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Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture (Volume 2, Issue 4)

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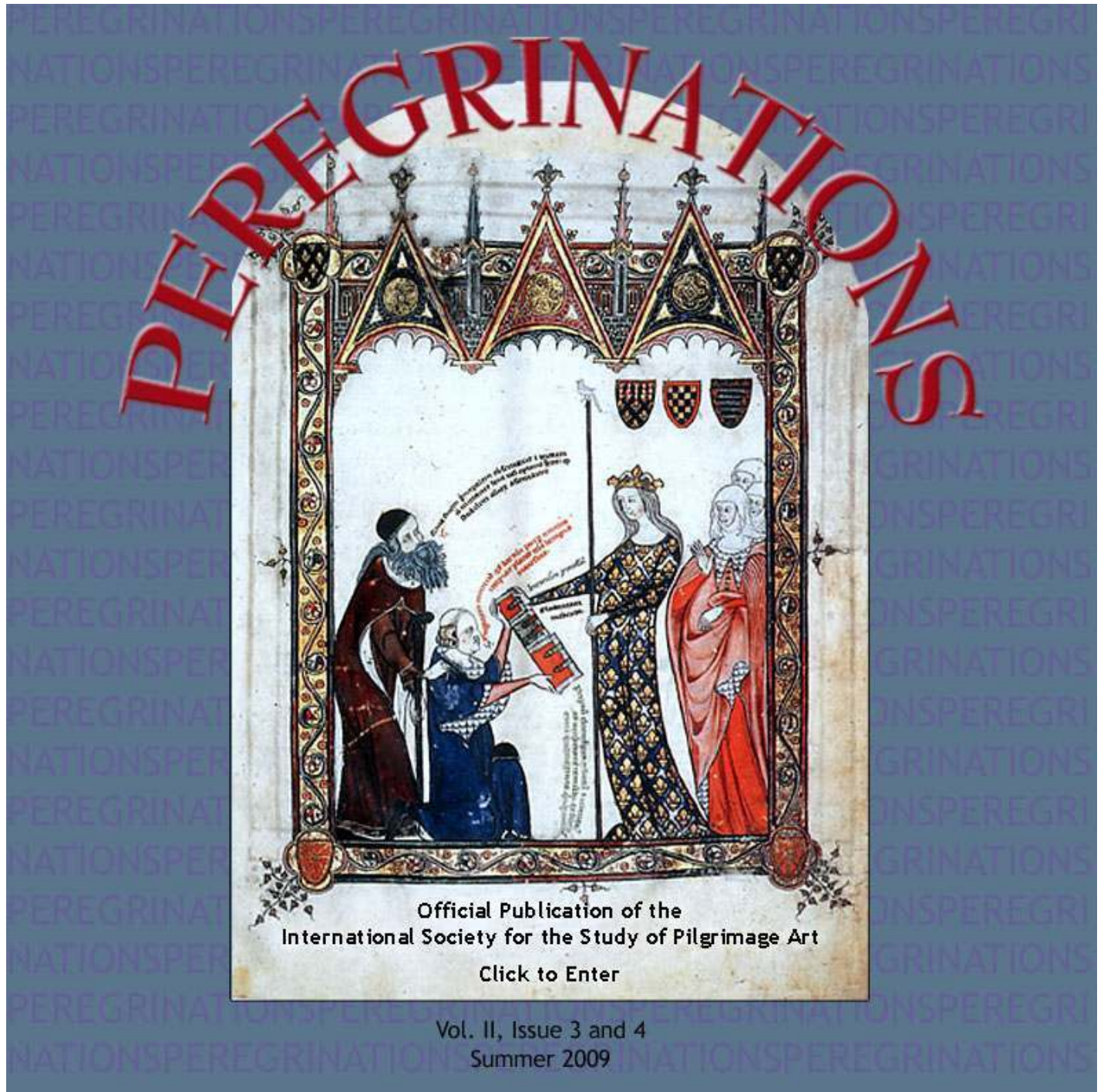


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PEREGRINATIONS

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF PILGRIMAGE ART



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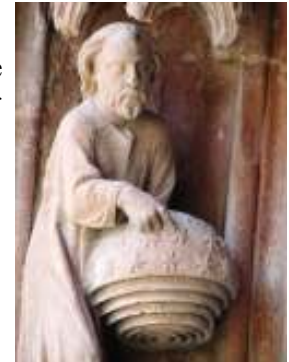
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Publications of Interest

Welcome to this special double issue (3 & 4) of *Peregrinations* featuring two exciting groups of articles that, despite their disparate themes, present some surprising intersections, especially calling our attention to the commonalities in medieval and contemporary thinking, while the various scholars share insights about specific works in context.

Issue 3 includes a guest-edited series on Placing the Middle Ages: Towards a Geography of Material Culture along with articles and contributions on other diverse topics.



Led by Mickey Abel and Jennifer Way, the scholars of the Geography/Culture set, explore how combining geography's scientific methodologies with the social emphasis of cultural geography opens up an entirely new avenue of art historical research. The editors present the topic in a thought-provoking introduction, followed by a series of distinctive articles that productively exploit this new methodology. Eileen McKiernan-Gonzalez explores how geography affects meaning in specific visual forms in Romanesque Aragón, while Maureen Quigley sheds light on how the imaginative concept of place might affect the reception of a crucial manuscript that was focused on romantic geography and the Crusades. Tracy Chapman Hamilton masterfully highlights the conjunctions of politics and place as manipulated by queenly patronage of deliberately sited edifices that enhanced negotiation of complex political issues in late Capetian France. That this sort of negotiation and political statement (this time monastic) continues in modern-day scholarship is posited by Janet Marquardt in her introduction of the Zodiaque series. Rounding out the discussion is the article by Kim McCarty, Brittney Gregory, and Mickey Abel, who collaborated to set out the challenges and discoveries expected and elicited through such a multidisciplinary approach to mapping our architectural heritage.

Other featured articles in Issue 3 explore a wide range of topics. Jennifer Lee re-considers the interpretation of pilgrim souvenirs through her analysis of the writing of Herbert of Bosham, offering possible enhancements to medieval scholarship through further investigation of these "minor" works. In briefer musings, Mark Hall reports on a further discovery of a special foot bath for visiting pilgrims, and Asa Mittman presents the Digital Mappaemundi, offering an entirely new approach to the way we can work with medieval maps.

Issue 4 is another exciting compilation of a guest-edited special topic, Bayeux Tapestry Revisited with the addition of several reports and some book reviews. John Micheal Crafton has guest edited the series of articles on some of the most exciting new research on the Bayeux Tapestry, an artifact that continues to intrigue and to lend multidisciplinary insights. Shirley Ann Brown examines the surprising role that the Vikings played in the tapestry,



while Gale R. Owen-Crocker explores the powerful argument of Roman influence on the iconography and presentation of the work. How the tapestry blended together text and images, history and literature, politics and religion, as well as other mixed crafts and media is now further amplified and understood through multimedia and hypertext as presented in an unexpected way by John Micheal Crafton. The historical context of the tapestry's possible use and display and its possible reception is investigated by Richard M. Koch, who considers it as a religious object, and by Jennifer N. Brown, who further investigates its relationship to the Vitae of Edward the Confessor.



Also featured in this issue are Mark Hall's research note on the intriguing grave slab in Rome depicting a fully outfitted pilgrim and Katrien Lichtert's introduction to the large-scale project of visualizing the urban landscape of the Southern Netherlands during the Late Medieval and Early Modern Period undertaken by the University of Ghent and the University of Antwerp. These are joined by reviews of two important scholarly books by Peter Dent and Asa Mittman.

Both issues share in the Short Notices and Announcements and Discoveries sections. In the former, Asa Mittman probes the use of Google Earth with concomitant moral issues and delights, while Adelaide Trezzini introduces the beautiful and historic Via Francigena to potential future pilgrims. Other announcements highlight a new publication by the Flemish Confraternity of Santiago de Compostela; free, downloadable books on medieval art, and more. Discoveries presents some of the latest medieval archaeological finds, including hitherto undiscovered churches and rich burials.

The Links page is (ever) expanding, here featuring www.lescheminsdumontsaintmichel.com: The Pilgrimage Road to Mont-Saint-Michel. New Journals (under Publishing Opportunities) welcomes five new members of the scholarly community, including the beautiful *Revista Romanico* and the *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*. We also, as usual, list calls for



papers, conferences, research announcements and more. We would also like to thank Sylvia Nilsen for her beautiful and informative Photo Essay on artists' marks along the pilgrimage road. Our Photobank continues to grow with copyright-free images -- all downloadable for use in research and teaching.

For future issues we are actively seeking articles on any aspect of medieval art and architecture, including: long and short scholarly articles, scholarly book reviews, review articles on issues facing the field of medieval art history, interesting notes and announcements, useful website recommendations, new archeological discoveries, and recent museum acquisitions as well as calls for papers and conference listings. We are interested in publishing articles that will undergo double-blind review as well as those which are subject only to regular editing process, including articles that are the result of preliminary research. We always welcome copyright-free images to add to our photobank, to be shared and used by anyone in the classroom and in their research. To round out the scholarly

portion of the journal, we are also seeking short, amusing excerpts from medieval sources, comments on the Middle Ages in movies and popular culture, etc.

Cover Image: Author presenting his manuscript to Jeanne de Bourgogne accompanied by her mother, Mahaut, comtesse d'Artois (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, ms. St. Peter, perg. 92, Breviculum seu parvum Electorium by Thomas le Myesier, fol. 12).

Again, welcome to *Peregrinations*. Any suggestions or comments you have concerning the journal would be most welcome. Please feel free to e-mail us at: blicks@kenyon.edu, rtekippe@westga.edu or olsonv@uncw.edu.

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FABRICATI DIEM, PVNC

-- The motto of the Ankh-Morpork City Watch (Terry Pratchett, *Guards! Guards!*)

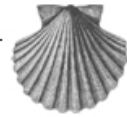
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PEREGRINATIONS

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF PILGRIMAGE ART



Volume II, Issue 3 and Issue 4 **Summer 2009 - A Special Double Issue**



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Ancient Byzantine Church Discovered in Tiberias

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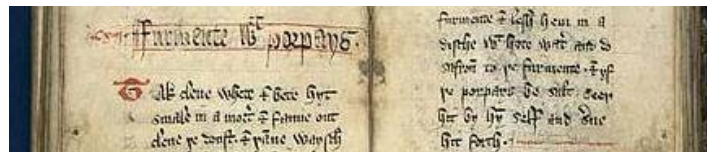
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The Pilgrimage Road to Mont-Saint-Michel

By Vincent Juhel Historien-chercheur à l'association Les Chemins du Mont-Saint-Michel

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Placing the Middle Ages: Contextualizing Towards a Geography of Material Culture

By Mickey Abel and Jennifer Way, Guest Editors, University of North Texas

Geography: *“The study of the earth and its features and of the distribution on the earth of life, including human life and the effects of human activity.”¹*

Cultural Geography: *“The study of ways of life, issues of distribution, systems of meaning, questions of practice, and notions of power.”²*

Geography of Art: *“The place of art in relation to the environment, culture, and nature;”³*

Geography of Material Culture: *“A theory of cognition and a system of classification; a mode of location; a site of collective national, cultural, linguistic and topographical histories.”⁴*

The ideas and themes encompassed in this volume under the title “Placing the Middle Ages: Towards a Geography of Material Culture” have a history that, as the definitions above suggest, evolve out of the discipline of Geography, but they also come from the history of art.

¹ The American Heritage Dictionary (New York, 1983).

² D. Atkinson, P. Jackson, D. Sibley, and N. Washbourne, eds, *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts* (London, 2005), vii.

³ T. D. Kaufmann, *Towards a Geography of Art* (Chicago, 2004), 1.

⁴ I. Rogoff, *Terra Infirma: Geography's Visual Culture* (London, 2000), 21.

Combining geography's scientific methodologies with the social emphasis of cultural geography facilitates an incorporation of the artistic milieu explored in Thomas DeCosta Kaufmann's groundbreaking *Towards a Geography of Art*. To be useful to the field of medieval studies, Kaufmann's reconstitution of the significance of geography in art history's history requires expansion to include the full spectrum of cultural production. In addition, in coining the phrase, "geography of material culture" we acknowledge the legacy of historical as well as contemporary cultural and spatial turns that have informed geography as well as art history and visual and material culture. In this issue, we highlight the ways some of these developments open the lines of inquiry regarding the subjects and objects of the medieval world. As we draw attention to related art historical implications, both the introductory essay and the papers that follow intend to familiarize the medievalist with relevant theoretical literature and its concepts, identify their potential benefit to our fields and illustrate how they are being productively employed within Medieval Studies.

At the outset, it is important to explain that this volume results from an engagement with major developments across the arts and sciences as perceived and discussed between two art historians specializing in vastly different areas. While the papers resulted from a session at the 2008 Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo Michigan, the ideas binding them came to light through conversations held between Mickey Abel, a medievalist, and Jennifer Way, a post-modernist. By coincidence, we discovered our mutual engagement in projects employing a geography component. Our ensuing examination and appreciation of the geographical line of inquiry in each other's work resulted in a shared awareness of the spatial turn in that work, and acknowledgment of the broader implications in art history, visual studies, material culture and cultural geography.

The details of our philosophical debate involved a realization that in general, developments in cultural geography and attention to space and place in art history, along with the interrelationship of these developments have been theorized by post-modernists and practiced by medievalists. We sought to challenge this bi-lateralism by undertaking an extensive examination of geography theory and practice and identifying points of common perspective in our own work and in the work we foster in our students. Taking our foundational cue from Kaufman's *Towards a Geography of Art*,⁵ and building on corresponding ideas in the work of Immanuel Kant, Erwin Panofsky, and Michel Foucault,⁶ we studied an extensive bibliography including Henri Lefebvre's *Production of Space*, Tim Creswell's *Place*, and Don Michell's *Cultural Geography*; these and additional titles gave us insight regarding implications that the spatial turn in the literatures of geography and art history had for our respective areas of specialization and common field.⁷ Alert to art history's longstanding interest in time, space, and place, we queried its definitions and methodological approaches to interpreting landscape, practicing cognitive mapping, and representing spatiality, and subjectivities in relation to gender and memory, and in the context of travel, diaspora, static dwelling, as well as in regard to embodied and cognitive states including the liminal, virtual, and mystical. We came to the conclusion that to advance our individual work it would be fruitful to collaborate in teaching and research. Moreover, in an effort to contribute to our discipline we determined to configure our teaching to mentor younger

⁵ T. D. Kaufmann, *Towards a Geography of Art* (Chicago, 2004).

⁶ E. Panofsky, "Zum Problem der historischen Zeit," in *Aufsätze zur Grundfragen der Kunstwissenschaft*, eds. Hariolf Oberer and Egon Verheyen (Berlin, 1964); E. Kant, *Physische Geographie*; M. Foucault, "Questions on Geography" in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York, 1980), 63-77; M. Bal, *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis* (London, 1996).

⁷ H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, D. Nicholson-Smith, trans. (London, 1974/1991); T. Creswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (London, 2004); and D. Mitchell, *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction* (London, 2000).

scholars in working intra- as well as inter-disciplinarily, as our review of existing literature indicated these skills were prerequisite to working with the material.

Thus during 2008 we organized a seminar and two conference sessions. We taught a graduate art history seminar consisting of students specializing in medieval or post-modern art, all of whom we required to read the same materials for in-class analysis as they produced area-respective papers. Our primary objective was to engage the students with the range of geographical concepts we were examining in regard to our own work. Our greatest challenge lay in the intra-disciplinary aspect, in other words, in provoking the medieval students to find new depth in their subjects by exposing them to the theoretical analysis of cultural geography and postmodernism's involvement with it, while encouraging students devoted to post-modern studies to re-discover their object and practice empirical and material culture methodologies. We mentored the students in producing research papers as well as abstracts they could submit to calls for papers for scholarly conferences.

Concurrently, we organized two conference sessions each having an explicit goal of exploring our colleagues' engagement with the potential we were perceiving in the literature of geography. At the annual conference of the College Art Association, scholars in our session, "Common Terrain: Surveying Geography in Histories of Art, Architecture, and Visual Culture," delivered eight papers and concluded in a roundtable discussion demonstrating that the references to geography and geographic literatures were finding varied and vibrant application in art history, visual studies, and material culture.⁸ Similarly, the papers delivered in "Placing the

⁸ The panel at College Art Association's 2008 annual conference entitled "Common Terrain: Surveying Geography in Histories of Art, Architecture and Visual Culture" included the following papers: Tülay Atak, "Convergence of Architecture and Geography: The Maps of an Architectural Historian;" Daniel Savoy, "Water, Architecture, and the Eco-Myth of Early Modern Venice;" Holly Markovitz, "Now and Then: Adventures in Rephotography;" Yvonne Scott, "Insularity: Images of Islandhood in Ireland;" Dominique Malaquais, "Emergent Geographies: The City Dis- and Re-membered;" Elizabeth Guffey, "Jim Crow, Geography and the Graphic Design of Power;" Janet T.

Middle Ages: Contextualizing towards a Geography of Material Culture,” the 43rd International Congress of Medieval Studies session that forms the basis of this volume represented a broad range of research areas covering the breadth of the medieval world. Here too, discussion following this session suggested that there was much more to elaborate. It also signaled that a concise introduction to the theoretical models was in order.

Consequently, we invite readers to consider some of the foundational questions we posed to each other and to our students and the participants of the both conference sessions. The questions require explicit enumeration because they contextualize the papers that follow. One group of questions involves reflecting on the ways geography enriches the traditional interests if medieval art history including attention to space.

- What is it about the practice of medieval art history today that invites engagement with subjects and techniques of geography?
- How might medievalists use geographic concepts to identify new problems or reconfigure existing ones?
- What is it about geography that may facilitate a medievalist’s reflecting historiographically, for example, to re-examine how we have identified space, place, and location in relation to works of material culture?
- How are medievalists using empirical approaches to understand location and its significance in terms of production, distribution, and use of material culture?
- In what ways does cultural geography’s treatment of space—its identification, location, material properties, ideologies, uses and representations—affect the work of medievalists?
- What opportunities does the literature of geography offer in re-evaluating the place of the observer, who is integral to reception-oriented methodologies, but is often neglected?
- How do we “place” the art of the medieval world in the context of mythical, mystical, or ritualized space?
- In what ways does geography aid the medievalist wanting to engage psychic space, personal space, or social space—or help us define a global reality?
- How do spaces correlate with notions of power based on locational topography, a type of topography that is specific to a particular perspective?

Marquardt, “The Regions of the Zodiac Series on Romanesque Art;” and Diane Favro, “Plowing the Geographical Field: Response and Summation.”

- What insights might cultural geography afford medievalists redressing expectations that a natural region reflects a cultural region?

Other questions link geography to language and time.

- What types of relationships exist between notions of space, place, and location in regard to the narratives we study, as well as the narratives we write to discuss what we study?
- What can studies in geography teach us about the spatiality of language and spatiality of language?
- What promise does geography have to enrich our understanding of context, including our sensitivity to difficulties in cleaving texts, or representations from contexts?
- How is a geographic turn in art history enriching or unsettling the tradition of document-based chronologies so fundamental to medieval studies?
- Can unsettling this practice re-frame our subjects of study?
- How might we use the analytical tools of geography to augment or revise discussions about art and architecture cast in a historical chronology, or a narrative genre?
- Do they make it possible for us to achieve non-historical or a-historical readings?
- To what ends might we approach non-geographic topics geographically?

A brief recitation of the historiography underlying these questions begins with some disciplinary definitions. Very generally defined as the intersection of the humanities with the social and environmental sciences of geography, cultural geography of the early twentieth century was studied through cultural landscapes. The cultural geographer sought to identify the ways cultures and societies developed from and shaped those landscapes. This type of geography was relational, in other words, it emphasized space as existing in and creating relationships between things or places instead of occurring as a discrete and stable shape between them.⁹ Foundational to this movement was the work of Carl Sauer. In his 1925 article, “The Morphology of Landscape,”¹⁰ Sauer suggested that the material and the symbolic bound together are evidenced in a landscape that does not necessarily correspond to physical boundaries; that

⁹ D. Cosgrove and L. Martins, “Millennial Geography” *Annals: Association of American Geography* 90 (2000), 97-113.

