

MULTI-LEVELLED IMAGERY IN THE TYMPANUM  
OF THE PORTE-DE-STE-ANNE  
AT NOTRE-DAME IN PARIS

by

COLLEEN ANNE COSGROVE

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Department of Fine Arts

The University of British Columbia  
1956 Main Mall  
Vancouver, Canada  
V6T 1Y3

Date February 15th, 1985

## ABSTRACT

The tympanum of the Porte-de-Ste-Anne at Notre-Dame, Paris, has aroused the interest of scholars for decades. The lack of inscription or documentation has led to the ascription of various identities to the figures depicted in company with the Theotokos. Apart from assigning it a donative or commemorative function, little light has been shed on the subject by the many extant theories. To further complicate the problem, the physical composition of the portal has only recently been deciphered. It is the consensus of current opinion that the portal, erected from the ground up, was begun as early as 1140-45. Also, the earliest sculptural components, the tympanum, upper lintel, archivolts and jamb-statues are thought to have been created for the refurbishment of the older church prior to the current building, although they may never have been used. This thesis has attempted to demonstrate the tympanum scene actually depicts the equality of regnum and sacerdotium in an accord brought about by a balance of forces, both political and theological, which produced the Ideal State.

I have been concerned with an examination of the twelfth century events which could have exerted an influence on the development of the iconographical program. In so doing, I have outlined the pertinent historical background of the

building itself, including a description of the portal and its sculptures, as well as a short discussion of the main theories regarding its place within the stylistic orbit of Early Gothic development. I have described the problem of the iconography which, until recently has consisted mainly of efforts to identify the figures of king, cleric and scribe, but of late has dealt with the relationship of regnum and sacerdotium. In this context the work of Adolf Katzenellenbogen on the west front of Chartres has shed light on the portal, and his relating of the tympanum scene to the ideal relationship between the two spheres was further expanded upon by Walter Cahn. He saw in the tympanum a demonstration of the status of the royal and ecclesiastical sectors of the Christian Commonwealth during this period with power vested in the Church. The opinions of Jacques Thirion who proposes very early dates and identities agree with those of Alain Erlande-Brandenberg and Cesare Gnudi who dealt with the portal after the discovery of façade fragments in Paris in 1977.

The historical setting dealt with the Capetian rulers in the person of Louis VII, and the papacy in the person of Alexander III, both of whom were in power when the portal was conceived. The pope was a central figure in events that included the first compilation of Canon law by Gratian, a development as central to this thesis as it was to Cahn's. Space has been devoted to a discussion of the Decretum, to



its expression of the Ideal State, and to the iconography which arose around illustrated copies of this work, particularly as it relates to the tympanum. Also explained was Gratian's connection to the Reform Party of Haimeric.

An examination of some of the symbols chosen by Cahn from the composition to support his theory has determined that they may be reinterpreted. They have been expanded on or refuted in order to illustrate the flexibility of Medieval symbolism, and in order to reveal the many levels of imagery contained in this composition. While so doing, I have I believe, exposed the propagandistic nature of the surface imagery which was deliberately cultivated by the Church with full co-operation from the State in order to expound a politico-theological reality.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris has, in its massive west façade, a doorway known as the Porte-de-Ste-Anne. This south portal, whose composite nature has been recognized for centuries, contains the oldest elements of the whole sculptural program. Investigations undertaken by scholars, whether archaeological or art historical, have failed until very recently to shed any light on the reasons for its composite character.

In 1970 the cleaning of the façade, undertaken by M. Bernard Vitry, Inspecteur Général des Monuments Historique<sup>1</sup>, allowed for a close inspection of the doorway and several misconceptions were erased. The tympanum, thought to have been a combination of pieces, was discovered to be homogeneous and the upper lintel was found to have been repaired at either end. The thirteenth century additions were examined and their purpose confirmed: to fill spaces created by fitting the twelfth century ensemble into the larger doorway.

Little light was shed on the iconography of the tympanum although new identities were proposed for the figures of king and cleric.<sup>2</sup> The tympanum was still seen as a donative composition. The discovery in 1977 of 364 pieces of sculp-

tured figures from the façade, which had been carefully and almost reverently interred under the Hôtel Moreau, has added to the overall stylistic and chronological information.<sup>3</sup> The whole portal ensemble has been placed firmly within the venue of St-Denis and the development of Early Gothic in the Île-de-France. However, there has been little discovered in the way of new information which would lead to a re-interpretation of the meaning of the tympanum.

The General Historical Background of the  
Porte-de-Ste-Anne and a Description of the  
Sculptural Program of the Three Portals

The cathedral of Notre-dame in Paris was begun under the auspices of Maurice of Sully, bishop of Paris and suffragan bishop of Sens.<sup>4</sup> He was born in 1120, studied in the schools of Paris that later became the University, and was elected to the bishopric on October 12th, 1160.<sup>5</sup> Three years later, in 1163, he began construction of the church which was financed from cathedral revenues and income from cathedral-owned properties in the city itself.<sup>6</sup> The construction, undertaken in three campaigns, ended around 1250 with the completion of the north tower.<sup>7</sup> The façade was begun around 1200 under Eudes de Sully and a new master from the atelier at Chartres, and was finished around 1225.<sup>8</sup>

Portions of the sculptural program of Paris, along with St-Denis, Angers, Le Mans, St-Loup-de-Naud and the west façade at Chartres are among the earliest examples of the Gothic style and its development is demonstrated in their monumental west fronts. The plan for the portals, presented to the bishop and chapter for approval of design and iconography<sup>9</sup>, consisted of a program similar to that of the portail royal at Chartres, as it was intended to have three portals and apparently shared with that building aspects of its iconographical program.

The west front of Notre-Dame in Paris contains three doorways, the central Judgment portal flanked to the north by the Virgin portal and to the south by the Port-de-Sainte-Anne. Begun circa 1210<sup>10</sup>, the overall theme bears similarities to that of Chartres in that they both present fundamental elements of the christological drama from the Incarnation Cycle through to the Second Coming of Christ, differing only in the combination and location of the various components. At Paris, Christ of the Apocalypse becomes the Judging Christ on the tympanum of the central portal: the archivolts are filled with angels, patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, and confessors of the Church. The lintels depict the Resurrection of the Dead and the Weighing of Souls, essentially the Last Judgment.

The Virgin portal depicts the Crowning of the Virgin as Queen of Heaven on the tympanum, surmounting the lintels

which respectively depict the Death and Assumption of the Virgin and three kings and prophets. In the archivolt angels, royal ancestors of the Virgin, patriarchs and prophets herald her appearance in Heaven.<sup>11</sup>

To the south the Porte-de-Ste-Anne contains the oldest sculpture of the cathedral (Fig. 1). Unlike the other doorways, it is a composite of twelfth and thirteenth century elements: the tympanum, upper lintel, jamb statues, trumeau figures and some of the archivolt figures date from the inception of the cathedral<sup>12</sup> or before. The Tympanum (Fig. 2) carries an enthroned Virgin and Child within an architectural baldachin; on either side a censuring angel is accompanied by a figure, on the left a standing bishop and on the right a kneeling king. Behind the figure of the bishop is a seated scribe. The upper lintel depicts scenes from the Life of Christ: the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Annunciation to the Shepherds and Questioning of the Magi by Herod (Figs. 3, 4). The archivolt figures include angels with censers, kings and prophets, and Elders of the Apocalypse carrying vials and musical instruments (Figs, 5 a, b, c; 6 a, b, c).<sup>13</sup> The jamb statues on either side of the doorway include the figures of Sts. Peter and Paul to the right and left flanked by two kings and a queen respectively, who may be understood as representing the royal ancestors of Mary, and thereby Christ (Figs. 7, 8 a, b). Above the tympanum, in an addition which enabled the

older tympanum to conform to the shape of the thirteenth century doorway, thurifying angels float on a field of rinçeaux. In addition, the lower lintel which is thirteenth century work also, depicts scenes from the Life of Joachin and Anna and details from the Life of the Virgin. It is from this lintel that the portal received its name. Its significance in the development of First Gothic sculpture, specifically the meaning of the tympanum scene, necessarily involves a range of historic, stylistic and iconographic considerations.

### Stylistic Orbit

"In the last resort, these changes of style had their roots in a change in the way that men felt about the world at this time." 14

In the Île-de-France the new Gothic era introduced new styles in sculpture and new programs for their depiction. The grotesque elements, highly expressive figures, and emphasis on damnation and the Apocalyptic Vision which characterized the Romanesque gave way to a new humanity, a softening and naturalizing of sculptural forms, and the introduction of themes that became standard. These consisted of Christ the Judge between the Virgin and St. John compassionately presiding over scenes of the Last Judgment with angels bearing the instruments of the Passion, scenes from the Childhood of Christ, the Virgin in Majesty with Christ Child, the Adoration of the Magi, Old Testament figures acting as precursors of the New and, in the mid-twelfth

century with the spread of the Cult of the Virgin, scenes from her life, death, and triumph. Sauerländer has succinctly stated the difficulties in attempting to apply any stylistic label to Gothic sculpture which applies equally well to the figures on the tympanum of the Porte-de-Sainte-Anne:

"...we should renounce any attempts to order this material too strictly in accordance with an evolutionary concept, but rather, put the monuments of all the portails royaux side by side, as far as factual evidence, sources, archaeology and iconography will allow. And we should also realize that the traditional concept of "style" as being a sort of Platonic idea existing before creation and then producing a work of art, is worthless when we study works of Medieval art like these. The workshops seem here to depend very pragmatically and sometimes even accidentally on external conditions, local demands and models at hand." 15

The range of stylistic variations within the twelfth century material of the tympanum reveals an element of eclecticism that inevitably reflects Sauerländer's observations. No single hand may be attributed to the portal as a whole because of the multiplicity of styles.<sup>16</sup> The continual additions of new material resulting from new insights and discoveries causes us to revise continually our understanding of the sequence of events that resulted in the fully developed Gothic style. Until the fairly recent discovery, made in Paris in 1977, it was believed that the figure of the Enthroned Madonna on the tympanum was a copy of that on the portail royal at Chartres, and a not very successful copy at that. With the work of Erlande-Brandenberg and



Gnudi the reverse must be admitted. The hieratic calm of the Paris Madonna that is at once dignified and welcoming draws her closer to her Romanesque origins than the warmth and humanity of the Chartres Madonna which exhibits the new humanizing qualities of the emerging Gothic. Jacques Thirion<sup>17</sup> has stated that the Virgin alone of all the figures on the tympanum, or indeed in the portal, demonstrates a "Chartrain" influence (Fig. 9) and Walter Cahn<sup>18</sup> stated: "Compositional scheme, principal subject and characteristics of style connect the work with the tympanum of the North portal of the Chartres portail royal...."<sup>19</sup> Both of these statements are true in light of the new chronology although they were made before the recent discovery. The feeling for the decorative effect of the figural contour, which is achieved through the smooth treatment of textures and the volumetric realization of the form, results in an antique look that is closer to the Romanesque than to Early Gothic. Thirion saw vestiges of the Romanesque style in the other tympanum figures, in the line of the drapery folds around the knee and in the bell-shaped gathers beside the leg of each angel. In the figures of King and Bishop, facial similarities and the snail-shell curls of the beards can be compared to similar types at St-Loup-de-Naud.<sup>20</sup> These figures are more balanced and graceful than those of the upper lintel, and are no doubt the work of a more gifted artist.<sup>21</sup>

The lintel itself is a composition that is static and poorly balanced. The work of two sculptors can be discerned: the figures on the right are squat and heavy with large heads and hands, wearing short robes which end in a fairly straight hemline while those of the left are taller, their heads and hands in better proportion to their size. Their robes, which are long and elaborately draped, end in a fluttering hemline that is full of movement. In contrast to the clarity of the tympanum figures, the heavily incised lines of their drapery folds seem to enfold them in a mesh.<sup>22</sup> There are differences in the iconography that remove the lintel from the sphere of Chartres: discrepancies in the cast of characters in the various scenes are similar to those found on the lintel of the doorway of the church of Semur-en-Brionnais.<sup>23</sup>

The archivolt figures that date as well from the twelfth century, are of still another style, particularly the figures of the kings, prophets and elders.<sup>24</sup> Thirion sees a direct link between these "...squat figures, some with crossed legs, long flying locks and windblown drapery..." and the animated figures from the west portal of St-Denis which would be entirely consistent with changes in chronology suggested by the new dating information. Several of the angels from the first archivolt he has connected with the angels in the tympanum and he sees their style culminating in that of Senlis.<sup>26</sup>

The jamb statues, and in particular the head of David<sup>27</sup> and the remnant of the figure of St. Peter<sup>28</sup> were thought to have been sculpted at the same time as the tympanum and voussoirs<sup>29</sup> but this has since been disproved, again by the work of Erlande-Brandenberg and Gnudi. They now agree that a very early date must be assigned to these statue-columns, a date anterior to that of the tympanum.<sup>30</sup> The consensus of opinion on dating the complete sculptural ensemble is around 1150. Thirion, Erlande-Brandenberg, and Gnudi agree on a sequence that begins with the jamb statues and progresses upwards; the last component completed, in their view, was the tympanum. Without benefit of the recently discovered fragments, Thirion dated the complete ensemble between 1150 and 1165; Erlande-Brandenberg changed the date but not the sequence, after examining the discovery, to 1145 to 1155; Gnudi agrees with both that an early date is demanded and opts for 1150 to 1160.

What has become evident in the light of the new information is the homogeneity of the sculptures: similarities exist that lead Thirion to compare the head of David with that of Herod on the lintel. This he sees as having obvious connections to the jamb statues of St-Denis, particularly in the archaic appearance and treatment of the eyes. A span of ten to fifteen years between the fabrication of the jamb statues and the lintel suggests the work was executed by the same artist or one who was trained by him. Thirion assigns

a similar date to the figure of St. Peter for which he can find no visible prototype, in the elegant drapery of the figure, except for some contemporary manuscript illustrations.<sup>31</sup> There is a slight similarity to some of the figures at St-Loup-de-Naud, especially the draperies of the Apostles on the lintel. Gnudi sees in these figures, which have been firmly placed by Erlande-Brandenberg second only to St-Denis in the development of First Gothic, an example of what he calls "archaic Gothic." He finds in them, particularly the St. Peter, a retrieval of the Greek roots of Byzantine stylization as it exists in the Burgundian idiom of Vézelay and Autun in combination with the Imperial classicism preserved at St-Gilles-du-Gard.<sup>32</sup>

The Problem of the Iconography of the  
Porte-de-Ste-Anne and the Major Theories

"It is a drama played on two levels, the political and theological, the human and divine...." 33

The iconography of the tympanum remains an enigma. Despite various theories advanced as to its interpretation, no single explanation of the figures or their identities has been widely accepted. The earliest of the proposed identifications for the figures of king, cleric, and scribe who occupy the tympanum with the Enthroned Virgin and Child include Clovis and Childebert<sup>34</sup>, David and Solomon<sup>35</sup>, and Solomon and St-Marcel.<sup>36</sup>

In 1855 de Guilhermy<sup>37</sup> proposed that the figures be identified as Maurice of Sully, founder of the new cathedral and Louis VII, during whose reign the building began. This was the accepted theory agreed to by de Lasteyrie<sup>38</sup>, Mâle<sup>39</sup>, Aubert<sup>40</sup>, and most historians of Medieval art until the work of Thirion. He has proposed that these figures were actually intended to represent Childebert and St-Germain. He bases his argument on what was purported to be the oldest charter of the Church of Paris, that has since proved to be a forgery, but very influential during the twelfth century. This recorded a donation in 528 from Childebert to St-Germain in gratitude for his intervention in a healing.<sup>41</sup> Also, Childebert was honored as rebuilder of the cathedral of Paris and founder of the basilica of the Holy Cross and St-Vincent which later became the church of St-Germain-des-Près.<sup>42</sup>

At the beginning of Maurice of Sully's episcopate there was an intense interest in the Merovingian kings of France and in St-Germain himself, demonstrated by the consecration of St-Germain-des-Près and its gisant figure of Chilperic along with retrospective monuments to former rulers.<sup>43</sup> Within the next half-century monuments to Clovis and Dagobert were also raised.<sup>44</sup> St-Germain-le-Vieux, a church which contained relics of the saint was built close to the site of Notre-Dame.<sup>45</sup> Thirion related all of this activity to reasons for honoring, in the tympanum, these representatives

of "...the glorious past of Paris..." alongside her patroness, the Virgin.<sup>46</sup> Because it was inconceivable that a living French king be portrayed, at that period, especially on the same plane and the same size as the Virgin, he does not believe that these are contemporary personages; because no maquette of this cathedral was included this cannot be perceived as a donation or foundation scene, and because the only depictions of standing bishops on façades are those of saints, this cannot be Maurice of Sully. He makes no mention of the figure of the scribe, seeming to take his presence for granted, although Aubert had identified him as Barbedor.<sup>47</sup> Thirion views the iconography of the tympanum with its rather formal qualities and stately figures as alluding to a royal donation:

"Is it necessary to see here a symbolic representation of the two powers - lay and ecclesiastical - gathered together by the Virgin? It is not impossible, but it would be surprising that the people of the twelfth century were content with symbolic personages and not wish to give them a name...." 48

The iconography is interpreted in a very different manner by both Adolf Katzenellenbogen<sup>49</sup> and Walter Cahn<sup>50</sup> who view the tympanum scene as a form of benevolent propaganda on the part of the church, which in the Middle Ages used sculptural programs to instruct, enlighten and reinforce political and theological doctrine, as well as to enhance the beauty of the buildings. Katzenellenbogen developed a theory in which the depictions of royal persons<sup>51</sup> in the

façade sculptures of St-Denis and Chartres, as well as related churches, emphasized the relationship between regnum and sacerdotium:

"That rulers are honored here in the images of Old Testament personalities is but a link in a long chain or representations relating the living to ideal prototypes of the past by virtue of various ideological associations, all of them meant to enhance the prestige of the living." 52

Relating these figures to the historical relationship between St-Denis and the French throne, he sees the inspiration for the iconography in the political theology developed during that period. Biblical kings and queens are seen as the spiritual ancestors of the kings and queens of France, who through anointing<sup>53</sup> and coronation assumed specific responsibilities towards the Church, namely to defend it and to suppress heresies.<sup>54</sup> As Southern has stated:

"He [the king] was anointed with the oil used in the consecration of priests; he was invested with the ring and staff conferred on bishops, with the power to destroy heresies, and to unite his subjects in the Catholic faith; and he received the sword and sceptre with words which gave the highest authority to his use of violence." 55

Katzenellenbogen sees the "shall-capped" figures included among those of royalty in the sculptural programs as representatives of Priests and Prophets of "...the era of the Kings of Judah....,"<sup>56</sup> and consequently he finds developing a theme in which "...the harmony of regnum and sacerdotium is prefigured."<sup>57</sup> He proposed Abbot Suger himself as author of the program<sup>58</sup> in view of his role with respect to the rebuilding of St-Denis as well as his polit-

ical and ecclesiastical responsibilities in the realm. This theory has received more support with the work of Erlande-Brandenberg and Gnudi with regard to the date of the Porte-de-Ste-Anne which places it in a more direct contact with the developments at St-Denis rather than with Chartres.

Katzenellenbogen perceives three functions within the overall program that are fulfilled by these statues: they illustrate Old Testament history from the era of the Patriarchs through to the era of the kings, they may be understood as personifying the spiritual ancestors of the French rulers, and most importantly, they create for the first time a visual record of the ideal of an harmonious accord between the secular and ecclesiastical halves of the Medieval world.<sup>59</sup> The expansion of this ideal, according to this theory, appears in the programs of both Notre-Dame, Étampes (south portal) and Chartres although in a modified iconography. A "...more even balance between the prototype of regnum and sacerdotium..."<sup>60</sup> is produced on the portail royal at Chartres where the visual implication is clearly evident. This is an expansion of the crystalization of the notion which appeared on the tympanum of the Porte-de-Ste-Anne. Katzenellenbogen saw:

"...the exemplary co-operation between regnum and sacerdotium was directly, not figuratively as in the earlier period [at Chartres], represented on the right tympanum of the west façade of Notre-Dame in Paris. Here Louis VII gives a privilege to the Virgin Mary, the patron saint of the cathedral, and Maurice of Sully, bishop of Paris accepts it, illustrating the harmony of king and priest in relation to the Church." 61



As already stated, this theory must be revised in the light of recent information. While the basic theory is correct, the sequence of developments must be understood as moving from St-Denis to Notre-Dame, Paris, and thence to full flowering at Chartres. It is more logical that the influence of Suger's ideas would first be felt in Paris, where the primary statement was formulated and the magnificent iconographical program of the portrail royal explained as a major political and theological statement of the ideal developed in Paris. His interpretation of the tympanum scene as a donation to Mary does not detract from the soundness of his theory, but what type of privilege could man give to the Virgin?

"...the absence of an explicit attribute or inscription confers on the relief an allusive scope that is general rather than specific. The king of France and the bishop of Paris are shown by the sculptor not as participants in an isolated transaction but as actors in a larger demonstration on the very bases and dimensions of royal and ecclesiastical power...." 62

With this statement Walter Cahn demonstrates a wholly divergent opinion. He regards the identities of the figures as being unimportant in the sense that as types, they represent a visual statement of the division of powers, with supremacy vested in the Church. Contrary to the harmony of regnum and sacerdotium envisioned by Katzenellenbogen, Cahn sees in the "...complex forces and values embodied in the two sides...a state of delicate equilibrium."<sup>63</sup> in which the Church is seen as the dominant force, reiterating a view

expressed by papal apologists for centuries. In regarding the composition as a whole, he has isolated several elements that he uses to reinforce his theory. The standing bishop and kneeling king on respectively the 'right' and 'wrong' sides of the Virgin are seen as conveying the hierocratic import of the bishop; the striated and clustered-petal motifs above the heads of the angels are seen as an allusion to the theory of the Two Luminaries; the division of the relief into secular and ecclesiastical halves by means of an imaginary vertical axis, running from the figure of the Virgin to the lower lintel, is viewed as a fulcrum reinforcing the separation of the two powers; finally, the presence of the seated scribe behind the figure of the cleric is seen as imparting a legitimization and continuing time-frame to the scene. All of these elements are interpreted by Cahn as demonstrating various political and theological axioms that were prevalent during the twelfth century, propagated by papalists.

Cahn bases his arguments for the pre-eminence of the figure of the bishop on the dualistic world view he sees as common during this period, although there are varying opinions on this subject. He has used the historical polemics of the Investiture Controversy to bolster his point of view, most prominently the imagery engendered in the traditio legis iconography, the concept of the Two Swords, and the legend of the Constantinian Donation with its result-

ing depictions in various media such as the mosaic in the triclinium of the Lateran palace.<sup>64</sup> He also mentions the sculptural depictions dating from later Gothic periods such as the Coronation Portal at Notre-Dame in Paris and the south portal at Chartres.<sup>65</sup> As examples of an iconography in support of his theory, he also cites thirteenth century manuscript illustrations in the Psalter of St. Swithins, Winchester and the London, British Museum Harley MS.2895 which he feels portray "...the power of the sceptre and the power of the book as being sovereign in their own spheres...".<sup>66</sup> That most of the examples used by him are later in date by far than the sculptures of the Porte-de-Ste-Anne tends to dilute their efficacy in making his point, and although he cites the two powers as being sovereign in their own spheres, that does not preclude their harmonious co-operation.

### The Purpose of This Study

The most forceful argument used by Walter Cahn is that which demonstrates the importance of the Decretum Gratiani in the dissemination of church doctrine which reflects the contemporary attitude toward the respective roles of regnum and sacerdotium. What he has disregarded is its role in the dissemination of secular doctrine as well. This first

comprehensive compilation of canon law with its attendant imagery did indeed become "The most substantial vehicle of inspiration and diffusion for the iconography..."<sup>67</sup> but not for the "...division of power..." seen by Cahn. It was and remains a clear statement of the ideal of harmonious accord between the two fora. This thesis is concerned with the re-examination of the iconography of the Porte-de-Ste-Anne in the light of contemporary political and theological developments as revealed in the Decretum Gratiani. Far from being simply a visual record of donative or commemorative significance, the tympanum reveals multiple levels of imagery which must be considered separately as well as in conjunction with the overall iconographical program.

## CHAPTER II

### THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: FRANCE AND THE PAPACY

#### Louis VII

"...a king, often timid, sometimes fearful, almost always of good faith, capable of extracting from each event what was of use to his monarchy and knowing finally, that a series of small local victories and limited advantages are of more value than spectacular successes." 68

In 1163 when Maurice of Sully began to rebuild Notre-Dame on the site of the old cathedral, Louis VII had occupied the throne of France for twenty-six years. Ignored by many historians in favor of the exploits of his son, Philippe Augustus, and grandson, Louis VIII<sup>69</sup>, his efforts and those of earlier Capetian monarchs in laying the groundwork for later achievements cannot be discounted. They had ruled continuously from the time of Hugh Capet in 987, the political fact of their legitimacy having been effected by the long-lived rulers themselves<sup>70</sup>; their production of male heirs in each generation<sup>71</sup>; the close association of the heir with the affairs of state while the father still lived due to their predilection for crowning the heir during the reign of the monarch<sup>72</sup>; and the retention of court functionaries as a mark of respect for the previous ruler<sup>73</sup> all

contributed to the continuance of policies beneficial to the monarchy and the endurance of the dynasty.

