critical demonstration of the partiality of modern historians of Eleanor's divorce from Louis VII is exemplary. E.R. LABANDE, "Les liens entre l'Angleterre médiévale et la France de l'Ouest", *Actes du Colloque de Poitiers 1976*, Poitiers, 1977, p. 5-11; - E.R. LABANDE, "Les filles d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine: Étude comparative", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 29 (1986), p. 101-111; - A. RICHARD, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou*, Paris, 1903, 2 vols.; - A. KELLY, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings*, Cambridge, Mass. 1950; - R. LE JEUNE, "Rôle littéraire d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine et sa famille", *Cultura Neolatina*, 14 (1954), p. 5-57; - R. LE JEUNE, "Rôle littéraire d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 1 (1958), p. 319-337.

2. S.E. GREENHILL, "Eleanor, Abbot Suger, and Saint-Denis," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Patron and Politician*, ed. W. KIBLER, Austin 1976, p. 94-97.

3. J.L. LOZINSKI, "Henri II, Aliénor d'Aquitaine et la cathédrale de Poitiers," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 37 (1994), p. 91-100.

4. M. HIVERGNEAUX, "Aliénor d'Aquitaine. Le pouvoir d'une femme à la lumière de ses chartes 1152-1204," in *La cour Plantagenêt (1154-1204)*, éd. M. AURELL, Poitiers, 2000, p. 62-87; - I. BALDET, *Essai d'itinéraire et registes d'Aliénor, reine d'Angleterre, duchesse d'Aquitaine 1189-1204* (unpublished), Mémoire principal pour le diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures (supervised by E.R. LABANDE), Poitiers, 1963, p. 62-87, deposited in the library of the CESC in Poitiers.

3. - The arts under the aged Eleanor of Aquitaine (1189-1204):
 - a. The mural painting at Chinon.
 - b. The Great Hall of the Ducal Palace in Poitiers.

Thus, the various periods of Eleanor's life and patronage are contemporaneous with several artistic languages and modes of expression flourishing at the same time simultaneously: (1) The early Gothic of the Île-de-France; (2) Early Poitevin Gothic; (3) Aquitanian Romanesque art; (4) High Poitevin Gothic.

1. - The development of early Gothic portals in the Île-de-France during Eleanor's reign as queen of France (1137-1152)

The connections of Eleanor with the early Gothic sculpture of St. Denis and Chartres have not been studied in detail; nor have they been examined from aspects such as her dynastic consciousness and the traditional donations of her dynasty to various churches and monasteries in Poitiers, the Île-de-France and elsewhere, which she maintained throughout her life. Her connection to St. Denis was recorded by Abbot Suger in relation to two major events.⁵

Regarding the first event – that of her marriage - Suger recorded a vase that she gave as a gift to the young King Louis VII of France, her first husband, and which he in turn donated to Abbot Suger for the treasure of St. Denis.⁶ Suger commented on that gift:

Still another vase like a pint bottle of crystal which the Queen of Aquitaine had presented to our Lord King Louis as a newly wed bride on their first voyage, and the King to us, as a tribute of great love, we offered most affectionately to the divine table for libation. We have recorded the sequence of these gifts on the vase itself after it had been adorned with gems and gold in some little verses: "As a bride, Eleanor gave this vase to King Louis, Mitadolus to her grandfather, the King to me, and Suger to the Saints".⁷

It is not clear on what conditions Louis VII had given the vase to Abbot Suger, or whether Queen Eleanor herself had assented. Eleanor's inscription on the vase relating to the legendary Mitadolus as well as to her own grandfather indicates her very strong dynastic consciousness. Furthermore, it demonstrates her particular aesthetic choice of an object as a gift of love. The importance of the vase to Suger can perhaps be inferred from the form of the vessels the 24 sculpted elders hold in their hands on the archivolt of the western tympanum of St. Denis. These vessels mostly echo Eleanor's vase form.⁸

The second event recorded by Suger was that of Eleanor's important presence at the inauguration of the new church of St. Denis.⁹

The connection of King Louis VII to Chartres Cathedral has been demonstrated by J. R. Johnson in his major study of the stained glass window on Chartres' west facade depicting the Tree of Jesse. This window depicts the genealogy of Christ by means of the image of the fleur-de-lis, most plausibly referring to the Capetian house, and thus associating Louis VII with notions of a holy royal

5. See for example A. KATZENELLENBOGEN, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, New York, 1959, p. 31-36, 47.

6. G. T. BEECH, "Eleanor of Aquitaine's Vase, William IX of Aquitaine, and Muslim Spain", *Gesta* 32 (1993), p. 3-11.

7. In PANOFKY, *Abbot Suger*, Princeton, 1946, p. 79.

8. BEECH, "Eleanor of Aquitaine's Vase" (see n. 6), p. 3-11; - GREENHILL, "Eleanor, Abbot Suger, and Saint-Denis" (see n. 2), p. 94-97.

9. PANOFKY, *Abbot Suger*, p. 111-115.

dynasty.¹⁰ I believe that it is possible also to consider Eleanor's own ties to Chartres Cathedral. Her ancestor, Guillaume le Grand Duke of Aquitaine, had donated the new building of the cathedral's crypt at the request of Bishop Fulbert (960-1028).¹¹ The very close relationship between Guillaume and Fulbert is documented in their numerous letters.¹² In his Chartres Cathedral, Robert Branner quoted briefly from Fulbert's letters to Guillaume concerning the donation of the crypt,¹³ but their links were much stronger and very extensive. Fulbert's well known letter to the duke concerning the oath of fidelity was written upon the latter's request.¹⁴ The duke appointed Fulbert treasurer of St. Hilaire-le-Grand in Poitiers but he delegated his duties there to Hildegard, master of the school of Chartres before him.¹⁵ Already in 1152, in her early donations to the monastery of St. Jean de Montierneuf bordering the city of Poitiers, Eleanor mentions that she confirms the privileges of the monastery as did before her father, grandfather, and the father of her grandfather. A similar formulation appears in her confirmation of the monastery's rights in her later years in 1199.¹⁶ It is thus plausible to assume that Eleanor was also aware of Guillaume le Grand's large donation to Chartres Cathedral; thus as queen of France she continued this traditional patronage of the dukes of Aquitaine.

The west facade of Chartres Cathedral features a most striking and innovative group of seven noble female images, four of which wear crowns. These figures are included among the group of jamb statues located below the facade's three tympana, and are dated generally to 1145. The jamb statues also represent various kings and prophets, whom some scholars have traditionally identified either as prophets and kings of the Old Testament, thus symbolizing *Regnum* and *Sacerdotium*,¹⁷ or as prophets and the kings of France.¹⁸ The central tympanum is commonly read as depicting Christ in Majesty, while the tympanum on the right reveals his human nature through his incarnation, and the tympanum on the left represents his divine nature through depiction of his ascension to heaven [fig. 1].¹⁹

The portrayal of no less than seven noble females, whose external beauty seems to be expressing their righteousness, is not necessary to either of the above interpretations and is unique within early French Gothic sculpture [fig. 4, 5]. These images have been interpreted as personifications of the Virgin's virtues,²⁰ or as biblical queens²¹ and sibyls. One of the queens, indeed, has always been identified as the Queen of Sheba standing near King Solomon.²² Even these arguments, however, do not suffice to explain the sudden appearance of as many as seven female jamb statues on Chartres Cathedral's west facade. Moreover, the figures present a new concept of feminine beauty. They are clad in tight-fitting tunics and surcoats, with two long, meticulously woven braids, and a smile of sorts on their round, high cheek-boned faces. The braids represent restrained sensuality, and the contours

10. J.R. JOHNSON, "The Tree of Jesse Window of Chartres: *Laudes Regiae*", *Speculum*, 36 (1961), p. 1-22.

11. *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and trans. F. BEHREND, Oxford 1976, letters 51, 120, 107.

12. *Ibid.*, Letter 51 (p. 90-93), 107 (p. 190-193), 116 (p. 208-211), 119 (p. 212-214), 120 (p. 214-217), 122 (p. 218-221).

13. R. BRANNER, *Chartres Cathedral*, London, 1969, p. 92-93.

14. *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (see n. 11), Letter 51.