¹⁰ C. Sauer, “The Morphology of Landscape” *University of California Publications in Geography*, 2 (1925), 19-54.

these landscapes represent peoples' activity. Reversing environmental determinism, or the idea that the physical environment determines culture, Sauer viewed landscape as a record of cultural change, but a factor in the creation of culture.¹¹ Nonetheless, the land did write its effects on culture and through culture, and this could be perceived in the very forms constitutive of landscape, which he understood to contain cultural memories and characteristics recognizable within a region. Significant in this focus on the human interaction with place was Sauer's engagement with anthropological categories that concerned human society. Developing this "cultural turn," geographers of the 1960s continued to emphasize the humanizing of the earth, but expanding Sauer's phenomenological approach,¹² they specified culture as the active agent in shaping landscape. Their inquiry embraced the science of maps, topography, and methodologies for understanding 'peoples,' their 'land tenure,' and their built forms, thus relating social life with customs of the environment.

A more critical approach came in the 1970s as scholars identified myriad globalizations they thought were eroding local cultures and related dimensions of space.¹³ One premise for these developments was the lack of a clear distinction between nature and culture, which undermined a belief that human agency was the primary, if not sole force shaping features of the earth's surface. Correspondingly, the critical examination of geographies through cultural studies, the geography of art, and the core of cultural geography expanded to address these developments. By the 1980s Sauer's notion of landscape was being consulted to illuminate

¹¹ Mitchell, 21.

¹² Mitchell, 27-29, explains Sauer's phenomenology as "that which can be perceived as objects, occurrences, or facts." See also, P. Wagner and M. Mikesell, "General Introduction: The Themes of Cultural Geography" in *Readings in Cultural Geography*, P. Wagner and M. Mikesell eds. (Chicago, 1962), 1-24.

¹³ W. Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, 1973).

ideas, practices and concepts of the culture that produced it.¹⁴ Within the context of the cultural and social production of landscape, questions of social relationships, work, and ideology arose.¹⁵ Termed a “radical cultural geography,”¹⁶ the questions of this era circled around issues of power and dominance, the control of space and culture by the elite.¹⁷

Like other fields in the arts and sciences, cultural geography took another critical turn during the late 1990’s when it opened itself to a new set of theoretical modes and practices. The expansion facilitated an exploration of the ways knowledge is constructed and exposed the study of landscape to a broad range of politicized subjects to include gender, ethnic identity, cultural territories, and imaginative geographies.¹⁸ Rather than locating their studies within a chronology as an interpretive framework, new cultural geographers stressed “culture understood as space and constituted through place.”¹⁹ In their work, culture is a system of signification and a discourse on spatiality.

The Marxist theorist Henri Lefebvre is considered the father of spatiality.²⁰ Proposing a “trialectics” of spatiality, to challenge binary notions such as objectivity/subjectivity, material/mental, real/imagined, Lefebvre explored the “entwining of cultural practices,

¹⁴ J. Duncan, “The Superorganic in American Cultural Geography,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 70 (1980), 197-198; P. Jackson, *Maps of Meaning: An Introduction to Cultural Geography* (London, 1989), 19; D. Cosgrove, “Towards a Radical Cultural Geography,” *Antipode* 15 (1983)1-11.

¹⁵ Mitchell, xix and 78-82. Taking a decidedly Marxist approach is R. Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London, 1976). Using R. Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy* (London, 1957), S. During in *The Cultural Studies Reader* (London, 1993), looks at working class culture.

¹⁶ Mitchell, 57.

¹⁷ Atkinson, *et al.*, *Cultural Geography*, 3, see the “trinity of space, knowledge, and power” as central to the ways cultural geographers make sense of society.

¹⁸ D. Fagen, “I.G.Y,” *Nightfly* (Burbank, 1982); D. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford, 1989).

¹⁹ Mitchell, 63. It is here that we get spatial metaphors like “realm, medium, level, sphere, and zone.”

²⁰ Lefebvre, *Production*, 27-38.

representations, and imaginations” and highlighted the “synergism” of the perceived, the conceived and the lived space.²¹ Drawing on philosophies of existentialism and phenomenology²² to incorporate the experiential properties, geographers following Lefebvre, like Edward Soja, began to signal the sensual, aesthetic, and emotional dimensions of space.²³ They initiated a shift in the notion of social space as a context for material activity to space which is produced by subjectivities, something on the order of a spatiality of connectivity.²⁴

Geography, space, and subjectivities have long been the inquiry of literary criticism.²⁵ Irit Rogoff suggested that when we introduce questions of subjectivities and spectatorship into the discourse of geography, we move the inquiry to the margins “where identities are constantly being formed.”²⁶ Stressing difference rather than universal truth, she looks at the rhetorics of “deterritorialized” subjects within what she calls “unhomed geographies.”²⁷ Important in this analytic stance is positionality.²⁸ Being alert to relationships between her own position and that of the particular position of the subject facilitates understanding how they are refracted through

²¹ P. Hubbard, “Space/Place” in *Cultural Geography*, 43-48.

²² L. Holloway and P. Hubbard, *People and Place: The Extraordinary Geographies of Everyday Life* (Harlow, 2001).

²³ E. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-an-Imagined Places* (Cambridge, 1996); Y. F. Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, 1977); E. Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London, 1976).

²⁴ Rogoff, *Terra*, 23. See also, Cosgrove and Martins, 106.

²⁵ E. Said, “Narrative and Geography” in *New Left Review*, 180 (London, 1990); and *idem*, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, 1993).

²⁶ Rogoff, 20.

²⁷ Rogoff, 1-8.

²⁸ I. Cook *et al*, “Positionality/Situated Knowledge,” in D. Atkinson *et al*, eds., *Cultural Geography* (London, 2005), 16-26.

structures and orders of belonging.²⁹ In this, an examination of community and a “sense of place,”³⁰ Rogoff points to the ways landscape and place are imbued with meaning. Therein, dichotomies of self and other play out within conditions of “emplacement” and “displacement.”³¹ Slippages between the boundaries of “exclusive objecthood and coherent subjecthood” help to determine inclusion and exclusion,³² and importantly, they signal existential difference between the inside and outside, and insider and outsider.³³ It is therefore through the lens of landscape that subjectivities develop identity discursively as they are constructed³⁴ in contrast to an “other.”³⁵ These geographically placed identities are articulated by way of gender, ethnicity, and age, and are equally embodied with emotion, morality, and sexuality.³⁶

In this sense, place and space are subjectively opposed concepts. Michael de Certeau suggested that space denotes a “lack of unvocality,” while place implies “an indication of stability.”³⁷ Experientially perceived through all the senses, the awareness of space is enhanced

²⁹ D. Morely, “Belongings: Place, Space and Identity in a Mediated World,” *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 4 (2001), 425-448.

³⁰ Relph, *Place and Placeness* (London, 1976).

³¹ Rogoff, 8.

³² Rogoff, 34; T. Creswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression* (Minneapolis, 1996) also explores exclusionary aspects of place and landscape, as does D. Sibley, *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West* (London, 1995).

³³ D. Cosgrove, “Idea of Landscape,” in *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London, 1984), 13-38; M. Domash, “Toward a Feminist Historiography of Geography” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* New Series, 16/1 (1991), 95-104.

³⁴ J. Martin, “Identity” in *Cultural Geography*, 97-102.

³⁵ T. Creswell, “Moral Geographies” in *Cultural Geography*, 128-134.

³⁶ P. Jackson, “Gender” in *Cultural Geography*, 103-108. See also G. Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Cambridge, 1993) and D. Bell, *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexuality* (London, 1995).

³⁷ M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, 1984), 117.

through “kinesthetic” movement.³⁸ Place, however, goes beyond this perception and is created through distinct activities associated with particular social spaces.³⁹ Creswell expands the notion that places are constructed by people doing things in suggesting that the structure of subjectivity is given in and through the structure of place.⁴⁰ Building on Lefebvre’s trialectics of space, David Harvey looked at the construction and experience of place as material artifact. He questioned how places are represented in discourse, and conversely considers how they evoke discourses and signify cultural identities.⁴¹

Landscape is a key term in this discourse. It has a long history in both art history and geography, when these histories, their trajectories in current practices and innovations are brought together interdisciplinarily, the concept takes on new and multifaceted connotations. Commonly equated with a *work*, a look, or a style, Don Mitchell expanded this definition of landscape to stipulate that in cultural geography, landscape is a “product of human labor and thus encapsulates the dreams, desires, and injustices of the people and social systems that make it.”⁴² In this sense, landscape is a “contextual horizon of perceptions” insofar as it has both a foreground and a background.⁴³ Moreover, landscape can also act as a “social agent in the development of place.” Here, landscape is activated--it does something. Recognizing the dichotomy between work and working, art historian W.J.T. Mitchell specified that landscape is

³⁸ Y. Tuan, “Experiential Perspective,” in *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, 1977), 136-148.

³⁹ Soja, *Thirdspace*. Page #?

⁴⁰ Creswell, *Place*, 31, 37.

⁴¹ D. Harvey, *The Condition of Post-Modernity* (Oxford, 1989).

⁴² Michell, 94.

⁴³ P. Stewart and M. Strathern, *Landscape, Memory, and History: Anthropological Perspectives* (London, 2003), 1-14.

mediated by culture; it is both represented and presented, signifier and signified.⁴⁴ Like Sharon Zukin, he saw landscape as both revealing and concealing, and possessing the potential for mystification.⁴⁵ Landscape can be both a “place” and a “way of seeing.”⁴⁶ As a form of “visual ideology,” landscape represents a selective system of meaning that reads as real or true, and thereby encodes value and codifies history.⁴⁷ Landscapes control and channel this meaning in order to structure and illustrate the material social relations that made them. They represent “a built *morphology*,”⁴⁸ expanding Sauer’s term. In this, landscape can be seen as a system of social reproduction that is not static, but is characterized as an “ongoing relationship between people and place.”⁴⁹ Thought of in terms of phenomenology, landscapes record how people live in place, as well as how they shape place.⁵⁰ These relationships can read as a fertile text or as a discourse that reveals a constellation of knowledge and practice. Interesting for art historians and medievalists in particular, is the idea that this rich discourse can be traced and recorded by way of the map.⁵¹

Mapping was a key feature of this critical turn. Geographers have used mapping as a medium for deconstructing the binary of nature and culture. Moreover, it has become a

⁴⁴ W.J.T. Mitchell, “Imperial Landscape” in W.J.T. Mitchell ed., *Power and Landscape* (Chicago, 1994), 1-2.

⁴⁵ S. Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley, 1991), 16, 19.

⁴⁶ J. Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London, 1972).

⁴⁷ D. Cosgrove, “Prospect, Perspective, and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 10 (1985), 46; Stewart and Strathern, *Landscape*, 1-14.

⁴⁸ D. Mitchell, “Landscape” in *Cultural Geography* (London, 2005), 49-56.

⁴⁹ A. Wilson, *The Culture of Nature: From Disney to the Exxon Valdez* (Oxford, 1991).

⁵⁰ I. Cook, “Positionality/Situated Knowledge” in *Cultural Geography*, 16-26.

⁵¹ M. Doel, “Analyzing Cultural Texts” in *Key Methods in Geography*, N. Clifford and G. Valentine eds., (London, 2005), 501-515; *idem*, *Poststructuralist Geographies* (Edinburgh, 1999).

paradigm for describing and evoking many cultural forms and practices, such as topography, space and place, as well as events, behaviors, and themes. In some cases mapping practices are used to reveal, if not “locate” phenomena not necessarily visible in reality.⁵² Encompassing the theoretical position that landscapes incorporate history and represent people in motion,⁵³ recording that history by way of a map is tantamount to creating a cultural artifact.⁵⁴ The analysis of the map as artifact should account for its use as a tool by those with wealth and authority.⁵⁵ Moreover, because maps have been studied as cultural texts, it is important to understand not only the context of the map-maker—the “authors” of maps, but also the process of “distanciation” between the observer and the space observed.⁵⁶ This distance causes maps to be understood as metaphorical, making reference to the non-objective knowledge of the world rendered through signs and symbols.⁵⁷ Blurring the distinctions between the “map” and the “territory”⁵⁸ or the image and the real, the post-modern discourse has opened the definition of these symbolic spaces to the conditions of linkages, networks, flows, interactions, hybridity,

⁵² D. Cosgrove, “Mapping/Cartography,” in *Cultural Geography*, 27-33; *idem*, *Mappings* (London, 1999); M. Storrr, *Mapping* (New York, 1994).

⁵³ Mitchell, “Landscape,” 49-56.

⁵⁴ P. Lewis, “Common Landscapes as Historical Documents” in *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture* (1993), 115-139.

⁵⁵ B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore, 2001).

⁵⁶ Cosgrove, “Mapping/Cartography,” 29 calls these “thick texts” as they are socially constructed forms of knowledge. B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore, 2001), builds on Michael Foucault’s “Sociology of Knowledge,” and the idea that this type of knowledge represents social power.

⁵⁷ P. Jackson, *Maps of Meaning* (London, 1989).

⁵⁸ G. King, *Mapping Reality* (New York, 1996), 4-5. Looking to Baudrillard, King defined the real as “that of which it is possible to give equivalent reproduction.” It is “always, already reproduced.” See Jean Baudrillard, “The Reality Gulf” in *The Guardian* (1 January 1991).

constituencies, and fields of opportunity where the subject is implicated in the map and the map considered the agent creating a subject.⁵⁹

Cognitive mapping or performative mapping—the mapping of spatialities and knowledge—is quite different from the scientific or quantitative mapping of space and is considered to render conventional geographic practices based on logic and fixed co-ordinates obsolete.⁶⁰ Used in the presence of existing representations of place, these maps are intertextual.⁶¹ They invite analysis of cultural terrains encompassing topographies of gender, race, sexuality, and they highlight the inherent politics of writing land as frontier, horizon, and boundary. This type of accounting acknowledges the empirical position of the subject, providing that subject with a critical distance while signifying the power entailed in map-making process.⁶² Contextualized maps recognize the active construction of reality through the experiential perspective, but they also acknowledge the passive coloring of these experiences that comes through sensual stimulation and the imagination.⁶³ Triggered by both emotional responses and mnemonic recollections, a cognitive map can record the intimate experiences of the individual with place.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ M. Castells, *The Network Society* (Oxford, 1996) challenged these ideas on the basis of “social consequences of globalization and informational capitalism” and sees a future of places being “superseded by spaces characterized by velocity and heterogeneity.” See Hubbard, “Place/Space,” 43; K. Mitchell, “Different Diaporas and the Hype of Hybridity,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 15 (1997), 533-553; and M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, C. Emerson and M. Holquist, trans. (Austin, 1981).

⁶⁰ Cosgrove, “Mapping/Cartography,” 31; Cosgrove and Martins, 105-107.

⁶¹ V. Del Casino and S. Hanna, “Representations and Identities in Tourism Map Spaces” *Progress in Human Geography* 24 (March, 2000), 23-46.

⁶² King, 13-17. Cosgrove, “Mapping/Cartography,” 30 defined a cognitive map as “the spatial images we carry in our heads that serve to guide spatial behavior.”

⁶³ Tuan, “Experiential Perspective,” 8-18.

⁶⁴ Y. Tuan, “Intimate Experiences of Place” in *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, 1977), 136-148.

Cognitive mapping has also facilitated an illustration of particular cultural movements. As embodied, moving practices, the positionality of the nomad, the tourist, the pilgrim, the migrant, the expatriate, and the refugee as subject⁶⁵—their bodily engagement and particular gaze—are key to the “writing of the earth, labeling it and filling it with meaning.”⁶⁶ These maps are cognizant of the heritage of the subject⁶⁷ and recognize the impact of memory in belonging or “re-membering” community.⁶⁸ Within this type of study there is a perceived need to articulate the intellectual and cultural discourses of “inbetweenness,”⁶⁹ “double consciousness,”⁷⁰ and the “no-man’s land”⁷¹ that separates material space from metaphorical space.⁷² And thus, the sacred, the transitional, and the liminal⁷³ are recorded in the effects of diaspora, rites of passage, crossing borders, and transcending boundaries,⁷⁴ as well as static dwelling.⁷⁵

⁶⁵ M. Chang, “Travel/Tourism” in *Cultural Geography*, 34-40.

⁶⁶ Chang, 35; Del Casino and Hanna, 23-46.

⁶⁷ D. Atkinson, “Heritage” in *Cultural Geography*, 144-150; B. Graham and G. Ashworth, *The Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy* (London, 2000).

⁶⁸ P. Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire* (3 vols.) (Paris, 1984-1992); A-M. Fortier, “Diapora” in *Cultural Geography*, 184.

⁶⁹ H. Bhabha, ed. *Nation and Narration* (London, 1990).

⁷⁰ P. Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic—Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, 1993).

⁷¹ C. Vismann, “Starting from Scratch: Concepts of Order in No Man’s Land, in B. Huppau, ed. *War, Violence, and the Modern Condition* (Berlin, 1997). Page #s?

⁷² Rogoff, 15.

⁷³ V. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca, 1969); I. Ang, “Doing Cultural Studies at the Crossroads: Local/Global Negotiations,” *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 1/1(1998), 13-31; M. Chang, P. Chang, and J. May, eds, *Virtual Geographies: Bodies, Space, and Relations* (London, 1999).

⁷⁴ Atkinson et al, *Cultural Geography*, 153-54; S. Lavie and T. Swedenburg, “Between and Among Boundaries of Culture: Bridging Text and Lived Experience in the Third Timespace, *Cultural Studies* 10/ 1(1996), page #s?

⁷⁵ Chang, 38. See also J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London, 1990); R. Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London, 1991); A. Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (London, 1996); J. Clifford, “Diasporas,” *Cultural Anthropology*. 9/ 3 (1994), 302-338.

It is at this juncture that the disciplines of art history and cultural geography meet as the critical turn in both draws upon similar bibliographies and adopts the same vocabulary. While generally not foregrounding the theoretical models of cultural geography delineated above, medieval scholarship has certainly engaged with the concepts of space, place, landscape and mapping. We see this featured in studies oriented around ideas of staging or framing such as Chris Wickham's epic *Framing the Early Middle Ages*; Michal Kobiialka's "Staging Place/Space" in *Medieval Practices of Space*, and Barbara Rosenwein's *Negotiating Space*.⁷⁶ Mapping has been particularly useful in accounting for the medieval awareness of the world and the cosmos. This is seen in scholarship focusing on maps and map-makers such as Evelyn Edson's *Mapping Time and Space*, Dan Connolly's "Imagined Pilgrimages in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris," Dan Birkholz's *The King's Two Maps*, Marcia Kupfer's "The Lost Mappamundi at Chaliviv-Milon," and Alessandro Scafi's *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth*.⁷⁷ It is also found in studies using a mapping scheme including Daniel Smail's *Imaginary Cartographies* and Valerie Ramseyer's *The Transformation of a Religious Landscape*.⁷⁸ Additionally, space and place appear in studies concerned with larger social

⁷⁶ C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford, 2005); M. Kobiialka, "Staging Place/Space" in *Medieval Practices of Space* page #s; Barbara Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1999). See also L. Stamm, "Zur Verwendung des Begriffs Kunstlandschaft am Beispiel des Oberrheins in 14. Und frühen 15. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 41/2 (1984), 85-91.