Although arguments have been made that indicate a certain weakness on the part of the first Capetians<sup>74</sup>, this may be viewed in a different light and interpreted as tenacity of purpose which involved bowing to political necessity. By adhering to accepted custom, at times "...they appeared to be weak and ineffectual..."<sup>75</sup> especially in comparison to larger-than-life figures such as William the Conqueror or Odo II of Blois. But their desire was for the consolidation of their own position and increase of power and prestige accruing to the line as a whole. History has regarded these early Capetians as "...nonentities..."<sup>76</sup> or conversely, as "...powerful lords. To regard them as petits seigneurs of the Île-de-France is to perpetuate a myth."<sup>77</sup> Reality lies somewhere between these two extremes.

When Louis VI ascended the throne "...he was little more powerful than his predecessors."<sup>78</sup> By the end of the reign of his great-grandson Louis VIII, the king's suzerainty was acknowledged and obeyed and the royal lands had been greatly expanded.<sup>79</sup> As well, the petty barons who had continuously harassed the royal domain had been subdued. Louis VII, according to accepted historical view, had played a much larger part in the affairs of the country as a whole as well as an increasingly large role in international political affairs. He had, thereby, made enormous strides

in advancing the role of the dynasty and in gaining royal prestige. Major councils were convened that were attended by the princes; crown wearings and feudal councils were frequent; the great princes and nobles appeared more often at court; justice was rendered by the king on the appeal of both vassals and ecclesiastics; ordinances were issued; and the king travelled extensively both within and without France.<sup>80</sup>

"Although royal power in the twelfth century remained limited in terms of land and resources, the reputation of the king as overlord, lawgiver and protector...as well as the image of the French king as the holder of sacral powers and as defender of the kingdom..." 81

was given impetus by both Louis VI and Louis VII, more particularly the latter.

During this period society was regarded as a form of Christian Commonwealth, a religio-political unity held to be the continuation of the "...divinely chosen commonwealth of Israel..."<sup>82</sup> whose objective was eternal salvation for each of its members. The feudal age personalized this concept as a theocratic monarchy whereby the ruler was seen as "vicar of God", "the ruler of the City of God on earth" and therefore endowed with divine qualities. He became: "...king and priest, rex et sacerdos, to whom were conceded on occasion even liturgical functions. This quasi-religious conception of kingship was widely held in Europe..."<sup>83</sup> and especially in France where kings were canonized. Apart from his role of sacred kingship, Louis VII as overlord, developed econ-

omic policies, particularly with regard to the granting of communes that began to increase his personal popularity and that of the throne. He consolidated the royal domain and his influence there and in the rest of France continued to grow.<sup>84</sup>

"...by the end of the twelfth century the idea that the king was liege lord, who was owed liege homage, superior to all other forms of homage, by the princes for the land was becoming widely accepted." 85

Relations with the Church over the reforms of the eleventh century had still not been completely resolved when Louis VI came to the throne and he was involved in disputes to retain his regalian rights, but he remained on good terms with the papacy. Tensions caused by the Gregorian Reforms were supposed to have been eased by the compromise achieved between Pope Paschal II and Philippe I with which Louis VI concurred. An understanding was reached and "...they proclaimed their agreement over the investiture dispute...."<sup>86</sup> The papalist reaction to the Gregorian reforms and particularly the long, tragic struggle between Gregory VII and Henry IV of Germany "...had challenged the prince's position in the Christian commonwealth but not the theocratic idea itself"<sup>87</sup> [emphasis mine]. Therefore there was no hesitation on the part of the Capetians in reaching agreement because it did not affect their position regarding the intrinsically sacred nature of kingship. The accord thus achieved endured for more than two centuries, despite minor disagreements,



and it is a tribute to Capetian perspicacity that the popes continued the alliance as a countervailing force against the hostile German emperors. In consequence, it was to France that popes looked in times of need for aid and refuge. During one such episode Innocent II was present at Reims to crown the future Louis VII after the death of Philippe the heir in 1130.<sup>88</sup>

During the early part of his reign, historians have suggested, Louis VII "...indulged in politics of grandeur and illusion."<sup>89</sup> but Pacaut recognizes his achievements as more important than his failures and his accomplishments as underrated, particularly when it is remembered that he was only sixteen when he ascended the throne. According to Pacaut it was Louis' expansion of the royal domain, royal influence, and royal prestige that established the foundation upon which his successor, Philippe Augustus could base his triumphs.<sup>90</sup>

"...that which is the fourth instance of misfortune for Louis: that his reign occurs between that of his father Louis VI, whose biography had been written by Suger, and that of his son Philippe Augustus whose government, after having begun quite badly, was completed with conquests and victories..." 91

Louis is perceived as being weak because he was willing to aid Alexander III in furthering his aims, and he was therefore seen as being overly pious and lacking in initiative:

"Louis was unquestionably a religious person. Nevertheless, he was also shrewd enough to profit from the embarrassments suffered by his rival Henry II, and to realize that co-operation with the pope could produce tangible political advantages for himself." 92

The occasions upon which Alexander III solicited Louis' aid were numerous: when he was attempting to achieve support from other European rulers for a new crusade, when he needed help to suppress heresies, and in ecclesiastical and abbatial problems. "...relations between him [Louis] and Alexander III present an example of regular, mutual support profitable to both the French monarchy and the French church."<sup>93</sup>

The most important aspect of Louis' reign with regard to the iconography of the Porte-de-Ste-Ann is this ongoing accord between the French throne and the papacy. Because of its existence, Alexander III not only sought Louis' support, seeing it as necessary and desirable in establishing his claim to the Papal throne<sup>94</sup> against the Imperial candidate Victor IV, but he also sought refuge in France after having been forced to flee Italy by the military incursions of Frederick Barbarossa.

#### Alexander III

"...a cold pope, little inclined to lengthy explanations, loving authority, conducting his political and diplomatic affairs in secret, and basing them on a more and more precisely defined doctrine." 95

Alexander III's friendship with France may have begun with his education in the schools of Paris<sup>96</sup> which could account for his continuing interest in that city, to which he sent his nephews to be educated. He also had a long-standing friendship with Henri of France, bishop of Beauvais

and brother of the king, as well as an intimate knowledge of Peter Abelard and his works.<sup>97</sup> Alexander III was born Roland Bandinelli in Siena to a fairly wealthy family of French descent. He taught theology and canon law at Bologna from 1139 to 1142, and therefore was at the university when Gratian published his Decretum, the first compilation of canon law that still forms the basis of Church law today. Roland was part of the milieu that produced this work as well as Peter Lombard's treatise on theology. His name was directly linked to that of Gratian in a note written by the glossator Huguccio which tells us that Roland was teaching in Bologna at the time the Decretum was composed.<sup>98</sup> Between 1142 and 1150, Roland himself published two works: a treatise on theology, the Sententiae which made little if any impact and a commentary on the Decretum which, along with his achievements as a teacher of canon law and his decisions as pope, was to have a direct impact on the recognition of canon law as a separate discipline.<sup>99</sup> His knowledge of Peter Abelard's Sic et Non dialectic may have influenced the format chosen by Gratian: "Dialectic was to be the instrument in the construction of a system of religious knowledge."<sup>100</sup> because Roland was so influenced by Abelard's "...supreme confidence in the power of reason to elucidate and support the truths of religion."<sup>101</sup> As a professor at Bologna and perhaps as a student, he "...stood in the centre of the medieval legal revival."<sup>102</sup> As a glossator of the Decretum

with his Stroma ex decretorum corptum, Roland was in a position not only to explain the text but to influence its use. In his glosses he:

"...took pains to clarify and enlarge the notion of what belonged of right to the sacrum, that is, what pertained to the Church's jurisdiction and was justifiable in its courts...he merely elaborated, as did Gratian, on conceptions of ecclesiastical organization and its relation to society which had been current since the Gregorian Reform and even before, and were currently taught in the schools." 103

With his elevation to the Curia, around 1149-50, he was in an even better position to advance the use of the Decretum.

In the hierocratic society of the twelfth century the pope occupied a position of enormous power within the spiritual sphere, but with regard to the political arena the authority attributed to him was never precisely defined. Many judgments have been made regarding the pope's political authority from the viewpoint of historical hindsight but, as is often stated, one must endeavor to regard events from a medieval standpoint in order to appreciate the effect of contemporary events. For instance, we cannot speak of any intervention, ecclesiastical or secular, into the other's sphere of influence because this notion was entirely foreign to the medieval concept of the structure of society. To speak of intervention "...implies the action of an outside power, and in the early medieval context, neither the lay nor the ecclesiastical was 'outside'. Nor were there separate entities "Church" and "State" as understood in modern

times.<sup>104</sup> Within the context of the medieval world view all segments of society were part of the same unity, the Christian Commonwealth. What we term political intervention should be seen as day-to-day events placed in a context more convenient to a modern world view. Whether as pope Alexander III actually intervened in the secular sphere, he never hesitated to use what may be termed political means to achieve his ends. In 1159 when he solicited Louis VII's aid in attaining the papal throne, the king and the French bishops were favorably disposed towards his cause, but because of political considerations such as the position of Frederick Barbarossa's troops along the borders of Burgundy, pressure exerted by the council of Pavia in early 1160, the risk of leaving France isolated if Henry II of England formed an Anglo/Germanic coalition, all combined to delay Louis' decision. In order perhaps, to force Louis's hand Alexander III granted permission to Henry II for the immediate marriage of his son to Louis' daughter although both were minors. He thereby forced Louis to deliver the Vexin, his daughter's dowry, into the hands of his enemy. Why the pope took this action even while Louis was acknowledging the validity of his cause at the Council of Beauvais and at Toulouse in 1160, is debatable. What resulted was, that:

"...he deeply wounded Louis VII, putting him on guard against the cardinal legates and pushing him, without repudiating the obedience that Louis had chosen to give to him, to negotiate with the Imperial representatives; politics of spite caused by distrust and disarray...Alexander III was

therefore adroit enough to put Louis' fears at rest at a time when the king was welcoming him into his kingdom. After that, there was an almost perfect accord between the two men." 102

It is known from his letters and from other sources that Alexander III continued to consult with Louis VII and keep him informed long after his papacy had been confirmed.<sup>106</sup>

Alexander III spent Easter 1163 in Paris at Notre-Dame "...where he bestowed on Louis VII the Golden Rose, seeing him as a 'model of Christian virtue'."<sup>107</sup> After leaving Paris he spent the period between September 30, 1163 and April 7, 1165 at Sens.<sup>108</sup> If, as tradition has it, he placed the first stone for the construction of the new cathedral while in the city, it was an additional reason for placing over the south portal a statement of political and religious doctrine. The atmosphere of co-operation had endured, a fact of political life in France that was generations old. All of the dramatis personae depicted on the tympanum of the Porte-de-Ste-Anne represented the facets of medieval society which had contributed to the accord, the two parallel structures whose goal was the preservation of the Christian commonwealth and salvation of men's souls.

### CHAPTER III

#### DECRETUM GRATIANI AND ITS IMPACT ON CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT

##### The Twelfth Century Renaissance

"..., the Canonists used and applied Roman Law; the Civilians used and applied Canon Law; and both Laws were used also by Common Law Jurists. Moreover, both Laws were influenced by scholastic method and thought, as well as by Aristotelian philosophy; finally, the jurists of all branches applied freely, and without scruples or inhibitions, theological metaphors and similes when expounding their points of view in glosses and legal opinions." 109

Walter Cahn saw Gratian's Decretum as the "...most substantial vehicle of inspiration and diffusion for the iconography..."<sup>110</sup> with regard to the scene portrayed on the tympanum of the Porte-de-Ste-Anne. In order to understand the impact made upon the imagery of the tympanum by this work to a much more complete degree, one must understand the impact made upon twelfth century society as a whole by this first comprehensive compilation of canon law. The Concordia discordantium canonum, or Decretum was written by Gratian, a Camaldolese monk working within the monastery of SS. Naborre and Felice in Bologna around 1142. The title of the treatise describes the content: a concordance between extant "...contradictory canons and the discordant stratification of concepts."<sup>111</sup>

During the first decades of the twelfth century there arose the desire to consolidate into a systematic form the great bodies of knowledge surviving from ancient times with which Medieval man now felt fairly comfortable.

"Indeed the idea sprang naturally from the efforts of eleventh century scholars, and it expressed the sense which men had of mastering their past." 112

A whole series of works appeared in the period between 1120 and 1170 which attempted to sum up all of the learning of the past: the Glossa ordinaria of Anselm of Laon in Biblical Studies, the Sententiae of Peter Lombard in theology, the Summae of various scholars from the schools of the Loire and Bologna, and the Decretum of Gratian.<sup>113</sup> Central to this movement were the works of Gratian and Peter Lombard which shared a "...unity of problems, and the community of thought about the means of solving them."<sup>114</sup> In Peter Lombard, an Italian schooled in Northern Italy, were combined the legal learning of Bologna with the dialectical and theological learning of Northern France, specifically Paris. He would have been familiar with the work of Gratian for "...when he left Italy about 1140 he brought with him one of the earliest copies of Gratian's work: and when he died he left a copy to the Cathedral library in Paris."<sup>115</sup> Peter Lombard like Gratian, was a friend of Bernard of Clairvaux who introduced him to Paris where he taught for twenty-odd years, and where he became bishop in 1159.<sup>116</sup> Although he died in 1160, his teachings would have undoubtedly been of great influence



within the Cathedral community, and likely influential enough to directly effect the composition of the tympanum.

The Medieval World View and the  
Origin of Conflict

The main impetus for change which evolved along with what has been called the Twelfth Century Renaissance effected almost every aspect of intellectual endeavour, particularly those disciplines such as theology and philosophy which had a direct bearing on the contemporary world view. This resulted in the new disciplines of law, both civil and canon. Concurrent with these changes, reformative movements within the spiritual sphere as well as an evolving imperial emphasis focussed attention on the new social structure. The spiritual and secular spheres became guardians of the newly defined unity of the Christian community whose goal basically was to guide men's souls to salvation. The concept of the 'State' during the Middle Ages, the rise of an organized political unity, was based on the notion that every organism, every component of that unity was a microcosm in which the macrocosm was reflected.

"In the fullest measure this is true of every human individual; but it also holds good of every human community and of human society in general."

Society had accepted the notion that the creation of the universe was the prototype for the creation of human communities. This resulted in a unified world view, where the whole of created life was seen as a single Christian community, and the division of this community:

"...between the two organized Orders of Life, the spiritual and the temporal, is accepted by the Middle Ages as an eternal counsel of God...And each of these Orders necessarily appears as an externally separate Realm, dominated by its own particular Law, specially represented by a single Folk or People and governed by a single Government." 119

Between the perceived ideal of unity and the duality of the two organized 'Orders of Life', conflict arose. "The Medieval Spirit steadily refused to accept the Dualism as final. In some higher Unity reconcilliation must be found."<sup>119</sup> This finally became the grounds for the discussions regarding the relationship between regnum and sacerdotium: the origins of the controversy during which the Church demanded the subordination of all secular political arrangements.

### The Development of Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence

Before Gratian's work the rules of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, so to speak, were based on collections of documents: papal letters, canonical decrees of councils, ancient texts, compilations of Roman civil law, ordinances

of Medieval emperors, and biblical extracts and exegesis. These were mostly contained in treatises written and interpreted at the local level so that there was little or no conformity among application and judgments. Efforts were concentrated by the canonists throughout this period to create systems that corresponded as closely as possible to the ideal of Christian conduct, and to minimize the divergence between interpretations:

"...Jurisprudence regarded what these had to say of Church and State, as being not merely the positive statutes of some one age, but rules of eternal validity flowing from the very nature of things." 120

In general, this led throughout the Medieval period, to an acceptance of the older teachings of the Church that saw regnum and sacerdotium as two independent spheres instituted by God Himself and Church and State as two equal powers.<sup>121</sup>

As Peter Lombard's Sententiae are seen as the "...fulfilment of a plan of study which Abelard adumbrated in his Sic et Non; they draw largely on Abelard's work."<sup>122</sup>, so too is there some suspicion that Gratian's work came under the same influence, at least in format, and perhaps through the efforts of Roland Bandinelli. The discovery of the Corpus iuris civilis of Justinian over fifty years earlier had provided the civilists with a jurisprudential system that was studied and glossed at Bologna, and which furnished a model for "...unprecedented civil situations."<sup>123</sup>

Gratian's efforts provided a similar model or system for the canonists, who had until then, relied on "...a series of discordant canonical treatises permeated by dialectical forms."<sup>124</sup> With the creation of the Decretum canon law became a separate discipline, distinct from theology, whose aim was to work in concert with the new "...metaphysical and eschatological concepts of the Christian Community and its institutional and visible elements on earth."<sup>125</sup> In an attempt to correlate the newly defined Christian philosophy with the social, sacramental and "...institutional responsibilities of the Church."<sup>126</sup>

Not only does the Decretum reveal the spiritual aspects of twelfth century society, but economic and social conditions as well. It also provides an insight into such controversial matters as pastoral rights and the offices of bishops, simony, divination, marriage contracts, the Power of the Two Swords, and the relationship of regnum and sacerdotium.<sup>127</sup>

With the development of law into two separate disciplines, the civil and canonical streams separated:

"...the civilians looked to antiquity [Justinian's code] and were often tempted to become more theorists or antiquaries, while the canonists were more concerned with adapting Roman law with great freedom to contemporary conditions and in replacing its paganism by a Christian spirit." 128

Although the major portion of Church law dealt with matters concerning the religious sector, there was a good

part that dealt with the "...daily lives of the laity in a variety of ways, and in the end exerted profound influence upon the development of national laws."<sup>129</sup> Gratian's Decretum became so important to the social regulation and stability of the Christian Commonwealth that it was accepted as the definitive work on canon law:

"...although his Decretum was unofficial and never received legislative force, yet in practice it was treated with great respect, and indeed has taken an undisputed place as the first portion of the Corpus iuris canonici." 130

So well received was the Decretum, undoubtedly because of the need that it filled, that within a decade of its completion it had spread throughout most European countries; the first copies were made in the trans-Alpine countries.<sup>131</sup>

## CHAPTER IV

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ICONOGRAPHY TO ILLUSTRATE THE DECRETUM GRATIANI

#### The Composition of the Manuscripts

"No matter whether the artists were guided by their own erudition or by specialists in the field, they succeeded in furnishing additional interpretative data on the period in the form of visual renderings of the text." 132

The iconography with which this thesis is concerned is that which developed in the northern scriptoria although there are similarities of imagery within the body of manuscripts because of their having been based, for the most part, on Italian prototypes. Unlike the illustrated manuscripts of sacred texts for which there were extant models in what amounted to a traditional iconography, there was no precedent for the iconography that illustrated the manuscripts of Gratian's work. All of the imagery would have been developed after 1150 when the work first appeared and therefore is contemporary to the composition of the tympanum of the Porte-de-Ste-Anne.

The order in which the original treatise was organized consisted of Pars I-Distinctiones, Pars II-Causae, and Pars III-De consecratione and De poenitentiae. The extant manuscripts contain, for the most part, full-page illustrations of the Trees of Relationship (Tree of Affinity and

Tree of Consanguinity), illuminated or historiated initials I and H from Pars I and others from each of the thirty-six Causae. There are also some illustrations from De consecratione and De poenitentiae:

"...ranging from modestly decorated pages with historiated initials to sporadically painted tiny miniatures...others have high quality rectangular miniatures, often with highly intricate iconographical schemes, at the beginning of each of the thirty-six Causae and frequently devote half or more of a page to the illumination of other major subdivisions..." 133

The origin of the prototype for the Trees of Relationship has been traced to Italy prior to Gratian's period, where they appeared in a Collectione Canonum of Burchard of Worms, circa 1100.<sup>134</sup> These earliest examples show the First Man as a king and this motif was adopted in French manuscripts.<sup>135</sup> Apart from these tables the most frequently illustrated areas are the initials I and H.

#### The Initials H and I and Their Importance to the Imagery

These initials are important in that they pertain to the introduction and the first Distinctione of the Decretum which "...reflect concern...with the sources of law and fundamental norms of canon law pertaining to the key principles governing human life, the Church, and the State."<sup>136</sup> The first part of Gratian's treatise contains one hundred and one subdivisions, the Distinctiones. Dist.I, c.1 of Pars I, so emphasized by the scribes and illuminators was

seized upon by political apologists of both secular and religious persuasion. It deals with the attempt to establish a "...legal justification for the all-embracing unity of the Church,..."<sup>137</sup> and Gratian explains the divine origin of natural law, ius naturale, from which it was believed by him and other canonists of that period, that both canon and civil law originated. Dist.I states:

"The human race is governed by two norms, natural law and custom. The law of nature is that which is contained in the Law and the gospel whereby each is commanded to do for another what he would have done for himself and forbids doing to another what he does not want done to himself. Thus, Christ in the gospel says: Everything whatsoever you wish men to do to you, even so do you also to them; for this is the Law and the prophets." 138

The opening words "Humanum genus duobus regitur,..."<sup>139</sup> provided the illuminators with the initial H within which they created iconographical vignettes. Dist. I, c.1 states:

"Divine law consists of nature, human laws of customs." 140

and from the opening words "Ius divinum naturae..." they chose the letter I as a vehicle for illustration as was common practise in manuscript tradition. Some of the other letters which were decorated or illuminated, although not all nor in every case, were the Q from Causa I, D from Causa VI, P from Causa XXXVI, and less often an O from Causa VI as well. According to Papal apologists who would see in the Tractatus de legibus, Gratian's support for the overall supremacy of the Church over State,<sup>141</sup> Dist.I, c.1 is the most frequently quoted argument along with Causa XXIII,



Quaestio VIII, Pars I which deals with the concept of the Power of the Two Swords.<sup>142</sup> It is open to question whether or not either example can be used to firmly support these assertions.

The Political Content of the Imagery and its  
Propagandistic Impact: The Papalists

In his study of the imagery connected to all parts of the Decretum, Anthony Melnikas demonstrated that there were instances where the iconography revealed the politico-theological convictions of the heads of the foundations in which the manuscripts were produced. For instance, in many manuscripts of Cistercian origin, although by no means all, there was a tendency to produce vignettes in which the spiritual authority, whether God or His early representative, appears above the cross-bar of the capital H while the secular authority is relegated to a subordinate position below. Two Northern French Cistercian illustrations are almost identical in iconography (Figs. 11, 12, Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale Ms.103 f.11, Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. C.967 f.10). Both place the spiritual representative above the secular and although they share a scroll, the king alone holds a sword. Another depicts the bishop above the king and a man, presumably blessing their efforts (Fig. 13, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine Ms. lat. 1287 f.4). This manuscript, which is in the Channel style, is a reduc-

tion or minimalization of the imagery which appears in a contemporary Italian production (Fig.14, Montecassino, Biblioteca Abbaziale Ms.64). Folio 3 of this manuscript portrays Christ giving the law to two men above the king giving the law to a man and a woman, presumably his subjects.

Not only do all of these above mentioned images denote the continuation of both the Old and the New Laws and "...the position of Christ as the lawgiver within the Scriptural continuity,"<sup>143</sup> but they demonstrate the continuing interests of some Cistercian foundations in propagating the concept of Church supremacy. This is clearly stated in the miniatures from the Troyes and Cambrai manuscripts where the inscriptions on the scrolls shared by the figures read as follows: "REX EGO SUM REGUM. LEX EST MEA MAXIMA LEGUM. TE FACIO REGUM. TU RECTAM DILIGE LEGEM."<sup>144</sup> These inscriptions formalize a position in which the legal implications of the hierarchical status of the two powers are demonstrated. The imagery in these instances has been used to propagandize the desires of the Papacy regarding its authority within the Christian community, an authority demanded by Church fathers from the time of Gelasius I. It also clearly demonstrates papal political theology from the time of the Investiture Controversy.<sup>145</sup> The iconography of these illustrations demonstrates as well, the extent to which the monastic foundations were influenced by the constant political machinations of their papal superiors and how they, in turn, tried to influence other sectors of the community.

The spread of this attitude, demonstrating the influence which the monasteries had during the twelfth century, is seen in an illustration from a South German illumination in which the bishop and monks to whom he administers appear above the cross-bar of the initial H while the king and his soldiers are seen below (Fig. 15, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS. Clm. 17161, f.6). It is even more clearly seen in another illustration where the figure of the bishop occupies three-quarters of the pictorial space while that of the king is reduced to bust length and placed in the lower right corner, an even more subordinate image than any of those already mentioned (Fig. 16. From Northern France dated circa 1200, Gdansk, Municipal Library Ms. F77 f.8v).