15. *Ibid.*, no. 122, p. 218-221. See also A. RICHARD, *Les comtes* (see n. 1), vol. 1, p. 139 ff.; - F. BEHREND, *Fulbert* (see n. 11), p. XXI.

16. M. HIVERGNEAUX, "Aliénor d'Aquitaine" (see n. 4), p. 65-66, 81; - I. BALDET, *Itinéraires et registes* (see n. 4), p. 61.

17. A. KATZENELLENBOGEN, *The Sculptural Programs* (see n. 5), p. 31-36, 47.

18. M. AUBERT, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, Paris, 1961, p. 21; - M. AUBERT, *French Sculpture at the Beginning of the Gothic Period 1140-1220*, Florence, 1929, p. 14; - W. SAUERLÄNDER, *Gothic Sculpture in France, 1140-1270*, London, 1972, p. 36-39, 384; - E. MÂLE, *Notre Dame de Chartres*, Paris, 1983, 1917, p. 19-21.

19. A. KATZENELLENBOGEN, *The Sculptural Programs* (see n. 5), p. 36.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

21. E. MÂLE, *Notre Dame de Chartres* (see n. 18), p. 20-21.

22. *Ibid.*; - A. KATZENELLENBOGEN, *The Sculptural Programs* (see n. 5), p. 31-32.

of the body emphasize belly and bosom. The hand gestures are restrained, and the posture is frozen. The garments do not appear to be merely decorative variations, but rather a personal attribute of each figure.

In the contemporaneous Romanesque sculptural programs of the churches of St. Madeleine in Vézelay, St. Trophime in Arles,²³ St. Gilles-du-Gard²⁴ and others, female images are scarce. The new female images in the Chartres west portal reflect a new perception of the noblewoman, contemporaneous with the new more concrete, representations of men.

2.- Eleanor's impact as queen of England and duchess of Aquitaine (1154-1173)

Transplantation of the Gothic portals to Le Mans and Angers Cathedrals

Scholars are in agreement that the forms and compositions of the west portals of Chartres Cathedral served as models for the south portal of the cathedral of Le Mans, inaugurated in 1158,²⁵ and probably even earlier in the same decade for the west facade of the cathedral of St. Maurice in Angers [fig. 2, 3, 6, 7]. The transplanting of Gothic art from the Île-de-France into the two capitals of the Plantagenets has received wide attention. While some scholars contend that the south portal of Le Mans Cathedral was created under the sole impact of Chartres Cathedral's west facade, others have argued that additional sources were to be found in Burgundy and elsewhere.²⁶

The reported inauguration date of the cathedral of Le Mans in 1158²⁷ has often been used as a terminus ad quem for the dating of Chartres' west facade. Application of the Chartres forms in Le Mans in 1158 indicates that Chartres Cathedral's west facade, the major source, must have been almost completed by this date. Adaptation of the scheme of Chartres' west façade for the single portal of Angers Cathedral can be dated to between 1148-1153.²⁸ In 1152 Eleanor and Henry of Anjou were wed, and in 1153 Eleanor took up sojourn in Angers.²⁹

What might have been the reasons for adopting the scheme of Chartres' Porte-Royale for the southern facade of Le Mans Cathedral and the west facade of St. Maurice in Angers? Scholars have not taken into account the contemporary political situation when discussing styles and iconography.³⁰ Thus the question of why the Chartres scheme was adopted by the Plantagenets for Le Mans Cathedral, in the capital of a region noted for its own long autonomous pictorial tradition, has not been raised. It is my contention that this adoption constituted part of a process which had

23. L.H. LABANDE, *L'église St. Trophime d'Arles*, Paris, 1930; - E. MÂLE, *Religious Art in France: The 12th Century*, Princeton, 1978, p. 30; - M. AUBERT, *French Sculpture at the Beginning of the Gothic Period* (see n. 18), Pl. 51.

24. J.F. SCOTT, *St. Gilles-Du-Gard : The West Facade Figured Frieze - Irregularities and Relative Chronology*, Vol 1 (*Sanctuaries of the Gallic-Frankish Church*, (Frankfurt 1981); - C.F. O'MEARA, *The Iconography of the Façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard*, New York, 1977. W.S. STODDARD, *The Façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: its influence on French sculpture*, Middletown, Conn. 1973.

25. E. MÂLE, *The 12th Century* (see n. 23), p. 393-394; - L.S. WARD, *The Sculpture of the South Porch at Le Mans Cathedral*, Ph.D. Diss, Brown University 1984, p. 52-53, 5-6, 95, 119, 144-147; A. MUSSAT, *Le style gothique de l'Ouest de la France: XIIe-XIIIe siècles*, Paris 1963, p. 77-131.

26. A. MUSSAT, *Le style* (see n. 25), p. 1-19, 138, 144-147, 179-180.

27. *Ibid.*, 133-135.

28. C.H. URSEAU, *Angers: La Cathédrale d'Angers*, Paris n.d., 10-15; - A. MUSSAT, *Le style* (see n. 26), p. 177-181.

29. M. HIVERGNEAUX, "Aliénor d'Aquitaine" (see n. 4), p. 66.

30. W. SAUERLÄNDER, *Gothic Sculpture in France*, (see n. 18), p. 43-47; - M. AUBERT, *La Cathédrale de Chartres* (see n. 18); E. MÂLE, *Notre Dame de Chartres* (see n. 18), p. 20-21; - M. AUBERT, *French Sculpture at the Beginning of the Gothic Period* (see n. 18), p. 27-30.

begun at least a generation earlier - a process of turning the cathedral of Le Mans into the "St. Denis of the Plantagenet Dynasty".³¹ It was in Le Mans that Geoffrey le Bel Plantagenet had been buried in 1151, and his son Henry Plantagenet had been baptized. Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine were crowned King and Queen of England in 1154. Thus the royal participation in the church's inauguration in 1158 was not fortuitous. During the years that the portal was being built, Henry and Eleanor were occupied in establishing their new positions as rulers of England. The first two princes born were Geoffrey in 1153 and Henry in 1155. Richard - the future Lion-Heart - was born in 1157, the year before the southern portal's inauguration.³² Le Mans was Henry II's most favourite place, as he himself is quoted by Gerald of Wales saying when, much later, he watched the town being burned down by Richard, his son:

"A city which above all in the earth I loved; In which also I was born and brought up; Where also my father is buried and the body also of St. Julian lies interred."³³

Most biographers of Henry II stress the fact that even when King of England, Henry related mainly to his native lands of Maine and Anjou and maintained only limited connections with Poitou and Saintonge, the heritage of Eleanor.³⁴

From the beginning of his reign Henry II had employed several chroniclers to write the history of his dynasty and thus continue an age-old tradition of the Angevin nobility.³⁵ Following his coronation as King of England, however, the writing of the Angevin dynastic history, and its glorification, acquired new dimensions. It took place, moreover, during a period of competition with the Capetian kings, Henry's major rivals. Thus, one may consider the transference of the portal scheme of Chartres to Le Mans within the framework of this ideological rivalry with the royal House of Capet.

Richard Krautheimer has demonstrated that in the Middle Ages the translation of an architectural form from one place to the other was a very meaningful one and manifested the desire of the patron to be associated with the model he was transferring. The model was not always imitated in all motifs and elements and often the use of certain identifying details from the exemplar constituted a sufficient reference.³⁶ Thus, the adoption of the scheme of the Capetian Porte-Royale at Chartres for Le Mans and Angers can be regarded as an expression of Henry II's and Eleanor's new perception of their royal status. The transplantation of the Capetian portal alone was deemed sufficient to declare the pretensions of the new dynasty. Moreover, one might well ask whether it was not Eleanor, the former queen of France and as such a donor to both St. Denis and Chartres,³⁷ who had suggested or decided to adopt the style of the Capetian Porte-Royale for her new domains as a reflection of the new royal house.³⁸

31. L.S. WARD, *The Sculpture of the South Porch at Le Mans Cathedral* (see n. 25), p. 239-243, p. 247-249.

32. Z.N. BROOKE, "Henry II, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine", *English Historical Review*, 61 (1946), 81-89; - BROWN, "Eleanor of Aquitaine ...", 16; - T.E. POLK, II, "The South Portal of Le Mans: Its Place in the Development of Early Gothic Portal Composition," *Gesta*, 24 (1985), p. 47-60.