⁷⁷ E. Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers viewed their World* (British Library, 1997); D. Connolly, "Imagined Pilgrimages in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris" *Art Bulletin* 81/4 (1999), 598-622; D. Birkholz, *The King's Two Maps: Cartography and Culture in Thirteenth-Century England* (New York, 2004); M. Kupfer, "The Lost Mappamundi at Chaliviv-Milon" *Speculum* 66/3 (1991), 540-571; A. Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (Chicago, 2006). See also K. Nebenzahl, *Mapping the Silk Road and Beyond: 2000 Years of Exploring the East* (Phaidon, 2004); C. Joost-Gaugier, *Measuring Heaven: Pythagoras and His Influence on Thought and Art in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2006); and E. Edson and E. Savage-Smith, *Medieval Views of the Cosmos: Picturing the Universe in the Christian and Islamic Middle Ages* (Bodleian Library, 2004).

⁷⁸ D. Smail, *Imagining Cartographies: Possession and Identity in Medieval Marseille* (Ithaca, 1999); V. Ramseyer, *The Transformation of a Religious Landscape: Medieval Southern Italy, 850-1150* (Ithaca, 2006).

concepts such as Barbara Rosenwein's *Emotional Communities*, Susan Boynton's *Shaping a Monastic Identity*, and Robert Maxwell's *The Art of Medieval Urbanism*.⁷⁹

The papers that follow take on the ideas derived from geography from a variety of avenues. Eileen McKiernan González' uses a site-specificity to analyze the gendered patronage of a Spanish queen attempting to reflect her own genealogical heritage and the expansionist ideology of her husband's court. Maureen Quigley textually-constructs an "experiential geography" defined more by human actions than the specificity of a particular place. Tracy Chapman Hamilton re-constructs the point of view of the moving traveler to examine a female royal identity publicly constructed by way of ritual processions along self-referential processional routes. Janet Marquardt looks at the geography of nationalism, pilgrimage and the spiritual domain as they apply to a modern monastic order making a claim on the past. By way of a conclusion Kim McCarty and Brittany Gregory preview a project they initiated, which takes on the challenge of combining the disciplines of geography, archaeology, and art history in a more literal way. Their study catalogs the relationship between a set of buildings and their physical environment, making specific use of electronic tools employed by cartographers.⁸⁰

In asking questions of material geography, we wonder whether medievalists are responding to this "spatial turn" as our post-modern colleagues have defined it? Or are we

⁷⁹ B. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2006); S. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abby of Farfa, 1000-1125* (Ithaca, 2006); R. Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism: Parthenay in Romanesque Aquitaine* (University Park, 2007).

⁸⁰ The editors wish to thank Dr. Joan Holladay of the University of Texas at Austin for her thorough editorial reading of this volume. We called on her to perform this task primarily because we knew we could count on her insight and wisdom. We would be remiss, however, if we did not also acknowledge the pseudo-genealogical relationship of the editors, the contributing authors, and Dr. Holladay. While Jennifer and Mickey were both doctoral students at the University of Texas, Mickey worked directly under Dr. Holladay's tutelage. Moreover, and quite by happenstance, three of the papers submitted for the 2008 Kalamazoo session came from former Texas classmates—Eileen, Maureen, and Tracy—who were also students of Dr. Holladay. Embracing this reunion-of-sorts, we have perpetuated the generational passing-of-the-baton by including the work of Mickey's students, Kim and Brittany. Jan Marquardt, as the only non-Texas alum amongst us, has been good natured about being the odd woman out. But even Jan recognized the appropriateness of looking to the "grand" mother of the clan for the final word. With a sense of homage and great appreciation, we dedicate this volume to Joan Holladay.

intuitively inclined to this analytical mode because of the nature of the material we work on? In other words: Is there something implicitly spatial about the material culture of the Middle Ages? We invite the reader to consider the essays presented here in relation to these questions.

Local and Imported: Conjunctions of Mediterranean Forms in Romanesque Aragón

Eileen McKiernan González

Berea College

Romantic Geography and the Crusades: London, British Library, Royal ms. 19 D I

Maureen Quigley

Saint Louis University

Sur la Route...Topographic Patronage and the Genealogy of Location in Late Capetian France

Tracy Chapman Hamilton

Sweet Briar College

La Pierre-qui-Vire and Zodiaque: A Monastic Pilgrimage of Medieval Dimensions

Janet Marquardt

Eastern Illinois University

Geography, Archaeology, Art History: A Case Study for a Multidisciplinary Approach to Mapping Architectural Heritage

Kim McCarty, Brittany Gregory, and Mickey Abel

University of North Texas



Local and Imported: Conjunctions of Mediterranean Forms in Romanesque Aragón

By Eileen P. McKiernan González, Berea College, Kentucky*

The Hospitaller monastery of Santa María la Real de Sigüenza, founded as a royal burial site for the kingdom of Aragón, represents a stylistic crossroads that reveals the conflation of distinct traditions from Iberia and the Mediterranean. Sancha of León-Castilla (d.1208) founded Sigüenza in 1188 at the same time that Gothic architectural forms began appearing in new foundations along with the expansion of Cistercian reform on the peninsula.¹ Yet Sancha and her builders chose the distinctly *retardataire* Romanesque style for the construction of Sigüenza's church.² (fig. 1) Further, in contrast to these more popular architectural trends, Sigüenza's planners made structural and decorative choices for the chapterhouse that included Byzantine, Islamic, and Peninsular elements. By

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- This paper uses research from my dissertation "Monastery and Monarchy: The Foundation and Patronage of Santa María la Real de Sigüenza and Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas" (The University of Texas at Austin, 2005) and from the opportunity provided by the NEH Summer Seminar: Medieval Mediterranean and the Origins of the West (Barcelona, 2008) to further my research and revisit the site.

¹ The date of foundation has at times appeared as 1183. While a document of foundation exists for 1184, the later date of 1188 is likely the moment when construction was underway and the monastery was habitable. Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, "Las cartas fundacionales del monasterio hospitalario de Santa María de Sigüenza, 1184-1188," *Aragón en la Edad Media* 19 (2006), 201-212. The Cistercians provide the earliest consistent use of Gothic forms on the peninsula. For a discussion of this see Eileen McKiernan González, "Monastery and Monarchy: The Foundation and Patronage of Santa María la Real de Sigüenza and Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas" (The University of Texas at Austin, 2005), 125-165.

² In two recent conferences (International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo 2004) and Byzantine (College Art Association, Los Angeles 2009) the usefulness of broad stylistic terms of Romanesque have been called into question, preferencing the use of more clearly defined geographic, chronological, or dynastic terms. For this paper I will use both of these terms precisely for their breadth of meaning.

examining the disparate stylistic choices made at Sigena by the queen and her advisors, I will show that this building project presented a radically different approach to monastic



Figure 1. Santa María la Real de Sigena (Photo: Author)

decoration – one that linked the site to pan-Mediterranean forms and reflected the cosmopolitan nature of the kingdom.

While the analysis of the site has been complicated by its destruction by fire during the Spanish civil war, photographs of the chapterhouse survive thanks to Josep de Gudiol's 1936 photographic survey that included the paintings of Sigena's church among the Romanesque frescoes of the region.³ Gudiol's black and white photographs of

³ The photos have been published in a variety of sources. The most complete is Walter Oakeshott, *Sigena: Romanesque Paintings in Spain & the Winchester Bible Artists* (London, 1972). The remains of the cycle, primarily the spandrels, are on display at the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. http://www.mnac.es/colleccio/col_romanico.jsp?ambit=21&lan=003

Sigena's chapterhouse, on the other hand, provide for us a window into the syncretic approach to several styles popular in the Mediterranean. **(fig. 2)** The pointed diaphragm arches are embellished with a Sicilian Byzantine fresco cycle and Mudejar *artesonado* (highly intricate wood interlace marquetry).⁴ It is this combination of Romanesque and Byzantine paintings and Mudejar decorative elements that articulates the expansionist tendencies of the reconquest kingdom of Aragón and the patronage goals of its queen, Sancha.

⁴ Mudejar comes from the term *Mudajjan* – denoting Muslim peoples under the rule of Christians in Iberia. There have been several overviews of Mudejar architecture including Rafael López Guzmán, *Arquitectura mudéjar: Del sincretismo medieval a las alternativas hispanoamericanas* (Madrid, 2005) and Gonzalo Borrás Gualis' *El arte mudejar* (Teruel, 1990), which are the broadest in scope and look at the issues surrounding historiography. Jerrilynn Dodds has also looked at the complex nature of the term *Mudejar* in "Mudejar Tradition and the Synagogues of Medieval Spain: Cultural Identity and Cultural Hegemony," in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*. eds. Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York, 1992), 112-31 and "The Mudejar Tradition in Architecture," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*. Ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Vol. 2. (Leiden, 1992), 592-98. Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza in "Architectural Languages, Functions, and Spaces: The Crown of Castile and Al-Andalus," *Medieval Encounters* 12.3 (2006): 360-87 reconsidered some of the broad assumptions of Mudejar, particularly the general sense that it is identifiable through Islamic decorative forms that are subordinate to Christian structures. By considering the use of the *qubba*, a central plan structure with a square base, he reframes the discussion adding the possibility of Gothic decorative forms in an Islamic architectural body.



Figure 2. Chapterhouse, Santa María la Real de Sigüenza (After: Josep de Gudiol, published in Walter F. Oakeshott. *Sigüenza: Romanesque Painting in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists*. London, 1972)

Sancha was the daughter of Alfonso VII of León-Castilla (r. 1126-1157) and his second wife Ricca of Poland (d. 1185). **[Appendix I: Genealogy]** Sancha's early life is rather obscure.⁵ Her youth was spent in León with her aunt, the infanta Sancha (d. 1159), also of León-Castilla, after her widowed mother married Ramón Berenguer II of Provence (r. 1144-1167) and joined him in France. By the time of her marriage to Alfonso II, king of Aragón, Sancha was living in Castilla at the court of her nephew Alfonso VIII (r. 1158-1214). Her construction of Sigüenza and active involvement in its affairs is likely indebted to the influence of her aunt and her grandmother, Queen Urraca of León-Castilla (r. 1109-26).⁶ Both of these women are known for their patronage of

⁵ Mariano de Pano y Ruata's study of the queen's life still dominates the literature in *La santa reina doña Sancha, fundadora del monasterio de Sigüenza* (Zaragoza, 1944).

⁶ The significant power of the infantazgo has been studied by Therese Martin most recently in "Hacia una clarificación del infantazgo en tiempos de la reina Urraca y su hija la infanta Sancha (ca. 1107-1159)," *e-Spania*, 5 (2008) <http://e-spania.revues.org/index12163.html>. The infanta ruled over her own lands, and

San Isidoro de León, a site that was closely affiliated with the Leonese monarchy from its foundation by Sancha of León (d. 1067) and Fernando I of León-Castilla (r. 1035-63).

San Isidoro took on the role of royal burial site for a new combined kingdom incorporating León and the county of Castilla.⁷

Sancha's Architectural Sources: San Isidoro and San Salvador de Palat del Rey

In the century of construction that followed at San Isidoro, the Leonese monarchy consistently patronized the site and converted it from a small mozarabic church to a Romanesque masterpiece upon the pilgrimage road to Santiago de Compostela. A royal palace also remained adjacent to the site until the infanta Sancha transformed the double monastery into an Augustinian canonate in 1148.⁸ The infanta released the palace to the canons of San Isidoro as well.

Two particular features employed at San Isidoro are important to consider in the comparison of that site to Sigüenza and in light of Sancha's role in its design and construction. These are the use of the polylobed arch and the extensive fresco cycle. At San Isidoro the incorporation of polylobed arches in the transept was an unusual feature

appears prominently in her brother's documents, even with the title of queen. She has even been the subject of historical fiction in Angeles de Irisari's *La reina Urraca* (Madrid, 2000) told from the infanta's perspective.

⁷ Therese Martin, *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Patronage in Twelfth-Century Spain* (Leiden, 2006), 158. Sancha entered a similar situation in Aragón, where a smaller kingdom was unified to a powerful county poised for greater expansion. Like her predecessor in León-Castilla, Sancha attempted to define royal burial and dynastic affiliation through her patronage of Sigüenza.

⁸ Among the many studies on San Isidoro de León, four scholars have looked at issues of patronage, iconography of the fresco cycle, and architecture: Martin, *Queen as King*; Rose Walker, "The Wall Paintings in the Panteon de los Reyes at Leon: A Cycle of Intercession" *Art Bulletin* 82.2 (2000): 200-25; Susan Havens Caldwell, "Urraca of Zamora and San Isidoro in Leon: Fulfillment of a Legacy" *Women's Art Journal* 7.1 (1986): 19-25; and John Williams, "San Isidoro in León: Evidence for a New History" *Art Bulletin* 55.2 (1973): 170-89.

for the region at the time. Therese Martin analyzed the use of this type of arch as a referent to Islamic architecture, and particularly to the now-destroyed Great Mosque in Toledo.⁹ This association linked the queen to her father Alfonso VI's conquest of Toledo in 1085, which had been a major turning point in the balance of power on the peninsula where Alfonso VI inhabited and built Islamic palaces. The polylobed arch was systematically used in this earlier architecture, and such usage furthered the site's visual language of reconquest, and presented an early example of Mudejar forms in León.

San Isidoro also had a lavish fresco cycle in the lower narthex, referred to today as the Panteón de los Reyes. The cycle's iconography is Christological; it would also find echo in the chapterhouse of Sigüenza.¹⁰ The patronage of the cycle has been attributed to Fernando I, the infanta Urraca (sister of Alfonso VI), queen Urraca, Alfonso VII, and the infanta Sancha.¹¹ Having lived at the court of León, queen Sancha [founder of Sigüenza] would have been witness to and have understood not only the political importance of the patronage programs of these royal women, but the visual implications in the importation of motifs and styles associated with other geographic areas and political alliances.¹²

The syncretic style that characterizes the amalgam of elements found at San Isidro appears to have left a mark on Sancha as she modeled her patronage of Sigüenza on the

⁹ Martin, *Queen as King*, 105-111.

¹⁰ Two articles have analyzed this burial tradition: Rose Walker, "Images of Royal and Aristocratic Burial in northern Spain, c. 950 – c. 1250" in *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past*, ed. Elizabeth van Houts (Harlow, 2001) and Raquel Alonso Álvarez, "Los enterramientos de los reyes de León y Castilla hasta Sancho IV: Continuidad dinástica y memoria regia," *e-Spania*, 3 (2007), <http://e-spania.revues.org/document109.html>.

¹¹ The current debate about patronage centers on the infanta Urraca (whom Walker preferred) and the queen Urraca (preferred by Martin).

¹² The basilica at San Isidoro was consecrated in 1149, just four or five years before Sancha's birth. Her aunt willed extensive property to the canonate. The connection was so close that the thirteenth century chronicler, Lucas de Tuy, referred to Sancha as the "bride of San Isidoro." Martin, *Queen as King*, 154.

actions of her female relatives at San Isidoro. She incorporated not only an appropriated style in the use of *artesonado*, as her grandmother had done with the Mudejar arches, but also a fresco cycle attributed to the patronage of women of her line. Falling out of step with these women, however, Sancha founded not a double monastery, as was the case at San Isidoro, but a women's house. This is particularly interesting in that she planned this woman's house as a royal pantheon, in replication of the function of San Isidoro. For this too she looked to a Leónese tradition that had begun with the Mozarabic monastery of San Salvador de Palat del Rey.¹³ Like San Isidoro and Sigena, San Salvador was the foundation of a woman – Elvira Ramírez of León (d.c. 986), daughter of Ramiro II (r. 931-950), who, like Sancha, was a princess, an abbess, and finally a regent.¹⁴

Sancha, further, established her women's house in reconquered territory and under the rule of the Hospitallers, thereby stating very pointedly her affiliation with the ideology of the Christian reconquest.¹⁵ The lands Sancha chose had been conquered by Alfonso I (r. 1104-1134), and were among the lands given to the Hospitaller and Templar orders by Ramón Berenguer IV (rules as prince 1137-1162) in reconciling Alfonso's will.¹⁶ A document from 1184, indicated that an exchange of land for churches was

¹³ Four or perhaps five kings were buried at Palat del Rey: Ramiro II, Ordoño III, Sancho, and Ordoño IV, and possibly Ramiro III. The establishment of San Isidoro by Sancha's great-great-grandparents, Sancha and Fernando, followed in the footsteps of this Leonese tradition, which dated back to the kings of Asturias. For a groundplan and discussion of the architectural framework of Palat del Rey see Jerrilynn Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (University Park, 1990).

¹⁴ Ricardo del Arco, *Sepulcros de la casa real de Castilla* (Madrid, 1954), 13-15.

¹⁵ The unique situation of Sigena within the military order has been considered by Alan J. Forey in "Women and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." *Studia Monastica* 29 (1987): 63-92; and by Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, "The Aragonese Hospitaller Monaster of Sigena: is Early Stages, 1188-c.1210" in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, edited by Anthony Llutrell and Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot, 2006), 113-141.

¹⁶ Alfonso I left the kingdom to the military orders. While his will was not upheld, his brother Ramiro II, the monk (r. 1134-1137), succeeded him, the Hospitaller and Templar orders had to be compensated. Ramón Berenguer IV, as prince of Aragón through his marriage to Petronila (Ramiro's daughter),

necessary as the land, town, and churches were divided between these two orders.¹⁷ In the foundation document of 1188 Armengol de Aspa, Maestre de Amposta – head of the Hospitaller order in the Crown of Aragón – accepted the incorporation of the nuns at Sigena into the order.

As was the situation for her ancestors, Sancha's position of power and her monastic patronage on the peninsula derived originally from her royal Leonese family; yet, for Sancha, this was further enhanced by her inter-Iberian marriage, to Alfonso II of Aragón (r. 1162-96) in 1174, shortly after his knighting and coming of age, and she ruled by his side for twenty-two years, after which she was named regent for their son Pedro II (r. 1196-1213). Documents of her political maneuvers during this time show Sancha to have been an effective powerhouse, and she was also known to be well-educated and highly pious.¹⁸ Sancha and Alfonso's court was renowned for both its learned and expansionist tendencies.¹⁹

negotiated the settlement of lands. See Elena Lourie, "The Will of Alfonso I, 'El Batallador,' King of Aragón and Navarre: A Reassessment," *Speculum* 50/4 (1975): 635-651.

¹⁷ Luis García-Guijarro Ramos discusses the early documents of Sigena, specifically the complicated land transfers between Sancha, the Templars, and the Hospitallers. At the core of these was the land for the monastery, most of it either Sancha's or the Hospitaller's. Two churches, however, in the towns of Sena and Sigena, were on the land, but were property of the Templars. García-Guijarro Ramos placed these in the context of the land donations of Ramón Berenguer IV of Barcelona (prince of Aragón) to the Hospitallers and Templars in his reconciling of Alfonso I of Aragón's will. He also explored the evidence that Sigena was habitable by 1188. García-Guijarro Ramos, 201-212. The wording of the document suggests that while the site was complete enough for the installation of the nuns, the church was probably built after the dormitories, chapterhouse, refectory, and cloister, all of which were uniform in their structure.

¹⁸ Contemporary troubadour Pierre Vidal described Sancha in song as: "the valiant queen in Aragón, who is a truer queen than any in all the world . . . for she is honest and loyal and gracious, loved by all the people and to God agreeable." Cited in Martí de Riquer's "La poesia d'Alfons, dit El Cast" in *VII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, 1-6 October 1962*, 1: Crónica y ponencias (Barcelona, 1962), 123-140.

¹⁹ José María Lacarra y de Miguel, "Alfonso II el Casto, rey de Aragón y conde de Barcelona" in *VII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, 1-6 October 1962*, 1: Crónica y ponencias (Barcelona, 1962), 95-120.

It is from within the context of her own family's traditions, as well as those of her husband's court, that Sancha came to see the ideological expediency of a site that would integrate geographically the political kingdom of Aragón with the more-worldly county of Barcelona, whose political connections tended toward the French Midi.²⁰ As the first king of the combined kingdom and county, thereafter called the Crown of Aragón, Alfonso had to balance the varying legal and political structures of his different administrations. His documents present him as a king on the march, appearing monthly in different cities and regions.²¹ The documents associated with Sancha, on the other hand, link her actions substantially to Aragón and the old seat of power in Huesca.²² While appearing to leave her interests in León-Castilla aside, these documents also show her acting independently of her husband.