The Political Content of the Imagery and its  
Propagandistic Impact: The Secularists

That these images could be used to disseminate specific political messages throughout the community can be seen from the rapid spread of copies of the Decretum and from those who would have read them; the illuminated nature of the manuscripts implies a readership of fairly high social status for whom the cost would be of little consequence, but Cahn has called them "...the learned public of Western Christendom."<sup>146</sup> which implies a broader audience than merely wealthy churchmen or nobles. That these images could be used to disseminate diametrically opposed political

theories is also obvious. During this same period, the twelfth century, manuscript illustrations were also produced that demonstrated the equality of regnum and sacerdotium within the Christian community with equal bias. An illustration from Northern Italy portrays the figure of Christ occupying the upper portion of the pictorial space, above the crossbar of the capital H under which there are bust-length figures of king and bishop (Fig. 17, Beaune, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 5 f.1). Here we can see demonstrated the idea of the equality of the two fora under the supreme authority of God. In another example of shared authority, king and bishop are depicted as thronesharers, sharing also a book. The king holds a sword and the bishop is seen making a blessing gesture (Fig. 18, Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 707 (E.21) f.2v). This notion of the equal authority of regnum and sacerdotium within the Christian community is more vividly portrayed in an illustration, also of Northern Italian provenance in which the members of the community are included in the forms of three tiny men at bottom left beneath the crossbar of the H (Fig. 19, Chambéry, Bibliothèque de la Ville Ms. 13 f.1v). In this instance the king alone holds the book, along with his sword, while the bishop holds a staff (not the usual pastoral crook) and makes the gesture of blessing. This interchange of insignia reinforces the concept of equality.

### The Evolution of an Iconography of Equality

During the period that these images were being used to demonstrate these politico-theological concepts, new types of imagery were constantly evolving. The same notion of the co-operation of the two fora was also depicted in vignettes in which the figures of king and cleric were used to form the uprights of the letter H. In a miniature dated to the late twelfth century, standing figures of the participants form the uprights while their linked hands form the crossbar (Fig. 20, Cologne, Dombibliothek Ms. 127 f.7). Here the king holds a fleur-de-lis topped staff while the cleric holds the key and there is no doubt that they are endowed with equal status and prestige. The same iconography has been used in two more late twelfth century miniatures in which the standing figures equally share the staff that is between them (Figs. 21, 22, Arras, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 493 (585) f.6 and Bratislava, Slovakian Central State Archives Ms. 14 (Jur.46) f.3). The Bratislava miniature conveys a very Provincial stylistic impression with the members of the Christian community included by means of an asymmetrical grouping of tiny figures at centre bottom. In neither instance does the book appear although in the Bratislava miniature the cleric has a decided two-handed grasp on the staff. Again, this transference of insignia makes a

particularly strong visual impact. This can be seen in a miniature in which the cleric carries a scroll to which he gestures while the king carries a staff from which flames appear to erupt (Fig. 23, Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 354 f.9). Here the insignia reinforce the place of each within the social structure.

This visual impact is supported further by the addition of symbols that sustain the propaganda capabilities or expand the political content. In a Northern French miniature from the late twelfth century which again has the historiated letter H, not only is the figure of the king appreciably larger than that of the the bishop, but he also carries the scroll and staff in contrast to the bishop's pastoral crook (Fig. 24, Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 60, f.7). In this vignette the additional components are the tiny monk and soldier beneath the crossbar indicating the specific sphere of influence of each of the powers. This imagery is carried to perhaps its ultimate in an illustration where king and bishop are depicted seated within the arched openings of an upper colonnade, while below the crossbar, the arches are occupied by two groups of men: clerics below the bishop and laymen below the king. The king appears to gesture towards the scroll held by the bishop while holding a staff (Fig. 25, Florence Biblioteca Laurenziana Ms. Ed. 96 F.1).

## CHAPTER V

### FOUR CISTERCIAN FRENCH MANUSCRIPTS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ICONOGRAPHY OF POLITICS

#### The Dissemination of the Imagery

Although Melnikas has based his examination of the iconography of the images used to illustrate the manuscript copies of Gratian's Decretum on the extant examples from all geographical areas possible, the fact that the work was so quickly disseminated from its place of origin, Bologna, throughout northern Europe is basis for the belief that the illustrations in French copies were based on Italian models. However, Rosy Schilling in her examination of the Decretum formerly in the Dyson Perrins collection concluded that:

"The cycle of illustrations to the thirty-six causae shows a different development in French and Italian manuscripts. It seems that from the very beginning the north coined its own types with little or no influence from the south." 147

She does state, however, that some manuscripts included line drawings as suggested imagery to be painted later when they were sent north with the manuscripts. It would be hard to imagine any scribe ignoring these suggested iconographical schema since the tradition of manuscript illumination usually included either drawn or written instructions, based on conventions, for each scene. Any political or theological influence exerted on these northern copies would of necessity

come from the monastic scriptoria and their directors, or from influential people in the surrounding area after the exemplum was received. This is demonstrated when three French copies of the Decretum are compared to that copy formerly in the Dyson Perrins collection (Fig. 26). In all four there are full-page illuminated letters I from the Introduction that demonstrate elements of the Channel style and all are from Cistercian scriptoria (Fig. 27, Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale MS.C.967, f.10, Fig.28 Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale MS.103, f.3, Fig. 29, Douai, Bibliothèque municipale MS.590, f.3). The Dyson Perrins copy is probably from Sens, the scriptorium of S-Colombe.<sup>148</sup>

#### The Cistercian Examples

The elaborate initial I from the Dyson Perrins, like all of the others, is in the form of a vertical band containing four vignettes set in roundels on an interlaced inhabited vinescroll motif. Similar formats appear in the other three copies with minor differences in the interlaced ground and the imagery in the roundels. The Cambrai initial has four roundels placed on a ground of interlaced animals and birds, with three pairs of confronted animals interspersed between them. The animal interlace is wound through with palmettes of rather fleshy acanthus leaves. The Troyes copy has a simpler ground of interlaced birds, vines, and human masks ending in appended addorsed masks at the bottom



of the I. The Douai copy has a rather intricate interlace of animals and birds entwined on a latticelike framework of acanthus vines, leaves, and winged forms. All three confine their imagery to the roundels which are evenly spaced the length of the field. The Troyes and Cambrai manuscripts depict four female figures who Melnikas identified as personifications of "...four cardinal virtues of Ecclesia..."<sup>149</sup> because each holds a scroll in one hand and makes a teaching gesture with the other. If one examines these initials closely, it can be discerned that in fact, each roundel contains a slightly different image. Although they all depict a female figure with a scroll, in each instance she makes a different gesture with her free hand or with the manner in which she holds the scroll. At the top the gesture of her free hand is one of "Ave" or Hail, as though she calls attention to the scroll she is holding up; in the second roundel both hands are used to unroll the work; in the third her free hand points emphatically to the scroll which she supports from the back; and, in the last roundel she stretches the scroll to its full extent. Rather than "four cardinal virtues of Ecclesia" what we possibly have here are four instances of Iustitia displaying the Decretum itself, indicating through her gestures the importance of its contents. There can be no doubt that these two manuscript copies originated in the same scriptorium or were copies from the same model, but the Douai manuscript illustrates, in the roundels, a changing attitude in the pre-

prevailing political emphasis. From the top down appear Christ "...symbolizing the continuity of the Church...",<sup>150</sup> a nimbed female figure holding a chalice and an open book "...signify the sacramental and doctrinal aspects of the Church."<sup>151</sup> and the bust of a king in the roundel above that containing a bishop "...which stand for the secular and ecclesiastical arms of the Church."<sup>152</sup>

### The Changing Political Emphasis

Might we not infer from their respective positions that king and bishop personify rather, regnum and sacerdotium, with the hierocratic import being vested in the regnum? This notion is reinforced by the insignia carried by both: the king holds both a sword and a scroll while the bishop holds a scroll and makes the blessing gesture. Clearly this is a statement of changing policy: we have here an iconographic reinforcement of the harmonious accord so clearly stated by Gratian as the ideal relationship of the two fora within the Cristian Commonwealth. Both authorities are seen fulfilling their functions of "...promulgating the teachings of Christ within the 'civitas rex Christus'...",<sup>153</sup> under the supreme authority of Christ, the figure of Ecclesia signifying their venue and the patronage of the Virgin.

That this concept was influential is confirmed by the Dyson Perrins imagery: its having been based on the same prototype as the Cambrai, Troyes and Douai is confirmed by

the similarities of background motifs, both zoomorphic and vegetal, and the nearly identical facial features. There are no human masks here but there is an additional grotesquely elongated animal form occupying the top right side of the rectangular shape of the initial. Here the imagery has changed. In a much more radical manner it propagandizes the change in thinking in regard to the relationship between the two powers and indicates that like the secular sphere, ecclesiastical political thinking also fluctuated. The roundels that descend the vertical field of the initial I contain vignettes depicting the King as Law-giver, the King Dedicating the Law, the Bishop and a Layman, and lastly, the Bishop Exercising Authority. As illustrations for the letter I of the Introduction, which often acted as a sort of index to the Decretum, it reflects the contents of the complete work. According to Schilling "...the figures are more vivid and have an expression of urgency..."<sup>154</sup> and perhaps this can be explained by the provenance of this manuscript: the scriptorium at Sens would have been closely involved in this copy. This is the center where Alexander III spent the years between 1163 and 1165 after leaving Paris. As an archiepiscopal See with jurisdiction over a large ecclesiastical province, and as a teaching center with a pope in residence who himself was a teacher and glossator of canon law, not only would this subject be taught but frequently used in the ecclesiastical judgments that were

rendered.<sup>155</sup> It is evident that this imagery, in particular, projects the same message as that on the tympanum of the Porte-de-Ste-Anne.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CONCEPT OF EQUALITY IN THE DECRETUM

#### Medieval World Unity

¶In general throughout the Middle Ages the doctrine of the State's partisans remained content with the older teaching of the Church: namely, that Church and State were two Co-ordinate Powers, that the Two Swords were potestates distinctae, that Sacerdotium and Imperium were two independent spheres instituted by God Himself." 156

"Medieval World Unity was a part of the Christian eschatology, and therefore does not refer to this earth and its surface alone; it embraces the whole depth of Space and is in fact a Unity of the Universe." 157

The equality of regnum and sacerdotium as the dual components of the Christian Commonwealth directly subordinate to the one supreme authority, Christ, was first presented publicly at the Council of Paris in 829.<sup>158</sup> As a viable philosophical concept it gained importance from the attention paid to it by canonists of the medieval period, particularly Gratian:

"Although they did not always succeed in respecting the autonomy of both fora, various attempts were made to draw the two together in mutual support, as the "potestates coactivae" or "functionis coactivae", of the spiritual and material aspects of life..." 159

To the writers of the twelfth century the well-being of the Christian Commonwealth demanded the presence of both powers because of the specific functions that could only be per-

formed by each. In actual fact, they had no concept of either dualism or hierocraticism which are both modern notions, but they saw very clearly the governmental functions particular to each.

"The priesthood could not pass sentence requiring the shedding of blood and could not be involved in carrying out any penalty that entailed mutilation or death. The secular powers could not judge cases concerning marriage or the status of oaths."  
160

### Gratian's Treatment of Unity

Where propagandists for both sides have clouded the issue is in having used portions of the Decretum to support their particular point of view, when in reality Gratian made a concerted effort to avoid any such involvement. His efforts were directed at demonstrating the equal status of the two powers, both of which were of prime importance to the good conduct of the community, but both of which should be kept separate in their function. In this concern he was certainly not alone:

"...from the pontificate of Paschal II until about 1160, canonists stopped adding Roman law to the corpus of canon law. This attitude - and Gratian was the most extreme of the canonists in this matter - may show that on the whole the canonists were attracted by theories that made a clear distinction between the temporal and spiritual spheres." 161

Gratian also avoided any discussion of the issues of regnum and sacerdotium.<sup>162</sup> He tried to deal with what he distinguished as the two major aspects of the relationship

between the two powers that could be dealt with through juridical independence: the authority of each in relation to one another and the methodology used by them in dealing with daily occurrences.

"Gratian did not consider the first aspect of the regnum-sacerdotium relationship, but he had significant things to say about the second." 163

### Parallel Systems of Jurisprudence

In the Tractatus de legibus, Gratian's treatment of human laws which he divided into two parallel systems, demonstrated his recognition of this distinction between the two spheres. These two bodies of the law, the secular and the canonical, "...represent the independent legislative and juridical power of the Church and the secular community."<sup>164</sup> But, by dividing human law into parallel systems, he does not imply or demonstrate any relationship or lack thereof between them or their origin: Gratian's only purpose in discussing the relationship between them was to examine the use of secular law within the religious community. Conflicts, ideally, should not have occurred because there was a separation of areas of interest and the legislation governing these areas. Areas of co-operation or joint interest were, in fact, not very numerous: the legitimization of children in a world where legitimacy was so important was a function of both authorities, but property questions and their determination were under the aegis of the secular authority. Oaths,

promises and professions were under the care of the religious authority. As is evident in all areas legislation interacted to a certain extent, and the division of areas of interest was less than perfectly delineated. According to Gratian, secular law must yield to the canonical in ecclesiastical courts, but when there is no applicable ecclesiastical statute, the religious judge must use secular law [emphasis mine] "...when there is no conflict of law, secular law, filling a lacuna in Church law, deserves full obedience."<sup>165</sup> Therefore the two powers are seen to be in close alliance in the exercise of their authority. Jurisdiction is defined in terms of persons involved and not situations. For example, in situations pertaining to clerical property rights secular law must appertain.

"The priest or cleric,...is under the bishop ex officio and under the emperor ex possessionibus ....: Only he who has the power to make laws has power to interpret law. The bishop should not, therefore, hear cases involving an infringement of secular law." 166

Therefore, the converse must also apply, although, "...a distinction must be made...between secular business and the business of secular men."<sup>167</sup> As Bernard of Clairvaux wrote in his treatise De consideratione on the conduct of the papal office:

"Why should they not disdain to give judgment about our contemptible earthly possessions, who are appointed to judge even angels in heavenly places (1 Corinthis 6:3)? Consequently, it is on the sins of men, not with regard to their possessions, that thy judicial power ought to be exercised;... Tell me, which power and office dost thou consider to be the greater, that of forgiving sins, or that of dividing possessions?"  
108



## CHAPTER VII

### THE REFORM PARTY OF HAIMERIC: THE RELATIONSHIP OF BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX AND GRATIAN TO THIS MOVEMENT

"He [Bernard of Clairvaux] became a maker and breaker of popes, a vigorous opponent of ecclesiastical corruption...and a major political power in the Europe of his day." 169

"The party of Innocent [II], led by the Frenchman Haimeric, was almost exclusively from northern Italy and France...he used to the fullest extent his connections with his compatriots Bernard of Clairvaux, [and] Peter the Venerable..." 170

In order to perceive how reflective of contemporary thought the Decretum was, and to define the parameters of its influence it is necessary to understand why it was compiled at all. Most obviously there was an overwhelming need for such a compilation of canon law for use within the ecclesiastical community, but the practical results were to extend far beyond this arena. Canon law became a science and for the first time there were trained lawyers available to deal with the multitude of cases sent to Rome for adjudication. Special departments were developed to deal with this increase. Canon law became a living law with the constant addition of glosses, unlike Roman or civil law which had remained static, and a long line of lawyer-popes arose that was to continue on into the fourteenth century. The new discipline would:

"...because of topical contingencies and actual situations...exercise potent influence on jurisprudence as well as on theology and the science of government..." 171

### The Need for Juridical Reform

Gratian's work was influenced by his connection to the reform party of Haimeric, supported by Bernard of Clairvaux, who was actively involved with the schismatic double election of 1130 with its attendant participation of civil (Frangipani and Pierleoni families) and ecclesiastical (curial) factions. What was revealed during the ensuing controversy that split the Church into two opposing bodies, was the blatant lack of any formal electoral processes within the papacy, the manipulation of these elections by outside political power groups who were identified with various of the cardinals in the curia, the fact that total self-interest allowed these cardinals to be suborned, and perhaps most importantly, the major political shift in influence from Rome to the major European monarchies: the Pope's very survival depended on England, France and Germany. As the rulers of these countries went, so went the rest of Europe including northern Italy.<sup>172</sup>

The solution to the problem of electoral procedures came from the remarks of Bernard of Clairvaux who, as a reformer must have found the manipulation of both the electoral procedures and the conduct of the cardinals abhorrent.

His ideas were introduced into canon law by Alexander III at the Third Lateran Council of 1179.<sup>173</sup> Alexander III had himself been involved in a schismatic election in 1159. Discerning the 'wisest' among the three ranks within the College of Cardinals was no easy task with cardinal-deacons, cardinal-priests, and cardinal-bishops all jealous of their positions. It was at this point that Bernard of Clairvaux, "...the uncrowned Emperor of Europe..."<sup>174</sup> as Ullmann called him, joined forces with Chancellor Haimeric and his reform party in using his influence with Henry I and Louis VI to ensure the election of Innocent II<sup>175</sup> and make very clear the loss of Rome's power over the European Church.

#### The Adherents of Haimeric

"Haimeric, closely associated with the French reformers led by St. Bernard, played an important role of the curial politics of the period after 1123." 176

They were joined by Peter the Venerable who had become the reform abbot of the Cluniac Order. He also "...was associated with Haimeric...and an early adherent of Innocent II."<sup>177</sup> The reform party's connections in France are compounded by the fact of Haimeric's French birth and made even more far-reaching by this association with Bernard of Clairvaux whose political desires were inextricably linked to his theological world-view: "...and his approach to politics was more spiritual than that of many of his contemporaries."<sup>178</sup>

That their efforts were well received is witnessed by Chodorow's remark that "...they were political allies."<sup>179</sup> and that each received support from the same sources.

Gratian's connection to this same party is more a matter of interpreting his work, according to Chodorow, but there exists some evidence that confirms his affiliation. There is a medieval tradition based on a poem by Stephen of Rouen, written around 1168 at the Abbey of Bec in Normandy called the Draco Normanicus. In it he refers to Gratian, Fons Decretorum, as being an essential member of the entourage of pope Innocent II at the Council of Reims in 1131.<sup>180</sup> This tradition appears to have been confirmed by Dante in his Divine Comedy (Paradise, Canto X, 1-3-5):

"This next flaming issueth from the smile of  
Gratian, who gave such aid to one and the other  
forum, as is acceptable in Paradise." 181

According to Chodorow, Dante placed Gratian third among the twelve wisest men of the Church.<sup>182</sup>

Again, two sixteenth and seventeenth century commentators from Dubrovnic, in the Chronicles of Croatia state that Gratian was legatus a latere to Croatia in 1151.<sup>183</sup> James Lukarevic and Junius Rastic claim to have based their report on medieval sources now lost, although confirmation can be obtained from other sources. At the Council of Dubrovnik, Gratian is supposed to have deposed the Archbishop of Spalato, Gaudius and put the affairs of the Croatian Church in order. The deposition of Gaudius is confirmed by a letter

from Alexander III dated 1161.<sup>184</sup> This story is also found in the Historia Salonitana of Thomas the Archdeacon, canon of Spalato (1201-1268).<sup>185</sup> When taken in concert with the fact that Haimeric also studied law at Bologna prior to 1123,<sup>186</sup> there seems to be a single thread linking the main characters surrounding the tympanum.

The understanding between Gratian and the aims of the reform party are clear when it is perceived that the Tractatus ordinandorum of the Decretum, Dist.21-101, is really an explanation of "...Bernard's ideas on the prelature of the Church."<sup>187</sup> Along with other members of the reform group, Gratian demonstrated no interest in the problem of the relationship of regnum and sacerdotium. His interests focus entirely on the judicial aspects of the ecclesiastical forum and, where pertinent, on the secular community.<sup>188</sup> Any use of his material to prove points for either side of the argument was based solely on the interpretations of later canonists.

This lack of interest in what became a consuming passion with other jurists was basic to all members of the party; it had become a political issue in the 1120's and 30's and was used as a rallying point by the Pierleoni and in consequence totally ignored by Haimeric and his adherents. This was true of St. Bernard who only mentioned the relationship of regnum and sacerdotium when the physical protection of the Church was at risk, and its earthly mission impeded. "His emphasis...was on bringing order to the Church...."<sup>189</sup>

As has already been stated, Gratian had no interest in arguing the various merits or lack thereof of this question: from the very first dicta Gratian reiterated his commitment to the notion that the Church is a juridical community "...and as such must be equated with the other, secular communities."<sup>190</sup> His ideas can be related directly to the political events of the twelfth century with which he was so closely connected: he sought to clarify the positions of the two powers in order to "...develop a Christian theory of the structure of society, and...his work is one of the most significant works of political theory written in the mid-twelfth century."<sup>197</sup>

CHAPTER VIII

THE PORTE-DE-STE-ANNE AND THE  
MEDIEVAL CONCEPT OF AEVUM

"Although a more specialized approach is presently used by art historians in identifying iconographical traits related to the division of the spiritual and temporal powers, a greater effort should be made to consult and cite specific textual sources in support of theories concerning the origins of this crucial concept in medieval thought." 192

Beyond the iconographical parallels selected by Walter Cahn from various manuscript copies of the Decretum, reference is also made to other imagery that he feels affect our interpretation of the tympanum scene: personifications, the positions of king and cleric on either the 'right' or 'wrong' side of the Enthroned Virgin, the poses of king and cleric respectively, the differing motifs above the heads of the censuring angels as indicative of the sun and moon, the implied vertical axis separating the composition into royal and ecclesiastical halves, and the presence of the scribe. Whether or not these can be understood as reinforcing his concept of a scene demonstrating the division of the two powers with the Church in supremacy demands re-examination.

Ruler Portraits, Haloes, Personifications,  
Virtues, and the Concept of Time

All of these iconographical components can be dealt with in a fairly unified manner if it is accepted that the scene depicted on the tympanum of the Porte-de-Ste-Anne is an example of the multi-levelled propagandistic imagery particular to that period. On the surface we have an example of the long tradition of ruler portraits common to the pictorial arts from antiquity, in which the central figure is enthroned and flanked by commemorative figures of various types. Here the central figure is the Enthroned Virgin and Child with thurifying angels and a king or cleric on either side. Behind the figure of the cleric, the seated scribe occupies a subordinate position, characterized by his attributes and clerical garb. The central figures and the angels are nimbed. In late antique art, the nimbed figure indicated one who was extraordinary, with either spiritual or temporal power, figures who might personify an ideal or concept above the norm. As well, "...this special mark of distinction indicated that the figure was meant to represent, in every respect, a continuum, something permanent and sempiternal beyond the contingencies of time and corruption."<sup>193</sup> The depiction of Christ, Mary and the saints as haloed in Medieval art was a continuation of the antique tradition whereby personifications such as virtues who were goddesses in antiquity, represented timeless concepts, as indicated by the haloes.



Haloed emperors were the tradition in Byzantine art where this symbol denoted royal power, considered perpetual and holy, derived from God. This notion continued into the Medieval period with the concept of Divine Kingship.<sup>194</sup> The nimbus designated the wearer as the possessor and executor of Divine power and, being a 'prototype', as immortal and holy regardless of character or gender. Particularly during the Middle Ages this concept of the immortal, eternal personification was widespread, emphasized by Medieval man's wide-ranging awareness of the various categories and measures of time.<sup>195</sup> It is not such a great leap from the personified Rome of antiquity to the Heavenly Jerusalem of the Middle Ages. Or, from the sanctified image of Constantine to the new David of Charlemagne. For Medieval man this was no quantum leap, but an integral part of <sup>his</sup> this world view; the interlocking of time and events in aeternitas, God's timeless, motionless 'now-and-ever' where there is no past and no future.<sup>196</sup> The halo indicated a change in the nature of time, removing its bearer from "...tempus to aevum...",<sup>197</sup> and further indicated that the nimbed person represented a "...more general prototype...some image or power whose true abode was that endless continuum which the Middle Ages came to call aevum."<sup>198</sup> The inclusion of the figures of King and Bishop, which we must read as personifications of regnum and sacerdotium, within this scene indicates their presence alongside the haloed Virgin and Child within this special

category of time. That they can be read as personifications indicates their integral participation in the core concept as it is depicted here. As participants in this form of 'ruler portrait' their presence is central to the meaning of the imagery since:

"...personification was a favourite device for symbolizing abstract concepts and states of mind..." 199

From Early Christian times the personifications of the Virtues were associated with the portrayals of important individuals. They indicated "...the essential moral worth of the person portrayed..."<sup>200</sup> as in the frontispiece of the Vienna Dioscurides where Anicia Juliana is enthroned between two virgins designated Megalopsychia and Phronesis (Cleverness and Noblemindedness).<sup>201</sup> Following the classical tradition this type of composition emphasized the dignity and greatness of the central character along with the inspiration provided by the personifications. In the Eastern Greek tradition the compositions were simplified, evolving into the 'loose-retinue' form, as in the John Chrysostom Manuscript where Alethia and Dike (Truth and Justice) appear with the enthroned emperor.<sup>202</sup> In the Gospel Book of John II Comnenos, dated to the early twelfth century, a Coronation scene depicts Eleemosyne and Dike (Mercy and Justice) as throne sharers of Christ and as intercessors who solicit God's mercy and justice for the earthly ruler (Fig.30, Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana Cod. Urb. gr.2, f.19v)<sup>203</sup>

In the Western Medieval tradition, Carolingian artists depicted, time and again, groups of virtues with rulers in an attempt to generate for them the spiritual forces embodied in their identities. By the ninth century a canon had been established, favored by the Medieval theologians' affinity for numerical symbolism, where the cardinal virtues appeared as spiritual forces around the earthly rulers in groups of seven or variations thereof. This canon could be adapted for use with depictions of prophets, seasons, elements, and Evangelists. Progressively, the personifications of virtues were included not only with the portraits of rulers, but with those of ecclesiastical personages as well.