33. GERALD OF WALES, *Concerning the Instruction of Princes*, trans. J. STEVENSON, 2nd pub, London, 1838; rep. 1991, p. 89.

34. N. VINCENT, "King Henry II and the Poitevins", *La Cour Plantagenêt* (see n. 4), p. 103-136.

35. R.R. BEZZOLA, *Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident (500-1200)*, Paris, 1963, vol. 2, p. 329-365.

36. R. KRAUTHEIMER, "Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), p. 1-33, esp. p. 31-33.

37. S.E. GREENHILL, "Eleanor, Abbot Suger, and Saint-Denis" (see n. 2), 81-115; - G.T. BEECH, "Eleanor of Aquitaine Vase", (see n. 6), p. 3-11.

38. An open narthex precedes the southern portal of Le Mans cathedral, and from several 17th c. depictions it is known that an open narthex had also preceded the west façade of the cathedral of St. Maurice in Angers. The sculptural program of Le Mans porch will be investigated in a later study.

It would appear that the program of the Le Mans portal relates to the central and left portals of Chartres west facade. As in Chartres, it depicts the *Maestas Domini* in the tympanum and the apostles in the lintel. The jamb statues, inspired by Chartres' left portal, include only one female figure on each side of the portal, a meaningful reduction when compared to Chartres. The Chartrain capitals' frieze depicting the life and passion of Christ was not adopted in Le Mans but its subjects were carved on the archivolt.³⁹

The situation in Angers is different [fig. 9, 10]. Here the archivolt program around the *Maestas Domini* tympanum draws much more closely from the themes of the west facade of Chartres Cathedral's central portal, which present the 24 elders, evangelists and angels. The cathedral of St. Maurice in Angers is not mentioned as having the same importance for Henry II as that of Le Mans. The later bishops of Angers Cathedral however, Raoul and Guillaume de Beaumont, were close members of the royal family and in 1153 Eleanor had stayed in Angers.⁴⁰ Still, one outstanding jamb statue that clearly reveals ideas adopted from Chartres Cathedral sculptures, is that of the queen figure on the right wall of the mid-12th century west portal of Angers Cathedral. The figure displays features originating in Chartres such as the pattern of braids, but adds new gestures. The face of the Angers figure is heavier, and demonstrates more highly profiled and individual features than those of the queens on the west facade of Chartres Cathedral.⁴¹ Her body is portrayed in detail, and her narrow waist and rounded thighs are accentuated. Her left hand is shown lifting up her heavy dress, a unique gesture in the 12th century. Her right hand is extended to hold the cord that secures the hems of her surcoat. This gesture of holding up the mantle cord became common in visual depictions of both men and women in the 13th century.⁴² I consider this gesture to signify royal or aristocratic status and power.

Eleanor and Romanesque Sculpture in Poitou

The sculptural program of the western facade of the church of Notre-Dame-la-Grande in Poitiers (dating uncertain, between 1152 and the 1180s),⁴³ is divided into three parts: the lower section features three portals; above them is an arcaded gallery with saints; and the third section features a triangle on which the sculpted figure of Christ is depicted in a mandorla. In the lower section, a sculpted frieze above the three portals reads, from left to right: Adam and Eve standing on either side of the Tree of Knowledge, King Nebuchadnezzar reigning in majesty, four prophets holding scrolls, the Tree of Jesse and, finally, the Annunciation, Visitation and Nativity [fig. 11].⁴⁴

This program has frequently been interpreted as exhibiting the development familiar from medieval plays, and mainly from the well-known play *Jeu de Adam*, which begins with Adam and Eve as symbol and cause of the fall of Man and ends with Christ's Incarnation and Nativity, thus representing the salvation of mankind.⁴⁵

39. L.S. WARD, *Le Mans* (see n. 25), p. 182-186.

40. M. HIVERGNEAUX, "Aliénor d'Aquitaine" (see n. 4), 66, notes, 7,8,9,10,11.

41. M. AUBERT, *French Sculpture at the Beginning of the Gothic Period* (see n. 18), Pl. 32; - W. SAUERLÄNDER, *Gothic Sculpture* (see n. 18), Pl. 33.

42. M. AUBERT, *ibid.*, Pls. 34, 37 (Saint-Loup-de-Naud), Pl. 46c (Avallon); - W. SAUERLÄNDER, *Gothic Sculpture* (see n. 18), p. 47, figs. 92, 97 (Chartres north).

43. Y. LABANDE-MAILFERT, *Poitou Roman*, La Pierre qui Vire, 1962, p. 240.

44. R. FAVREAU, M.Th. CAMUS, F. JEANNEAU, *Notre-Dame la Grande, Poitiers*, Poitiers, 1995, p. 45-63.

45. J. CAHILLEY, "Du drame liturgique aux prophètes de Notre-Dame-la-Grande," in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. P. GALLAIT and Y.J. RIOU, Poitiers 1966, p. 835-841.

I believe, however, that the frieze, which may well have been influenced by the aforementioned liturgical play, also conveys association with the dukes of Poitiers. The frieze depicts the Tree of Jesse in the form of large dynastic branches borne by a bust of a clothed male with raised hands, carrying on his head a flower-like chalice on which a dove nests [fig. 12].

The image of the Tree of Jesse was created in St. Denis for its famous glass window, and repeated in Chartres' west facade in the stained glass window in allusion to the Capetian dynasty [fig. 13].⁴⁶ Scholars are in agreement that this image had first appeared in sculpture in Notre Dame in Poitiers, but the differences between the glass windows image and the sculpture have not been sufficiently illuminated. In St. Denis and Chartres Jesse is depicted as a sleeping old man and the branches radiate from behind his bed, whereas in Poitiers Jesse is depicted as a male in half-figure who supports the branches with his hands. Could the unique Jesse image of Notre-Dame la Grande in Poitiers be alluding to the new Plantagenet dynasty, in deliberate contrast to the house of Capet? It is reasonable to assume that Eleanor, who was familiar with the Jesse image in the Île-de-France, may have had an impact upon the introduction of this new form.

Eleanor and the Cathedral of Poitiers [fig. 15]

Eleanor and Henry II's patronage of the construction of St. Pierre Cathedral in Poitiers in 1162 is only known from later sources, but accepted by most scholars.⁴⁷ The donation of the crucifixion stained glass window for the apse is declared by presenting the images of the royal couple. The lower part of the window depicts Eleanor and Henry kneeling with their four children, two on either side.⁴⁸ For this window that the royal couple donated to St. Pierre Cathedral a new pictorial scheme of donors was developed: a dynastic one of parents and children. By 1162 four of the royal couple's children were already born, as depicted on the window.⁴⁹ A similar depiction of a royal family also appears on the opening page of the Book of Henry the Lion, husband of Mathilda, the daughter of Eleanor and Henry II.⁵⁰

3. - The Arts under the aged Eleanor of Aquitaine (1189-1204)

The mural painting at Chinon

The depiction of a Plantagenet parent with his or her children was to become a major subject of the two murals Henry and Eleanor initiated later in their life, as I have shown in my article on the image painted on the eastern wall of the St. Radegonde rocky hermitage in Chinon.⁵¹ I interpret the mural

46. J.R. JOHNSON, "Tree of Jesse" (see n. 10), p. 6-10.

47. MAILLARD, *Les Sculptures de la Cathédrale St. Pierre de Poitiers*, Poitiers, 1921, p. 7-41; - I.L. LOZINSKI, "Henri II, Aliénor d'Aquitaine", p. 92-100, fig. 2; - R. CROZET, *Histoire du Poitou*, Que Sais-Je, vol. 332, Paris, 1970, p. 52.