²⁰ Alfonso not only patronized troubadours, but also wrote poetry himself. In recent scholarship he has been titled the Troubadour because of this, but early documents entitle him the Chaste (since he is not known to have had any illegitimate children, although he was tied to several women in addition to Sancha). Irénée Cluzel, "Princes et troubadores de la maison royale de Barcelone-Aragón" *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 27 (1957-58): 321-73. Alfonso's rule further extended into the Midi after he incorporated Provence into his kingdom at the death of his uncle Ramón Berenguer II, count of Provence in 1167, in effect seizing control from Sancha's mother and half sister Douce. Ricca went on to marry Raymond V of Toulouse. Sancha's daughter Leonor married Raymond V's son Raymond VI, placing grandmother and granddaughter in succession as countesses of Toulouse.

²¹ Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón has compiled the documents of the king in *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza: documentos (1162-1196)* (Zaragoza, 1995). See also Jaime Caruana Gómez de Barreda, "Itinerario de Alfonso II de Aragón" *Estudios de la edad media de la Corona de Aragón* 7 (1962): 73-226.

²² Sancha's documents reveal much of her patronage thanks to documentation practices of Aragón. As opposed to León and Castilla, where the formulaic construction of king, queen, and heir obscures agency, Aragonese practice provides Sancha's agency in donations and land transfers. No comprehensive study has been made of Sancha's disparate documents. In Sánchez Casabón's compilation of Alfonso's documents she appears only where she signs her husband's documents. McKiernan González, 38-54.

The Politics of Geography

The distribution of Sancha's wealth and her political involvements paint a picture not only of her agency, but of her vision of herself as a queen who could link the various factions represented within the court of her new kingdom. Given the clarity of this picture, it is my contention that her choice of location for Sigena within the old kingdom of Aragón, her desire to designate this site as the royal pantheon in the manner of the foundations of her Leonese ancestors at San Isidoro and San Salvador de Palat del Rey, and her active role in its design and decoration deliberately marked out in physical form a royal vision that balanced the patronage traditions of her own family with the Aragonese expansionist tendencies in her choice of a military order. As such, Sigena signals a dramatic moment in the propensity toward the pan-Mediterranean in the Crown of Aragón. The diverse forms and styles incorporated there illustrate a unique awareness of the political and ideological meanings imbedded in differing geographical associations.

The importance of geography is implicit in the siting of Sigena. Sancha placed the complex in territory associated with the conquests of Alfonso I el Batallador (r. 1104-1134).²³ His expansionist tendencies to north and east were continued through the reigns of Alfonso II's son and grandson, to the point where, at its height, the Crown of Aragón included control of Majorca, Sicily, southern Italy and parts of Greece. In terms of the Pan-Mediterranean adoption of forms at Sigena, it is important to note that these more far-reaching sites were to be referenced in the décor of the monastery's chapterhouse.

It is also important to note that the political alliances on the Iberian peninsula varied over time, shifting between the kingdoms of Castilla, León, and Navarra. With

²³ The Battler was Alfonso II's granduncle and Sancha's step grandfather. See genealogy appendix.

this in mind, it is significant that the monastery was positioned at the crossroads linking the four most important cities of the period in the Crown of Aragón: Huesca, Barcelona, Zaragoza, and Lleida. The monastery also lay on the Catalan pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela. Reflecting the cross-peninsula awareness that would have been possible by way of this popular thoroughfare, records show that Alfonso II went on pilgrimage in 1196, the year he died, stopping in all the regions of the north to consolidate an alliance linking the Christian kingdoms.²⁴

Situated on the pilgrimage road from Barcelona to Santiago de Compostela, Sigena was in relatively close proximity to the fortresses of Monzón and Barbastro, both of which had played significant roles in the reconquest push of Alfonso I, and Montearagón where he chose to be buried. This placed the monastery squarely in the transitional zone between the kingdom of Aragón and the county of Barcelona, mediating the political and geographic space. The association with these fortresses and Sancha's choice of a crusading order for Sigena, indicated the level of Sancha's support of reconquest ideology.

The siting of the monastery was coupled with its proposed function in Sancha's goal to bring the political ideology in line with the geography. Following the familial model, Sancha's first goal was to establish the Leonese custom of royal burial in her new kingdom of Aragón. Because of the alliances that spanned the Iberian kingdoms associated with various family members, this was not as straightforward as a simple site designation. Foremost, Sancha wished to have her husband buried at Sigena. Alfonso II,

²⁴ His death meant that this alliance would not reach fruition until over a decade later in the decisive battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) where his son Pedro I (r. 1196-1213) played an instrumental role. Antonio Ubieto Arteta, "La peregrinación de Alfonso II de Aragón a Santiago de Compostela" *Estudios de la edad media de la corona de Aragón* 5 (1952): 438-452.

however, had several choices of burial location. He could follow his father who had promised his body to the Monastery of Ripoll, in keeping with the tradition of the counts of Barcelona. Looking to Aragón, San Juan de la Peña was also a traditional site for the king's burial. In Sigena, Sancha gave him a new option, one that would have tied the borders of his two most important territories. Ultimately, Alfonso took a more politically neutral route in choosing the monastery at Poblet, thereby privileging the Cistercians above a consideration of geographical allegiance.

Although Sancha did not succeed in convincing her husband to be buried at Sigena, she did acquire her son Pedro's promise of burial, which he affirmed after his father's death in 1196.²⁵ This history shows that the foundation of Sigena as a royal burial site was an attempt to address the complicated genealogical relationships of the Iberian peninsula, as well as the political necessities of Sancha's new kingdom.

Sancha's active involvement with the day-to-day affairs of the monastery after its completion suggests a similar oversight of the monastery during its construction which influenced the choice of its style. Unlike at Poblet or Valbona de les Monges, two contemporary monasteries of the region erected in an early Gothic style, the stylistic combinations at Sigena, are unusual enough to suggest a deliberate use of style to identify the monastery's royal patronage and unique stature among the queen's foundations.²⁶

²⁵ Sancha and her children (Pedro, Leonor, and Dulce) were the only royal burials there for two centuries. While royal burial moved to the county of Barcelona, privileging the Cistercians at Poblet and Santes Creus, Sigena became an important burial site for the Aragonesse aristocracy.

²⁶ Sancha also patronized other Cistercian monasteries, and she had a Cistercian as a close advisor, Ricardo, bishop of Huesca, who wrote a customary for Sigena. Known as Sancha's rule, the customary expanded on the Augustinian rule that the Hospitallers followed. The full text can be found in Agustín Ubieto Arteta, *El real monasterio de Sigena (1188-1300)* (Valencia, 1966), 18-40. The customary has been translated into English by both Marian Horvat, "Queen Sancha of Aragon and the Royal Monastery of Sigena" (M.A. Thesis, University of Kansas, 1994), 125-162 and by Karl Frederick Schuler, "The Pictorial Program of the Chapterhouse of Sigena" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1995), 253-263. Interestingly Sancha did not favor to the same degree the monastery of Casbas, the local Cistercian foundation for women. Alfonso's

Style and Geography in an Age of Transitions

The dominant style of the monastery at Sigena is in keeping with the fortress churches of the Hospitaller order in Aragón, the fortress churches of the French Midi, and the church of San Isidoro de León.²⁷ Broad unarticulated walls of ashlar masonry, the consistent use of arches, both in the vaulting – usually a barrel vault – and in portals and windows characterize this architecture. The ground plan of the church at Sigena is consistent with a single nave church that incorporates a clerestory, transept, and an apse with side chapels.²⁸

While the pointed barrel vault was the primary component used in the church, it was not carried throughout the complex at Sigena; instead diaphragm arches dominate the rest of the structure. **(figs. 3 and 4)** These arches were an alternative technique used effectively in both religious and secular spheres, although generally not in the church

patronage of the Cistercians has been well documented by Sánchez Casabón and María Jesus Sánchez Oson, in “Alfonso II y el Cister en Aragón” in *El Cister: Órdenes religiosas zaragozanas* (Zaragoza, 1987), 17-34.

²⁷ Sheila Bonde’s *Fortress-Churches of Languedoc: Architecture, Religion, and Conflict in the High Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1994) provided an overview of this development in the Languedoc. Unfortunately there is no comparable study of Hospitaller sites. A site-by-site analysis is necessary. For further discussion of the late Romanesque in Aragón see Eileen McKiernan González, “The Persistence of the Romanesque in the Kingdom of Aragón,” in *Church, Vellum and State: Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams*, eds. Therese Martin and Julie Harris (Leiden, 2005), 443-478.

²⁸ Jacques Gardelles, “Le prieuré de Sigena aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles: Étude architecturale” *Bulletin monumental* 133.1 (1975): 15-28.



Figure 3. Nave, Santa María la Real de Sigüenza (Photo: Author)

proper or the primary audience halls of palaces. For these spaces, either barrel vaults or ribbed vaults continued to dominate. These fully vaulted structures are more stable, but require more stone and labor. The diaphragm construction allowed for transverse arches to create a frame that could be covered with lighter materials, generally wooden beams. At Sigüenza these arches allowed for less-expensive vaulting, quicker construction, and space for embellishment.



Figure 4. Dormitory, Santa María la Real de Sigüenza (Photo: Author)

Artesonado: Islamic Decoration as a Royal and Conquering Signifier

The chapterhouse's diaphragm construction (**fig. 2**) is distinct from both the standard in the kingdom of Aragón and that in the county of Barcelona in that the ceiling above the arches is flat beamed, rather than pitched as seen in contemporary constructions at Poblet and Santes Creus. The flat ceiling extended the space of the spandrel of each diaphragm arch, thus opening the space for painting. For my purposes, the use of these arches is important because they also opened the space for elaborate

artesonado ceilings. Often ignored at Sigüenza, the Mudejar artesonado depicts a level of complexity and variety that moves far beyond a simple wood covering. Associated with Mudejar structures, the elaborate artesonado was common in Castilla and Andalusia, however, this elaboration was relatively rare in Aragón and is visually distinct. In Castilla, artesonado tended to be elaborately carved and heavily painted, whereas in Aragón and Barcelona simple cross beams, as seen in the dormitory of Poblet, were generally preferred. (**fig. 5**)

An Islamic source for the artesonado can, though, be found in Aragón, namely in the Taifa kingdom of the Banu Hud, which was centered in Zaragoza.²⁹ The rapid incorporation of Taifa ruled lands beginning with Alfonso VI of León-Castilla's conquest of Toledo in 1085, and furthered by Alfonso I of Aragón's conquest of Zaragoza in 1118, had the double benefit of not only expanding the boundaries of these kingdoms, but also expanding the stylistic choices available along with availability of knowledgeable craftsmen. As the Taifa rulers built lavishly, these forms were appropriated into the Christian realm.

Documentary evidence suggests that Alfonso VI not only inhabited these lavish sites, but had palaces built in the style of the conquered. By the end of the twelfth

²⁹ Castilla-León continued to appropriate this Islamic style into the fifteenth century; In Aragón it remained a regional style and does not generally ascend to the heights of a courtly style. Taifa is a term derived from the Arabic *muluk al-tawa'if* (kings of factions or groups). After the splintering of the Umayyad Caliphate, these smaller kingdoms arose and dominated southern Iberia until the arrival of the Almoravids from Morocco. Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (London: Longman, 1996), 130.

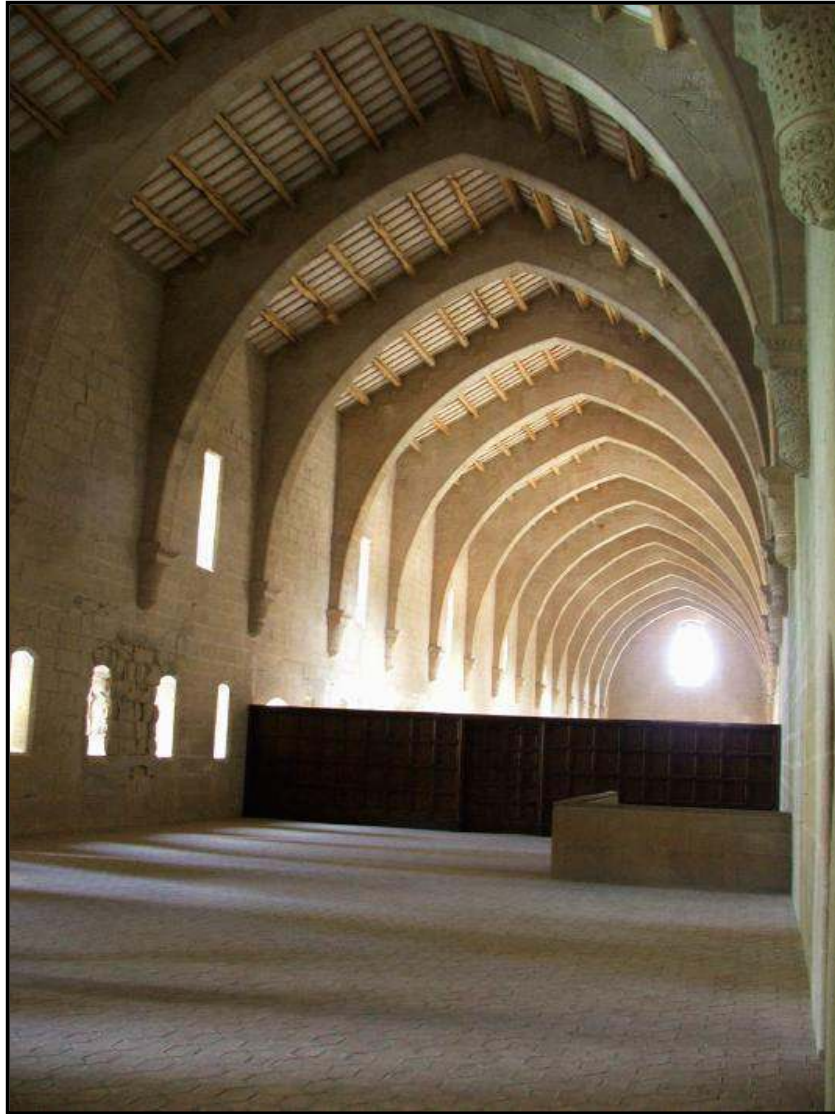


Figure 5. Dormitory, Poblet (Photo: Author)

century Mudejar elements began to appear prominently in palace structures and in monastic sites, suggesting an increasingly pervasive use of the style in noble circles. An example of this is the Mudejar chapel of La Asunción in the Cistercian monastery of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas in Burgos.³⁰

³⁰ Gema Palomo Fernández and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza have analyzed the consistent approach to Mudejar forms at Las Huelgas in “Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas de Burgos. Escenografía funeraria de Alfonso X para un proyecto inacabado de Alfonso VIII y Leonor Plantagenet” *Goya* 316-17 (2007): 21-44.

Alfonso I, on the other hand, did not patronize architecture in the same way. Indeed, his rule and the subsequent regency of Ramón Berenguer IV of Barcelona left these Aragonese territories without substantial construction until the rule of Alfonso II and Sancha. At Sigena, in contrast, the Islamic forms referenced the conquered Taifa kingdom of Zaragoza, and specifically the fortress palace of the Aljaferia, rather than the contemporary Almohads.³¹ The architecture was heavily embellished with carved stucco walls and wood beams that combined geometric designs, floral patterns, and calligraphy. Sigena's chapterhouse ceiling reflects this style of deeply carved geometric designs.

Eight of the twelve panels of Sigena's chapterhouse artesonado ceiling survive in photographs. **(fig. 6)** These images show a deeply carved format in a rigorous geometric frame.³² As Karl Schuler has shown, the configuration of the Mudejar ceiling should be

³¹ Alfonso I actually conquered the kingdom in 1118 from the Almoravids who had taken control from the Banu Hud (Taifa rulers of Zaragoza) in 1110. Their control of the city was short-lived and the connection to place remained with the Banu Hud's architectural exploits. The Aljaferia was the royal palace constructed under the Banu Hud. Gonzalo Borrás Gualis, 63-65. The Almohads, like the Almoravids, were a Moroccan dynasty. They were noted for their austerity and religious zeal. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, 154-161, 196-200.

³² Borrás Gualis, 65. The dating of the chapterhouse was argued as much later by José Galiay Sarañana in *Arte mudejar aragonés* (Zaragoza, 2002 facsimile of 1950 publication), 191-192. Galiay Sarañana identified the craftsmen as French, but the program is clearly Mudejar. He also dated the artesonado to c. 1410 based on documentation. The subprioress of the time refers to the expansion she made of a room off of the chapterhouse, probably referring to the small mudejar chapel on the north side of the chapterhouse whose decoration fits with the mudejar preferred by the Trastámara dynasty of the period. Borrás Gualis dated the chapterhouse artesonado by style to the first quarter of the thirteenth century – contemporary with his dating of the fresco cycle. It is clear from documentary evidence that Islamic craftsmen worked at Sigena. Alfonso transfers possession of his "Saracen" Cicrino to Sancha and Sigena in 1193. Cicrino appears again in Sancha's will in 1208, although the specific work he did for Sancha is unclear. Ubieto Arteta, *El real monasterio de Sigena*, 44-45, 85.



Figure 6. Mudejar artesonado, spandrel frescoes, and intrado ancestor figures, Chapterhouse, Santa María la Real de Sigüenza (After: Josep de Gudiol, published in Walter F. Oakeshott. *Sigüenza: Romanesque Painting in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists*. London, 1972)

considered in a discussion of Sigüenza's fresco cycle. Often ignored, the Mudejar artesonado depicts a level of complexity and variety that moves far beyond a simple wood covering. Each of the twelve panels was unique and rigorously laid out in intricate geometric patterns. Schuler also pointed out the significance of the Arabic calligraphy in the foliate patterns, including phrases such as "Sovereignty belongs to God," and "Blessings and Prosperity."³³ While generally associated with Quranic text, these phrases are not contrary to Christian belief, and appear in Christian settings where a

³³ Schuler, 143-144.

combined Christian and Islamic workforce was present.³⁴ The adaptation of the artesonado and the use of calligraphic phrasing signified the recent conquest of the Taifa kingdom. It was a reference that would have been recognizable and appreciated by the Aragonese courtiers.

Sicilian-Byzantine Frescoes: Byzantine Decoration as an Imperial Signifier

Going beyond this political reference, the artisans at work in Sigena adopted an even more foreign style of a different magnitude. Unlike the frescos painted in the church at Sigena, which were of a style consistent with late Romanesque found elsewhere in the region, Sigena's chapterhouse was covered with lavish Byzantine frescoes that had no parallel in Aragón, the county of Barcelona, or even the remainder of the Iberian Peninsula. Bringing to mind the Christological iconography of the program at San Isidoro, the paintings of the chapterhouse articulate a cohesive program from Genesis through the Life of Christ in this imported style.³⁵ **(fig. 7)**

The program begins on the diaphragm arches, which directs the viewer's attention across the arch from left to right following the narrative of Genesis, beginning with the Creation of Adam and ending with the anointing of David. **(fig. 8)** Along with this narrative sequence painted in a Byzantine style, the frame and point of the spandrels included marginalia of flora and fanciful fauna in a local style.³⁶ **(fig. 9)** The program

³⁴ Denise Fairchild Ruggles discusses a similar construction on the façade of the Alcazar of Sevilla, though granted at a later date, in "The Alcazar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture" *Gesta* 43.2 (2004): 87-98.

³⁵ San Isidoro's program moves from infancy, to Crucifixion, to Maestas Domini. While Old Testament figures appear in the capitals, Enoch and Elijah are their sole representatives in painting. See Rose Walker and Therese Martin for discussions of these images.