"On a miniature of about 1130, Archbishop Frederick of Cologne (1099-1131) is seated enthroned..."with Christ blessing, apostles, prophets, and virtues" ...in the Civitas Dei amid salutary influences as if he were protected by the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem, the gates of which are figures of the Old and New Testaments and the towers, virtues."  
204

These were not isolated incidents:

"Such allegorical synthronismoi of princes with political or civic virtues are found...in the political literature...Placentinus the great jurist of the twelfth century, outlines in one of his tractates an impressive visionary image of such a templum justitiae in which Justice thrones with Reason and Equity and other virtues." 205

In Rouen there is an example from another copy of the Decretum in which the King and Bishop are depicted as synthronismoi (throne sharers), although there are no other figures included (see Figure 20).

In the manuscript medium there were often miniatures in which a living ruler was depicted and this may be one such instance, but when regarding the tympanum scene, it would be a mistake to make such an inference; during the Middle Ages the depiction of a living ruler in the same scene with the Virgin would have been considered blasphemous.<sup>206</sup> At the same time, if an ecclesiastic was portrayed on the façade of a church it was in a subordinate position and generally in the posture of donor. Neither figure was depicted as they are on the Porte-de-Ste-Anne, of almost equal size and on the same plane as the Virgin. However, if we read these figures as personifications then the whole composition makes its point as a 'ruler portrait'.

### The Scribe

The presence of the scribe, whom Aubert identified as Barbedor,<sup>207</sup> must also be recognized as a personification. His pose, size, and air of industry underline the historical and documentary importance of the scene: he is there to record the concept of the Ideal State, ensuring not only its contemporary legality and historical importance but its entry into the aevum as well, ensuring its recognition and respect by posterity. If, as Cahn has stated, the scribe's role is to impart legal force to the scene, it was to enforce the notion embodied in Gratian's Decretum where his presence is not new.<sup>208</sup> Three miniatures from copies of the manu-

script dated through the twelfth century depict an enthroned king with a sword giving the law to two or three men in clerical garb, while a scribe records the event (Figs. 31, 32, 33, St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek MS.III, 2 f.12; London, British Museum MS.Royal 10.D.VIII f.1; Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS.lat.2491 f.1). The fact that these illustrations cover a period of almost sixty years indicates an established iconography for the Decretum in France. As with the other personifications in the composition of the tympanum, the scribe's inclusion endows it with a special status with regards to time: the concept depicted here is recorded in both historical time and sempiternity.

#### The Medieval Spacial Formula

"After orientation it was relative position which most engrossed the artist, here again at one with the theologian..." 209

Along with this Medieval concept of time, there was also a Medieval spacial formula within the pictorial field to which Cahn referred when he stated that the king and cleric occupied the 'wrong' and 'right' sides of the composition. The internal spacial organization of the scene was oriented towards an internal spectator's position, thereby reversing what we today understand as right and left from an external viewpoint. As Cahn stated, the figures of king and bishop do occupy the places to which he referred but if

carried to its fullest extent as it was during the Middle Ages, this connotation is not as definite. In the terms of the period within the pictorial space the figure of the Virgin does act as a "...fulcrum around which space and time rotate: what is in front is moved to the left. What is behind to the right."<sup>210</sup> Any figures occupying the frontal plane related to the 'right' and the rear plane, the 'left'. Taken still further, the 'right' relates to the present and the 'left' to the future. In this Medieval spacial formula the flow of time is depicted as moving from left to right for the external viewer, but from 'right' to 'left' for the internal spectator, from the present to the future.<sup>211</sup> Completing this spacial envelope, the 'right' relates to the top and the 'left' to the bottom.

Thus, what has been created is a totally transcendental environment where Medieval man was privileged to glimpse the aevum. Because of his understanding of the categories and measures of time, his comprehension of events that move from tempus to aevum would enhance his ability to decipher the meaning of the scene. What we see portrayed is not confined to the here-and-now, but is part of this continuum. Cahn's 'right' and 'left' positions can just as easily be read as a time-line reaching back into the past and continuing on into the future. Because the nature of the scene is not that of a Last Judgement, we can dispense with the notions of good or evil, belief or disbelief being attached

to these positions. King and bishop are seen for what they are: personifications participating in a depiction intended to convey the unending mutual co-operation between the two fora and the equality of regnum and sacerdotium within the Christian Commonwealth.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE METAPHOR OF THE TWO LUMINARIES

"Pontiff and Emperor, coequals when measured by the standards of Man and God, are coequals also with regard to Rome and their solar characters."  
212

Symbolism and analogy were the accepted tools of Medieval theological exegesis and there is no reason to doubt their use by jurisprudential exegetes also. According to Emile Mâle, by the Medieval period "...the canons of art had grown to have almost the weight of articles of faith."<sup>213</sup> and it was what he called the "corporate Christian consciousness" through which symbolism was decided: "The mind of the theologian, the instinct of the people, and the keen sensibility of the artist all collaborated."<sup>214</sup> Walter Cahn's description of the motifs above the heads of the censuring angels who flank the Virgin, as references to the theory of the Two Luminaries demonstrate a reiteration of a Medieval political apologia that endeavoured to impute a specific meaning into familiar symbols. According to Kantorowicz:

"For centuries, ever since the age of Gregory VII, a dangerous image had gained influence on the political theory of the papacy: Sun and Moon as symbols of Church and Empire. Although the sheer coexistence of two celestial luminaries of unequal size proved, all by itself, less than nothing in view of the relations of regnum and sacerdotium, the metaphor had yet been taken as evidence for the inferiority of the Moon-Empire to which only some reflected light was granted from the Sun-Papacy." 215



Cahn's usage, therefore, to reinforce his theory of a depiction of the division of powers rather than their harmonious entente, is simply the reiteration of an outmoded point of view and ignores insights into the political theology of that era provided by more current investigation.

### Origin of the Metaphor

When the outworn pagan imagery that was adopted and adapted for use as a teaching medium by the Early Christian Church was incorporated into their visual vocabulary, new symbol-values were applied in accordance with Christian teachings. "...symbols enabled the Medieval artist to express the invisible, to represent that which would otherwise be beyond the domain of art."<sup>216</sup> Ideas and concepts beyond the norm thus became the province of every member of the Christian Community: abstract perceptions became the commonplace, and Medieval man had little trouble accepting such metaphors. Precedents for this analogy of Sun and Moon were seen in Byzantium where the imperial couple basileus and basilissa were compared to these two planets, Helios and Selene.<sup>217</sup> In the West, Eusebius referred to Constantine as "...the one rising together with the sun...."<sup>218</sup> In order to advance its own desire for domination of the Christian Commonwealth and to protect itself from incursions by the crown, whether real or imagined, the Reform papacy of the eleventh century:

"...created that image of the two great luminaries as symbols of the two universal powers on earth; the sun equalling the pope; the moon, the emperor."  
219

This metaphor persisted until Dante applied a new metaphor in his Comedy: due soli.<sup>220</sup> Accordingly, recognition of the equality of regnum and sacerdotium spanned the whole period.

"...two coordinate and equal powers with different tasks, no longer reflect a major and a minor light: they are "Two Suns" which jointly illuminate the world to lead the human race to the two goals which "Providence, that ineffable has set before man"; the terrestrial paradise and the celestial."<sup>221</sup>

Whether this apologia ever had the far-reaching effect attributed to it can be disputed, especially in France where good relations had been the norm even though there had been differences from time to time.

### The Iconography of the Metaphor

There is little evidence to support any reading of the motifs above the angels' heads as indicative of symbolizing this metaphor. During the twelfth century there appeared additions to the standard Crucifixion and Last Judgement iconographies in the form of two luminaries above either the cross or the cruciform figure, the sun to the left and the moon to the right from the external viewer's position. According to Mâle they appeared in sculptural form on the tympanum at St-Foy, Conques about 1130-40<sup>222</sup> (Fig. 34) but may have already appeared on a similar tympanum at Autun around 1125 (Fig. 35) where roundels, although badly deter-

iorated, appear to contain human faces. Also, in a window from the Cathedral of Bourges dated to the mid-thirteenth century, the two luminaries appear above the figure of the Crucified Christ in a stylized form (Fig. 36). Their appearance at Conques may be the first in sculptural form, but they had already been used as early as 870 in manuscript illumination. In a fragment from a Sacramentary the male sun and the grieving female moon hover in the sky beneath a band of clouds above the tau-shaped crucifix (Fig. 37, Metz, Initial - Te Igitur, - Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Ms.lat.1141 f.6v). According to Joachim Gaedhe they are "...a traditional feature, conveying the cosmic import of Christ's sacrifice..."<sup>223</sup> Both of the figures bear close resemblance to antique types and may therefore be a continuation or renewal of a long tradition.<sup>224</sup> There are many similar instances in the manuscript media. Crucifixion scenes from both the Evesham Psalter and the Amesbury Psalter dated to the mid-thirteenth century contained images of both luminaries with human faces (Figs. 40, 41). In the Amesbury Psalter the faces have definite male and female characteristics but in the Evesham Psalter gender is difficult to determine, partly because of the size of the images and partly because of their position: they appear to be presented by angels with draped hands. Mâle may have been referring to some similar imagery when he stated that the tradition would continue for centuries for eventually "...angels will

be shown taking away the two planets like useless lamps..."<sup>225</sup>

These motifs continued in use far into the fourteenth century, but in only one example that I have found have they been associated with any form of cloud symbol. In the Missal for the Use of Paris, dated between 1314 and 1328 the sun and moon appear above the Crucified Christ partially obscured by clouds. Both clouds are of similar form and color: pale blue with frothy white edges and the heavenly bodies are depicted in gold (Fig. 42, Paris, Bibliothèque national MS.lat.861, f.147v). The pertinent fact here is that there has been no attempt at differentiation of cloud symbols in order to emphasize either luminary.

There is no evidence that I have been able to find to indicate that this type of symbol was ever read as anything other than as clouds. Adolf Katzenellenbogen, in his article on the tympanum at Vézelay<sup>226</sup> refers to the motifs above the head of Christ as clouds, "...the clouds which flank the upper side of Christ's mandorla. On His right they are calm. On His left they look like thunderclouds." Andre Grabar in his description of the manuscripts referred to by Cahn, describes the motifs as "...clouds...the undulations of the clouds...billowing out in all directions..."<sup>227</sup>

(Figs. 43, 44, Gebhart Bible from Admont, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Ser.Nov.2701, fols.68v, 69 and the Life of St-Amand, Valenciennes Bibliothèque municipale MS.502, f.119). Nowhere do these motifs have any function beyond that of

conveying the idea of place: time and space are defined by their presence, sempiternity, the aeuum. In each instance they indicate an invisible locus where persons above the norm dwell, as the Medieval mind understood it.

## CHAPTER X

### THE ROLE OF THE VIRGIN IN THE TYMPANUM IMAGERY: MARIA/ECCLESIA/IUSTITIA

"For the Virgin herself is the Church. Here, seated upon a throne, she herself is a throne - the "Throne of Solomon" so dear to the theologians, the "Seat of Wisdom" upon whom her Son is in turn enthroned as king. Christ is king, but the Virgin bears the scepter and rules." 228

We have accepted the parallelism between the Church and the Heavenly Jerusalem as a valid conception of World Unity as seen through the eyes of Medieval man, thus we must also accept a broadened valuation of Mary's role in the scene depicted on the tympanum of the Porte-de-Ste-Anne.

"Seated in majesty on a throne, the Virgin Queen contains a multi-layered message: she belongs to a classical tradition of personifying cities and institutions as goddesses, and as such, in the heart of Rome, she embodies the new Rome which is the Church." 229

### The Multiple Personae of Mary

During the twelfth century, at the height of the devotion to Mary that manifested itself in the cult of the Virgin, she was given prominence in the sculptural programs created for the façades of the many cathedrals dedicated to her. In many instances she is portrayed as theotokos, either in scenes such as the Adoration of the Magi or as

patroness of donative or commemorative compositions.<sup>230</sup> At the same time she was given the character of sovereign by Medieval theologians. In the iconography of the period the regalia of imperial office was transferred to her: the crown, the orb, and the scepter. Her retinue was very often composed of the Seven Liberal Arts and she was enthroned with the Christ Child as sedes sapientiae.<sup>231</sup> As such, Mary was regarded as regina nostri orbis. In this guise she was portrayed on cathedrals<sup>232</sup> as a visible demonstration of a cultural attitude receptive to these concepts.

The Medieval notion of kingship included recognition of the ruler as the "...fountain of Justice..."<sup>233</sup> and within this notion the king was seen as the "...origin and protection of Justice..."<sup>234</sup> The Liber Augustalis, for example, contained the following statement:

The Caesar, therefore, must be at once the Father and Son of Justice; her lord and minister; Father and lord in creating Justice and protecting what has been created; and in like fashion he shall be, in her veneration, the Son of Justice and in ministering her plenty, her minister." 235

In an age when legal and theological spheres often overlapped, a theological emphasis in legal matters was not objectionable; the ruler was represented as a:

"...mediator, as the Father and Son of Justice whereby Justice herself was attributed likewise an intermediate position: she was, by implication, at once mother and daughter of the emperor." 236

By the extension of this legalistic thought into the theological sphere, Mary was praised by canonists as "...mother and

daughter of her son...."<sup>237</sup> Christ himself was praised in the same vein as "...father and son of his virginal mother; ..."<sup>238</sup> As regina nostri orbis, might not Mary have had appropriated to her "metaphors of intellectual parentality"<sup>239</sup> that were heretofore concentrated in the person of the ruler? This imagery equated her position with that of the sovereign, and now she was being seen as being of both worlds, the earthly and the heavenly. She was understood to have the right to the "regal epithet" - Queen - because of her descent from the royal house of David and because of her unequalled sanctity: "...as the mother of Rex Regum she deserved the appellation Maria Regina..."<sup>240</sup> As such, Mary became the intermediary between two worlds. Her calmness, majesty, and infinite kindness as portrayed on the façades of cathedrals encouraged man to regard her as his protection, his bulwark, his shield against the consequences of his earthly actions.

"Mary represents a culminating point in the penetration of the divinity into the realm of human experience. She signals the emergence of an attitude of hope and respect for the human condition."<sup>241</sup>

This new humanism was reflected in the newly developing Gothic style during the mid-twelfth century, in which the vengeful God in Apocalyptic terms was transformed into the Redeemer. It included a concentration of interest in the dual natures of Mary: her human and divine aspects which underscored the humanity of Christ and the dignity of human



nature. Because of her parallel natures, Mary came to be regarded as the perfect human, the perfect mediatrix, called by Peter Damian scala (Fig. 45) the ladder reaching to heaven.<sup>242</sup>

### Mary and Justice: Concept and Metaphor

"Iustitia was an Idea, a goddess. She was in fact, "an extra-legal premise" of legal thought. And like every Idea she had also the function of a mediator, a Iustitia mediatrix mediating between divine and human laws..."<sup>243</sup>

Justive, as a concept and as a personification, was "hallowed" in Medieval times "...like the ancient deities,"<sup>244</sup> or like the mother of God herself. Placentinus (d.1192) in his Quaestiones de iura subtilitatibus<sup>245</sup> wrote a description of Justice that could equally be applied to the figure of the Virgin on the tympanum of the Porte-de-Ste-Anne. In the prologue he described her as "...Iustitia... in her ineffable habit of dignity..." the central figure "...observing with many sighs the things of both God and men."<sup>246</sup> This is Mary who in her majesty observes the affairs of both regnum and sacerdotium, and who in her role as Mediatrix interposes her presence between man and God's judgement. Aulus Gellius, a second century rhetor and jurist, described Justice in his reprise of a Stoic source, Attic Nights, as "...an awe-inspiring virgin with penetrating eyes and with some venerable grief in her dignity."<sup>247</sup>

Mary had already been identified with the Church as its 'type' during the twelfth century in the exegesis of the Song of Solomon: "...the bride in the Song of Songs could be understood as both the Church and the Virgin Mary."<sup>248</sup> She became Ecclesia, the personification of the Church according to the theologians. Again as Katzenellenbogen has stated:

"The interpretation of Mary as the 'type' of the Church was also recognized in the liturgy...the Forty-fourth Psalm is sung on the day of the Virgin, because what is said in general about the Church may be specifically related to Mary." 249

If theologians could apply exegesis in a parallel manner to both Mary and the Church, the one a human and the other essentially an Idea, by extension of this method she could also be understood as the personification of Justice. Contradiction and cross-contradiction was the nature of twelfth century political and theological thinking, and man would have had no hesitation in accepting such succeeding layers of imagery, or of identifying multiple personifications in one image.

"...the distinction had always been made between a celestial and a terrestrial Justice, one absolute and immutable, ruling the universe and preceeding in time all created laws, and the other imperfectly materialized in the laws of man and mutable in her appearance according to the fickle conditions on earth..." 250

With the inextricable mingling of theological and legal areas of interest in which antique concepts and ideas had already formed the basis of much of the thinking, it would have been completely acceptable for one more metaphor to

have been added. As has so clearly been stated by Kantor-owicz:

"...we may wonder whether self-contradictions were not conditioned, directly or indirectly, also by the divine model of medieval kings, who being extra-legally God and man at the same time..." 251

did not in fact act as the model for part of the imagery applied to the Virgin. Her identification as sovereign encompasses both worlds: not only is she called regina nostri orbis but also:

"...queen of the saints in heaven as well as of the kingdom of the earth, possessing by right the whole kingdom of her Son" according to the Medieval legal idea "...for she is the Mother of the Church, being Christ's sister by faith and his spouse by love..." 252

As sovereign, her imagery comprises also imagery particular to the ruler as well as that applied to her Son. That

"...the Virgin Mary, frequently referred to by Canon Law to illustrate legal conditions, did not as "Virgin and mother, daughter of her Son" - Nata nati, mater patris - likewise imply certain self-contradictions..." 253

would be very hard to accept. As mother and daughter of the emperor, mother and daughter as well as Bride of her Son, the personifications of combined Ideals or Universals as Kantor-owicz called them, and as Mediatrix in her own right, she was also, in her role as regina, the fountain of Justice, origin and protection of Justice, and mother and daughter of Justice. In fact, as she personifies Ecclesia, Mary is also the personification of Iustitia. This multiple imagery

demonstrates the flexibility of medieval political and theological exegesis to which nothing was impossible because everything was the work of God. As well, the multiplicity of images applied to Mary signified that, in any one instance, it was the duality of her nature that made such thinking acceptable, for it was the combination of her humanity and divinity that elevated her to so special a position.

Iconographically as well as literally, Justice was seen as the mediatrix between the sins of man and the wrath of God: "That Iustitia could actually take the place normally reserved for the Virgin or Ecclesia is demonstrated in a twelfth century enamel from Stablo." (Fig. 46)<sup>254</sup> The composition of this triptych, when the panels are open, forms an Advent or Second Coming scene, in combination with the Dispute of the Virtues.<sup>255</sup> In it, the figure of the Virgin, in the pose that she takes during the Last Judgement, is depicted as Justice. She is crowned and veiled according to the convention for depicting the Virgin or Ecclesia and she is placed in a mandorla. Her crown carries a fleur-de-lis as does that of the Enthroned Virgin on the tympanum, and she balances the scales. According to Hackenbroch, a demi-figure of Justice with the scales appears on a book cover in the University Library in Liège, and on the reliquary of SS. Ganudolphus and Candidus now in Brussels but in neither of these examples does she usurp the place of the Virgin.<sup>256</sup>

Justice as mediatrix with the emperor as her counterpart is depicted in a late Medieval fresco,<sup>257</sup> but from antiquity justice has been depicted as a woman holding the scale<sup>258</sup> (Fig. 47, Buon Governo, Palazzo Publico, Siena). Beginning in the Early Christian era she was associated with the Virgin and Child as in the fifth century monastery of Jeremiah in Sakkara.<sup>259</sup> This long association continued into the Middle Ages with representations of Mary in conjunction with the dispensing of Justice in Last Judgement scenes. In the late Medieval period the Virgin is not only depicted seated in the scales<sup>260</sup> or touching them<sup>261</sup> but actually, as Justice, balancing them.<sup>262</sup> In the eleventh century St-Irenée, Bishop of Lyon stated:

"As the human race was subordinated to the law of death by a virgin, likewise it is saved by another Virgin: the scale is thus balanced...." 263

This equation of the Virgin with Justice continued long into the Renaissance with a series of portrayals in various media: a carved alabaster panel of English provenance from the fifteenth century now in the Louvre (Fig. 48) depicts the Virgin balancing the scale, as does a panel painting presented to the Puy d'Amiens in 1518 (Fig. 49). The same theme is treated in an illustration from the manuscript Chants Royaux des Palinods de Puy de Rouen (Fig. 50) from the sixteenth century.<sup>265</sup> All illustrate the long history of this tradition, proving that it was canonically acceptable.

The Virgin's Place  
Within the Heavenly Jerusalem

It is not difficult to accept the depiction of the Enthroned Virgin as fulfilling, as one of many images conveyed by the tympanum iconography, the offices of Iustitia. At the same time, there may be discerned on another level, an analogy between the locus of the tympanum scene and that of the Heavenly Jerusalem in both a concrete, physical sense and in a supernatural, transcendental one. As patroness of the cathedral of Notre-Dame, Mary appears above the lintels of the portal in a physical setting, but as sedes sapientiae Maria/Ecclesia/Iustitia occupies a position within the aevum. Surrounding her are:

"Angels in the archivolts. Angels and saints together exemplify the Church in heaven, according to Heb.12:22-24 "But ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto a city of the living God, this heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and the church of the firstborn..." 266

The architectonic details of her throne may be seen as analogous to the Civitas Dei where "...the gates of which are figures of the Old and New Testaments [the kings and queens of the lineage of Mary] and the towers, virtues."<sup>267</sup> She has been titled "Gate of Heaven" which also engenders visions of the Heavenly City. The majesty of her enthroned figure conveys the transcendental quality of her position: Mary must be seen as more than simply the Virgin mother of Christ. She was the bridge<sup>268</sup> between the two worlds, that

of the earthly reality and that of the sacred realm beyond. She was entitled "Bride of Christ" and as the 'type' of the Church she appears within the Heavenly Jerusalem of the tympanum:

"Come, I will show you the Bride, the wife of the Lamb...And the city has no need of sun or moon to shine upon it, for the Glory of God is its light, ...and the kings of the earth shall bring their glory into it,..." 269

Perhaps this quotation most clearly describes the multiple levels of imagery in the composition, for Mary was also called:

...the dawn, "sicut aurora est medium inter diem et noctem";...the moon, "sicut luna lucet in nocte et est vicina terre et habet virtutem efficacem super mare"...and in comparing Mary to the sun, places her on a plane slightly below the Trinity but above humans "Nam sicut sol habet tres planetas superiores et tres inferiores et ipse est in media constitutus: sic et ipsa habet supra se tres in trinitate personas; et sub se tres status saluandorum, scilicet, virgines; et coniungatos et ipsa est in medio constituta reconcilians tres status supradictos saluandorum ipsi beatissime trinitati

by Jacobus a Voragine.<sup>270</sup> She appears on the tympanum as the mediating force between her heavenly and earthly realms. Mary who, according to Germanicus, Patriarch of Constantinople (d.733) in his second sermon, was assumed bodily into Heaven because she had to be where her son was, was asked "...to unify the church, to confirm Christians in faith and hope, to give peace to the world..."<sup>271</sup> As the human made divine, Mary is the perfect mediatrix before whom the human condition is expressed in the persons of king and cleric,

the two earthly spheres that govern man's earthly stay. She because of her dual nature is able to understand them and mediate for them. As "...the door of heaven...and the justice of kings...Mary has been exalted above the stars."<sup>272</sup> and she responds by simultaneously sanctioning and exalting king and cleric in their rank, their positions as personifications of regnum and sacerdotium, and their harmonious entente.