48. MAILLARD, *op. cit.*, (see n. 47), p. 92; - A. MUSSAT, *Le style*, (see n. 25), p. 245.

49. J.L. LOZINSKI, "Henry II, Aliénor d'Aquitaine" (see n. 3), p. 98-99, fig. 2.

50. C.R. DODWELL, *The Pictorial Arts of the West 800-1200*, (New York 1993), fig. 286, p. 285.

51. N. KENAAN-KEDAR, "Aliénor d'Aquitaine conduite en captivité : les peintures murales commémoratives de Sainte-Radegonde de Chinon," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 41 (1998), p. 317-330; the question of Eleanor's patronage concerning the sepulchral effigies of King Henry II and Richard-Lion-Heart in Fontevrault will be discussed in a later work. See also LABANDE, "Une image véridique.." (see n. 1), p. 211; - A. RICHARD, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou*, (see n. 1), 192; - KELLY, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 90.

depiction there of a cortège on horseback as the image of Eleanor, together with Joanna her daughter, being led into captivity by Henry II and taking leave of her sons Richard and Geoffrey.⁵²

The Great Hall of the Ducal Palace in Poitiers [fig. 16]

Eleanor's largest project was, I believe, the rebuilding of the great hall of the Ducal Palace in Poitiers, her ancestral palace. It was executed between 1196 and her death in 1204. The architecture of the great hall, which today serves as the grand lobby of the Palais de Justice of Poitiers, has been attributed by René Crozet and Yvonne Labande-Mailfert to the patronage of Eleanor of Aquitaine in her old age.⁵³ The hall cannot date before 1199, as a silver denier of Hugh IX of Lusignan was found 70 cm below the floor during the 1943 excavations.⁵⁴

The architecture of the hall and its role as part of the palace of the dukes of Aquitaine has not yet been studied in a historical context. Thus it is not clear whether it was merely restored and reshaped or actually constructed anew during the period of Eleanor's old age. The meaning and iconography of the hall's architectural forms have not been investigated either and the existence of its sculptural program, which has not even been photographed, has only been mentioned in passing.

In the following I shall examine the great hall's architecture and sculpture as reflecting the attitudes and intentions of Eleanor as patron and duchess.

The palace, which is built on the Roman wall and existed in Merovingian and Carolingian times,⁵⁵ was completely rebuilt by Eleanor's great-grandfather, Guillaume Guy-Geoffroy, concomitant with his rebuilding of St. Pierre Cathedral in Poitiers after the vast fire in that city at the beginning of the 11th century. The same Guillaume Duke of Aquitaine founded the abbey of St. Jean de Montierneuf close to the palace where he was later to be buried. Adémar de Chabannes reports that Guillaume kept an important library in the palace where he would sit and read at night.⁵⁶

Eleanor's grandfather Guillaume IX ("the Troubadour"), Duke of Aquitaine and seventh Count of Poitou, had introduced the troubadour poetry genre. It is reported that he built the Maubergeonne tower of the palace for his mistress, Dangereuse, Countess of Châtellerault.⁵⁷ His son, Duke Guillaume X of Aquitaine, married Dangereuse's daughter Aenor, Eleanor's mother. As R. Favreau has shown, important charters had been issued in the palace from Carolingian times to Louis VII and Henry II, and such notables as Thomas Becket had stayed there.⁵⁸

52. N. KENAN-KEDAR, *Ibid.*, p. 317-330; A. HERON, "La chasse royale de la chapelle Ste Radegonde a Chinon", *Archeologia*, 2 (1965), p. 81-96; - A. HERON, "La chapelle Ste. Radegonde de Chinon," in *Touraine Romane* (La Pierre qui Vire 1977), p. 327-335; - E.R. LABANDE, "Une image véridique ..." (see n. 1), p. 211; - A. RICHARD, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou* (see n. 1), p. 192; - KELLY, *Eleanor of Aquitaine* (see n. 1), p. 90.

53. F. EYGUN, "Rapport sur les fouilles effectuées du 2 juin au 26 août 1943 dans la grande salle du Palais de Justice de Poitiers", *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 3^e série, t. 13 (1942/45), p. 321-331; - R. CROZET, "Le Palais de Justice de Poitiers. Etude archéologique," *La Grand'Goul* (juin-août 1935), p. 33-44; - R. FAVREAU, "Le Palais de Poitiers au Moyen Age," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 11 (1971), p. 35-65; - Y. LABANDE-MAILFERT, "Le Palais de Justice de Poitiers," *Congrès archéologique de France CXI* (1951), p. 27-43.

54. F. EYGUN, *ibid.*, p. 321-331; - Y. LABANDE-MAILFERT, *ibid.*, p. 36.

55. R. FAVREAU, "Le Palais de Poitiers" (see n. 53), p. 35-37.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 37-38.

57. A. RICHARD, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou* (see n. 1), p. 473.

58. R. FAVREAU, "Le palais de Poitiers" (see n. 53), p. 43-44.

The eastern side of the palace was connected to the town by a bridge. Two churches faced it. On the eastern foyer stood St. Marie La-Petite and on the square stood the collegiate church of Notre-Dame-la-Grande, which to this day faces the palace on the east.⁵⁹ The palace and the two churches together face St. Pierre Cathedral and the bishop's group of buildings in the extreme eastern part of the town.

Description of the Great Hall

Architecture

The hall is rectangular, with long western and eastern walls and short northern and southern ones. The southern wall was completely redone in the 14th century, during the rule of the Duke of Berry, and converted into a huge chimney in its lower part while two registers of long pointed windows took up the upper part. Each of the three other walls is divided into lower and upper zones. The short northern wall facing the now altered southern wall, as well as the western and eastern walls, are not decorated equally: the lower parts of the short northern and long eastern walls display a succession of round blind arches resting on slender pilasters and bearing capitals with corbel above each one. The upper parts reveal a pattern of larger blind arches elevated on two pilasters and unifying each pair of lower arches. The frames of two of the arches contain windows. The western wall shows a different construction: its lower part is flat, without the arch series of the other walls. Its upper part has a succession of blind arches resting on long and elegant pilasters, enlivening the wall. Each pilaster rests on a sculpted corbel.

Corbels⁶⁰

The corbels are situated in two areas of the western wall and on the capitals of the northern and eastern walls. Their placement indicates perhaps the location of the throne. The monumental Gothic entrance portal to the hall is located in the eastern wall. It is plausible to assume that on the bare lower western wall, beneath the corbel series, a set of tapestries would have been hung. Most of the corbel heads depict human males. Only a few represent devils or legendary creatures, and there are no female heads. All the heads demonstrate high artistic quality and grotesque trends. Perhaps the heads may have related to historical scenes depicted on the tapestries.

I believe that at least three artists produced the corbels. The major artist working on the west wall seems to have produced corbels 5-21 and the capitals of the second storey. This series demonstrates basic facial concepts. Large oval eyes, huge open mouths drawn from patterns of antique masks, and close variations on the theme of hairstyle. All these corbels serve as direct supporters of the cornice of the lower zone, and are placed in the form of supporting heads. The corbels in the upper zones are positioned in the midst of leaf capitals.

A second artist seems to have produced corbels 1-4 and 22-23 of the west wall. The heads are small and oval, and feature small mouths; their hybrid nature does not lend itself to interpretation.

The third artist seems to have worked on the eastern wall. His corbels are closer to some of the late corbels in St. Pierre Cathedral.

59. Y. BLOOME, *Poitou gothique*, Paris, 1993, p. 239-245, 277-286.

60. See appendix.

Hall's architecture, sculpture, possible tapestries : Suggested meanings

The reconstruction of the palace's great hall could not have taken place before early 1190, as Eleanor returned to reside in Poitiers after Henry's death in 1189. It is plausible to suggest that her return to the city was marked by the reshaping or rebuilding of the palace's great hall. Reconstruction of the hall could have continued throughout the 1190s, when Eleanor's endeavors became increasingly concentrated on the matters of Poitou and her ancestral heritage. The Ducal Palace and its great hall symbolized the power and standing of the Duchess of Poitiers and her domains. For even if Eleanor did not reside in the palace constantly, she did spend very meaningful periods there. Indeed, a significant number of Eleanor's charters were issued and signed in Poitiers in 1195,⁶¹ 1199,⁶² 1202,⁶³ 1203,⁶⁴ that is, after in 1199 John Lackland donated to her the sovereignty over Poitou and its dependences.⁶⁵

The choice of particular architectural and sculptural forms for the great hall appears to have been deliberately related to those of earlier building projects in Poitiers with which Eleanor had been involved. The most important of those was probably St. Pierre Cathedral, whose external apsidal eastern wall demonstrates the utmost affinity with the architectural design of the palace's great hall. This flat apsidal wall is unique in Gothic architecture. It is divided into five sections.⁶⁶ Its lower section is flat and bare, finished with small cornices, very similar in character to the palace's western wall. The next section holds the lower, flat parts of three round-arched windows, while their upper arched parts constitute an integral part of the relatively narrow third section of the wall. These windows are of the same shape as the windows of the palace's eastern wall. Two fluted pilasters are installed between the arched windows with two additional ones at the corners of the wall. Above these, the fourth section consists of long narrow blind arcades containing three long windows. This section stands in association with the blind arches in the walls of the palace's great hall. The crowning part of the facade comprises a triangled "tympanum" with three round-arched window openings. Thus a bare lower wall, blind arches resting on slender pilasters and round-arched windows constitute the major elements of both the cathedral's external eastern wall and the great hall's inner walls.