³⁶ Oakeshott, 74. The creation, fall, and punishment of Adam and Eve took up the first seven spandrel views, Cain and Abel the next three, Noah four, the Sacrifice of Isaac one, Moses five, and finally David is



Figure 7. Chapterhouse frescos, Santa María la Real de Sigüenza (After: Josep de Gudiol, published in Walter F. Oakeshott. *Sigüenza: Romanesque Painting in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists*. London, 1972)

extends then to the walls and rises from the base of the diaphragm arches to the artesonado ceiling. Because the walls were whitewashed over time due to changing styles and water damage, several gaps in the program are irretrievable, although the consistency of the program presents some logical choices within the established Christological plan.³⁷ (**fig. 10**)

anointed. The intrados of the arches presented the ancestors of Christ with two distinct programs. The surrounding walls depict the scenes of Christ's life from Incarnation to Resurrection. There are significant gaps in the wall program due to later whitewashing.

³⁷ Barbara Zeitler cautioned against assuming a straightforward transfer of iconography from East to West in "Cross Cultural Interpretations of Imagery in the Middle Ages," *Art Bulletin* 76.4 (1994): 680-694. In particular she found textual and visual moments of misinterpretation of iconography. Sigüenza's program integrates and alters Byzantine iconography for a Western audience of nuns and royal household. The



Figure 8. Labor of Adam and Eve, Second spandrel, Chapterhouse, Santa María la Real de Sigüenza (After: Josep de Gudiol, published in Walter F. Oakeshott. *Sigüenza: Romanesque Painting in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists*. London, 1972)

The two central scenes on the south and north walls, the Nativity and the Crucifixion, bring the cycle of Christ's earthly existence from birth to death. Each of these scenes dominates the center of its respective wall by its extended width. In terms of Byzantine iconography, the one major inconsistency is in Genesis, especially given the Norman Sicilian variant. The programs at the Cappella Palatina, the Martorana, and Monreale all begin their sequences with Genesis 1: 1-31, the separation of light from

different iconography of the Byzantine and Western European programs makes it difficult to reconstruct with certainty what may have been portrayed in the remaining five whitewashed panels. It seems plausible that what is missing is the Angel at the Open Tomb, Anastasis, Pentecost, Ascension, and either the Trinity or a Last Judgment, although the shape and size of the space available makes the Last Judgment seem less likely.

darkness, and move through the seven days of Creation. The program at Sigena skips this first chapter of Genesis and moves directly to Chapters 2 – 9, and then briefly to Genesis 22, Exodus, and finally to 2 Samuel 2: 5-7. In this, the iconographic program was specifically tailored to the space at Sigena. Ending the program with the anointing of David as king, would have been entirely appropriate for the royal foundation.



Figure 9. Centaur battling a Dragon, Chapterhouse, Santa María la Real de Sigena (After: Josep de Gudiol, published in Walter F. Oakeshott. *Sigena: Romanesque Painting in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists*. London, 1972)

It has been widely accepted that the style of Sigena's frescos follows the Norman Sicilian Byzantine style that has also been identified with the *Winchester Bible*.³⁸ The figures are

³⁸ Oakeshott, 90-97, suggests the Morgan Master as the painter at Sigena, although the connections with the work of the Gothic Master are also quite persuasive.

linear but with enough volume and contrast of light and dark to suggest a level of naturalism. The softened lines create a level of dynamism to the figures. Unfortunately, due to the fire in 1936, the color of the narrative panels does not survive



Figure 10. Nativity, south wall, Chapterhouse, Santa María la Real de Sigüenza (After: Josep de Gudiol, published in Walter F. Oakeshott. *Sigüenza: Romanesque Painting in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists*. London, 1972)

for a more detailed formal analysis. The only color that survives appears in the archivolt of the entry arch into the chapterhouse. (**fig. 11**)

Dating the fresco cycle has proved even more difficult than reconstructing the iconographic program; on the basis of style alone, scholars have suggested dates ranging from the 1190s to the 1230s.³⁹ Two differing approaches to dating dominate: either the

³⁹ Oakeshott and Otto Pächt challenged the traditional dating of the 1230s by connecting the cycle to the Winchester Bible and particularly to the Master of the Morgan leaf. Otto Pächt, "A Cycle of English Frescoes in Spain" *Burlington Magazine* 103 (1961), 166-75. Schuller, 197-218, summarized the debate over dating of the cycle. His conclusions placed it between 1190 and 1200, and most likely between 1190 and 1194. In this Schuller agreed with the findings of Freya Probst, "Die Wandmalereien im Kapitelsaal

cycle was done shortly after the establishment of Sigena in the 1180s and 1190s – immediately following the close of work on the *Winchester Bible* – or after Sancha’s death, pushing the dating to the 1220s. These two scenarios, as with the fresco cycle at San Isidoro, identify two women as patrons: Sancha, the foundress, or her eldest daughter Constanza, then queen of Sicily.⁴⁰



Figure 11. Archivolt on entry into Chapterhouse, Santa María la Real de Sigena (After: Josep de Gudiol, published in Walter F. Oakeshott. *Sigena: Romanesque Painting in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists*. London, 1972)

des Klosters S. Maria in Sigena” (Ph.D. diss., Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität, Bonn, 1985). Pächt, Oakeshott, Schuller, and Ernst Kitzinger, “The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966), 25-47) have analyzed this cycle in connection to Winchester Bible. Unfortunately, no surviving documents mention the frescoes and Gasol Fargas’s scientific analysis of the remaining frescoes’ structure and materials did not shed new light on this problem. Gasol Fargas’ dating confirmed that used by the Museo Nacional d’Art de Catalunya of 1190-1200. Rosa M. Gasol Fargas, “Study of the Original Technique of the Wall Paintings of the Chapter House of Santa Maria de Sigena, Spain (1190-1200)” *ICOM Committee for Conservation Triennial meeting (12th), Lyon, 29 August - 3 September 1999* (London, 1999), 467-72.

⁴⁰ Angel Sicart has been the primary proponent of Constanza’s role in “Las pinturas de Sijena” *Cuadernos de arte español*, 39 (1992): 30.

Connections among the kingdoms of England, Sicily, and Aragón certainly existed during this period of Crusade. Both Alfonso II and Pedro I had dealings with Henry II and Richard the Lion on the one hand, and William II and Constance of Sicily on the other. Furthermore, Henry II's daughter Joanna became queen of Sicily in 1174 when she married William.⁴¹ She departed from Winchester with her cortege at a time when the bible's illumination was coming to a close. Alfonso II also attempted to gain an allegiance with William in order to begin the conquest of Majorca in the early 1180s.⁴² Pedro in his quest for papal support, betrothed his sister Constanza to Frederick II of Sicily in 1208.

Constanza had reason to favor Sigena, both as a way of honoring her mother, and also to aid the community that had housed her for the five years between the death of her son Ladislao and her second marriage to Frederick.⁴³ The marriage solidified connections between Aragón and Sicily.⁴⁴ After her departure to Sicily, Constanza appears only twice in the surviving documents of Sigena, but her patronage there even after her installation as the new queen of Sicily is feasible.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Oakeshott, 142.

⁴² The conquest of Majorca would wait until his grandson Jaume in 1231.

⁴³ It appears Constanza also lived in Sigena for two years prior to her first marriage to Emeric of Hungary. Alfonso II left a dowry to Sigena for his eldest daughter; although Constanza is not named, it is clear the reference is to her. Ubieto Arteta, *El real monasterio de Sigena*, 55-56.

⁴⁴ At the time of their marriage in 1208, Frederick was fifteen and Constanza twenty-five. Constanza's only child to survive into adulthood was Henry VII. The marriage reached an uneventful end with Constanza's death in 1222.

⁴⁵ Ubieto Arteta, 99-101 and 129-30. In 1212 Pedro compensated the monastery for the gifts given by his parents and Constanza that he had not honored, and in 1217 the prioress acknowledges receipt of four documents pertaining to Constanza's dowry.

Sicily was a cultural crossroads under Norman rule.⁴⁶ The Norman conquest of the island in 1061 had maintained much of the Kalbid administration and approach to rulership. Norman Sicily in the 12th century presented a lively court in terms of literature and the arts, and Frederick would extend this under his own patronage. This is the court that Constanza entered shortly after her mother's death; having come from an active literary court, Constanza likely fit easily into her new court.

The interconnections across the Mediterranean have been the focus of Anthony Cutler and Eva Hoffman in their analysis of portable luxury objects.⁴⁷ The close affinity of luxury arts, particularly in terms of gift exchange, has reframed the ideas of contact and shared experience. Hoffman's "Pathways to Portability" argued for the presence of not a single center of artistic production with multiple peripheries, but rather, within a courtly Mediterranean world, multiple centers or a "pluritopic" model. Using the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, Hoffman looks at the integration of Fatimid, Byzantine, and Roman forms extending the argument from portable objects to stable structures. **(fig. 12)** Her pluritopic model posits multiple centers that create recognizable, yet interconnected, styles borrowing from different regions for a luxury court, rather than one specifically defined by faith tradition.

⁴⁶ Norman Sicily has been a focal point of multiple studies. William Tronzo's *The Cultures of his Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton, 1997) brought together the disparate styles and inheritances of this center of artistic production in the generation before the construction of Sigena.

⁴⁷ Anthony Cutler, "Gifts and Gift Exchange as Aspects of the Byzantine, Arab, and Related Economies" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001): 247-78; and Eva Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century" *Art History* 24.1 (2001): 17-50.



Figure 12. View of the side aisle of the Cappella Palatina, Palermo (Photo: Author)

The kings of Aragón and counts of Barcelona had focused their attentions on southern France and Castilla-León, but had begun to look eastward.⁴⁸ Sancha's incorporation of syncretic Mediterranean forms differs from the classic Mudejar examples of Castilla-León. The twelfth century presents Christian Iberian kingdoms entering into this pan-Mediterranean world balancing it with their association with Europe north of the Pyrenees. While the monarchs of Castilla, caught in their struggle against the Almohads, focused their attention on Islamic decorative forms, the queen of Aragón opened her eyes beyond the local courtly competitor to Imperial Byzantium.

The connections between Sigena, Winchester, and Sicily in different mediums of paint are evocative of a tremendous exchange of Byzantine forms in the Western Mediterranean and England in the late twelfth century.⁴⁹ As Ernst Kitzinger showed, an appreciation of these forms opened up rather dramatically to the Western Mediterranean due to the successive crusades of the period.⁵⁰ The syncretic approach to Sigena's

⁴⁸ Another example of this is the betrothal of Alfonso II to Eudoxia Comnenos, princess of Byzantium. Waylaid by a storm at sea, she found Alfonso married to Sancha upon her arrival in 1174. She then married the count of Montpellier and her daughter Marie would later marry Sancha's son Pedro II. Antonio Ubieto Arteta, "Un frustrado matrimonio de Alfonso II de Aragón" *VII Congreso de historia de la corona de Aragón*, vol 2, Comunicaciones (Barcelona, 1962), 263-267.

⁴⁹ Oakeshot, 113. Oakeshot posited illuminators – who had likely been trained in Sicily earlier, possibly even at the Cappella Palatina – traveling in search of work as they headed back to Sicily. This scenario works as long as the training of the painters allowed their work in different media: trained in mosaics, working primarily in miniature, but able to return to the large scale for frescoes. Both mosaics and frescoes require an understanding of the drying of plaster and work on a large scale. This scenario leaves the question of a deliberate importation of a style to a casual appearance of craftsmen on the horizon. The complexity of the program, however, is too intentional and expansive. The similarity to the stylistic balancing act at the Cappella Palatina suggests an awareness of this program. Alan Borg's caveats regarding the interpretation of the fresco cycle pertain today. Alan Borg, "Review of *Sigena: Romanesque Paintings in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists*" by William Oakeshot *The Burlington Magazine* 116.850 (1974), 49. Frescoes from Aragón do not survive in great quantity, leaving the question of whether this was a unique occurrence of the Sicilian style unclear. Given the paucity of contemporary examples and the lack of a strong presence of this style in other media, it is clear, however, that there was no explosion of the Byzantine style in the region. The exact dating of this cycle can only be approached through style as no documentary evidence survives identifying either craftsmen or patronage. What is more significant, though, for our purposes, is how this site connects the Aragonese crown to the pan-Mediterranean world and Sicily in particular.

chapterhouse posited an imperial vision that conflated Byzantine and Mudejar forms, and in so doing placed the monastery in a sphere of influence that extended well beyond Aragón.⁵¹ The connections between Sigena's chapterhouse and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo are particularly evocative of the power dynamics of place and shifting boundaries. Sancha's patronage placed Sigena at the forefront of this movement.

Conclusion

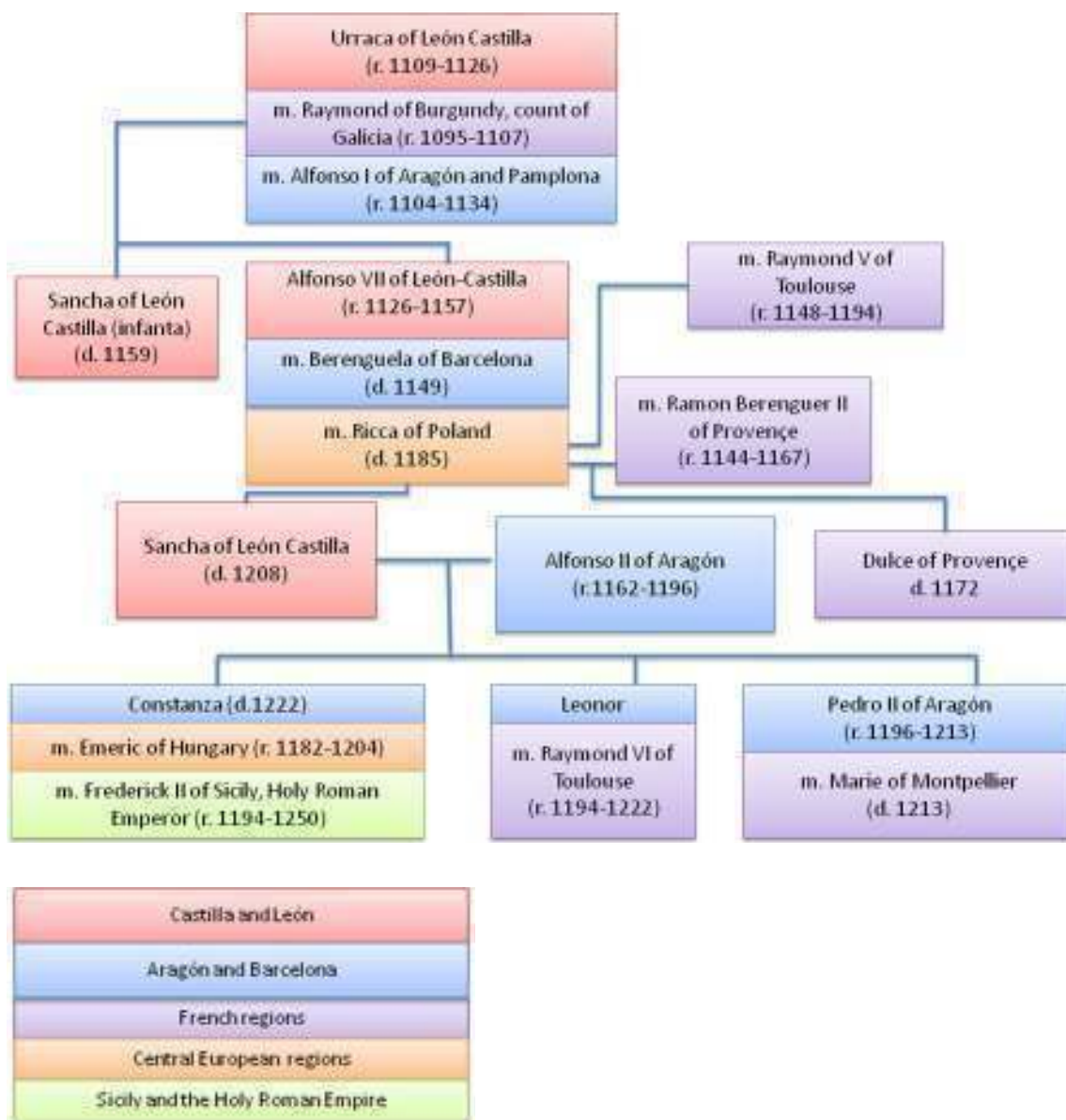
Sigena reveals both local building traditions and imported forms. The chapterhouse's combination of Sicilian-Byzantine, Islamic, and local "Christian" forms in the combination of a Byzantine fresco cycle, Mudejar artesonado, and local diaphragm vaulting posited a new courtly style to articulate power and authority. The construction of this site slowed the adoption of the Gothic in Aragón and linked the kingdom to the broader world of the Mediterranean.

⁵⁰ Kitzinger, 42.

⁵¹ Cutler also reframed the question of the stylistic connections between Byzantium and the West in "Misapprehensions and Misgivings: Byzantine Art and the West in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries" *Medievalia* 7 (1981): 41-77. This analysis was a reassessment of Kitzinger's approach to the subject in 1966 and Otto Demus's *Byzantium and the Medieval West* (New York, 1970).

Appendix I: Genealogy

Includes only those who appear in text.



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Romantic Geography and the Crusades: British Library Royal ms. 19 D I

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It is not unusual in the shorthand of manuscript illumination of the first half of the fourteenth century to simplify place and emphasize action when presenting a scene of historical interest. Miniatures in chronicles and romances are often filled with events, such as battle scenes or historical meetings that take place in front of a blank or geometrically patterned background – perhaps a rather generic building may be depicted or a lonely tree may appear -- but rarely is there any indication that the action takes place in a recognizable location. This is true for miniatures in books produced in France during the reign of King Philip VI of Valois (1328-1350), which, while conforming to the highest level of artistic fashion at the Parisian court, rarely incorporated the developing illusionistic techniques for placing a scene's protagonists within an architectural or environmental space favored by earlier illuminators such as Jean Pucelle or the contemporary Italian painters working for the Papal Court in Avignon like Simone Martini.¹

¹ The number of manuscripts created in Paris in the reign of Philip VI is larger than I will include here, but the following books should be considered for their stylistic relevance: Vincent of Beauvais, *Miroir Historial* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. fr. 3160); the Book of Hours of Jeanne de Navarre (Paris, BNF, ms. n.a.l. 3145); Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie et miracles de Saint Louis* (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 5716); and the Process of Robert d'Artois (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 18437). Crusades manuscripts produced during the 1330s will be listed below. For contemporary stylistic comparisons in which the technical interest in illusionistic space or rather, the lack thereof, in manuscripts of the 1330s and earlier is immediately apparent see the still relevant François Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century (1310-1380)*, (New York, and London, 1978); and the newer survey in Colette Beaune, *Le miroir du pouvoir: Les manuscrits des rois de France au moyen âge*, (Paris, 1997); and for an Italian alternative to the French miniatures under discussion, see Simone Martini's title

In this moment just before – or even as – manuscript illumination and painting in general became focused on increasingly realistic representations of illusionistic space, I suggest that the Parisian court artists were not actually unconcerned with where the action being depicted took place; rather, they conformed to a definition of place that relied on human experience and action more strongly than on topographic distinction.² In this essay, I focus on the artistic emphasis on action over location in a single manuscript whose *raison d'être* seems to be the identification of specific far-off lands for the purpose of travel and battle, yet whose representation of those places remains generic. The manuscript is known rather blandly as the *Crusading Miscellany* (London, British Library, Royal ms. 19 D I – hereafter abbreviated to Royal 19 D I).³ In this manuscript, most likely created at the behest of a member of Philip VI's court, scenes of crusade and foreign adventure occur in locations identified with great specificity in the text, yet the miniatures rarely include even a single topographic element allowing identification of an individual site; instead the action of the protagonists is highlighted.⁴ This striking imbalance of place and action creates what I prefer to think of as an “experiential geography” in which

page to Petrarch's *Virgil* of c. 1336, available online at www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/s/simone/7last/4virgil.html.

² Interest in the style of late medieval illumination often focuses on the question of “realistic” versus “not-so-realistic” questions. Regarding the introduction of perspective and increasingly complicated composition in the background of manuscript miniatures, see the many volumes of Millard Meiss's monumental study, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*: I. *The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (London, 1967); II. *The Boucicaut Master* (London, 1968); III. *The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries* (London, 1974). For a more recent contribution, see Christine Geisler Andrews, “The Boucicaut Masters,” *Gesta* 41/1 (2002), 29-38.