"In addition to this active flowing-over of the one sphere into the other, the visible Church, in a more static way, is also a reflection of the Celestial Jerusalem. And as the City of Heaven is but one and undivided, therefore its likeness on earth should display undivided unity too. For unity is of God, and division or conflict is the work of Lucifer. Hence, the early Church would ask God [in conjunction with the State] to bring together his Ecclesia "Just as the bread has become one from the many grains grown upon many hills." 273

"The Sacerdotium and Imperium, each of these, taken by itself was but one vital Function of the social Body, and the fullness of Life was only attained by their "harmonious concord" and by their mutually supplementing co-operation in the task that is set before Mankind." 274

### Conclusion

The iconography of the tympanum of the Porte-de-Sainte-Anne was affected, from its inception, by the political and theological developments of mid-twelfth century France. The history of the Capetian rulers and their relationship to Rome, which continued during this period in the persons of



Louis VII and Alexander III, was based on a solid foundation of mutual co-operation and interdependence. Although subject to incidences of strain and misunderstanding, this relationship remained harmonious. This was a period of flux, with what has since been labelled the Twelfth Century Renaissance developing new areas of scientific and scholastic study, while new theologians and scholars were appearing on the scene. The parameters of the papal political sphere of activities were being delimited, as were those of imperial power, in relation to the Medieval concept of the Christian Community. The re-discovery of the Corpus iuris civilis of Justinian gave new impetus to the legal profession and an exemplar upon which the base the first major compilation of canon law, the Concordia discordantium canonum of Gratian. Canon law now became a discipline in its own right, and this had far-reaching effects.

The multi-levelled imagery of the tympanum must be examined and understood from several viewpoints, the core of its meaning being comprised of many strata. Primarily the composition can be regarded as a religious statement in which the enthroned Virgin and Child, as patroness of the cathedral in keeping with the cult of the Virgin then in full flower, endows the foundation and the city with her presence. This fact is recorded for posterity by the scribe.

Another stratum of understanding reveals the composition as an antique-type 'retinue portrait' in which the Enthroned Virgin and Child are flanked by angels and personifications. By admitting the presence of personifications we come to the realization that actual identities are unimportant, only the message that they convey demands our attention. The political and theological events that effected the composition, resulted in a propagandistic statement of policy backed by both the imperial and ecclesiastical fora. The elements affecting this level of imagery include the impact made by the Reform Party of Haimeric and St. Bernard, not only on contemporary figures, but on the new discipline of canon law.

In agreement with Walter Cahn's assertion that Gratian's Decretum was perhaps the most important vehicle for the dissemination of the ideas embodied in the tympanum, this work and its intrinsic message must be recognized as having formulated the notion of the Ideal State. The reasons for this statement appearing on the façade of Notre-Dame, Paris, necessitates another level of understanding and are tied into the Decretum and Bernard of Clairvaux. The major figures surrounding the tympanum and its composition all had links to either Bologna or Paris, but usually both: Louis VII as king and regnum ruled France; Alexander III as pope and sacerdotium has close ties to Paris and France, but was also the first in a long line of canon lawyers who had

taught at Bologna where he also glossed the Decretum; Peter Lombard, friend and student of Bernard of Clairvaux studied in Bologna, taught in Paris on Bernard's advice, and became bishop of the city at Notre-Dame to whose library he donated his copy of the Decretum; Maurice of Sully, under whose guidance Notre-Dame was rebuilt, became a canon there the same year Peter Lombard became bishop and would have come into contact with his ideas; as suffragan bishops of Sens both men would have come under the influence of Henri le Sanglier, close friend and disciple of St. Bernard, Peter Lombard through his connections to both men, and Maurice of Sully through his relationship to Alexander III.

As exiled pope, Alexander III sought refuge and aid from Louis VII. While in France he spent three years at Sens after visiting Paris, and would most probably have encouraged the copying, studying, and teaching of the Decretum; Haimeric, as papal chancellor and leader of the Reform Party, was himself of French birth and closely allied to St. Bernard. While there is evidence connecting Gratian to both of these men, it is the content of the Decretum which demonstrates his affiliation. The point of view espoused by the papalists and reiterated by Walter Cahn was actually the logical outcome of the Medieval notion of World Unity. The notion of the Division of power with supremacy vested in the ecclesiastical sphere arose from the Investiture Controversy and was used by papal apologists, but the Decretum actually contained nothing to support this idea. Gratian had made a

very clear exposition of the notion of the Ideal state, an harmonious accord between regnum and sacerdotium in which the two fora strove in mutual support and recognition to save men's souls. He focussed on the canonical and juridical aspects of the ecclesiastical and secular communities in an attempt to clarify the Christian concept of the social structure.

The imagery used to illustrate copies of the Decretum, particularly that of Cistercian provenance, reflects the same type as that of the tympanum. Blatantly propagandistic in nature, it conveys the politico-theological bent of the foundations in which they were copied: some extol the supremacy of sacerdotium while others demonstrate the equality of the two fora under God. At the same time, they illustrate the evolution of an imagery that resulted in the composition of the tympanum.

As suggested by Cahn in his article on the portal, the identities of the figures are of less importance than an understanding of the central meaning of the scene. Without any inscription or documentation for guidance, symbolism and historical background are the only tools left to aid in our understanding of the composition. However, the choice of symbols selected by Cahn for interpretation in support of his theory of a depiction of papal supremacy fail to fulfill this function. They are too open to reinterpretation. His use of the cloud motif as representative of the theory of

the Two Luminaries must be disregarded, simply because it never did attain the prominence in France that it did in the rest of the Christian West. The cordial relations between regnum and sacerdotium precluded it. Conversely, the Sun and Moon, instead of being symbols for papal power, became, during the twelfth century in France, standard iconographic elements in Last Judgement scenes. In the shape of planets with human facial characteristics they flanked the figure of the Crucified Christ where they were said to convey the "cosmic import" of His sacrifice. There are no instances that I could find in which they appear in conjunction with either of the two powers, and I found only one example in which they appear in combination with cloud motifs. It therefore seems highly unlikely that cloud motifs were ever used to convey quality of light of any kind. These symbols may, by virtue of their differing conformations, allude to some cosmic event: their proximity to the figure of the Virgin may be an allusion to her appellations of dawn, moon and sun.

Cahn's interpretation of the positions of king and cleric on either side of the Virgin as being 'wrong' or 'right' and thereby reinforcing the primacy of the authority of sacerdotium is correct on the surface, but if taken to their logical conclusion within the Medieval formula for reading pictorial space, can be read as a time-line flowing from left to right from the external viewpoint. In this

context it represents a progression from the present to future within the spacial envelope of this highly symbolic composition. This indicates that the message of the tympanum was intended to be read and understood by future generations, not just by twelfth century man. The unity depicted there was intended to be seen as a timeless concept. Because the figure of the Enthroned Virgin acts as a fulcrum upon which this time-line is supported, the implied vertical axis discerned by Cahn as dividing the composition into ecclesiastical and secular halves is difficult to refute. There is a state of equilibrium depicted here: that of the entente cordiale that unites the two powers within the Christian Commonwealth. This state of equilibrium is supported by an interpretation of the compositional elements which places the whole scene into a transcendental locus, the aevum. The personifications, the haloed angels, the slight elevation of the Virgin's throne all add to the impression that this scene is taking place in historical time while concurrently functioning within sempiternal time. Man is allowed a glimpse into the aevum in order to reinforce the message.

The dating theories proposed by Thirion, Erlande-Brandenberg and Gnudi support the idea that the composition resulted from the desire, on the part of those responsible, to express these twelfth century concepts. Since they are in agreement that the earliest sculptures date from around

1145, and the complete ensemble from around 1150, the Porte-de-Ste-Anne should be recognized as the second step in the development of the Gothic style in the Île-de-France after St-Denis but before the Chartres portail royal. The iconographic program of the portal which includes the jamb-statues and archivolt figures effectively expands on the original idea stated at St-Denis of the relationship of regnum and sacerdotium. The composite nature of the structure in which these earliest elements are combined with thirteenth century ones supports the idea of a program specifically designed to propagandize. This eclecticism reflects the desire to make a simple, forceful statement of political import while fulfilling the function of dedicating the cathedral to Mary.

On another level, the complete portal also performs a specific function within the overall façade program: that of illustrating the Incarnation and the Lineage of Christ. Central to this theme is Mary whose ancestors are those of her son. Her role in the program is much more complex than this, however, because she appears as the combination of many personifications as well as theotokos. She embodies the personification of Ecclesia as the 'type' of the Church, regina as Queen of the World and Queen of Heaven, and Iustitia as mediatrix and intercessor between God and man. As Maria/Ecclesia/Iustitia she occupies a position within the Heavenly Jerusalem where as thronesharer of her son, she mediates the concerns of man as presented to her in the

persons of king and cleric. Her physical presence on the tympanum fulfills the biblical prophecies regarding the Heavenly Jerusalem, of which this portal is the representation. This complex imagery is legitimized and placed in both historical time and sempiternity by the presence of the recording scribe. The tympanum displays the ideals of regnum and sacerdotium, the Unity that is the reflection of that heavenly city:

"Allegory, tropology, anagogy - under these names medieval teachers classified their diverse efforts to squeeze the utmost symbolic significance from scripture, from secular literature, and from the natural world. Few aspects of medieval life are now more remote from us,..." 275



NOTES

Notes to Chapter I

<sup>1</sup>Jacques Thirion, "Les Plus Anciennes Sculptures de Notre-Dame de Paris," Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris: 1970) pp.86ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp.92-93.

<sup>3</sup>Cesare Gnudi, "Le sculpture di Notre-Dame recentemente riscoperte, Études d'art médiéval offertes à Louis Grodecki (Paris: The International Center of Medieval Art, Association des publications Près les Universités de Strasbourg, 1981) pp.15-27.

<sup>4</sup>Yves Bottineau, Notre-Dame of Paris and the Sainte-Chapelle (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1967) p.11.

<sup>5</sup>Whitney Stoddard, Art and Architecture in Medieval France (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1956) p.137.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>A more complete description may be found in Stoddard, pp.137-145.

<sup>8</sup>Stoddard, p.140.

<sup>9</sup>Marcel Aubert, Gothic Cathedrals of France and Their Treasures (London: Nicholas Kaye, Ltd., 1959) p.24.

<sup>10</sup>Various dates have been proposed for the building of the façade which began with the erection of the north portal. Among others, Aubert dates the Virgin portal from 1210, Bottineau from 1200 to 1230, and Stoddard between 1200 and 1220.

<sup>11</sup>Aubert, pp.48-50.

<sup>12</sup>Theories vary as to the exact date of these sculptures and their provenance. The earliest theories were in agreement as to the re-employment of the tympanum and consensus was that it was probably retrieved from the earlier church which was destroyed to make way for the new construction, and this theory is still current. The tympanum scene was thought to represent a donation theme and this accorded with its re-use. See J. Lebeuf, Histoire de la ville et de tout

le diocèse de Paris ed. Cocheris (Paris, 1863) i, pp.11-12 as quoted in Walter Cahn, "The Tympanum of the Portal of Sainte-Anne at Notre-Dame de Paris and the Iconography of the Division of Power in the Middle Ages," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 32 (1969) p.58; V. Mortet, Étude historique et archaéologique sur la cathédral et le palais episcopale de Paris du VIIe siècle au XIIe siècle (Paris: 1888) pp.31-46, also quoted in Cahn, p.55; Emile Mâle "Le Portail Sainte-Anne à Notre-Dame de Paris," La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Modern (1897) pp.231-246 rpt. Arts et Artistes du Moyen Age (Paris: 1927) pp.188-208 also quoted in Cahn, pp.55-56. Mâle felt that the tympanum and voussoirs represented an ensemble of the twelfth century assembled and mounted around 1230; R. de Lasteyrie, "La date de la porte Sainte-Anne à Notre-Dame de Paris," Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France XXIX (1902) pp.1-18 stated that the tympanum was made around 1180; Aubert, Gothic Cathedrals, p.50 declared that the tympanum was made for the doorway circa 1165-70 and re-used in the thirteenth century because it depicted Maurice of Sully and Louis VII as founders of the cathedral. He dates the whole façade from around 1210; M.A. Lapeyre, Des façades occidentales de St-Denis et Chartres aux portails de Lâon (Paris: 1960) pp.147-160, agrees with Aubert as to dating; Bottineau, p.23, states unequivocally that the sculptures were ordered by Maurice of Sully around 1165-70 for a plan similar to the Chartres portail royal; Walter Cahn, pp.55-56, recognized the eclectic nature of the portal sculptures and is in general agreement with most art historians in seeing the components as having been prepared for an earlier portal shortly after 1163, and mounted when the façade was erected in the early thirteenth century; Henry Kraus, Gold was the Mortar (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979) p.18, reiterated Aubert's work but dates the portal very early, around 1150 although he gives no reason for doing so; Willibald Sauerländer, Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1270 (London: 1970) pp.85-6, feels that the earliest sculptures of the Porte-de-Ste-Anne date to the earliest days of Maurice of Sully's episcopate, immediately after 1160, and were erected at the beginning of the thirteenth century when the façade was begun; Jacques Thirion, pp.86ff, who had an opportunity to make a close examination during the cleaning of the façade in 1970, affirmed the twelfth century origin of the sculptures although he has revised the date on stylistic grounds alone, back to 1150-60; Alain Erlande-Brandenberg, "La place des découvertes dans l'histoire de la sculpture," Les rois retrouvés (Paris: Cuenot, 1977) pp.25ff, states that the portal of St. Ann belongs to the campaign of renovation of the Merovingian cathedral undertaken by Etienne de Garlande before his death in 1150, and that the new bishop Peter Lombard continued, although there is no documentary evidence. Again the date has been pushed back on stylistic

grounds alone to around 1140-50. He wrote about the discoveries again in Les sculptures de Notre-Dame de Paris au Musée de Cluny (Paris: Ministère de la Culture, Éditions de la réunion des musées nationaux, 1982) pp.15-27; Cesare Gnudi, pp.185-204, agrees with the early dates proposed by both Thirion and Erlande-Brandenberg and himself proposes that the whole portal began with the jamb-statues, built from the ground up which would make the tympanum the most recent of the sculptures in date, circa 1160. The figure of the Enthroned Virgin is seen as independent of the Chartres Virgin, from a different Master and atelier. He sees a dating progression leading from St-Denis to the Porte-de-Ste-Anne to the portail royal at Chartres and then to the transept at Chartres and back to the west façade of Notre-Dame.

<sup>13</sup>The presence of the Elders of the Apocalypse in the archivolts reinforces the theory that an Apocalyptic theme was originally intended for the central portal following the scheme at Chartres, elements of which were later used in combination with the tympanum and jamb-statues to create the Porte-de-Ste-Anne. "A tympanum was found by Viollet-le-Duc representing Christ and the Evangelist Symbols, evidently intended for the central portal as were the Elders of the Apocalypse," according to Bottineau, pp.23-4. Further evidence is found in the motifs on the keystones (Fig. 10), which are thirteenth century copies of the twelfth century originals. These were also adapted to fit the doorway and depict the Lamb of God and the Son of Man with the Sword of the Word in His Mouth. See P. Vitry, "Nouvelles observations sur le portail Ste-Anne de Notre-Dame de Paris," Revue de l'art Chrétien LX (1910) pp.7-76, and Thirion, pp.86-87.

<sup>14</sup>Peter Kidson, Sculpture at Chartres (London: Academy Editions, 1974) p.27.

<sup>15</sup>Sauerländer, "Sculpture on Early Gothic Churches: the State of the research and Open Questions," Gesta IX/2 (1970) p.41.

<sup>16</sup>Erlande-Brandenberg sees two separate hands in the jamb-statues alone.

<sup>17</sup>Thirion, p.97.

<sup>18</sup>Cahn, p.58.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid. The earliest theory, that of W. Vöge, Die Anfänge des monumentalen Stiles im Mittelalter (Strasbourg: 1894) p.135, quoted in Thirion, p.97, n.1, was that the same

master, The Master of the Two Madonnas, sculpted both; Mâle, p.191, believed that the sculptor was a disciple of the Chartres Master; Aubert, La sculpture française au début de l'époque gothique (Paris: 1929 p.52, agreed with Mâle; Lapeyre, p.148 is of the same opinion; Sauerländer, Gothic Sculpture, p.48, believes that Notre-Dame drew on sources of its own and that all of the portals remained regional types. In the light of Erlande-Brandenberg's work Sauerländer may be accepted as correct.

<sup>20</sup>Thirion, p.102.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid. Erlande-Brandenberg would assign all of the figures to the Merovingian period and Gnudi agrees with him.

<sup>22</sup>Lapeyre, p.149.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Thirion, p.102.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid. p.104.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid. Sauerländer, Gothic Sculptures, p.406, finds only a trace of similarity to the St-Denis figures.

<sup>27</sup>Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the head was identified by James Rorimer, "A XIIth Century Head of King David from Notre-Dame," Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin (1940) p.19, quoted in Lapeyre, p.151, n.1.

<sup>28</sup>Now in the Musée de Cluny. Lapeyre, p.151, n.2.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Gnudi, p.188.

<sup>31</sup>Thirion, p.104.

<sup>32</sup>Gnudi, p.189. He sees this eventually leading to the Classicism of the Pisani on the one hand and to High Gothic on the other.

<sup>33</sup>Otto von Simson, The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1956) p.73.

<sup>34</sup>Cahn, p.58, n.14.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Thirion, p.91, n.4.

<sup>37</sup>Cahn, p.58, n.14.

<sup>38</sup>de Lasteyrie, p.18.

<sup>39</sup>Thirion, p.91, n.4.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid, p.92.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Thirion, pp.94-95.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid. "...la glorieuse antiquité de Paris..."

<sup>47</sup>Thirion, p.92, n.2.

<sup>48</sup>Thirion, p.92.

<sup>49</sup>Adolf Katzenellenbogen, The Sculptural Program of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959) pp.7-9.

<sup>50</sup>See note 9 above.

<sup>51</sup>These figures were identified as either representations of the Merovingian kings and queens of France or of Old Testament personalities by various scholars until Ernst Kitzinger identified them as the ancestors of Christ as well. Cf. also Katzenellenbogen, pp.27-28.

<sup>52</sup>Katzenellenbogen, p.30.

<sup>53</sup>Katzenellenbogen, pp.30-31. See also Robert Fawtier, The Capetian Kings of France trans. Lionel Butler and R.J. Adams (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1960) pp.60-75.

<sup>54</sup>Queens of France were crowned and annointed like the kings, and they had legitimate although limited duties with regard to the government. Katzenellenbogen, p.31.

<sup>55</sup>R.W. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages 2nd ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976) p.93.

<sup>56</sup>Katzenellenbogen, pp.31-32.

<sup>57</sup>Katzenellenbogen, pp.32-33.

<sup>58</sup>Katzenellenbogen, p.32.

<sup>59</sup>Katzenellenbogen, p.34.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Katzenellenbogen, p.35. The same interpretation has been made by Anthony Melnikas, The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani Vol.1 (Rome: Studia Gratiani XVI, 1975) pp.38-39, although he gives the impression that he sees the central tympanum figure not as the Enthroned Virgin but as St. Anne holding the infant Mary. This interpretation cannot be accepted because it does not take into account the position of the tympanum within an Incarnation portal. Although the bottom lintel does portray the life of the Virgin, it is separated from the tympanum by a lintel which carried the Life of Christ.

<sup>62</sup>Cahn, p.62.

<sup>63</sup>Cahn, p.61.

<sup>64</sup>Cahn, p.63.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

<sup>66</sup>Cahn, p.64.

<sup>67</sup>Cahn, p.67.

Notes to Chapter II

<sup>68</sup>Marcel Pacaut, "Louis VII et Alexandre III (1159-1180)" Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France Vol.39 (1953), p.45, "...un roi plutôt timide, souvent timore, presque toujours de bonne foi, capable de saisir dans chaque affaire les intérêts de sa monarchie et sachant que finalement une somme de petites victoires locales et d'avantages restreints vaut autant que des succès spectaculaires."

<sup>69</sup>Elizabeth Hallam, Capetian France 987-1328 (New York: Longmans, 1980, p.111.

<sup>70</sup>Fawtier, pp1-13.

<sup>71</sup>Fawtier, p.50.

<sup>72</sup>Fawtier, p.48. This practise was continued from the time of Charlemagne and was imitated by others of the nobility. It may have originally been a noble rather than a royal custom. See Hallam, pp.29,65ff.

<sup>73</sup>Fawtier, p.44.

<sup>74</sup>Fawtier, Chapter 4.

<sup>75</sup>Hallam, p.28. All was gained with the interests of the family as its fundamental reason and "...within the framework of the French kingdom." (Hallam, p.28). As Hallam readily admits, the Capetians were firmly in control of the throne by the eleventh century "...and no other family managed to dominate them as they had done the Carolingians." (Hallam, p.29) despite repeated attempts. Fawtier clearly demonstrates the tenacious nature of the family in their determination "...to establish their dynasty firmly, to ensure its continuance on the throne, and to win for it a religious prestige and thereby veneration of the people it had solemnly taken upon itself to govern." (Fawtier, p.60.) Hallam acknowledges that by the advent of Louis VI in 1108 "He could claim royal powers over the church and over the princes and other great nobles of France which in theory could not be denied..." (Hallam, p.111). At the same time they had to devise a means of government by using prerogatives that the newly evolving hierarchical structure made available.

<sup>76</sup>Norman Cantor, Medieval History: Life and Death of a Civilization (New York, MacMillan Publishing Co., 1969), p.436.

<sup>77</sup>Fawtier, p.108.

<sup>78</sup>Hallam, p.111.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

<sup>80</sup>Hallam, pp.172-173.

<sup>81</sup>Hallam, p.173.

<sup>82</sup>Marshall W. Baldwin, Alexander III and the Twelfth Century, Popes Through History Series Vol. 3 (New York: Newman Press, 1968), p.19.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid.

<sup>84</sup>Hallam, p.120.

<sup>85</sup>Hallam, p.169.

<sup>86</sup>Hallam, p.107.

<sup>87</sup>Baldwin, p.20.

<sup>88</sup>Louis VII was crowned at age eleven, having been born in 1120 and, as the second son, educated for the priesthood. This no doubt accounted for his air of piety. Pacaut, Louis VII et Son Royaume Bibliothèque Générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964), p.31.

<sup>89</sup>Hallam, p.121.

<sup>90</sup>Pacaut, Louis VII, pp.221-223.

<sup>91</sup>Pacaut, Louis VII, Preface, p.i. "...ce qui est la quatrième malchance de Louis VII: que son règne se place entre celui de Louis VI, son père, dont la biographie a été écrite par Suger et celui de son fils Philippe Auguste dont le gouvernement, après avoir assez mal commencé, s'acheva dans les conquêtes et les victoires.

<sup>92</sup>Baldwin, pp.155-156.

<sup>93</sup>Baldwin, p.156.

<sup>94</sup>At that period there were no hard and fast rules under which popes were elected. The elections were semi-public, and the only criteria taken into account were those set forth by Bernard of Clairvaux after the electoral schism of 1130 which ideally would give preference to the wishes of the sanior pars over the maior pars, that is, the wisest rather than the more numerous faction of the voters. Canon law favored a decision by the majority and in this case,



Roland Bandinelli had the clear majority although the exact number is not known. Baldwin, p.45.

<sup>95</sup>Pacaut, Louis VII et Alexandre III, p.45. "...un pape assez froid, peu enclin aux explications prolixes, aimant l'autorité, tenant à conduire secrètement sa politique et sa diplomatie et fondant l'une et l'autre sur une doctrine de plus en plus nette."

<sup>96</sup>It has never been ascertained where Roland received his early education although all scholars agree that it was a good one. The reasons put forth by Pacaut in favor of Paris are connected with Roland's liking for the city, its reputation as a centre of learning, and his continued interest in it. The fact that Roland never mentioned having been there is of little import because he never mentioned having been in Bologna either, and it is known that he taught there for some years. Pacaut, Alexandre III: Étude sur la conception du pouvoir pontifical dans sa pensée et dans son oeuvre (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J.Vrin, 1956), p.59.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid.

<sup>98</sup>Baldwin, pp.4-9.

<sup>99</sup>Baldwin, pp.6-7.

<sup>100</sup>Baldwin, p.7.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid.

<sup>102</sup>Baldwin, p.8. According to Walter Ullmann, A Short History of the Papacy of the Middle Ages (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1972), p.180, Roland Bandinelli was a pupil of Gratian at Bologna.

<sup>103</sup>Baldwin, p.10.

<sup>104</sup>Baldwin, pp.20-21.

<sup>105</sup>Pacaut, Alexandre III, p.139.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid.

<sup>107</sup>Baldwin, p.64.