What were the architectural, structural and decorative traditions of the palatine great halls? Our knowledge of 12th century royal and princely halls is very limited. The Plantagenets' great halls in Le Mans and Angers have not survived.⁶⁷ However, Joinville's report on Louis IX's journey in France contains the following:

"The king held this banquet in the hall of Saumur, which was said to have been built by the great King Henry of England, so that he might hold his own banquets there. This hall is constructed on the model of a cloister in a Cistercian monastery; but I do not believe there is any other hall that even approaches it in size. I will tell you why I think so. It is because by the wall of the cloister where the king was dining, surrounded by his knights and sergeants who occupied a very great space, there was also room for a table at which twenty bishops and archbishops were sitting, and,

61. I. BALDET, *Essai d'itinéraire et registres d'Aliénor reine d'Angleterre*, p. 56.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 61-62. The charters of 1199 are testifying to her dynastic consciousness. On May 4 1199 she confirmed the privileges of the abbey of Montierneuf donated by her father, grandfather and great-grandfather. There are three additional charters from 1199 with no possibility to identify the month. At the same year later in May the charter of civic privileges to the citizens of Poitiers were given in Niort.

63. *Ibid.*, p.82.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 84. In 1202 and 1203 the charters are concerned with ecclesiastical, civic and commercial matters.

65. M. HIVERGNEAUX, "Aliénor d'Aquitaine" (see n. 4), p. 84, notes 85-88.

66. J.L. LOZINSKI, "Henri II" (see n. 3), p. 95, figs. 1-4.

67. J. GARDELLES, *Les châteaux du Moyen Âge dans la France du Sud-Ouest*, Paris, 1972; - P. HELIOT, "Sur les résidences princières bâties en France du X^e au XII^e s.," *Moyen-Age*, 61 (1955), p. 27-61, 291-317.

in addition to all these prelates, Blanche the Queen Mother had a table near them at the far end of the cloister, facing the one occupied by the king. At the end of the cloister, on the other side, were the kitchens, the wine cellars, the pantries, and the butteries, from which the king and the queen mother were served with meat, wine, and bread. To right and left of the main hall and in the central court so many knights were dining that it was more than I could do to count them."⁶⁸

Saumur was one of Henry II's important castles. Joinville describes not only the hall but also the system of courts and domestic kitchens, etc., observing that the formal model of the hall lay in a Cistercian monastery. This points very clearly to the development of the civic hall from ecclesiastical conceptions. The palace hall of the bishop of Angers, situated on the second floor, is oblong in shape with round arches set in the walls. It seems to be of similar character to that in Saumur and can also be compared Eleanor's great hall [fig. 17].⁶⁹

In this hall the walls constitute of two prominent parts, the corbels and the bare surfaces of the wall's lower parts. Y. Labande-Mailfert has argued that tapestries were probably hung on these lower parts.⁷⁰ The corbels served as their sculpted frames.

A comparison of the palace's great hall corbel series with those of St. Pierre Cathedral reveals some similarities, such as the stylized and smooth grotesque forms. The regular depictions of heads rather than whole bodies in the Ducal Palace can be observed in numerous princely churches in Poitou and Saintonge, such as in the churches of Civray⁷¹ and Chadennac.⁷² The quality of the corbels in the Ducal Palace is unique. The faces reflect a combination of numerous, complex forms which create a world of confusing messages. Some of the corbels seem to be caricatures of male characters; others appear to be legendary beings.

The hypothesis of Y. Labande-Mailfert about the tapestries can be supported by Baudri of Bourgueil's poem dedicated to Countess Adèle of Blois, the daughter of William the Conqueror.⁷³ In this poem Baudri describes the biblical, classical and historical subjects and images depicted on the tapestries hanging on the four walls of the countess's chamber. Baudri claims that the countess herself dictated the subject matters to the workers,⁷⁴ thus presenting the countess as a learned patron who takes an active part in planning the visual art works commissioned by her.⁷⁵ One may imagine that Eleanor played a similar role in devising the decoration of the great hall.

In conclusion, I believe that the impact and patronage of Eleanor of Aquitaine on the visual arts consists of two components:

1. The continuation of financial support for the ecclesiastical and civic institutions, which the dukes of Aquitaine had traditionally patronized in Poitou, Saintonge and Aquitaine.

68. Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. M.R.B. SHAW, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1963), p. 187-188.

69. E. de la TUILLERIE, *Description de la ville d'Angers*, Angers, 1869. p. 524-525; - L. de FARCY et P.M. PINIER, "Le palais épiscopal d'Angers," *Revue d'Anjou* 30 (1894/98); for additional projects see: A. MUSSAT, "L'Hôpital Saint Jean à Angers", *Congrès Archéologique*, CXXII (1964), p. 78-87; - C. PORT, *Inventaire des Archives anciens de l'Hospital St. Jean d'Angers, suivi d'un cartulaire de cet Hôtel-dieu* (Paris/Angers, 1870).

70. Y. LABANDE-MAILFERT, "Le Palais de Justice de Poitiers" (see n. 53), p. 38.

71. R. CROZET, "Le décor sculpté de la façade de Civray," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, LXVI (1934), p. 97-110; - N. KENAAN-KEDAR, *Marginal Sculpture*, p. 9-53.

72. F.G. PARISSET, "Les églises romans de Chadennac et de Pérignac," *Congrès archéologique* (1956), p. 245-266; - N. KENAAN-KEDAR, "Les modillons de Saintonge et du Poitou comme manifestation de la culture laïque," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 29 (1986), p. 311-330.

73. *Les Oeuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil (1046-1130)*, éd. P. ABRAHAMS, Paris, 1926, p. 198-200, lines 93-140.

74. *Ibid.*, lines 100-106.

75. R.R. BEZZOLA, *Les origines et la formation*, (see n. 35), p. 367-373, and t. II, p. 374-377.

2. The use of prominent visual models, especially those of Chartres Cathedral and St. Pierre Cathedral, in her building projects in Maine, Anjou and Poitou, so as to convey her dynastic consciousness and allude to major turning points in her own life.

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APPENDIX

THE CORBELS IN THE DUCAL PALACE'S GREAT HALL

West wall (read from north to south):

Minor Artist:

1. Round male head. Large forehead, round eyes, embedded in large eye area. Small nose, thin lips of large mouth.
2. Hybrid face. Elongated and oval. Dog's mouth. Long nose.
3. Fantastic head bearing a crown. Large round eyes, long nose widening at its lower part to form part of the mouth.
4. Male head with heavy lower lip. Moustache and short beard. Hairstyle in the form of a crown.

Major Artist:

5. Smiling devil's head showing small teeth. Horns goat-like, and "donkey ears". Round eyes [fig. 18].
6. Male head with a fool's cap. Large ears stylized into spiral.
7. Male elongated oval head. Heavy nose. Open mouth.
8. Male head. Two blisters on forehead. Mouth open and stressed as if autonomous organ. Ears relatively low on face. Bearded cheeks [fig. 19].
9. Animal head (a dog ?). Stylized eyes and eyebrows. Wooden stick in a mouth with a single tooth [fig. 20].
10. Male head. Huge heavy nose. Moustache and huge mouth.
11. Male head wearing hat decorated with triple front piece. Long nose and large distorted mouth.
12. Laughing male head with beast-like teeth. Long hair and a hairstyle front piece in the form of a ragged face.
13. Male head with very large ears. Hairstyle in the form of two arches, moustache and short beard.
14. Male head with a moustache and divided beard. Heavy lips.
15. Male head, heavy face and swollen cheeks. Huge ears. Hairstyle in the form of a crown.
16. Male head with a rounded hat, moustache and large mouth.
17. Young male head with hair parted in the middle, moustache, twisted small mouth and four-part beard.
18. Male head with two blisters. Huge ears, mouth like an ancient tragic mask and a beard.
19. Young male head wearing triangular hat. Twisted mouth.
20. Male head showing huge teeth, biting an object.