³ Research for this project was carried out under the auspices of a grant from the American Trust for the British Library, enabling a three-month internship in the Manuscripts Department at the British Library, and a Mellon Faculty Development Grant from Saint Louis University. I would like to thank these authorities and the directors and staff of the British Library for their invaluable aid, especially Kathleen Doyle, Peter Kidd, and Scot McKendrick.

⁴ For example, the city of Campision is described in the body of the text both according to its location and the actions and nature of its inhabitants. The rubrics above the miniature, however, is almost as simple as the scene itself, reading only “de la cite de capisio.” See figure 10 below.

personal experience is emphasized over location – even when that location is known, is identified clearly, and is, on many levels, the point of the manuscript.⁵

In 1332, when Philip VI of Valois declared an overseas crusade only a few years after his accession to the throne of France, few people actually knew the physical location of the Holy Land; it was, rather vaguely, “overseas.”⁶ Outremer was, simply, that land across the Mediterranean where Christ once lived. Generations of Christian merchants, pilgrims and crusaders had visited, making the Holy Land of the fourteenth century a knowable, if not necessarily a personally experienced, place to a European audience. Since the fall of Jerusalem in 1291 to the Mamluks, European leaders had planned the military recovery of the Holy Land. This was especially true of the French, who had the recent crusading example of St. Louis IX.⁷ In a well-established practice, Philip VI, the first king of the newly established Valois dynasty, emphasized a relationship to the most important members of his bloodline as a means of acknowledging his authority – St. Louis being the most important Capetian relative for this

⁵ Many of my thoughts on this topic were inspired by ideas relatively common in the study of cultural geography, but less prevalent (at least to this point) in the realm of art history. Influential to a formulation of an “experiential geography” as it relates to medieval manuscript painting, although not specifically dealing with the medium, are Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, (Chicago, 2004); Yi-fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, (Minneapolis, 1977); and the numerous late antique and medieval authors represented in Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski, eds., *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, (Philadelphia, 2002), especially Hugh of St. Victor and his “memory aids.” Likewise, Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge, 1990), and Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory*, (Chicago, 1966), prove essential reading in their approaches to the idea of the difference between personally experienced remembrance and artificially constructed knowledge.

⁶ Although the bibliography of crusader scholarship is vast, it is possible to note a few important sources for Philip VI’s unsuccessful program. See Raymond Cazelles, *La Société politique et la crise de la royauté sous Philippe de Valois*, (Paris, 1958); Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar*, (Oxford and New York, 1992); Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land, The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000); Christopher Tyerman, “Philip VI and the Recovery of the Holy Land,” *The English Historical Review*, 100/394, (1985), 25-52; and Jules Viard, “Les projets de croisade de Philippe VI de Valois,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* 97 (1936), 305-316.

⁷ For royal participation in the cult of St. Louis, see especially Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, ed. Frederic L. Cheyette, trans. Susan Ross Huston, (Berkeley, 1991); Elizabeth A.R. Brown, “The Chapels and Cult of Saint Louis at Saint-Denis,” *Mediaevalia* 10 (1984), 279-331; Elizabeth Hallam, “Philip the Fair and the Cult of Saint Louis,” *Studies in Church History* 18 (1982), 201-214. See Cazelles, (1958), esp. 96-97 for Philip’s dedication to St. Louis.

Valois king.⁸ Louis's reputation as a crusader, disastrous as the reality may have been, provided a firm model for Christian leadership – and specifically visitable locations, such as Damietta, Jaffa, and Acre – that could rally the sometimes querulous French peers to the new king's cause.⁹

In his preparations for extended overseas battle, Philip VI convened a crusade council dedicated to the question of war. The council consulted a broad array of crusaders from previous generations and received a series of treatises providing strategic advice. These texts addressed such logistical questions as how to get to the Holy Land and what kind of military devices would be most efficacious against Saracen defenses. They also provided more basic ethnographic understanding in the form of romantic and encyclopedic travelogues detailing just whom the French crusaders might encounter once out of their western European comfort zone.¹⁰

In response to the crusading fervor of the 1330s several well-known illuminated manuscripts were created with at least tangential crusading themes. These included Jean de Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. fr. 13568), the *Grandes chroniques de France*, owned by Philip's son, John the Duke of Normandy (London, British Library, Royal ms. 16 G VI), William of Tyre's *Histoire d'Outremer* (Paris, Bibliothèque

⁸ I have elsewhere addressed several of Philip VI's efforts to justify his right to the throne of France. See Maureen Quigley, "Political Benefit and the Role of Art at the Court of Philip VI of Valois (1328-1350)," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas-Austin, 2003.

⁹ For the late Capetian tradition of crusade following St. Louis, see M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cornell, 2008); Joseph Strayer, "France, the Holy Land, The Chosen People, and the Most Christian King," in *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History: Essays by Joseph Strayer*, ed. John F. Benton and Thomas N. Bisson, (Princeton, 1971); Leopold, (2000), for an examination of the primary sources; and Tyerman, (1985), 25-52, for the most important contextual perspective on Philip's proposals

¹⁰ J.M.A. Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIVe siècle: Expéditions du Maréchal Boucicaut*, 2 vols., (Paris, 1886; reprint 2004) 2:7-11; and Tyerman (1985), 34-35. Most certainly associated with the crusade council's call for advice is Guido da Vigevano's *Texaurus Regis Francie acquisitionis terre sancta*, which directly addressed Philip's proposed crusade by providing advice on the maintenance of the king's health and suggested military machinery. The manuscript today in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF ms. lat. 11015) is likely a later version of the original presentation copy. See Giustina Ostuni, *Le macchine del re: il Texaurus Regis Francie di Guido da Vigevano; trascrizione, traduzione e commento del codice lat. 11015 della Bibliothèque nationale di Parigi* (Vigevano, 1993).

Nationale de France, ms. fr. 22495), and the *Vie et miracles de Saint Louis* by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. fr. 5716).¹¹ These manuscripts were commissioned by and intended for a courtly audience responding to a popular interest in the planned crusade. It is, however, the miscellany of texts in Royal 19 D I that appears to have been created specifically as a direct response to the crusade council's appeal.

Royal 19 D I is a compilation of popular prose romances and travel chronicles that includes an important treatise on crusading intended for Philip VI's council in its earliest translation into French, the anonymous *Directoire*.¹² Listing the texts as they appear within the compilation, it is readily apparent that with the *Vraie hystoire du bon roi Alixandre*, the *Venjançe d'Alexandre*, the *Livres du Grant Caam* – better known to a modern reader as Marco Polo's *Voyages*, the *Merveilles de la terre d'Outremer* of Odoric of Pordenone, accounts of foreign travel by John of Plano Carpini from the *Miroir historial*, the *Directoire a faire le passage de la Terre Sainte*, excerpts from Primat's *Chronique* including the Life of St. Louis, and Old Testament passages of battle from Guiard des Moulins' *Bible historiale*, the traditional prose genres of romance, travel journal, chronicle, hagiography, and advice manual are incorporated

¹¹ As part of an ongoing project, I continue to expand and define this list. At the moment of writing, these are the manuscripts that I have personally viewed. The Joinville manuscript is often attributed to an origin in the reign of Charles V (1364-80), but has been more correctly recognized as work of the Master of the Vies de Saint Louis. See Thérèse Habary-Dufeil, "Attribution des enluminures du peinture "C" de la Bible historique, Montpellier, Bibl. Méd. ms. H49 (ms. M49) au maître des Vies de Saint Louis," *Diplôme d'Études Approfondies*, Université Paul-Valéry, 1992. For the London *Grandes Chroniques*, see Anne Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422* (California Studies in the History of Art, 28, Berkeley, 1991). For BNF ms. fr. 22495, see Jaroslav Folda, "Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre: A Handlist," *Scriptorium* 27 (1973), 90-95. For BNF ms. fr. 5716, see Jane Geein Chung-Apley, "The Illustrated *Vie et miracles de Saint Louis* of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus (Paris, B.N., ms. fr. 5716), Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan-Ann Arbor, 1998.

¹² See the catalogue entry for Royal 19 D I in George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols. (London, 1921), 2:339-341. The catalogue is quite complete with its identification and analysis of the various texts and with its detailed description of the images. See also D.J.A. Ross, "Methods of Book-Production in a XIVth Century French Miscellany," *Scriptorium* 6 (1952), 63-75; and Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500*, 2 vols. (London, 2000), 2:224-247. Both Ross and the Rouses provide insight into the crusading intent of the compilers and the Rouses strongly suggest Philip VI as either the patron or recipient of the manuscript.

into the manuscript – each adding to the meta-narrative of journeying to far-away lands. Except for the first three texts, all popular or increasingly popular romance/travelogues, the texts in 19 D I were new creations, unique excerpts of larger works, or original translations.¹³ For my purposes, though, the most important component of this compilation is the inclusion of Jean de Vignay's translation of the anonymous Dominican's *Directoire a faire le passage de la Terre Sainte*, which exists in this manuscript in its earliest French translation.¹⁴ This practical advice text was dedicated by its author, typically identified as William Adam, to Philip VI in 1330 and was intended for this crusade project. The addition of Adam's practical crusade planner and other similar texts to the romantic travel legends of the Alexander and Polo texts illustrates that nebulous point where the intellectual and scientific knowledge of the Holy Land meets the medieval desire to romanticize and categorize the distant unfamiliar.¹⁵ The compilers of Royal

¹³ Scholars have, for the most part, glossed over the interesting combination of texts, choosing instead to focus on individual texts or image cycles. Ross and the Rouses have come closest to examining the book as a whole and their bibliographies point to several pertinent sources for textual study, and identify several instances of similarly joined texts. Further inquiry is necessary both by literary and art historians to establish patterns of illumination across these texts, however. Several of the individual texts, although not those new to this manuscript, have received extensive scholarly attention. For the Alexander Romance, see D.J.A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature*, (London, 1963). For the Marco Polo and its copies, see Consuelo Dutschke, "The Truth in the Book: The Marco Polo Texts in Royal 19 D I and Bodley 264," *Scriptorium* 52, (1998), 278-300. Christine Knowles, "Jean de Vignay, un traducteur du XIV^e siècle," *Romania* 75, (1954), 353-383, identifies the unique appearance of Jean de Vignay translations in Royal 19 D I. See also Gregory Guzman, "The encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais and his Mongol extracts from John of Plano Carpini and Simon of Saint Quentin," *Speculum* 49, (1974), 287-307. See below for further bibliography on these texts.

¹⁴ The inclusion of the French translation of the text at this early date has indicated to many the direct correlation between this manuscript and the crusade project. There is a continuing discussion of just who wrote the *Directorium ad passagium faciendum transmarinum* (Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniennes, 2, Paris (1906), 365-517), which was dedicated to Philip VI and presented to the crusade council on July 26, 1330; for this date see C. Raymond Beazley, "Directorium ad passagium faciendum transmarinum," *American Historical Review*, XII/4 (July 1907), 810. Although consensus generally accepts Guillaume Adam, a Dominican whose interest in the crusades was born out in his *De modo Saracennos extirpandi* (Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniennes, 2, Paris (1906), 521-55), general treatment of the question acknowledges the unlikelihood of definitive proof and most scholars continue to refer obliquely to the author's identity. See Leopold, (2000), 43-44 for a summary of the literature.

¹⁵ Especially helpful in understanding fourteenth-century concepts, both romantic and realistic of "where" the crusades took place are David Abulafia, "Asia, Africa, and the Trade of Medieval Europe," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. 2: *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, M.M. Postan and Edward Miller, eds., (Cambridge, 1987), 402-473; Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel*

19 D I further underscored this congruence of science and romance through the visual program. By displaying *actions* abroad, rather than *locations* abroad, the romances and travel chronicles could be read in terms just as scientific as the advice treatise. The reverse is also true: the advice treatise could be romanticized so that its “real” location – the knowable Holy Land – could become instead a less easily identified “experienced” geography.

The term “geography” itself is misleading when discussing fourteenth-century French understanding of the physical location of the Holy Land, and Jerusalem in particular. Cultural geographers today practice a multivalent science, which emphasizes not only topography, cartography, and geology, but also politics, economics, and genealogy.¹⁶ Focusing on the people who both inhabit and construe the landscape and their perceptions of place, rather than the landscape itself, the field has incorporated the analysis of visual material. Separating “space” from “place,” it is the latter that distinguishes cultural and historical geography from anthropology. It is this sense of place that is the primary concern of the makers of Royal 19 D I.¹⁷

Writing, 400-1600, (Ithaca and London, 1988); and Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy*, (New York, 2003).

¹⁶ There are any number of introductions to cultural geography that serve well as general guides to the field. I found especially helpful the numerous essays in James Duncan and David Ley, eds., *Place/Culture/Representation*, (London, 1993). For the use of traditional geographical approaches in medieval studies, see Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800*, (Oxford, 2007), especially Chapter 1. See also Kauffman, (2004), for a bibliography that provides not only an essential view on art and geography, but an overview of contemporary geographical methodologies.

¹⁷ The distinguishing of space and place first found its popularity in John Kirtland Wright’s seminal lecture at the Association of American Geographers annual meeting in 1946, “Terrae Incognitae: The Place of Imagination in Geography,” published in *Annals, Association of American Geographers* 37, (1947), 1-5. Wright emphasized a subjective approach to the science of geography, encouraging scholars to investigate the personalized experience of space. In other words, Wright declared that a place was an experienced location, while space was simply the physical area in which the experience occurred. The idea that individuals have an awareness of the difference between space and place can be found in Tuan, (1977), 8-18 and 136-148; and Edward S. Casey, “How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena,” in Stephen Feld and Keith H. Basso, eds., *Senses of Place*, (Santa Fe, 1996), 13-52.

Crusaders had “mapped” the Holy Land and Jerusalem long before the fourteenth century crusade project and these maps were often replicated in manuscripts such as those listed above.¹⁸ When analyzed through the lens of cultural geography, it becomes clear that these maps often functioned less as navigational devices or as a means of how to get from one place to another than as a chorographic view of a distant land. In addition to locating various sites or places within a defined area, they included anecdotal information about unusual appearances, behaviors and practices of the inhabitants of these distant lands.¹⁹ For example, within the image of the simplified cityscape of Jerusalem in a thirteenth-century picture bible (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 76 F 5, f. 1), an attempt was made to identify visitable sites. Notable are the rotunda form of the Holy Sepulchre and the site of Golgatha indicated by a circle topped by a cross. **(fig. 1)** The medieval geographical tradition evinced here emphasized the actions

¹⁸ The primary resource for historical mapmaking is the multivolume H.B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography*, (Chicago, 1987). For this project, volume 1: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* was most useful. See also Daniel K. Connolly, “Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris,” *Art Bulletin*, 81/4 (December 1999), 598-622; P.D.A. Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures and Surveys*, (London, 1980); John F. Moffitt, “Medieval Mappaemundi and Ptolemy’s *Chorographia*,” *Gesta*, 32/1 (1993), 59-68; and R.V. Tooley, *Maps and Map-Makers*, (New York, 1987).

¹⁹ John Kirtland Wright, *Geographical Lore on the Time of the Crusades: A Study in the History of Medieval Science and Tradition in Western Europe*, (New York, 1925), provides a venerable, yet still comprehensive study of ancient and medieval writers and their approaches to their world. Most helpful is the section on “regional geography” in which Wright identifies simultaneous interests in “geography of tradition” and “geography of observation.” Chorography, a term made popular among seventeenth-century physical scientists, is a predecessor to modern cultural geography and is an amalgam of topographic analysis and chronological anecdotes tied to a particular location. This term is most popular with scholars of Early Modern European geography. For a definition of chorography, see Lesley B. Cormack, “Good Fences Make Good Neighbors: Geography as Self-Definition in Early Modern England,” *Isis*, 82/4 (1991), 639-661.

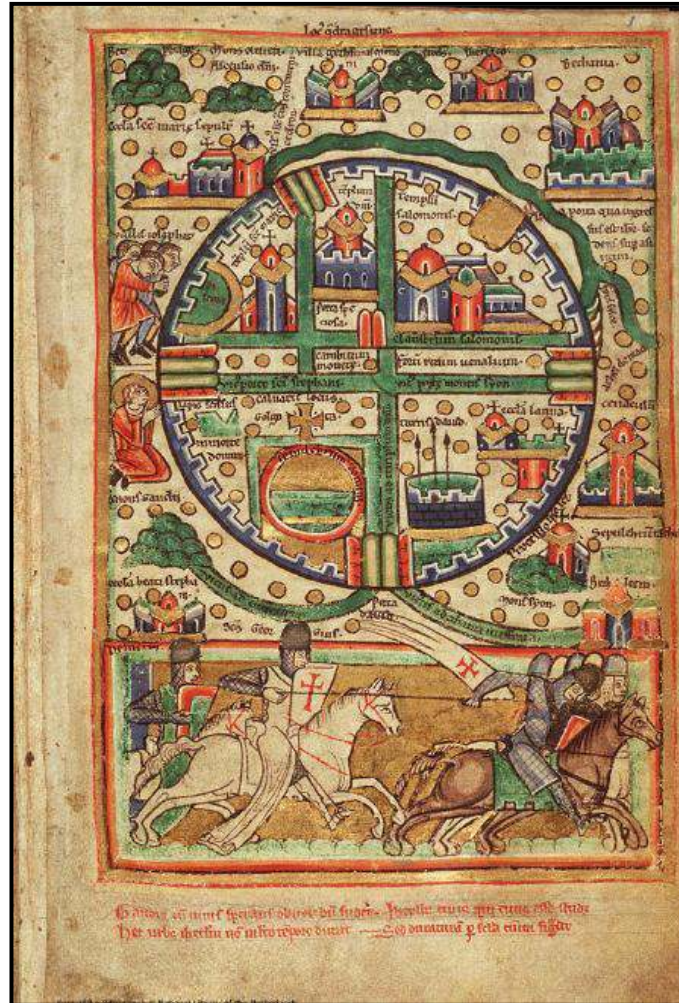


Figure 1 The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 76 F 5, f. 1
Picture Bible, Map of Jerusalem, c. 1200. After

of the pilgrims, martyrs, and crusaders, who are seen traveling, praying and battling in the margins surrounding the traditional T and O shape of the map. The result is an amalgam of a Fodor's travel guide, which tells a reader what to do upon arrival at a distant locale, and a Rand-McNally map, which is a measured accounting of geo-spatial relationships.

By the fourteenth century this tradition had changed – or at least new options existed for the medieval cartographer. Crusaders did have a sort of Rand-McNally in the form of Portolan charts. These developed from the compass readings of shipping navigators and were known in

the west from around 1300.²⁰ One of these, the portolan world map by Pietro Vesconte (London, British Library, Add. Ms. 27376, f. 187v-188), was used by the Italian crusading activist Marino Sanudo to illustrate his important call to arms, the *Liber secretorum fidelium cruces*, of around 1320.²¹ (fig. 2) Sanudo was later called upon by the council organizing Philip's crusade for his knowledge of the practicalities of scientific cartography. His maps make it clear that the physical location of the Holy Land was not a mystery. The up-to-date fourteenth-century court of France knew where to find the Holy Land and how to get there. Although there are a few distortions of size and relative location, the Sanudo portolan resembles nothing less than a modern view of the earth from space with Jerusalem as the focal point at the center of the image. In other words, *where* was not the issue.

²⁰ For further reading on portolan charts, see T. Campbell, "Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500," in Harley and Woodward, (1987), vol. 1; Kenneth Nebenzahl, *Mapping the Silk Road and Beyond: 2000 Years of Exploring the East*, (London, 2004); Edward Stevenson, *Portolan Charts: Their Origin and Characteristics: With a Descriptive List of Those Belonging to the Hispanic Society of America*, (New York, 1911); and David Woodward, "Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space in Medieval World Maps," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75/4, (1985), 510-521.