<sup>108</sup>Baldwin, p.65.

Notes to Chapter III

<sup>109</sup>Kantorowicz, "Mysteries," Selected Studies (Locust Valley, N.Y.: J.J. Augustin Publishers, 1965), p.382.

<sup>110</sup>Cahn, p.67. Although Walter Cahn has chosen to interpret the iconography as a demonstration of the Division of Powers, he acknowledges the impact made by the Decretum on the composition.

<sup>111</sup>Melnikas, pp.8-9.

<sup>112</sup>Southern, Making of the Middle Ages, p.205.

<sup>113</sup>Souther, Making of the Middle Ages, p.205.

<sup>114</sup>Southern, Making of the Middle Ages, pp.205-206. Legend had Gratian, Peter Lombard, and Peter Comestor as sons of the same mother because of their 'unity of effort'.

<sup>115</sup>Southern, Making of the Middle Ages, p.205.

<sup>116</sup>Southern, Making of the Middle Ages, p.208.

<sup>117</sup>Otto Gierke, Political Theories of the Middle Ages, trans. Frederic William Maitland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p.8. See also John B. Morrall, Political Thought in Medieval Times (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1971), p.10, where he defines the Christian community: "This fundamental dependence of society on a religious faith which it assumes that all true citizens must share makes it legitimate to describe medieval society as a Christian Commonwealth."

<sup>118</sup>Gierke, pp.10-11.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid.

<sup>120</sup>Gierke, p.2. During the early Medieval period the king was seen as "...the guardian of the law; he and they [his councillors] had as yet no intention of creating new laws...(for if the law was good, why change it?)...Instead, king and councillors thought of themselves as merely explaining or clarifying the true meaning of the already existing and complete body of law...Germanic custom handed on to the medieval mind an idea...that good laws were rediscovered or restated but never remade." See Morrall, pp.15-16.

<sup>121</sup>Gierke, p.16.

<sup>122</sup>Southern, Making of the Middle Ages, p.206.

<sup>123</sup>Melnikas provides a good outline of the various theories regarding Gratian's methodology as well as his own conclusions: that Gratian responded to the stimulus of the Roman jurisprudential system whose methodology he used "...to harmonize, edit, and investigate through the use of new systems of questioning (ars distinguendi and questiones disputatae), the specific canonical cases..." (pp.8-9). Although he finds no specific relationship between Gratian's work and that of Abelard, he does provide a clearly defined explanation of the Decretum itself (p.11). Another theory has been offered by John Baldwin in The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages: 1000-1300 (Lexington, Mass.: D.C.Heath & Co., 1971), p.73, where he states that the early canonists proposed the requirements for 'questioning', the technique for reconciling and harmonizing conflicting texts within Church law which were also adopted by the theologians (Abelard?) and finally perfected by Gratian.

<sup>124</sup>Melnikas, p.8.

<sup>125</sup>Melnikas, p.10.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid.

<sup>127</sup>Ibid.

<sup>128</sup>Theodore F.I. Plucknett, A Concise History of Common Law (London: Butterworth & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 1956), p.302.

<sup>129</sup>Plucknett, pp.303-304.

<sup>130</sup>Plucknett, p.302. The Decretum existed as the single compilation of canon law until 1216, when under Innocent III it was revised to include the great body of glosses and commentaries then extant which then became the basis of the Corpus iuris canonici.

<sup>131</sup>Rosy Schilling, "The Decretum Gratiani Formerly in the Dyson Perrins Collection," Journal of the British Archaeological Association, ser.iii (1963), pp.27-39.

Notes to Chapter IV

<sup>132</sup>Melnikas. p.16.

<sup>133</sup>Melnikas, pp.17-18.

<sup>134</sup>Schilling, p.31. The Trees of Relationship thereby form a type of tradition or continuation of a certain iconographical schema similar to the exemplars for sacred texts. These may also be tied into the Tree of Jesse iconography.

<sup>135</sup>Schilling, p.32.

<sup>136</sup>Melnikas, p.23.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid.

<sup>139</sup>Ewart Lewis, Medieval Political Ideas Vol.1 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954), pp.31-33.

<sup>140</sup>Melnikas, p.25.

<sup>141</sup>Stanley Chodorow, Christian Political Theory and Church Politics in the Mid-Twelfth Century: The Ecclesiology of Gratian's Decretum (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1972), p.211ff. and n.2,3,4. This chapter contains a very good overview of the divergent opinions of scholars such as Walter Ullmann, Alfons Stickler, Friedrich Kempf, and of course those of the author himself regarding Gratian's motivation.

<sup>142</sup>The only discussion in the Decretum that in any way deals with the supremacy of Church over State is Causa XXIII which examines the question of the use of force. Here Gratian first examines the right of any person to shed blood and, following his (or Abelard's methodology he progresses to a discussion of the legitimacy of the use of force for social, religious, or political purposes. Included in this discussion is an examination of the right of churchmen to use force. It is this section that has been used by papal apologists to support their theory of the Power of the Two Swords, even though there was no concerted agreement among scholars as to his exact meaning.

<sup>143</sup>Melnikas, p.31.

<sup>144</sup>Melnikas, p.32.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid.

<sup>146</sup>Cahn, p.67.

Notes to Chapter V

<sup>147</sup>Schilling, p.33.

<sup>148</sup>Schilling, pp.38-39. Sens was a great metropolitan church which oversaw the affairs of a large province and counted Paris and Chartres among its suffragans. It was the work of Henri le Sanglier who was archbishop of Sens from 1122-1142. Begun around 1130, this cathedral was built "...very much under the influence of St. Bernard..." according to Ian Dunlop, The Cathedral's Crusade (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1982), p.13. Bernard was, after a shaky start, the close friend of Henri and wrote his treatise On the Conduct and Office of a Bishop at Henri's request. The intellectual climate at Sens reflected Bernard's thinking which encouraged Gratian's compilation of canon law and is reflected in the Dyson Perrins imagery.

<sup>149</sup>Melnikas, p.1206.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid.

<sup>152</sup>Ibid.

<sup>153</sup>Ibid.

<sup>154</sup>Schilling, p.37.

<sup>155</sup>Schilling, p.29.

Notes to Chapter VI

156Gierke, p.16.

157Kantorowicz, "Medieval World Unity," Selected Studies, p.77.

158Melnikas, pp.29-30.

159Ibid.

160Brian Tierney as quoted in Chodorow, p.214.

161Chodorow, p.60. See also n.61. According to Chodorow textual studies demonstrate that Gratian did not author much of the theologically oriented portions of his work, or a large part of the paleae which tend to obscure his purpose in writing the Decretum. According to these investigations, the original text was a series of treatises on legal matters which cited precedents from ancient legal opinions (p.64). According to Gerhard Ladner, as quoted by Chodorow, the perception of parallel systems of law, both secular and religious, precluded the complete equation of Church and State (p.213,n.3).

162Chodorow, p.64.

163Chodorow, pp.212.

164Chodorow, p.215.

165Ibid.

166Chodorow, p.219.

167Chodorow, p.220.

168Brien Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State: 1050-1300. With Selected Documents (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1964), p.92.

Notes to Chapter VII

<sup>169</sup>W.T. Jones, The Medieval Mind: A History of Western Philosophy 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1969), p.198.

<sup>170</sup>Chodorow, pp.35-36.

<sup>171</sup>Walter Ullmann, pp.174-175.

<sup>172</sup>Ullmann, pp.176-177.

<sup>173</sup>Chodorow, p.20.

<sup>174</sup>Ullman, p.177.

<sup>175</sup>Ibid.

<sup>176</sup>Chodorow, pp.21-22.

<sup>177</sup>Chodorow, p.25.

<sup>178</sup>Chodorow, p.26.

<sup>179</sup>Ibid.

<sup>180</sup>Chodorow, p.47,n.43. "Hinc fluvius torrens Gratianus ad alta redundat, Quo sine nil leges, nil ibi jura valent; Fons Decretorum, totius juris abyssus" etc.

<sup>181</sup>Melnikas, p.11 and Chodorow, p.48. Presumably the reference is to both the ecclesiastical and secular courts.

<sup>182</sup>Chodorow, p.48,n.44. Melnikas sees these lines as signifying the reconciliation of the civil and ecclesiastical fora (p.11).

<sup>183</sup>Chodorow, pp.49-50.

<sup>184</sup>Ibid.

<sup>185</sup>Chodorow, pp.49-50,n.45.

<sup>186</sup>Chodorow, p.53.

<sup>187</sup>Chodorow, p.54.

<sup>188</sup>Chodorow, pp.54-59.

<sup>189</sup>Chodorow, p.58.

<sup>190</sup>Chodorow, p.99.

<sup>191</sup>Chodorow, p.7.



Notes to Chapter VIII

<sup>192</sup>Melnikas, p.39.

<sup>193</sup>Ernst H. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp.78ff.

<sup>194</sup>Ibid. The concept of Divine Kingship has been defined in differing ways by the many scholars who have written on the subject. According to Carol Uhlig Crown, The Winchester Psalter: Iconographic Sources and Themes of the Virgin Mary, Kingship and the Law (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1982: Washington University Ph.D. Dissertation, 1975, St. Louis Missouri), p.192, wrote "In the early Middle Ages, it was generally believed that by royal unction, the mystical powers of God transformed the prince into a new man, making him a participant in the divinity..., from the ceremony of royal anointing emerged a "priest-king"...." According to Kantorowicz: "The divine right of kings and the imperial right of pontiffs are diverse manifestations of the same idea, for they derive from the model of Christ the Rex et Sacerdos which both king and bishop emulated." Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship Berkeley, California: University of California Publications in History Vol.XXXIII, University of California Press, 1946), p.112. "In ecclesiastical eyes the kings of France, if not quite tonsured clerics, had something closely approaching a sacerdotal character. This idea gained strength from the ceremony of consecration, at which the king put on the dalmaticle of a sub-deacon, communicated in both kinds, and was anointed in the manner appropriate to a bishop." Robert Fawtier, p.67. Changes in this way of thinking did not come about in France until the time of Philippe Augustus and Innocent III, much too late to have had any effect on the content of Gratian's Decretum or the tympanum scene. In Capetian France: "The truth was that divine right consecrated royal right but did not create it." Fawtier, p.69.

<sup>195</sup>Kantorowicz, p.80,n.93.

<sup>196</sup>Kantorowicz, pp.275-280.

<sup>197</sup>Kantorowicz, p.84.

<sup>198</sup>Kantorowicz, p.84. The aevum was a category of endless, infinite time that arose in twelfth century scholastic philosophical concepts when they began to distinguish the various categories of time which could not be accounted

for by Augustinian dualistic methods. Scholasticism explained aeternitas as having no past and no future. The aevum was a type of infiniteness and duration which had motion, and therefore a past and a future: an endless sempiternity. This resulted in a third category of time: Thomas Aquinas defined it as "...something placed in the middle between aeternitas and aevum." Kantorowicz, pp.275-280.

<sup>199</sup>Harold Osborne, ed. The Oxford Companion to Art (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p.839.

<sup>200</sup>Katzenellenbogen, "Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art," Journal of the Warburg Institute (London: The Warburg Institute, 1939), p.27.

<sup>201</sup>Katzenellenbogen, p.28. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Cod.Med.gr.1, f6v.

<sup>202</sup>Katzenellenbogen, pp.29-30.

<sup>203</sup>Ibid.

<sup>204</sup>Ibid.

<sup>205</sup>Kantorowicz, "Thronesharer," American Journal of Archaeology Vol.57, n.2 (April, 1953), pp.65-70.

<sup>206</sup>Thirion, p.92.

<sup>207</sup>Aubert, p.122.

<sup>208</sup>Cahn, pp.59-62.

<sup>209</sup>Mâle, "Medieval Iconography," Readings in Art History Vol.1, ed. Harold Spencer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), p.271. Rpt. The Gothic Image: Religious Art in the Thirteenth Century (1913). Trans. Dora Nussey (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Ltd.).

<sup>210</sup>B.A. Uspensky, "'Left' and 'Right' in Icon Painting," trans. Ann Shukman, Semiotica Vol.13 (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), pp.33-39. Semeiotike: Sbornik statig po vtorichnym modeliriyuscim sistemane (Tartu, 1973), pp.137-145.

<sup>211</sup>Uspensky, p.36.

Notes to Chapter IX

<sup>212</sup>Kantorowicz, "Dante's Two Suns," Selected Studies, p.327.

<sup>213</sup>Mâle, p.3.

<sup>214</sup>Mâle, p.4.

<sup>215</sup>Kantorowicz, "Dante's Two Suns," Selected Studies, p.327.

<sup>216</sup>Mâle, p.271.

<sup>217</sup>Kantorowicz, "Dante's Two Suns," p.328 and n.10.

<sup>218</sup>Kantorowicz, "Dante's Two Suns," p.333.

<sup>219</sup>Kantorowicz, "Dante's Two Suns," p.336.

<sup>220</sup>Kantorowicz, "Dante's Two Suns," p.327.

<sup>221</sup>Ibid.

<sup>222</sup>Mâle, Religious Art From the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), p.54.

<sup>223</sup>Florentine Mütherich and Joachim Gaedhe, Carolingian Painting (New York: George Braziller, 1976), p.101. Another example of this symbolism in a different medium displays this same dependence on antique forms or exempla. See the ivory from Echternach, Gotha, dated to the eleventh century Terra Carrying the Crucified Christ in which we again have an example of the grieving moon. (Kantorowicz, Fig. 8.)

<sup>224</sup>Some earlier examples occur in the Psalter of Robert de Lindesey, Peterborough, dated before 1222, London, Society of Antiquaries Ms.58 f.35v. and the Psalter of Blanche of Castile, dated to 1230, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal Ms français 1186 f.24. (Figs. 38, 39.)

<sup>225</sup>Mâle, Religious Art, p.54.

<sup>226</sup>Katzenellenbogen, "The Iconography of a Romanesque Tympanum at Vézelay," Readings in Art History Vol.1, ed. Harold Spencer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), p.256.

227André Grabar and C. Nordenfalk, Romanesque Painting (New York, 1958), pp.167,185.

228Allan Temko, Notre Dame of Paris, Time Reading Program Special Edition (New York: Time Incorporated, 1952), p.190.

229Marina Werner, Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), p.104.

230This representation of the Virgin is probably the first type used in the Christian West, based on the prototype commissioned by Étienne, Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand around 950. In this drawing the Virgin was portrayed enthroned with the Christ Child seated frontally on her knees. This type is based on the Byzantine nikopoia which evolved from antique examples. Peter Bloch, The Year 1200: A Centennial Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970), p.497. For other examples of the enthroned Madonna and Child see Katzenellenbogen, Sculptural Program, pp.107-108 and n.14.

231Ilene Forsyth, The Throne of Wisdom (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp.6-7.

232Forsyth, pp.6-7.

233Kantorowicz, p.98.

234Kantorowics, p.99.

235Ibid. The Liber Augustalis was the great collection of Sicilian law published by Frederick II at Melfi in 1231. Title I,31 is called "On the Observation of Justice," Ibid., p.97.

236Kantorowicz, p.100.

237Ibid.

238Ibid.

239Kantorowicz, p.99.

240Crown, pp.121-122.

241Sister Mary Vincentine Gripkey, The Blessed Virgin Mary as Mediatrix (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University, 1928), p.11. Crown seemed to think that Eadmer first used this title. This may have applied to Britain only.

<sup>242</sup>Gripkey, p.29. Figure 43 is a visual illustration of Mary's appellations.

<sup>243</sup>Kantorowicz, pp.110-111.

<sup>244</sup>Kantorowicz, p.106.

<sup>245</sup>Kantorowicz, p.108.

<sup>246</sup>Ibid.

<sup>247</sup>Kantorowicz, p.109.

<sup>248</sup>Katzenellenbogen, Sculptural Program, p.59.

<sup>249</sup>Katzenellenbogen, Sculptural Program, p.60.

<sup>250</sup>Kantorowicz, p.137.

<sup>251</sup>Kantorowicz, p.144.

<sup>252</sup>Hilda Graef, Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion Vol.1 (London: Sheed and Ward, 1963), p.171.

<sup>253</sup>Kantorowicz, p.144.

<sup>254</sup>Yvonne Hackenbroch, "A Triptych in the Style of Godefroi de Clair," Connoisseur CXXXIV (1954), pp.185-188.

<sup>255</sup>Hackenbroch, p.185.

<sup>256</sup>Hackenbroch, p.187.

<sup>257</sup>Kantorowicz, p.112 and n.74.

<sup>258</sup>Maurice Vloberg, La Vierge Notre Médiatrice (Grenoble: B. Arthaud, 1938), p.220.

<sup>259</sup>Ibid.

<sup>260</sup>Vloberg, p.221.

<sup>261</sup>Vloberg, p.222.

<sup>262</sup>Vloberg, p.226.

<sup>263</sup>Vloberg, pp.223-225.

<sup>264</sup>Vloberg, p.222.

<sup>265</sup>Vloberg, p.226. A large number of illustrations are to be found in this work.

<sup>266</sup>Katzenellenbogen, Sculptural Program, p.88. Although he applied these words to the westfront of Chartres, they may equally well describe the Porte-de-Ste-Anne.

<sup>267</sup>Katzenellenbogen, "Allegories," p.6 and n.20.

<sup>268</sup>Gripkey, p.12, quotes Paul the Deacon praising Mary as the bridge between heaven and earth, God and man.

<sup>269</sup>May and Metzger, pp.1513-1515.

<sup>270</sup>Gripkey, p.85 and n.101.

<sup>271</sup>Graef, p.148.

<sup>272</sup>Graef, p.167. This is the only reference outside of Kantorowicz that I have found in which Mary is praised directly as Justice. It was written by Ambroise Autpert (d.784), and he was the first Western theologian to refer to Mary as "the door to heaven."

<sup>273</sup>Kantorowicz, "Medieval World Unity," Selected Studies, p.79.

Notes to Conclusion

<sup>274</sup>Gierke, p.17.

<sup>275</sup>Kidson, p.19.