21. Male head with open mouth and heavy features.

Minor Artist:

22. Male head with moustache and curls escaping from under his hat.

23. Young beardless male head, sticking out his tongue. Stylized whiskers curling on cheeks [fig. 21].

CAPITALS

West wall (starting on the north-west corner):

Minor Artist:

24. Monkey-like creature in a bust, with swollen cheeks, holding an object in his paws.

25. Male head grimacing with huge open mouth, showing his teeth. The head is installed on a capital with four leaves.

26. Male head with beard and a tortured expression installed on a leaf capital.

27. Grimacing creature's head, similar to the monkey on No. 1.

28. Male head with mouth expressing dismay, installed on a leaf capital.

29. Male head, beardless, with moustache and flabbergasted expression. Hairstyle stylized into spirals.

30. Young male head wearing triangular hat with spiral corner. Small mouth, and tongue poking out

Eastern wall (reading from north to south) :

Minor Artist:

31. Two heads, the left whistling, the right motionless.

32. Young royal head with crown and moustache.

33. Kneeling figure with bare knees, supporting the rib above.

34. Devil's head with horns, huge open mouth and large moustache.

35. Young male head with rounded cheeks and mouth expressing dismay.

36. Animal head showing its teeth and sticking out its tongue.

37. Old man with large ears and very heavy lips. Wearing a hat with four buttons above it.

38. Male head with curly hair and beard that ties him to the wall through his mouth.

Southern wall (only two capitals in the middle) :

39. Male head with long parted hair.

40. Bust of young male. Round face and heavy lips.

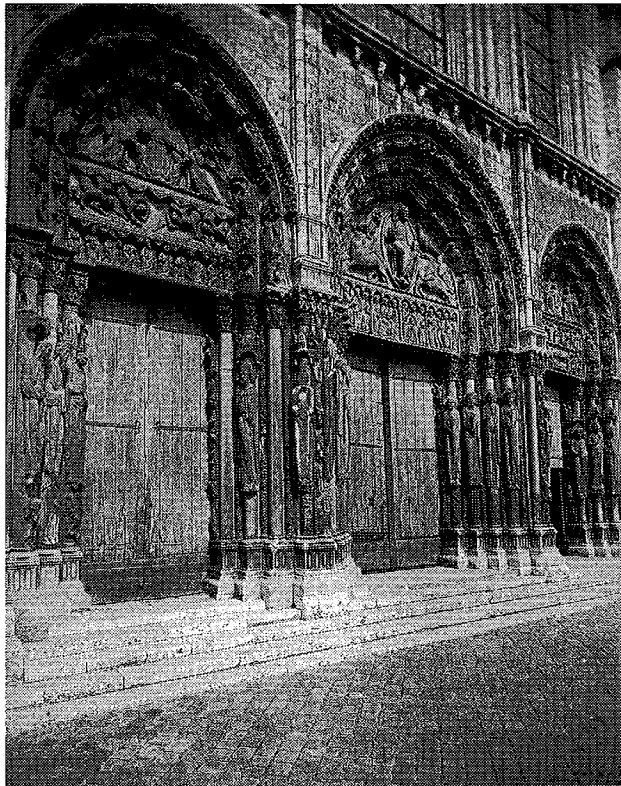


Fig. 1. - CHARTRES (Eure-et-Loir).
Cathedral. West Facade. Portal.
(Cliché CESC, Neg. 80.)

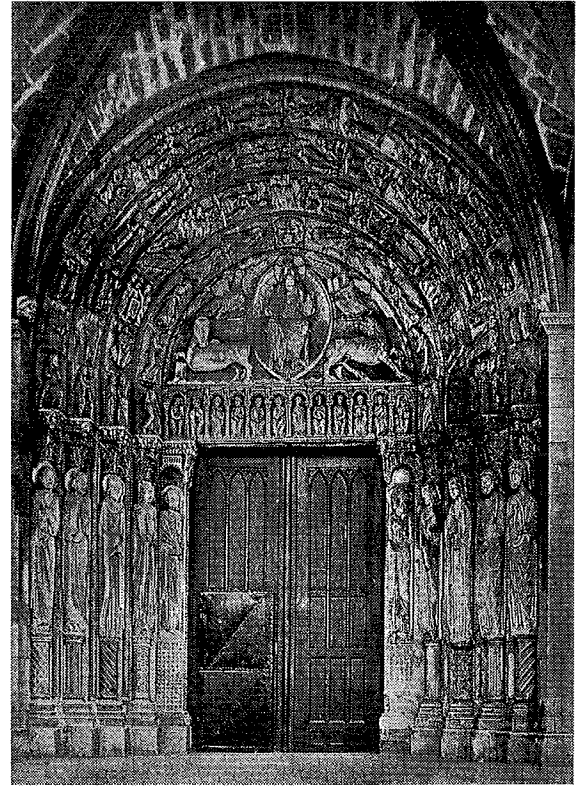


Fig. 2. - LE MANS (Sarthe).
Cathedral. South Facade. Portal.
(Cliché N. Kenaan-Kedar.)

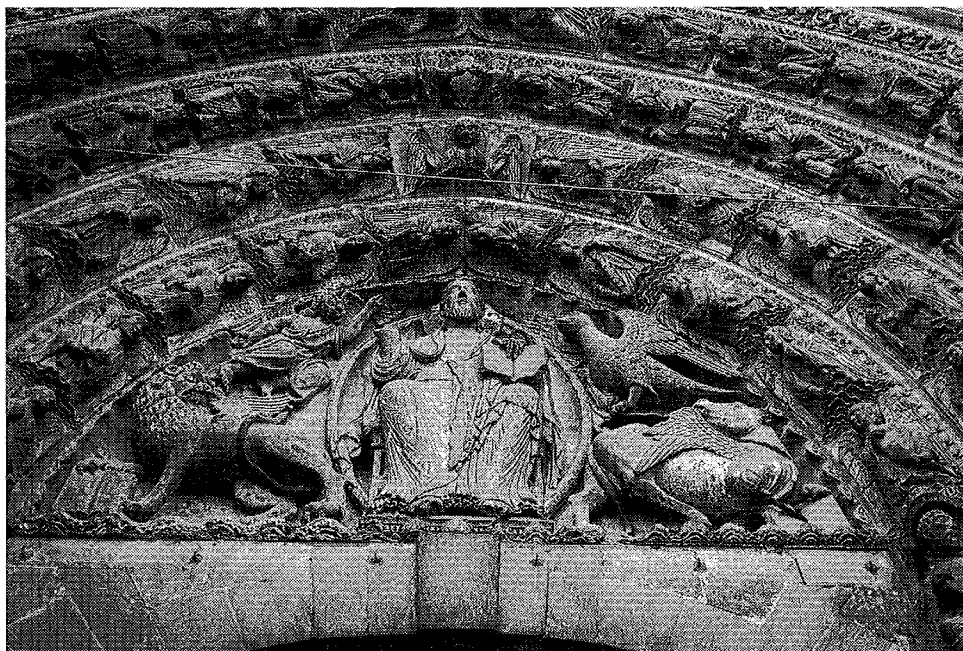


Fig. 3. - ANGERS
(Maine-et-Loire).
Cathedral. West Facade.
Portal. Tympanum.
(Cliché
N. Kenaan-Kedar.)