²¹ For Vesconte's portolano-mappamundi, of which multiple copies remain, see Anna-Dorothee van den Brincken, "Das geographische Weltbild um 1300," in Peter Moraw, ed., *Das geographische Weltbild um 1300. Politik im Spannungsfeld von Wissen, Mythos und Fiktion* (Berlin, 1989), 25; and Marcel Destombes, ed., *Mappemondes A.D. 1200-1500. Catalogue préparé par la Commission des Cartes Anciennes de l'Union Géographique Internationale* (Amsterdam, 1964), 54.4.



Figure 2 London, BL Add. Ms. 27376, ff. 187v-188 *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* (Marino Sanudo)
 Pietro Vesconte's Portolan World Map c. 1320-1325. After
<http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?image=009107&imageex=1&searchnum=4>

The makers of Royal 19 D I, however, did not choose to incorporate any type of scientific chart into their compilation that could define where the presumed crusading audience could find the Holy Land. Notably missing from this “crusade” compilation is the popular Sanudo text and Vesconte map.²² This manuscript seems, with its strong romantic underpinnings, more interested with what and whom the crusaders would come into contact as they made their journey.²³ As

²² For the catalog of images and texts, see again Warner and Gilson, (1921), vol. 2.

²³ See Ross (1952), 64; and Rouse and Rouse (2000), 1:245. The Rouses distinguish their interpretation of the compilation as a “preparation and justification for going on crusade” intended for the already-dedicated king from Ross’s argument that the manuscript served as a “recruiting poster” intended to inspire the desire to crusade in members of the court. I fall more comfortably onto the side of the Rouses, although their suggestion that either Philip VI himself or his wife Jeanne of Burgundy commissioned the manuscript stands on rather less solid ground. Circumstantial evidence certainly allows this argument, although I am more comfortable with the idea that a more junior member of the crusade committee commissioned the manuscript. I don’t hesitate to agree, however, with the

such we can say that Royal 19 D I provided geography of observation and experience of foreign lands, rather than mere directions. But how did it accomplish this visually?

With 164 miniatures spread unevenly throughout the 267 folios of this compilation, it is possible to follow through both the popular texts and the new, a visual story of foreign travel and battle, although where that travel and battle take place is left solely to the text to define. Each text and translation included in the compilation is illustrated to some extent. The *Prose Alexander* includes 102 of the 164 miniatures, the *Marco Polo* 38, the *Chronique* 11 and the *Directoire* 8, the *Bible historiale* 2, and the remaining texts 1 each.²⁴ Each text includes a frontispiece image, even if that image is the sole representation. When examining the body of images it quickly becomes clear that while the pace of the images was heavily weighted toward the popular romances, the style of representation remains consistent throughout: simple scenes took place in small one- to two-column miniatures in front of a diapered background. While there were rare exceptions to the rule when dealing with seascapes, a small greenish-blue register representing the earth provided a sort of unsubtle “grounding” to the nascent space. Place, on the other hand, was identified by the physical activities of the inhabitants of the miniatures.

There is one scene, however, where space and place combine -- the first image in the manuscript is the frontispiece to the *Alexander* romance (BL Royal 19 D I, f.1).**(fig.3)**

conjecture that the king may have been the intended recipient. I have discussed this idea in an unpublished paper, presented at the College Art Association Annual Meeting in 2007, “Crusade History at the Court of Philip VI of Valois: British Library Royal ms. 19 D I.”

²⁴ I have addressed the issue of the program’s visual inconsistency in a presentation in Quigley (CAA 2007) and am currently completing an essay on the topic. Codicological analysis shows that the manuscript was assembled in a single campaign and the observation of the numerous illustrator’s marginal guides – Ross has noted sketches and erasures next to 132 of the 164 miniatures – makes it apparent that the visual program illustrating the disparate texts was likewise conceived within a single workshop. This disparity makes the inconsistency in the attitude toward illustrating the various texts all the more obvious.

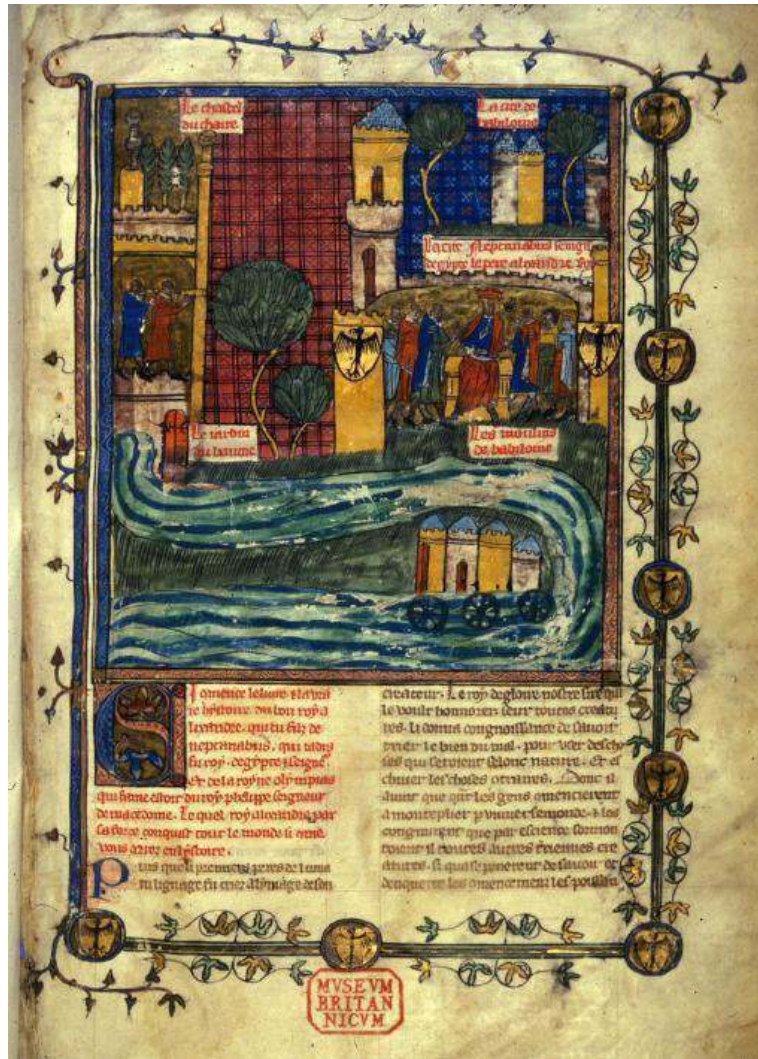


Figure 3 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f.1 *La vraie hystoire du bon roy Alexandre*, Frontispiece (View of Cairo) c.1333-1337

Like the above-mentioned map of Jerusalem, this image functioned as a visitor's guide to Cairo. As one city "overseas," Cairo was a site of great interest to crusaders. In D.J.A. Ross's analysis of a series of Alexander romances with the same opening scene, he showed that the topographic elements within these images played to an interest in exotic travel on the part of the courtly audience of these stories.²⁵ The viewer is shown all of the great tourist spots of the ancient city,

²⁵ D.J.A. Ross, "Nectanebus in His Palace: A Problem of Alexander Iconography," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 15 (1952), 67-87.

interestingly omitting the pyramids at nearby Giza, but including the city's castle, the famous balsam garden, and the mills. The topography of the cityscape, with the sinuous Nile becoming a veritable U-bend, is clearly stylized to emphasize points of interest over physical accuracy.

As the story progresses, even such basic and stylized topography disappears from the visual program of this manuscript. The tangible and visitable place highlighted in the Cairo frontispiece is replaced by observable *people* within a landscape. In the shift in focus from place to inhabited landscape, the illustrators moved from specific topographic elements of individual locations to simplified features. In the case of Baghdad, described by Marco Polo as a city situated between two rivers, a stone tower in front of a gold background hovers over a series of vertically stacked wavy lines representing a body of water (BL Royal 19 D I, f. 64). **(fig. 4)** That the inhabitants of Baghdad are seen waving “hello” is the only sign of life or individuality in the image. In many cases, even the simplified elements of architecture or land were removed, and the viewer was left with representations of human actions without reference to a visitable place.

The same strategy can be seen at play in the frontispiece of Marco Polo's story of his visit to the Great Khan where the brothers Niccolo and Maffeo Polo are seen preparing to leave for the East. They are shown seeking permission from the western authorities of Pope and Emperor before departing from Venice. (BL Royal 19 D I, f. 58)

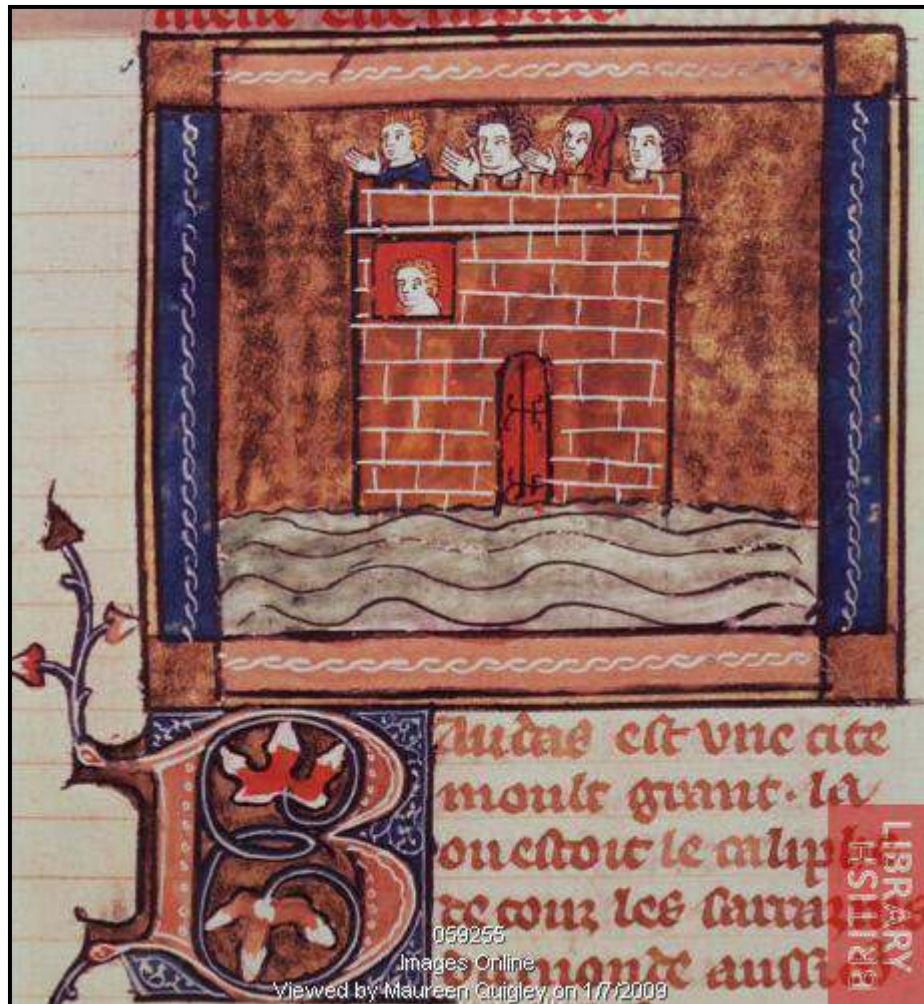


Figure 4 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f. 64 *Li livres du Grant Caam*, Baghdad c.1333-1337. After <http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?imagex=5&searchnum=0009&image=059255>

Like Baghdad, Venice is represented as a series of towers next to a body of water. (**fig. 5**) Here, rather than an emphasis on the location or even the physical appearance of Venice, the illustrators have depicted the concept of departure and journeying, anticipating arrival at an unknown future port of call. The journeying is implied in the leaving.



Figure 5 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f. 58 *Li livres du Grant Caam*, Frontispiece c.1333-1337. After <http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?image=8&searchnum=0009&image=060967>

In the following journeys to overseas lands specific locations are even further simplified. The travels of Odoric of Pordenone and his companions are indicated by simply placing the protagonists in a boat on an unidentified body of water. (BL Royal 19 D I, f. 136) (**fig. 6**) Representation of place is removed completely. The same can be said for an image from the *Directoire*, in which an unnamed king of France crosses yet another unidentified body of water in what should be considered a *future* passage to the Holy Land – the implication is that this is Philip VI himself – as the *Directoire* is the only

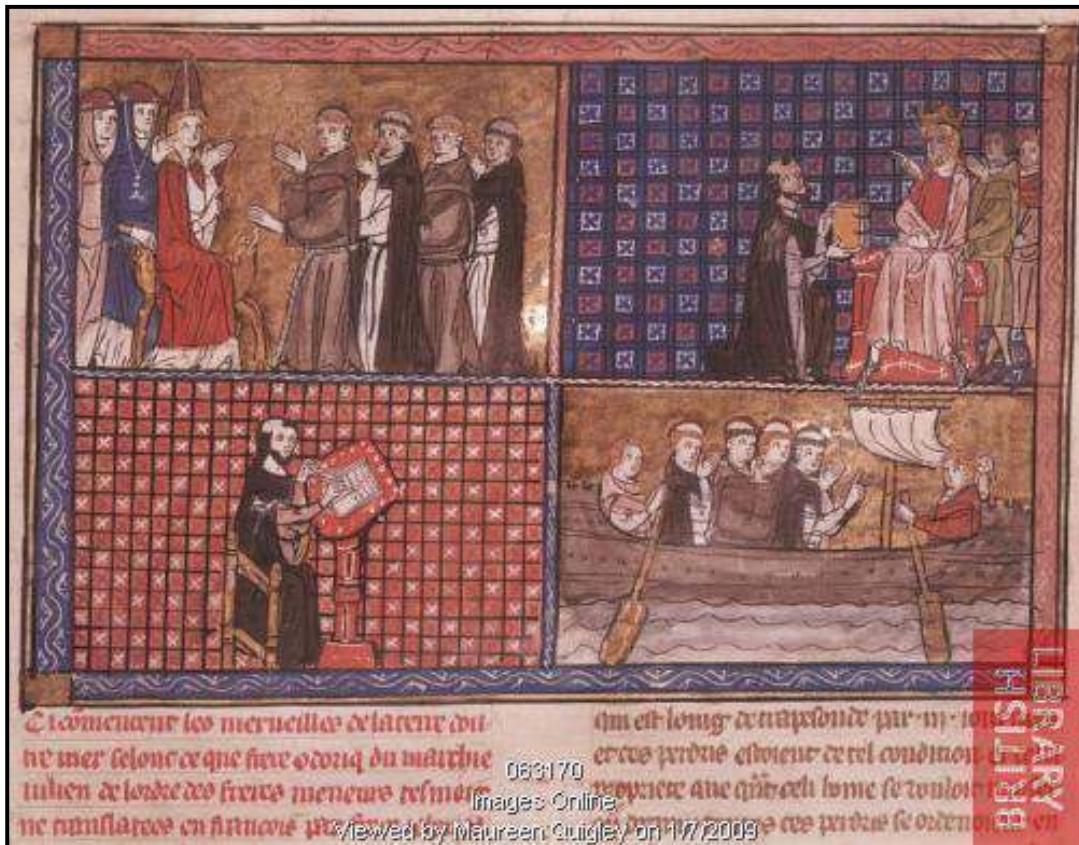


Figure 6 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f. 136 *Merveilles de la Terre d'Outremer* (Odoric of Pordenone) Frontispiece, c. 1333-1337. After <http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?image=12&searchnum=0010&image=063170>

text included in Royal 19 D I that makes reference to the king's proposed crusade project. (BL Royal 19 D I, f. 187v) (**fig. 7**)

Implied in the travelers' journeys was the direct experience of foreign lands. The famous scene from the Alexander romance depicting the Hellenistic leader in his glass submarine being lowered into the ocean provides an extraordinary example of a traveler observing an alien landscape. (BL Royal 19 D I, f. 37v) (**fig. 8**) His direct observation of a land not exactly "over the sea," but under it, makes the experience of a now knowable place immediate for the

manuscript's readers and allows for this "romantic" and possibly fictive geography to become an "experienced" geography.²⁶



Figure 7 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f. 187v *Le Directoire a faire le passage de la Terre Sainte* Frontispiece, c. 1333-1337. After

<http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?imagex=3&searchnum=0010&image=024095>

A primary component of this experiential geography is observation. It is a theme repeated multiple times throughout Royal 19 D I's miniatures and is depicted as either involving direct vision on the part of the protagonists or simply focusing on the things observed. This is especially visible in the illustrations of the manuscript's most famous texts – the Alexander Romance and Marco Polo's voyages. In scenes from the two texts, the observed Other appears

²⁶ For the idea of the fantastic Other become a known or experienced reality (even if only vicariously experienced through second-hand reading and viewing), see Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600*, (Cornell, 1991), esp. 47-121; and Tuan, (1977), 85-100.

in the form of monstrous races. This is the place where one-eyed giants (corrected by the illuminator into two-eyed giants, because one-eyed giants were just too weird!)²⁷, blemmyae, and cow-beasts and oddly hairy Tibetans coexist. (BL



Figure 8 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f. 37v *La vraie hystoire du bon roy Alixandre* Alexander in his “submarine,” c. 1333-1337. After <http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?image=014495&imagex=2&searchnum=10>

Royal 19 D I, f. 98v) (**fig. 9**) There is a point, though, where observation of things foreign becomes intertwined with things previously experienced by the western audience. For example, in the coronation of Mangalay Khan, the reader sees not a foreign Other as one might expect in this distant location, but rather a recognizable westernized coronation ritual complete with Christian ecclesiasts. Likewise, when the observation involved the alien worshipping of golden

²⁷ Ross, “Methods of Book-Production,” 66, was the first to note the changes made to the two-eyed “Cyclopes.”

idols by the people of Campison, the protagonists were replaced by the persona of a recently experienced non-Christian Other. Here the dark skinned, head-covered inhabitants of Campison would have been readily recognizable to



Figure 9 London BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f.98v *Li livres du Grant Caam Tibetans in skins*, c.1333-1337.

After

<http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?image=073108&imagex=14&searchnum=6>

a fourteenth-century reader as Saracens. (BL Royal 19 D I, f. 76 and f. 97) (**figs. 10 and 11**)

Rather than “place,” the foreign locations where Mangalay’s coronation ritual and the worship of pagan idols occur are given “person.”²⁸ As such, there is a conflation of the distant lands with experiences recognizable to the manuscript’s readers.²⁹

²⁸ For the idea of the Other as a subjective identity, see Heng, (2003), 239-305; and Irit Rogoff, *Terra Infirma: Geography’s Visual Culture*, (London, 2000), 14-35.

²⁹ Ross, “Methods of Book-Production, 68-69, likewise notes the “curious tendency to identify the Grand Khan with ‘our side’ in any struggle which may occur, and so to assimilate him, not merely to any European monarch, but



Figure 10 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f. 76 *Li livres du Grant Caam* The idols of Campison, c. 1333- 1337.
After
<http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?image=11&searchnum=0009&image=073104>

specifically to the king of France, while his enemies are shown as conventional Saracens.” Clearly my own ideas develop from this original observation, although here I discuss place rather than person.



Figure 11 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f. 97 *Li livres du Grant Caam* Coronation of Mangalay Khan, c. 1333-1337. After <http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?imagex=17&searchnum=0010&image=073107>

With this conflation, a connection between the romantic geography of the orient and Philip VI's crusade project may be made. A scene from Marco Polo's travel narrative may be directly compared to one from the seemingly more immediately practical *Directoire*. (BL Royal 19 D I, f. 111 and f. 187v) (**figs. 12 and 7**) In both, groups of western knights confront three dark-skinned foreigners who inhabit the



Figure 12 London, BL Royal ms. 19 D I, f. 111 *Li livres du Grant Caam* Siege of Saianfu, c. 1333-1337. After <http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?image=024726&imagex=4&searchnum=9>

expected tower. The Marco Polo scene depicts the siege of Saianfu, during which the army of the Great Khan, pictured as light-skinned soldiers wearing western armor, attacks the city using a war machine designed by the Polo brothers. While Saianfu is identified in the text, the visual representation of the city as a simple tower is as generic as can be. The Khan's warriors are shown as light skinned, westernized knights on horseback and the inhabitants of Saianfu are dark skinned and resemble the typical representation of the Saracen, lacking only the white headscarf.