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Figure 1

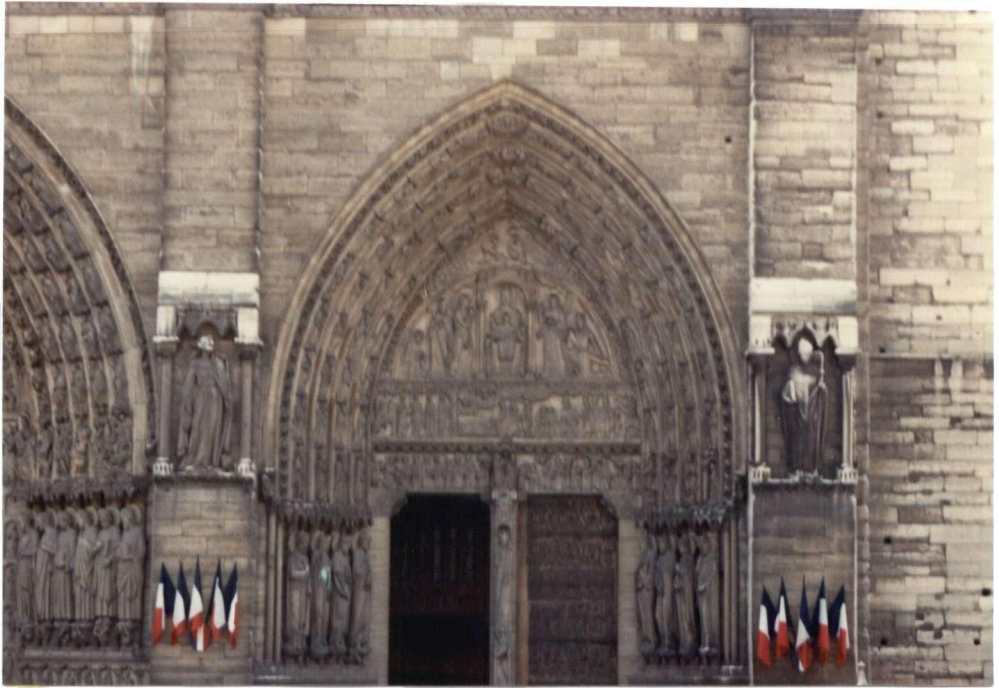


Figure 2





Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



a



b

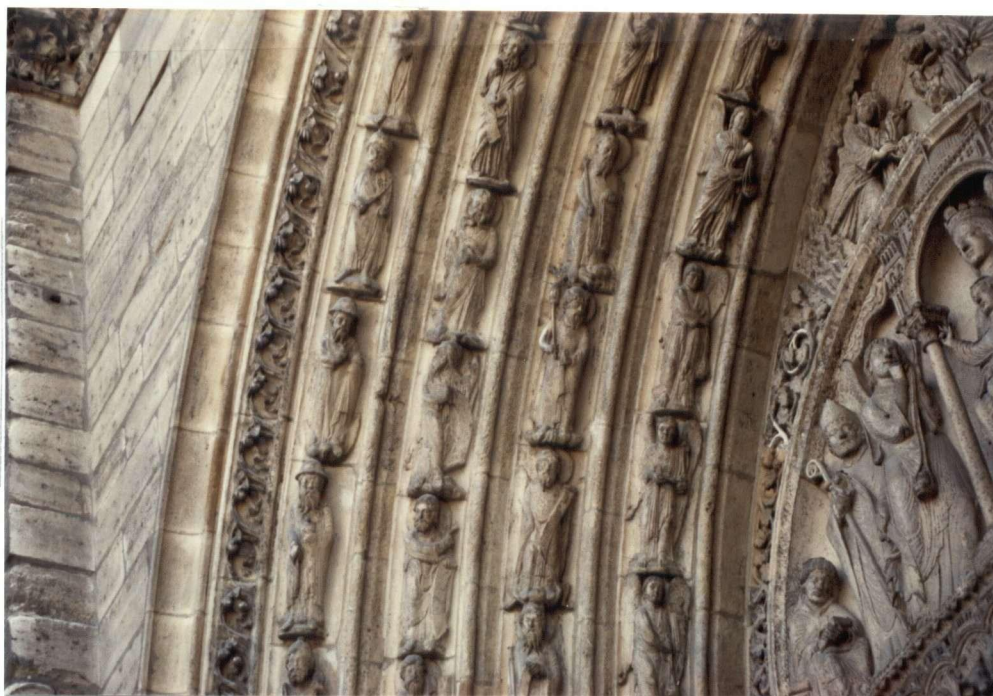


Figure 5



c

Figure 6

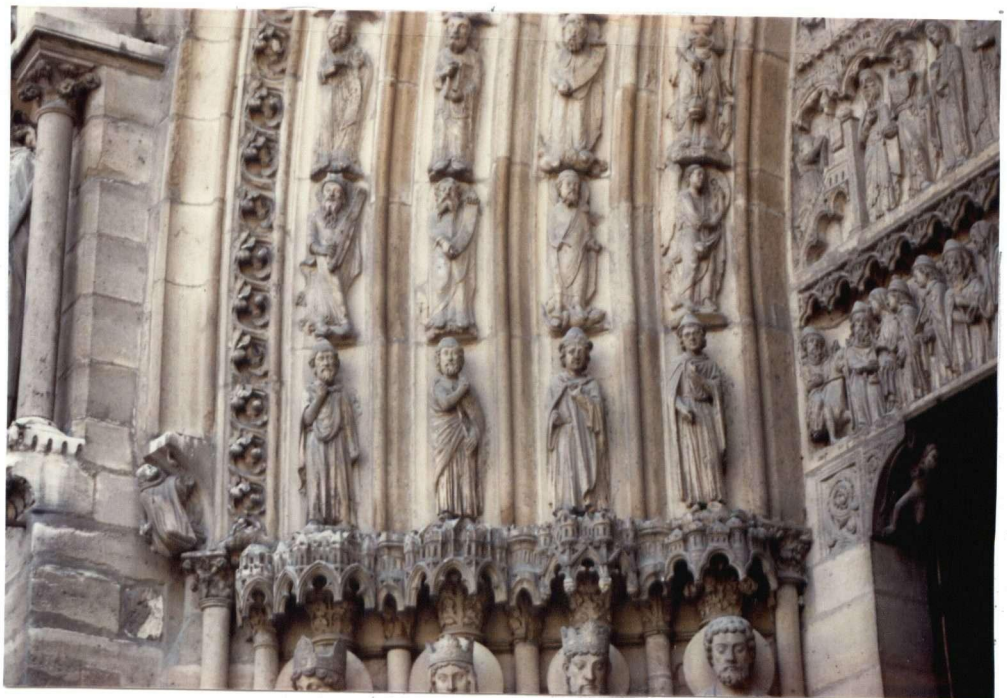


a



b

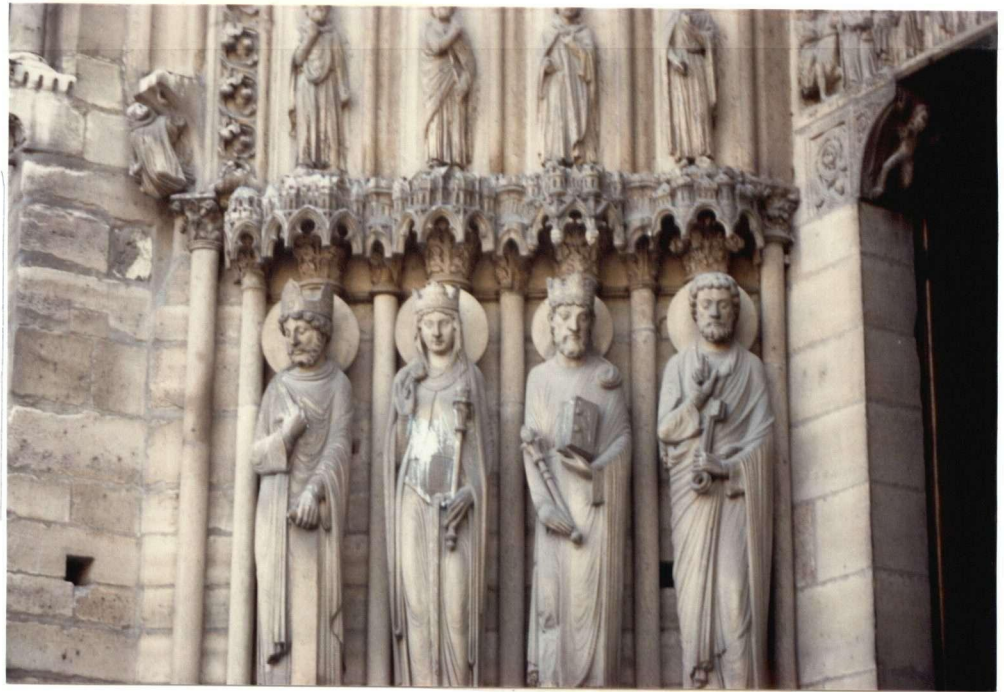
Figure 6



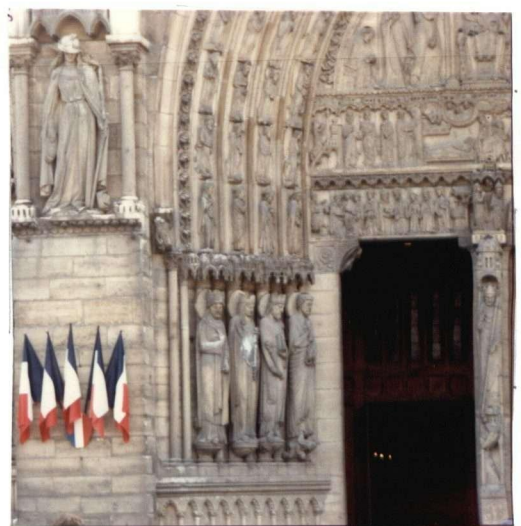
C



Figure 7



a

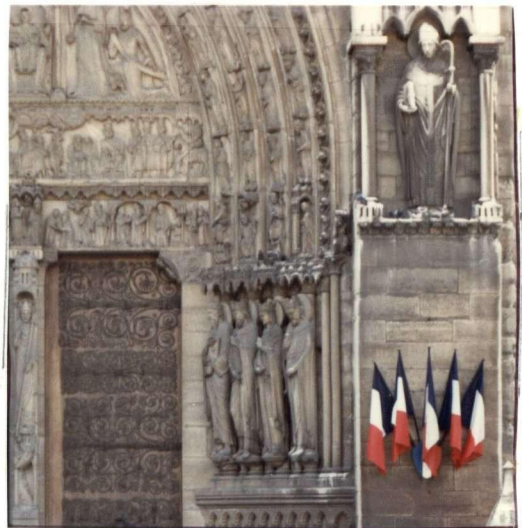


b

Figure 8



a



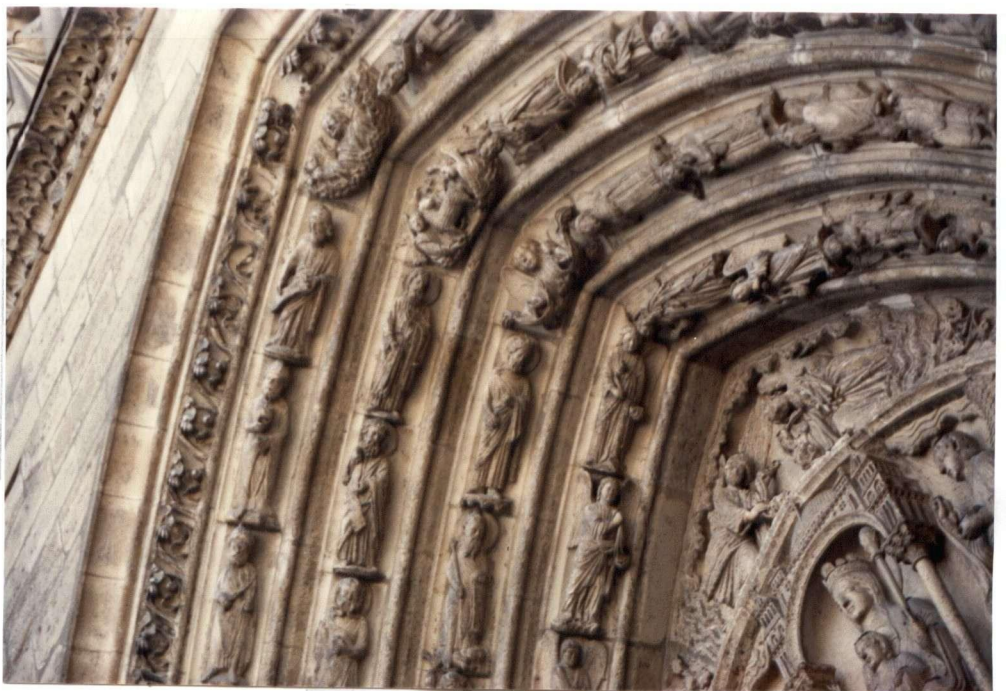
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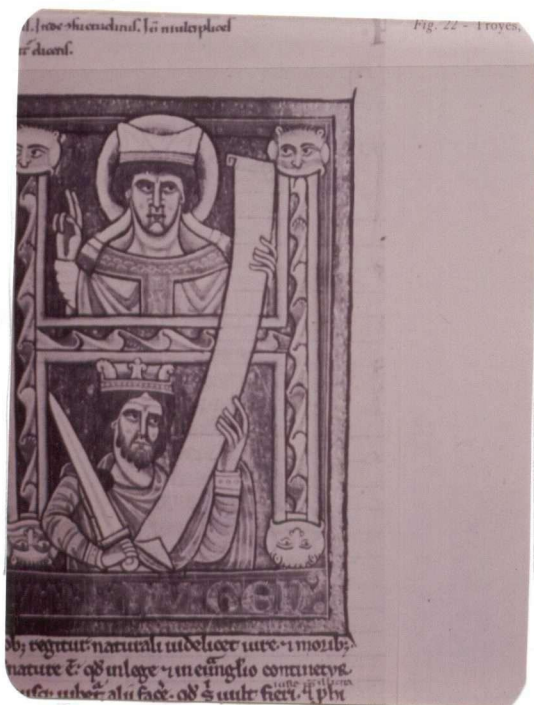