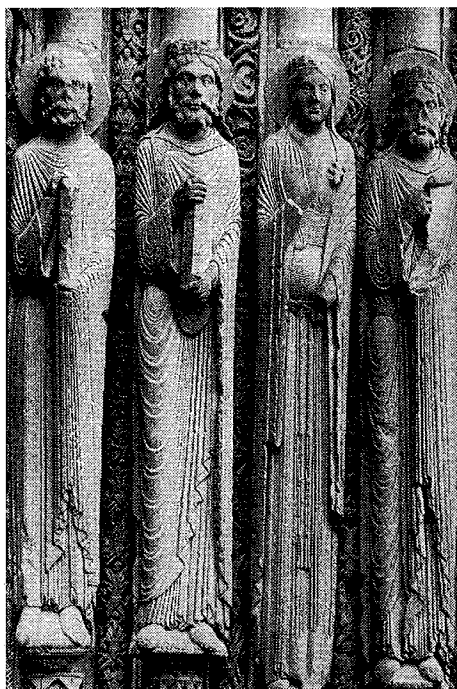


Fig. 4. - CHARTRES (Eure-et-Loir). Cathedral. West Facade. Portal. Jamb Statues.



Fig. 5. - CHARTRES (Eure-et-Loir). Cathedral. West Facade. Portal. Jamb Statue. Lady.



Fig. 6. - ANGERS (Maine-et-Loire). Cathedral. West Facade. Portal. Jamb Statues.



Fig. 7. - LE MANS (Sarthe). Cathedral. South Facade. Portal. Jamb Statues.
(Clichés N. Kenaar-Kedar.)

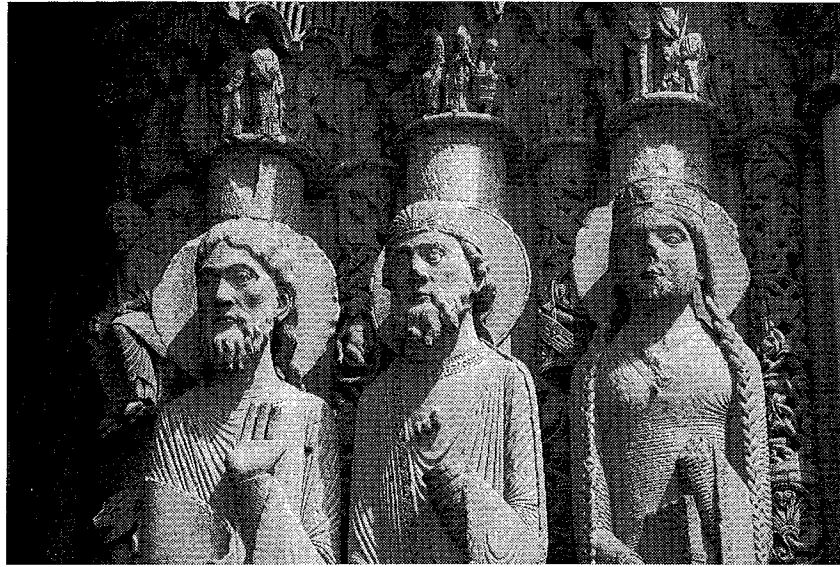


Fig. 8. - CHARTRES (Eure-et-Loir). Cathedral. West Facade. Portal. Jamb Statues.



Fig. 9. - ANGERS (Maine-et-Loire). Cathedral. West Facade. Portal. Jamb Statues.



Fig. 10. - ANGERS (Maine-et-Loire). Cathedral. West Facade. Portal. Jamb Statue. Detail.
(Clichés N. Kenaan-Kedar.)



Fig. 11. - POITIERS (Vienne). Notre-Dame-la-Grande. West Facade.
(Cliché CESC/M.-P. Brouard, Neg. 3284.)

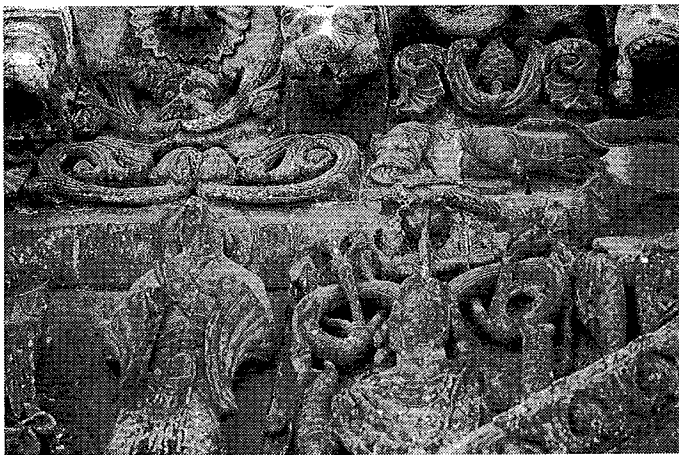


Fig. 12. - POITIERS (Vienne). Notre-Dame-la-Grande.
West Facade. Jesse Tree.

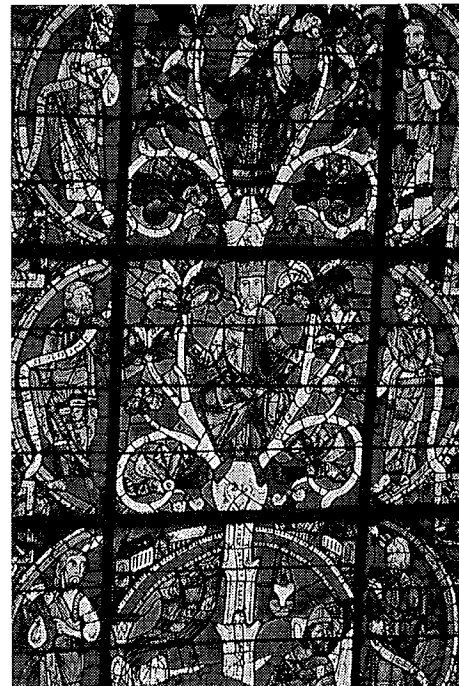


Fig. 13. - CHARTRES (Eure-et-Loir). Cathedral. West
Facade. Glass Window. Jesse Tree.
(Clichés N. Kenaan-Kedar.)

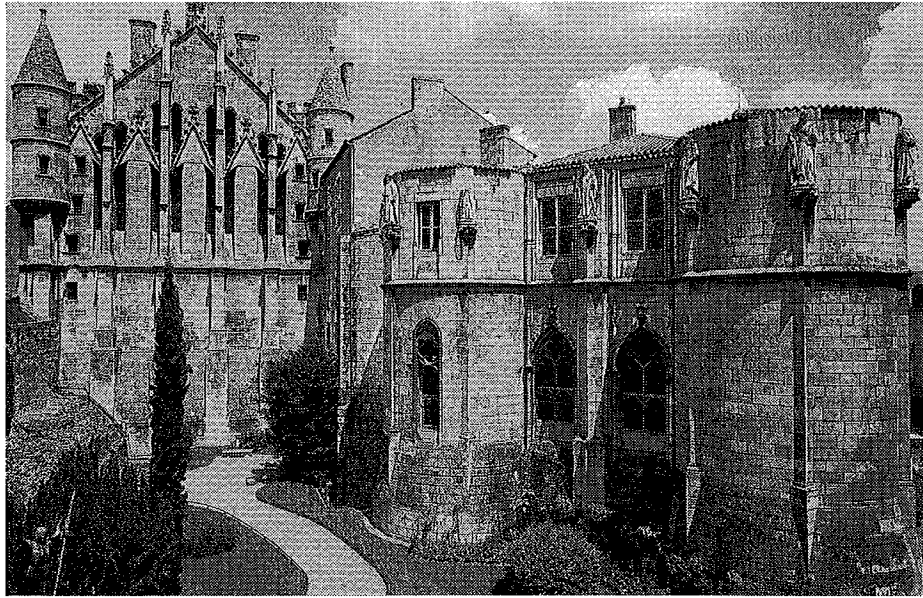


Fig. 14. - POITIERS (Vienne). Ducal Palace.

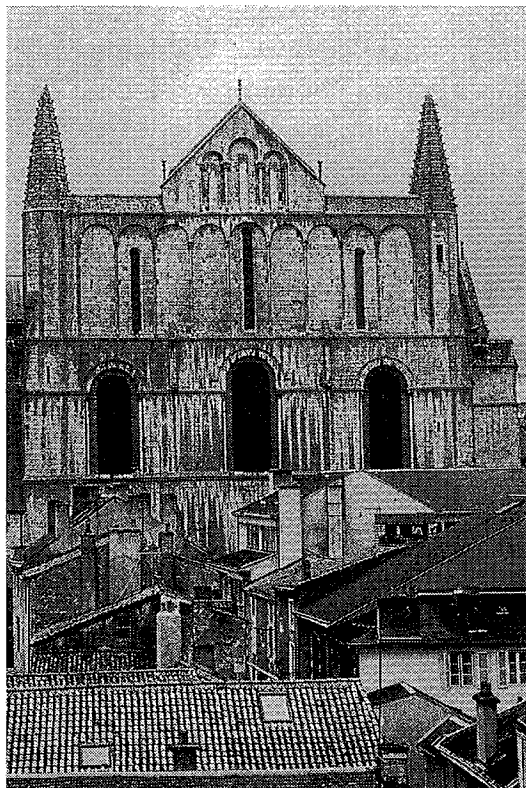


Fig. 15. - POITIERS (Vienne). Cathedral. Chevet.
(Clichés N. Kenaan-Kedar.)

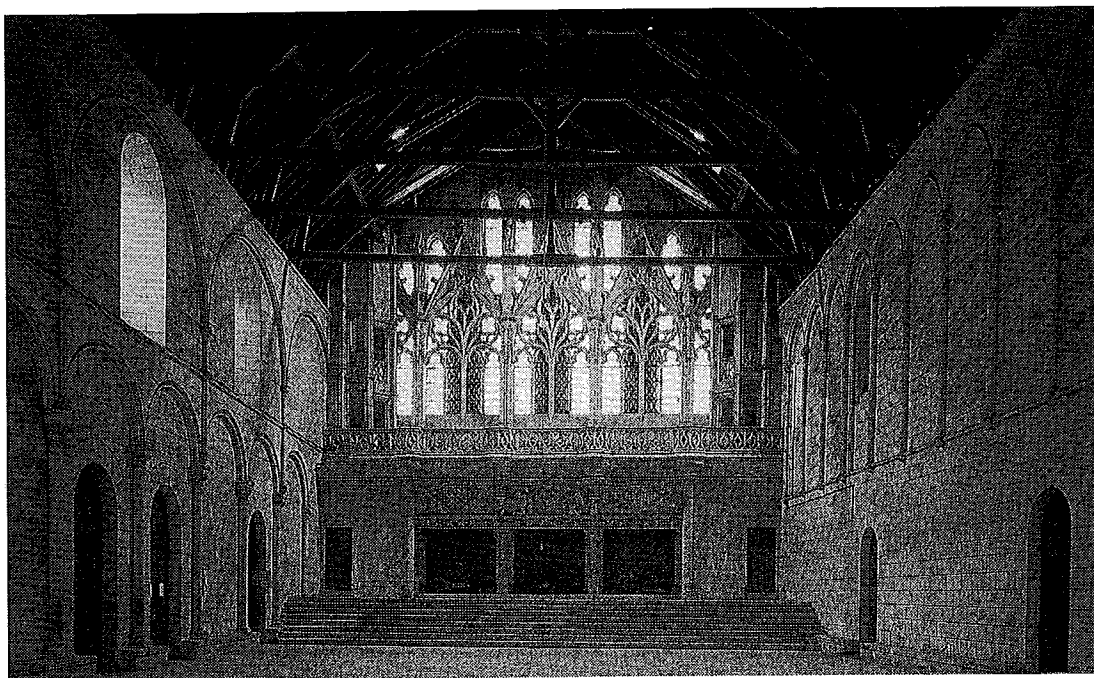


Fig. 16. - POITIERS (Vienne). Ducal Palace. Great Hall.

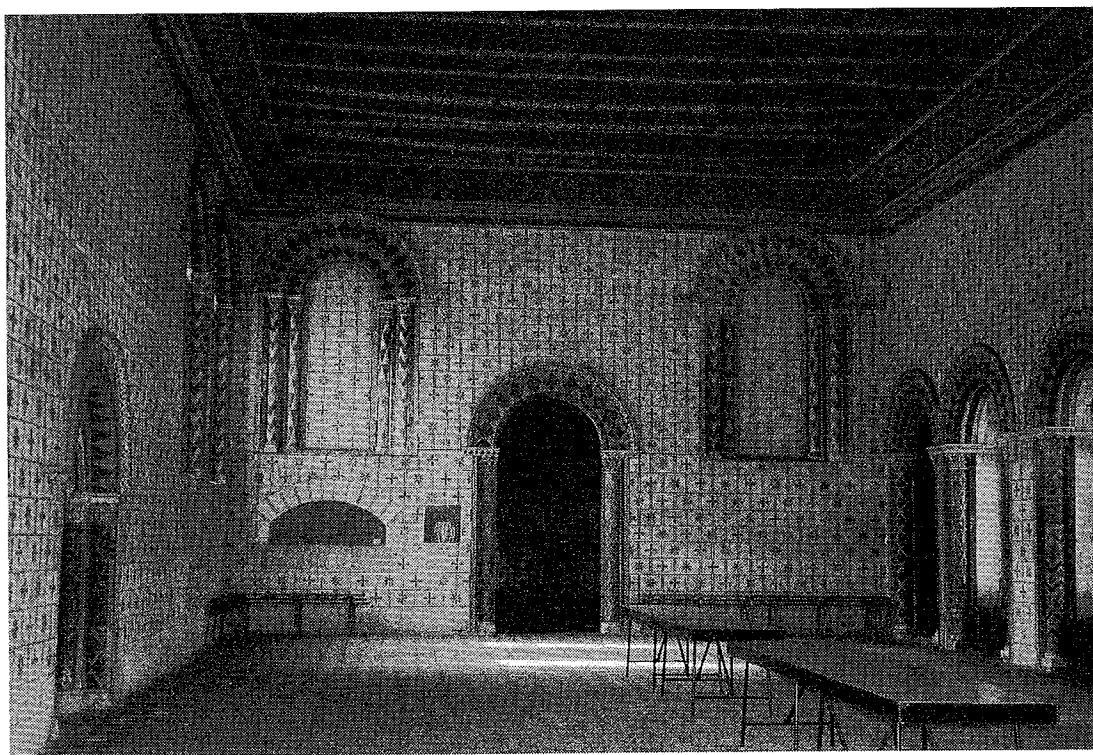


Fig. 17. - ANGERS (Maine-et-Loire). Episcopal Palace.

(Clichés N. Kenaan-Kedar.)

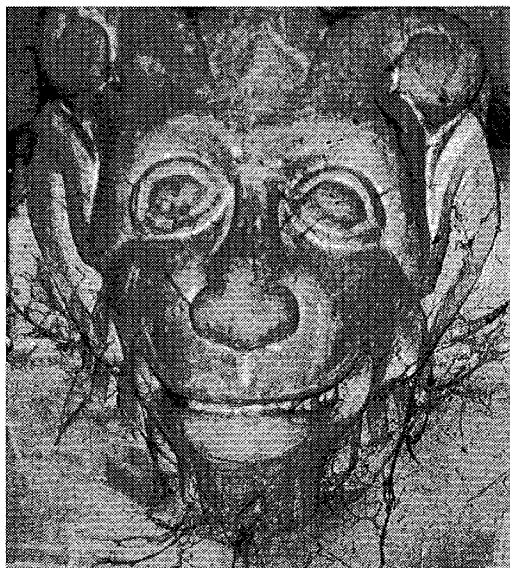


Fig. 18. – POITIERS (Vienne), Ducal Palace.
Corbel. Devil's head.



Fig. 19. – POITIERS (Vienne), Ducal Palace.
Corbel. Male head.



Fig. 20. - POITIERS (Vienne), Ducal Palace.
Corbel. Animal head.



Fig. 21. - POITIERS (Vienne).
Ducal Palace, Corbel. Young Male head.
(Clichés N. Kenaan-Kedar.)

Culture politique des Plantagenêt

(1154-1224)

Actes du Colloque tenu à Poitiers
du 2 au 5 mai 2002

Sous la direction de Martin Aurell

[Extrait]

POITIERS

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