Figure 9



Figure 10





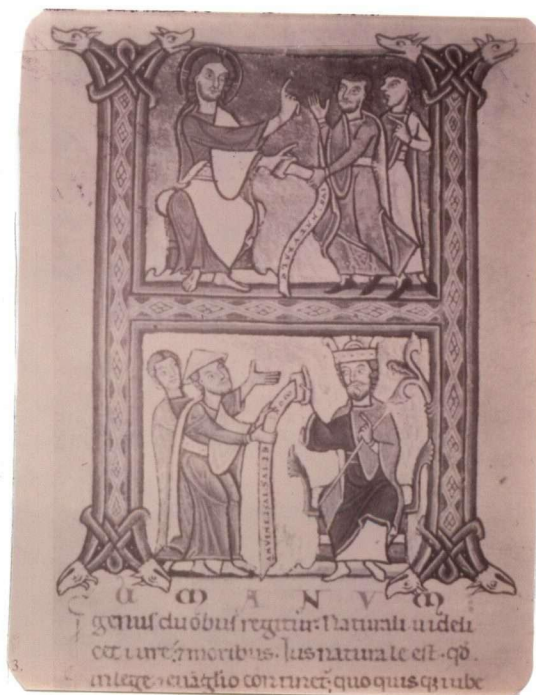
11



12



13



14



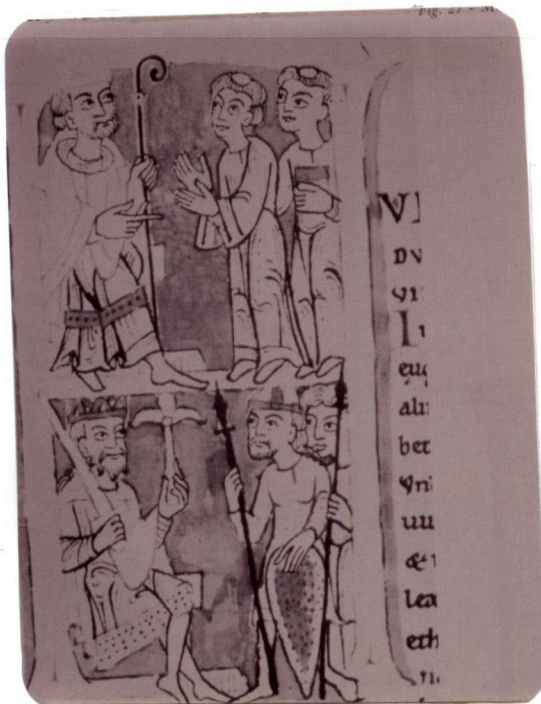


Fig. 15

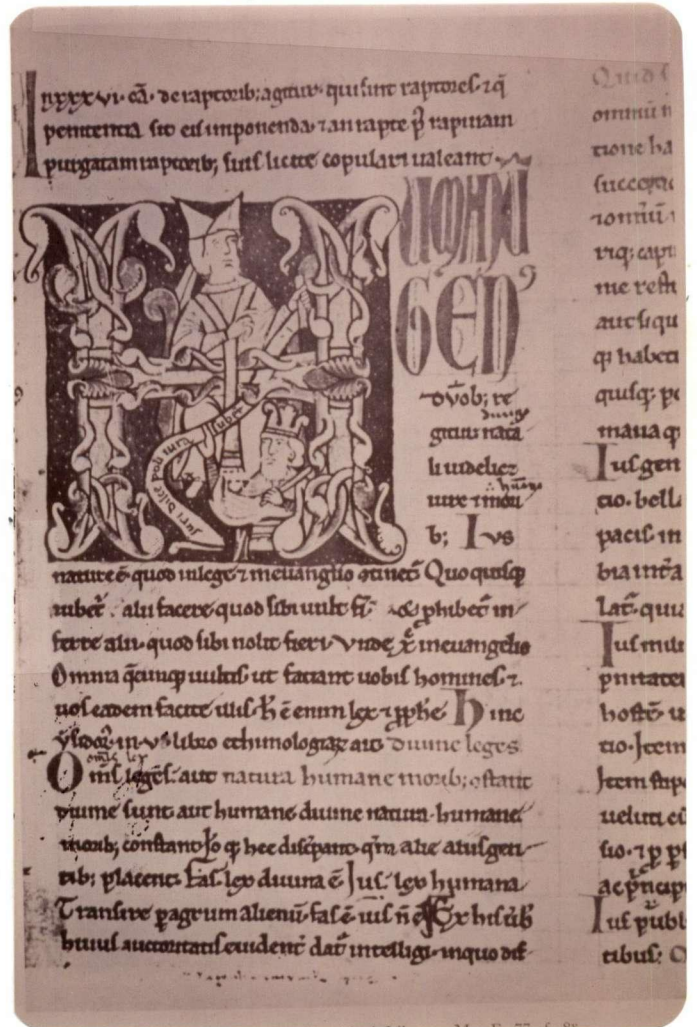


Fig. 16



Fig. 17





Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20

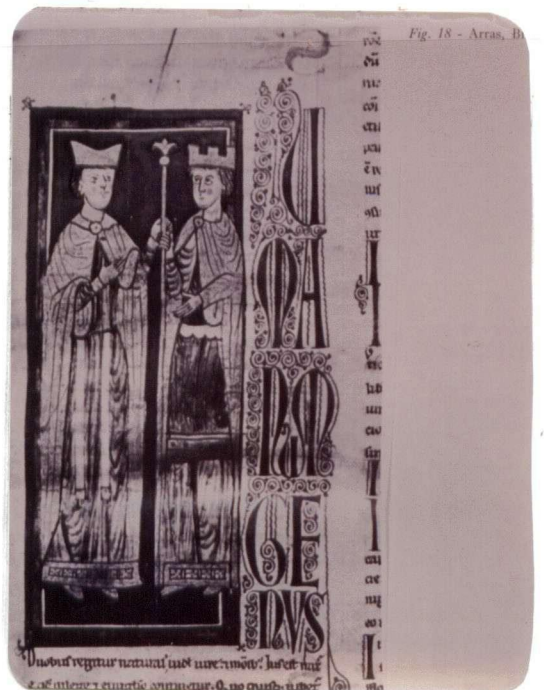


Fig. 21



Fig. 22

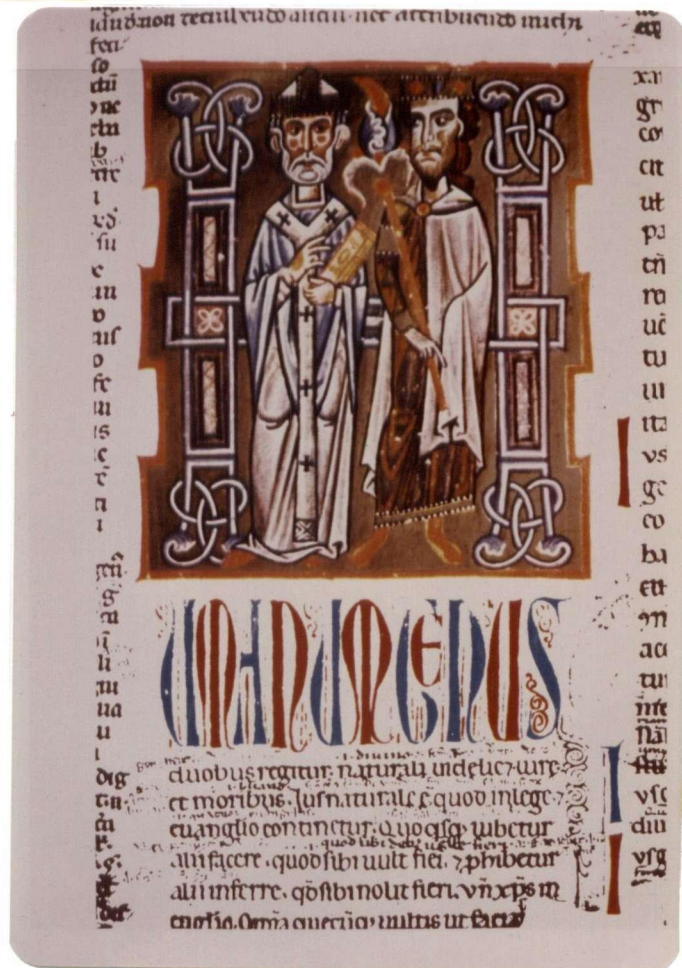


Fig. 23



Figure 24













Figure 29

Figure 30





Figures 31, 32, 33

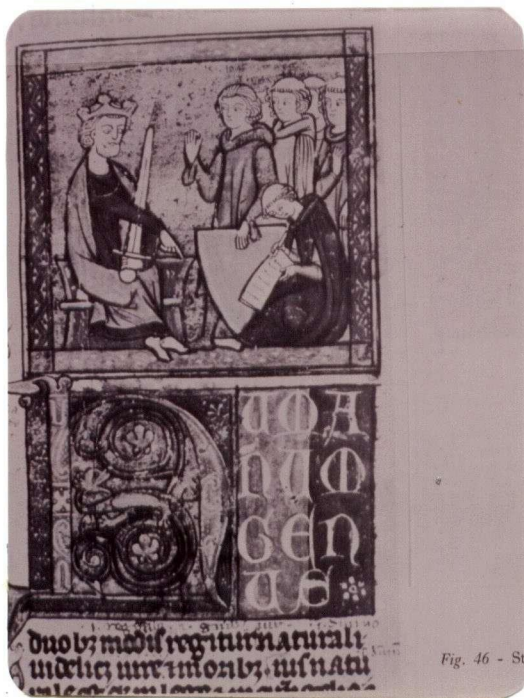


Fig. 31

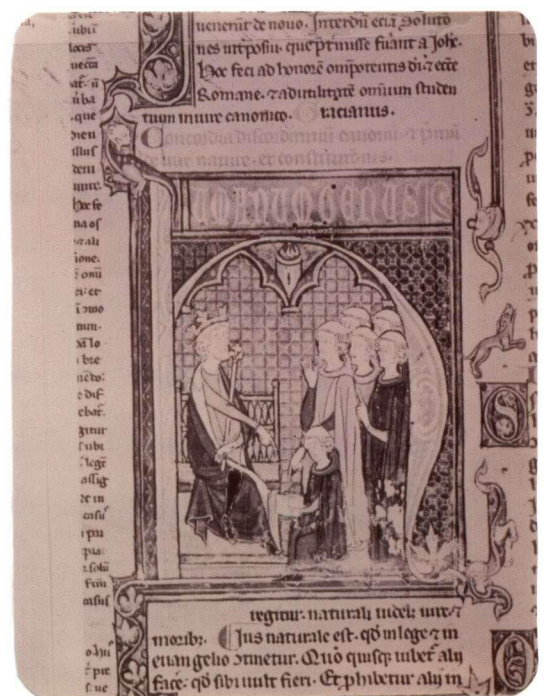


Fig. 33

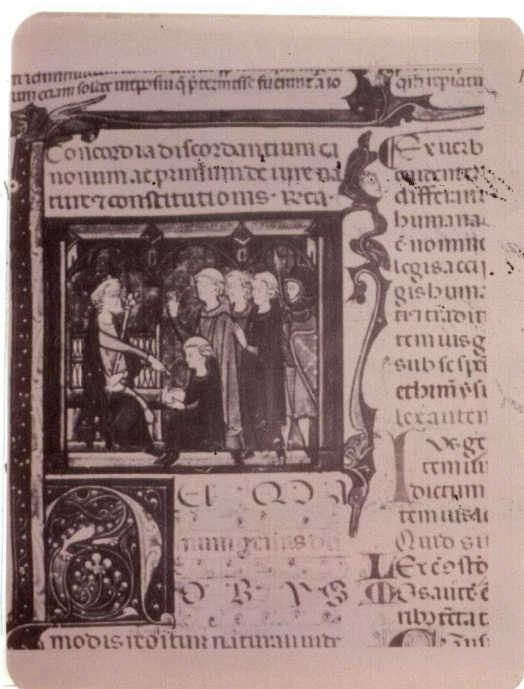


Fig. 32

Figure 34

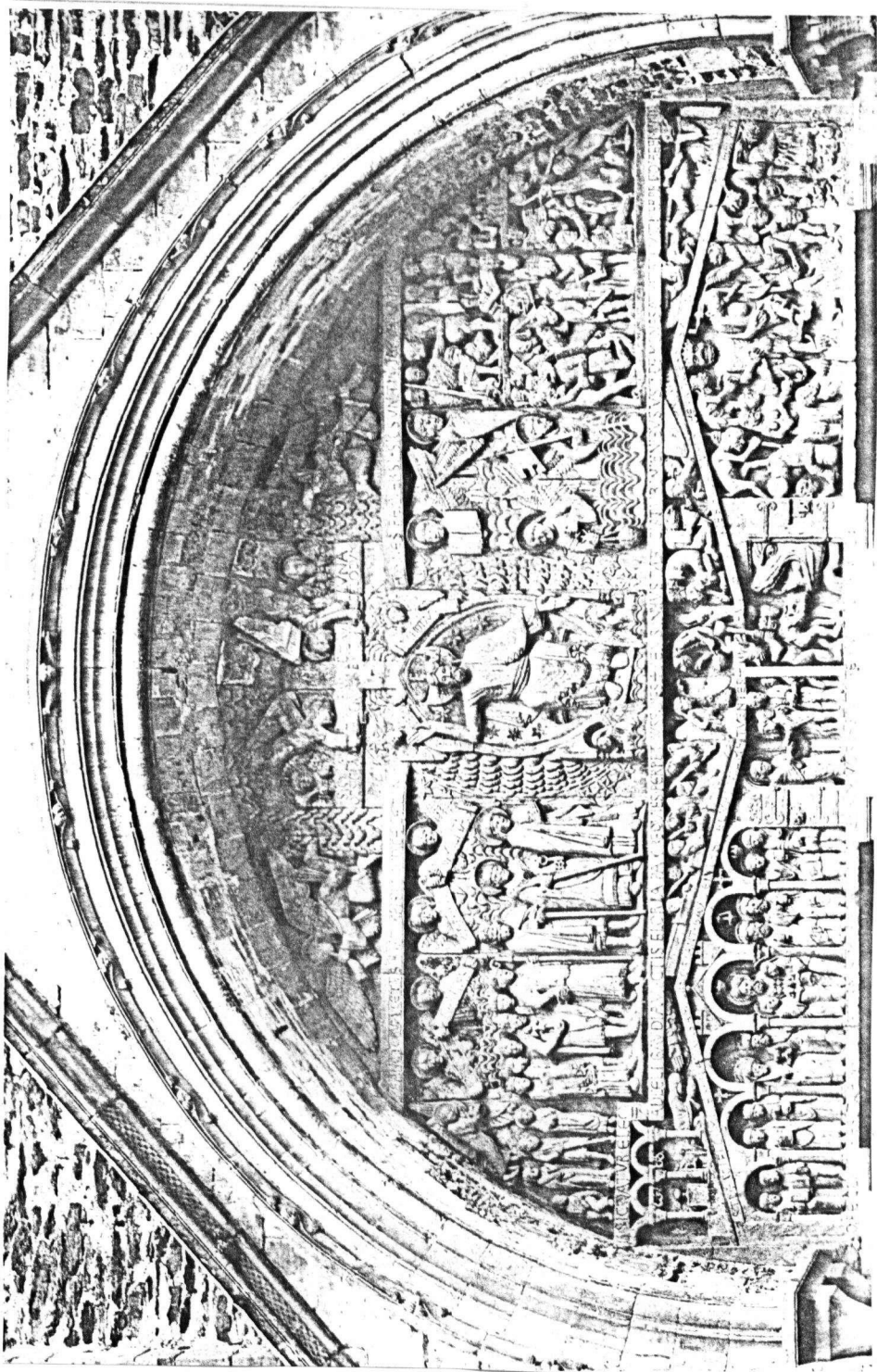


Figure 35

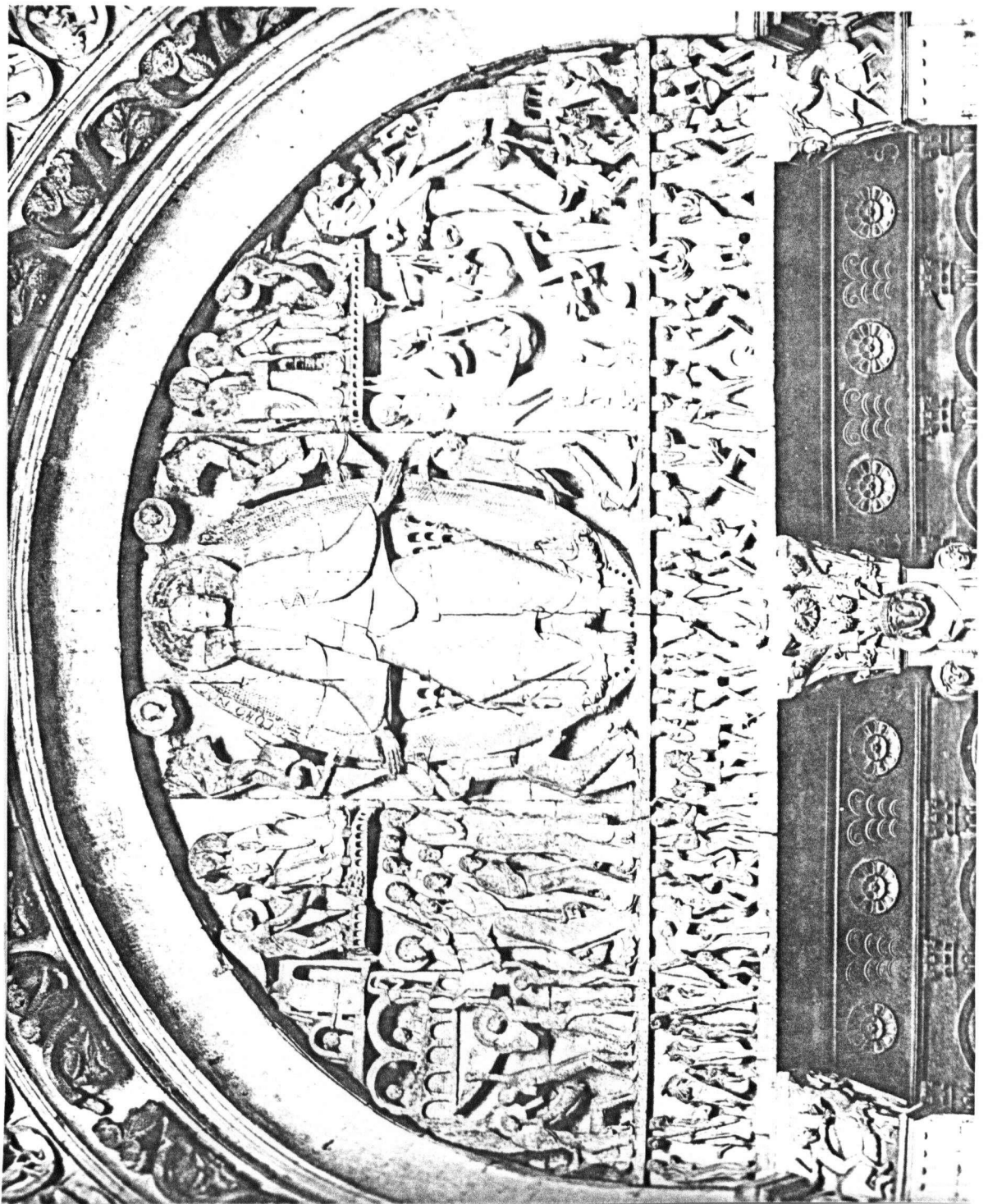


Figure 36





Figure 37

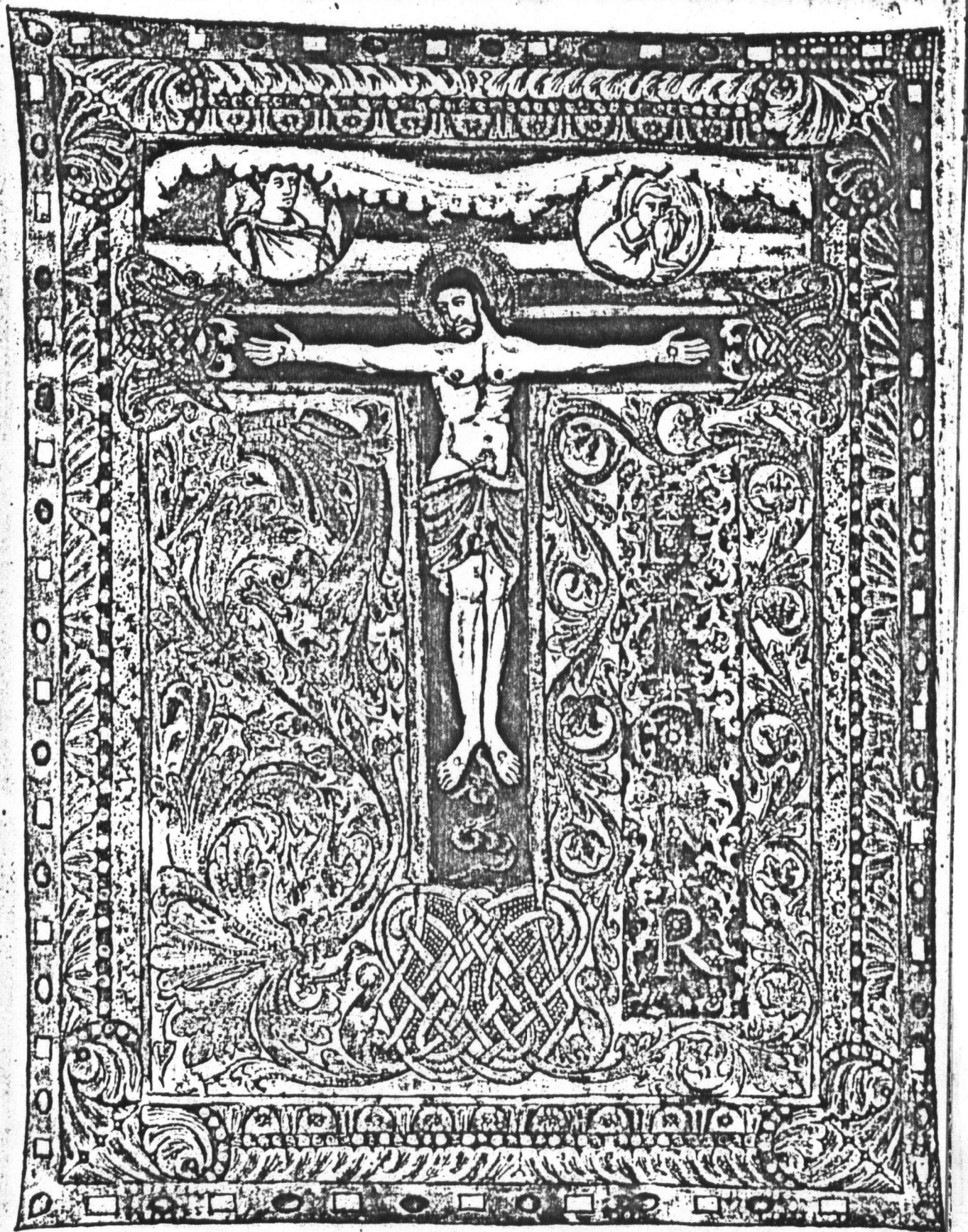


Figure 38



Figure 39

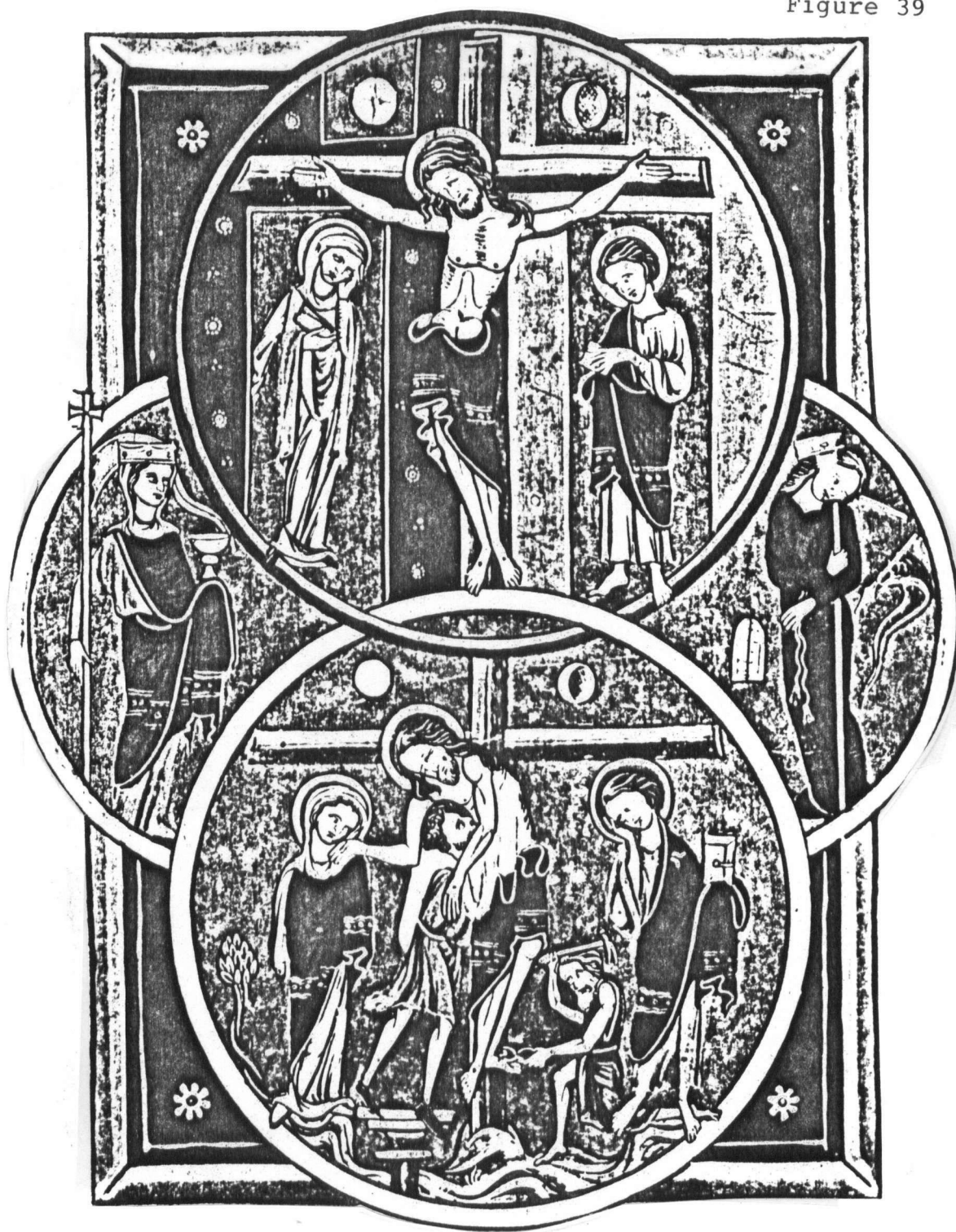




Figure 40





Figure 41



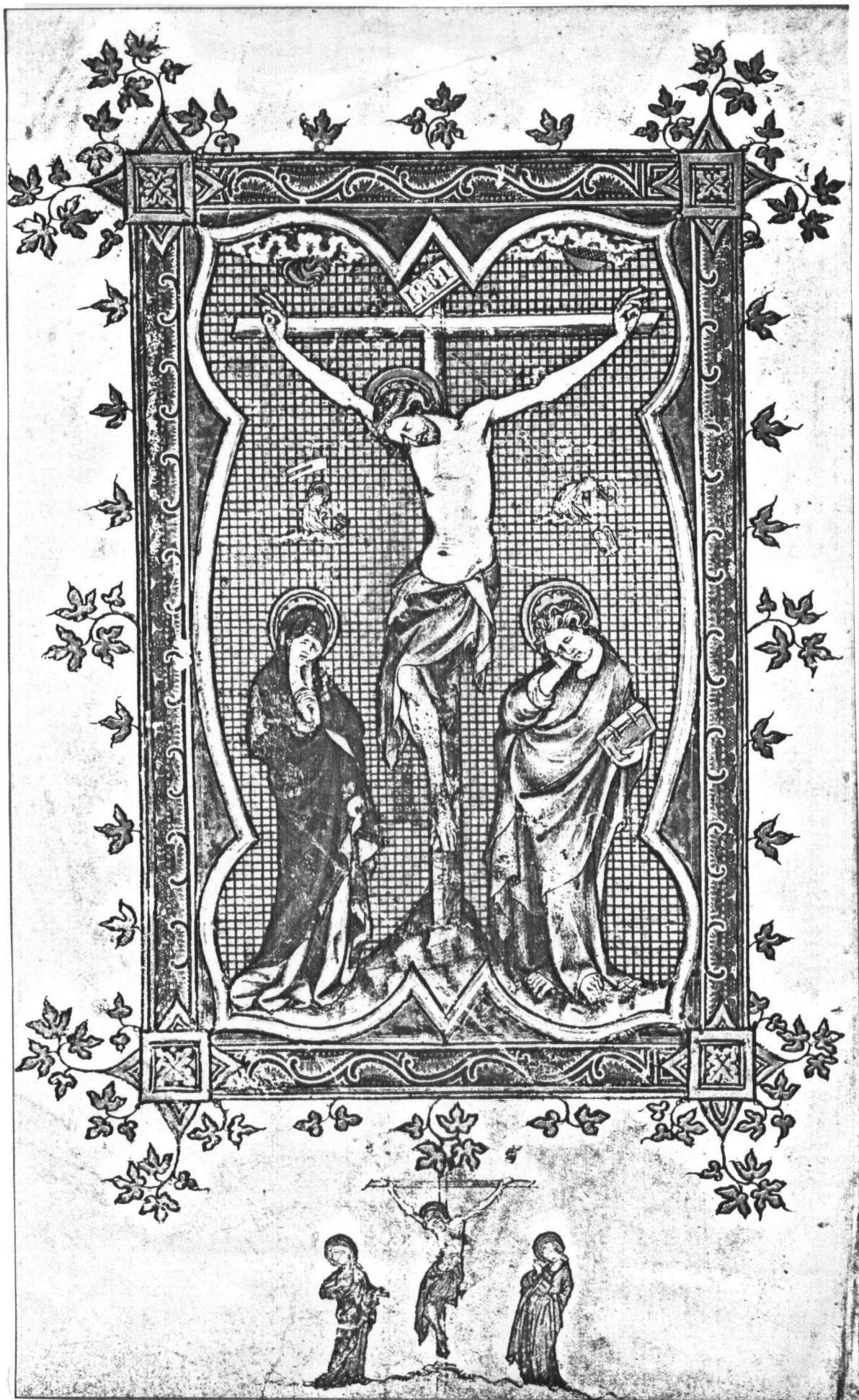






Figure 44



Figure 45



Figure 46

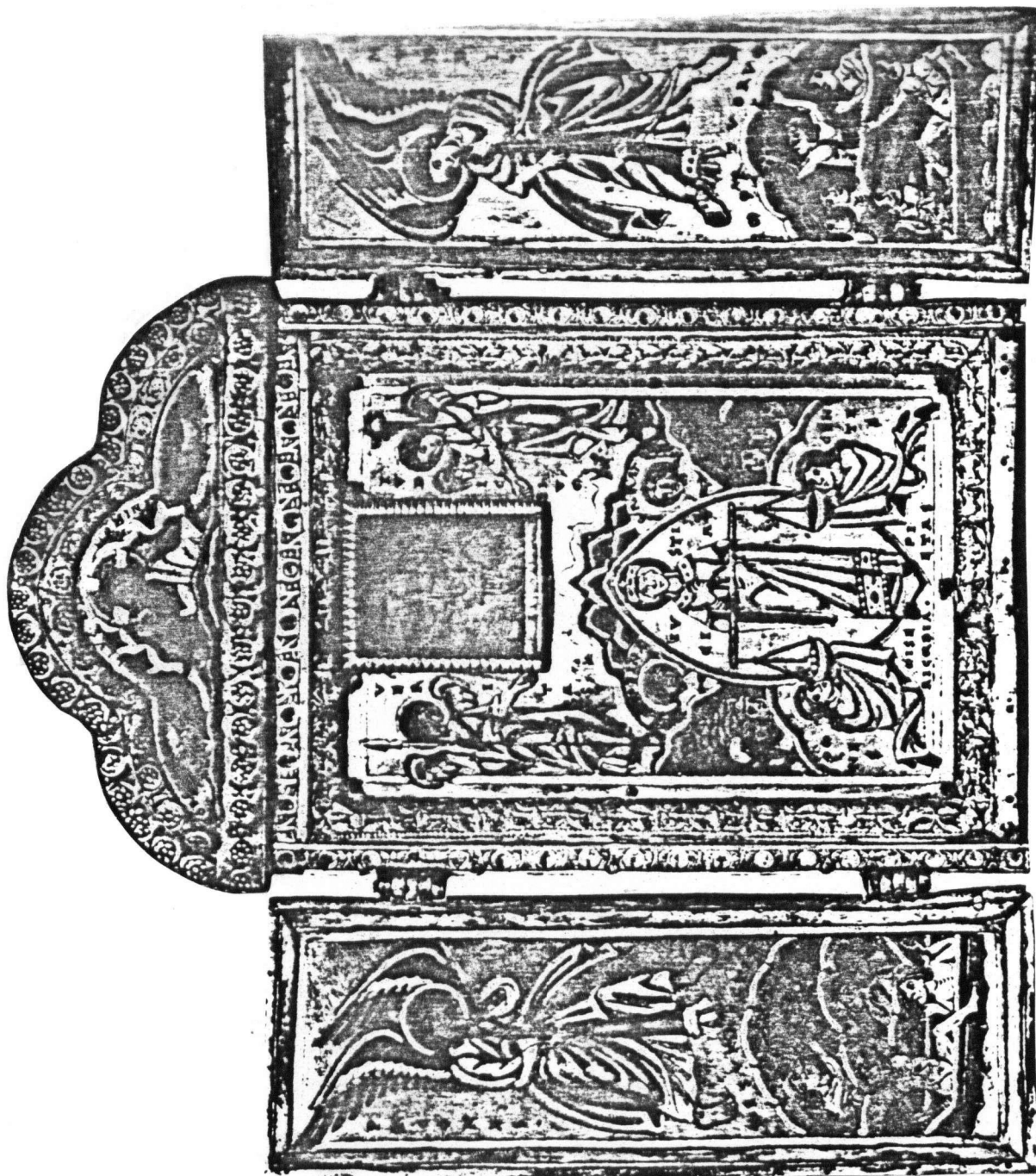




Figure 47 a

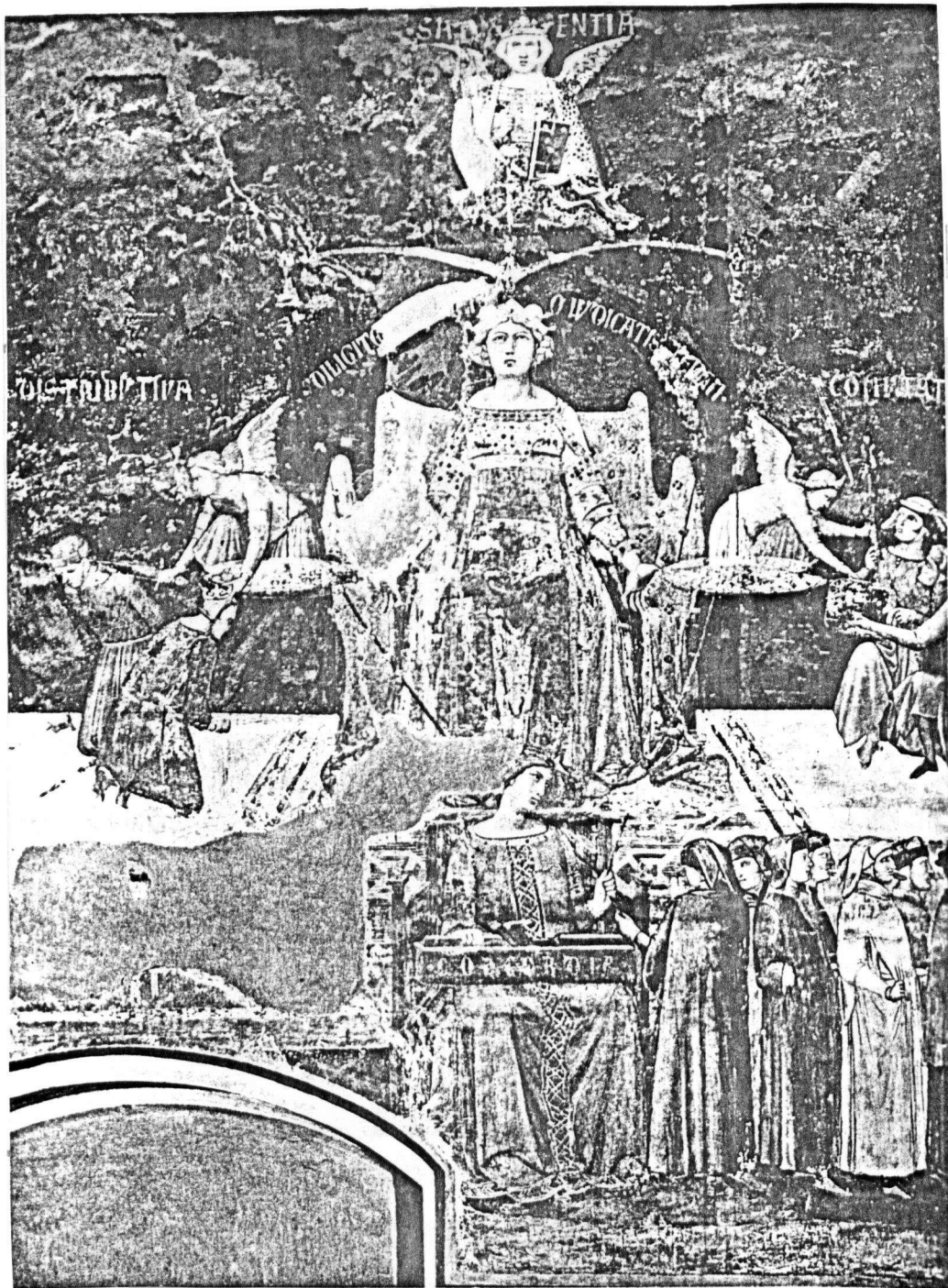


Figure 47 b





Figure 48



Figure 49

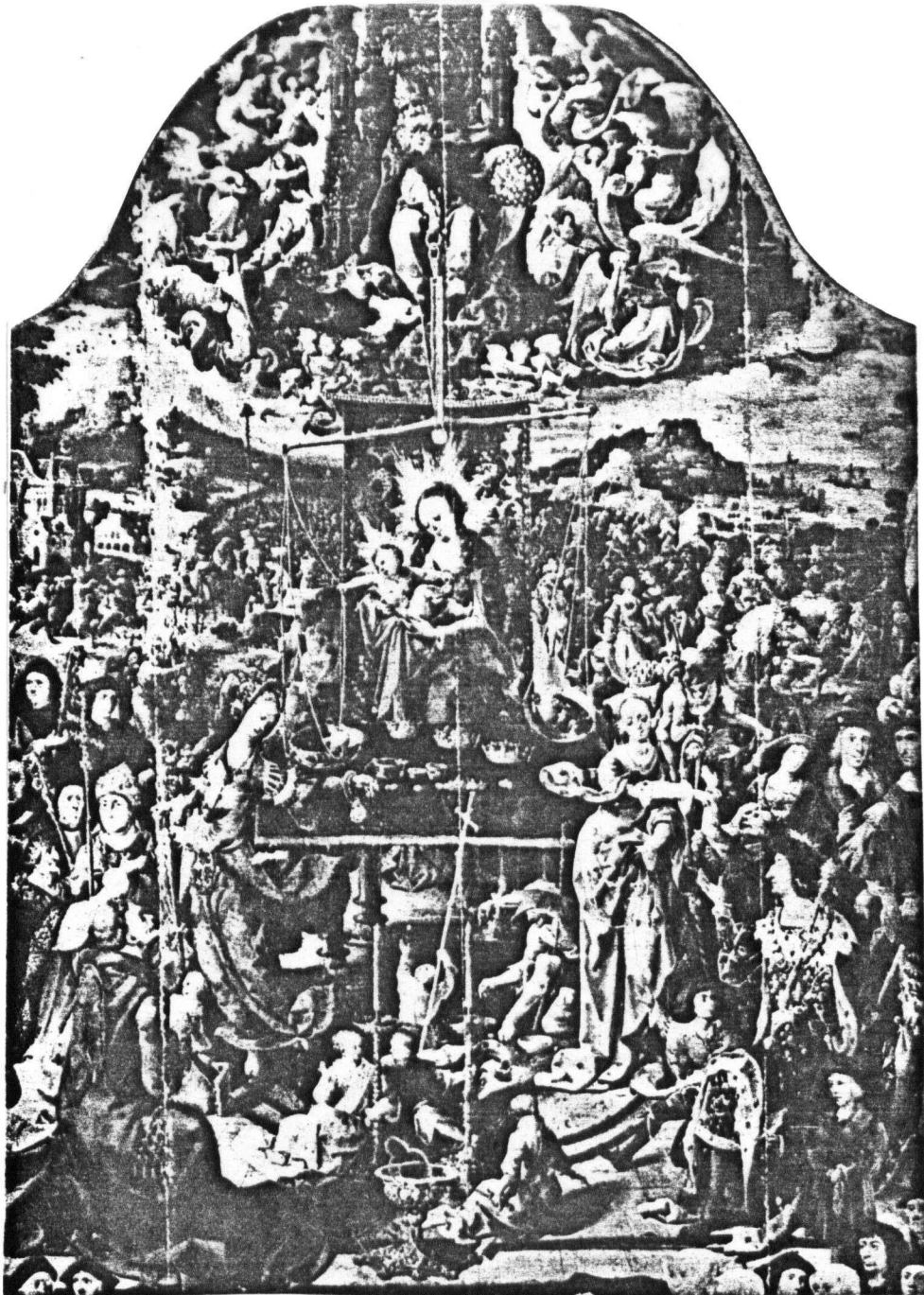


Figure 50