Similarly in the *Directoire* we have our unnamed king who, again, I suggest should be read as Philip VI, approaching a Saracen fortress by ship. Here the headscarf on the foreign Other is visible and, although the text does not directly identify the city, the implication is that this is one of those cities “overseas” in the Holy Land.

In these texts the desire to romanticize encounters with the little known foreign Other resembles quite closely the desire to represent what a modern viewer might expect from a National Geographic article – *sans* maps. Yet we do not get accurate pictures of foreign lands and their inhabitants, we get fantasy. It is clear that Philip VI and his potential crusaders knew scientifically where the Holy Land was located and factually who the Saracen enemy was. Yet, by conflating the identity of romantically envisioned foreigners and by simplifying topography out of any functional existence, the makers of Royal 19 D I created a geography of experience that allowed its readers to observe not only romantic encounters with marvelous oddities, but also to envision their own future foreign experience.



***Sur la route...*Topographic Patronage and the Genealogy of Location in Late Capetian France**

Tracy Chapman Hamilton, Sweet Briar College

“Questions of identification and difference necessarily entail
issues of power and resistance.”¹

When studying a modern map of western Europe and the Mediterranean as it existed in the early fourteenth-century we see a familiar litany of places contained within larger spaces encased by known borders. **(fig. 1)** One wonders if the identities and differences we perceive in the map would have resonated with the same issues of power as they did in the Middle Ages? How had these places come to be? Would each resident of this era have described or perceived of these spaces in a similar way? The answer is, probably, no.² Suggested at the very least by a medieval version of the same lands as

¹ Cindi Katz, “Social Formations: Thinking About Society, Identity, Power and Resistance,” in *Key Concepts in Geography*, ed. Sarah L. Holloway, Stephen P. Rice, and Gill Valentine (London, 2003), 249-266, here 249.

² The subjectivity and socially constructed nature of maps is the topic of J.B. Harley, “Maps, Knowledge, and Power,” in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. J.B. Harley and Paul Laxton (Baltimore, 2001), 51-82 and *Seeing Through Maps: The Power of Images to Shape Our World View*, ed. Ward L. Kaiser and Denis Wood (Amherst, 2001). *The History of Cartography*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago, 1987) in the first three of a six projected volumes continue to define mapmaking as ideologically linked to specific times and cultures. All were inspired by material such as this quote by Michel Foucault: “A whole history remains to be written of spaces – which would at the same time be the history of powers – from the great strategies of geo-politics to the little tactics of the habitat.... It is surprising how long the problem of space took to emerge as a historical-political problem.” In *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. and trans. Colin Gordon, *et al.* (New York, 1980), 63-77, here 149. This quote is included in a larger discussion of post-modernist geographies by Edward W. Soja, “History; Geography; Modernity,” in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During (London; New York, 1999), 113-125, here 122. The essay is excerpted from Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London; New York, 1989). As Denis Cosgrove, “Mapping/Cartography,” in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, ed. David Atkinson (New York, 2005), 27-33, sums up, “Culturally, at every scale, connections between phenomena formerly considered distinct and relatively fixed, rooted in space or holding to stable patterns of distribution and identity, become contingent and unstable,” 31.

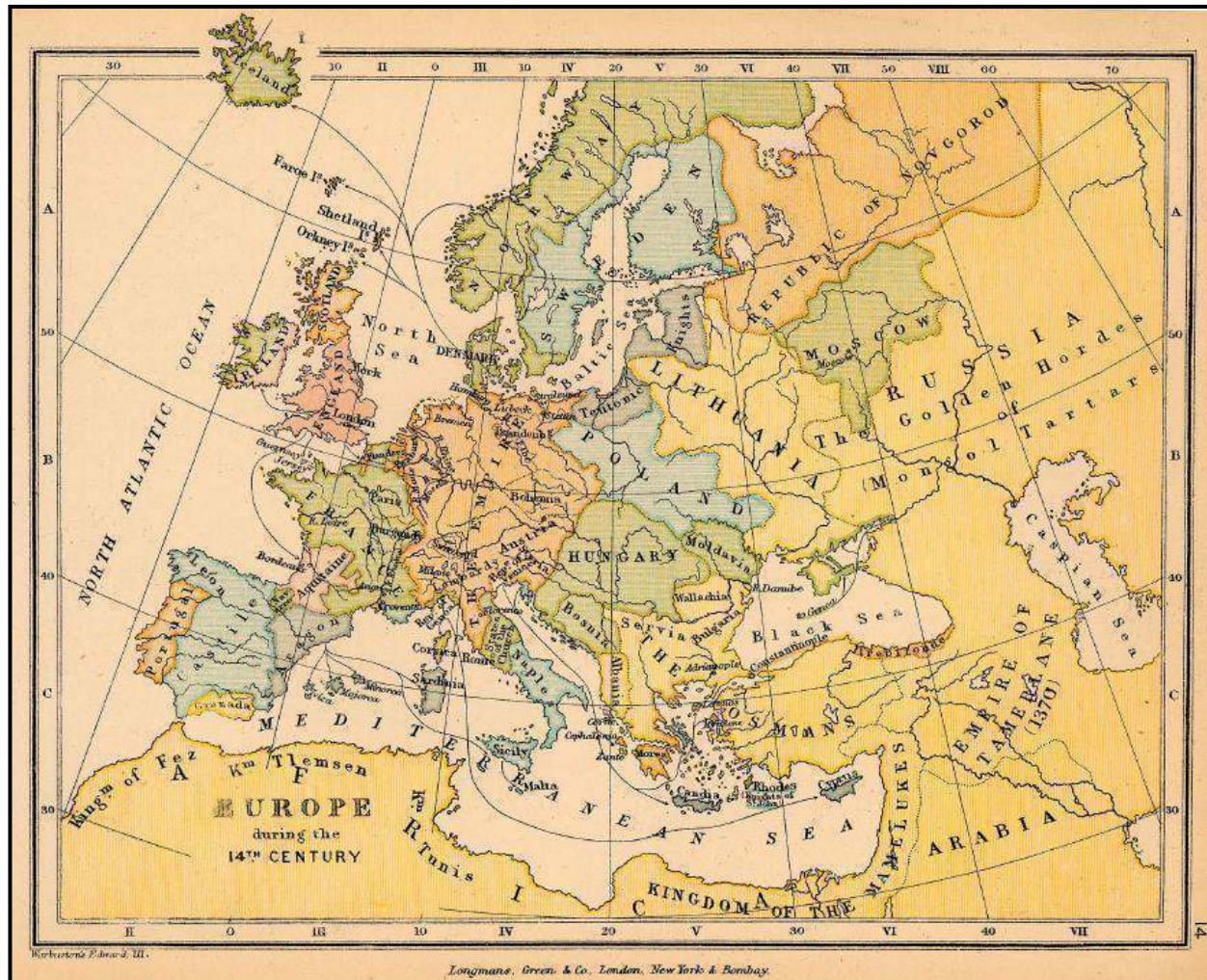


Figure 1. Europe during the Fourteenth Century. From The University of Texas at Austin Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection. After *The Public Schools Historical Atlas*, edited by C. Colbeck (New York, 1905). (http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/colbeck/europe_14_century.jpg)

recorded in one example, the *Map Psalter* (London, British Library, Additional MS 28681, f. 9, c. 1265),³ (**fig. 2**) this paper begins to grapple with the perception – and manipulation – of geography by a group of royal women in Late Capetian France. Motivating and anchoring this discussion is the work of cultural geographers who claim

³ This map may be a miniature version of a royal commission installed on the wall of the King's bed-chamber in the Palace of Westminster. Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II) 1250-1285, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, 4 (London, 1988), 82-85, no.114. One could also look to the many examples of *mappa mundi* created in the late medieval era, all of which are quite distinct in their style and use of geography from maps of the modern era. See *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1, for a survey of medieval maps.



Figure 2. *World Map*, from *Map Psalter* (c) British Library Board. All Rights Reserved (London, British Library, Additional MS 28681, f. 9, c. 1265)

<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/mapsviews/psalter/large17693.html>

that culture is spatial, that space is ideological, and that we can discover issues of power, identity, and social regulation within landscape.⁴ Their work suggests that far from being

⁴ “How landscape functions as both a source of meaning and as a form of social regulation.” Donald Mitchell, *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford, 2000), xix. For a concise discussion of the definition of “space” versus “place” see, Phil Hubbard, “Space/Place,” in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key*

an objective singular map, the built world of the late Middle Ages and the lands on which it rested were understood and made to speak many different languages.⁵ One of these tongues was the understanding of gender and its relationship to landscape. (Fig 3)

Three royal women present case studies where geographical dimensionality was gained through marriage.⁶ Marie de Brabant (1260-1321) sets the model. She was

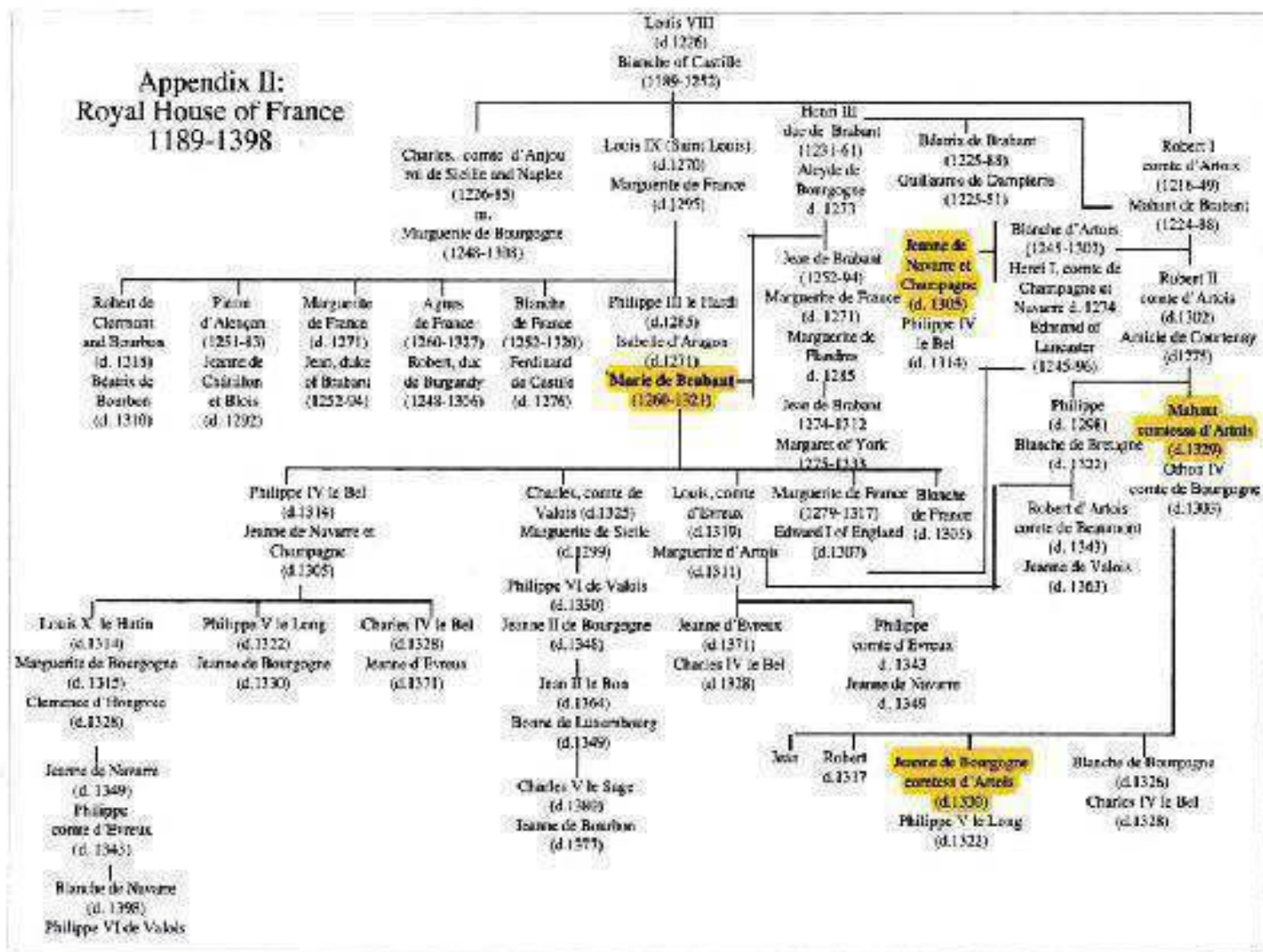
Figure 3. Genealogy of the Royal House of France by author.

Concepts, 41-48. In fact, read the whole – often witty – book if you are interested in the topic of cultural geography. Ian Wood in “Positionality / Situated Knowledge,” 16-26, urges us, “So, why not be more reflexive? At least make a stab at explaining where you are coming from. Your *position* in all of this. Talk about your research as partial in both senses of the word. It’s not the whole story and it’s impossible to be ‘impartial,’” 22.

⁵ “Thanks to the recognition that representations are *situated*, not universal, subjects, the world is not so easily mapped any more.” Feminist analysis such as this quote by Rosalyn Deutsche allowed me to place my discussion within a larger set of methodologies. From, “Men in Space,” in *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*, ed. Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, Ian Borden (London; New York, 2000), 134-139.

The same holds true for the study of borders and frontiers. See for instance, Ronnie Ellenblum, “Were there Borders and Borderlines in the Middle Ages? The Example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,” in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. David Abulafia and Nora Berend (Aldershot, 2002), 105-119, where he outlines medieval and modern conceptions of a linear border as defining transitions of power. See also, Naomi Standen’s review of this and other collections, *History in Focus XI: Migration* (Autumn 2006): <http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Migration/reviews/standen.html#1>. She calls attention to, “networks of interrelation between people that have spatial effects, in contrast to the modern conception of a set of bounded spaces within and between which relationships between people are constrained,” and believes, “the most fruitful avenues of future enquiry will be attempts to diagram (rather than map) European medieval frontiers.”

⁶ Interestingly, while the theorizing of gendered spaces or gendered landscapes – focused as it often is on architecture by women or spaces created to contain or communicate the idea of women – proves fruitful as precedent for the material under study, the literature of travel, the diaspora, and cognitive mapping are just as useful as models for the multi-national/ multi-spatial identity that I propose these women possessed. See for instance James Clifford, “Diasporas,” *Cultural Anthropology* IX/3 (1994), 302-338; Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (London and New York, 1996); David Stea, James M. Blaut, and Jennifer Stephens, “Mapping as a Cultural Universal,” in *The Construction of Cognitive Maps* (Dordrecht; Boston, 1996), 345-360; Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, 2001); *Architecture as Experience: Radical Change in Spatial Practice*, eds. Dana Arnold and Andrew Ballantyne (London; New York, 2004); *Trans-Status Subjects: Gender in the Globalization of South and Southeast Asia*, ed. Sonita Sarker and Esha Niyogi De (Durham, 2002); Peter Richardson, *Building Jewish in the Roman East* (Waco, 2004); Tim Ingold, “Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet,” *Journal of Material Culture* IX (November 2004), 315-340; Steven Fine, *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World: Toward a New Jewish Archaeology* (Cambridge; New York, 2005); Anne-Marie Fortier, “Diaspora,” in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, 182-187; *A Place to Believe In: Locating Medieval Landscapes*, eds. Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing (University Park, PA., 2006); *Diasporic Africa: A Reader*, ed. Michael A. Gomez (New York, 2006); *Else/Where: Mapping New Cartographies of Networks and Territories*, eds. Janet Abrams and Peter Hall (Minneapolis, 2006); *Muslim Diaspora: Gender, Culture and Identity*, ed. Haideh Moghissi (London; New York, 2006).



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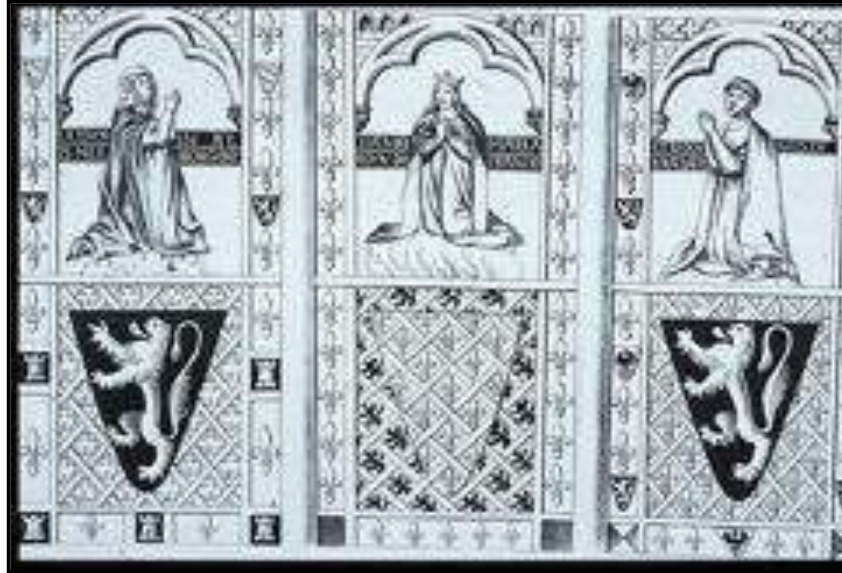


Figure 4. Window of Queen Marie de Brabant and her parents (Aleyde de Bourgogne and Henri III de Brabant) ca. 1274/76 (destroyed 1637). Louvain, church of Notre-Dame at the Dominican monastery, ducal chapel (After Ram, Pierre François Xavier de. “Recherches sur les sépultures des ducs de Brabant à Louvain.” *Nouveaux mémoires de l’Academie royale des Sciences et Belles-lettres de Bruxelles* 19 (1845), 1-48).



Figure 5. Marie and members of her court performing the poems of Adenet le Roi. (c) Bibliothèque nationale de France. All Rights Reserved (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 3142, Miscellany of Marie de Brabant, fol. 1).

Mahaut's daughter, successor as countess, and queen of France from 1316-1322.⁷ (figs. 6, 7)

Coming from, and having ties to their place of birth, in each case these women acquired lands and identity as part and parcel of their marriage. Other women, such as Jeanne, queen of Navarre and France from 1285-1304, or Marie's cousin, Marguerite de Bourgogne, countess of Anjou and queen of Sicily (1248-1308) would also qualify for similar inquiry.⁸ (fig. 8)

There are several questions driving my study. By choosing and activating specific sites through patronage projects, were these royal women able to affect the nexus

⁷ See fig. 3, the genealogical chart of the Royal House of France. I realize that using four women as paradigms, some of whom share the same name, can be confusing. Rather than selecting only one woman to illustrate my point, I find it more interesting that this geographical awareness seems to be a pattern that more than one royal woman pursued, and that it is not so much their relationship to each other that is the point – although that too is important – but the commonality of their actions. Please refer to the genealogy chart, where these women's names are highlighted, throughout this essay.

Mahaut acquired the title countess of Burgundy upon her marriage to Othon IV in 1285, with the county passing into her possession after his death in 1303. Some of these lands remained under her rule only during the years of her daughter's minority, but others had been awarded to her for life as part of her dowry. (Doubs, Archives départementales, B22. I was made aware of this document through Elizabeth Brown's work on Mahaut.) She had already inherited the lands of Artois from her father, Robert, the second count of Artois, upon his death in 1302. While her rule was hotly contested by her nephew, Robert (d. 1343), she remained countess and passed the title on to her daughter in 1329 (who was also succeeded by her daughter in 1330). Born to Mahaut and Othon in 1292, Jeanne married Philip of Poitiers, the future Philip V of France, in January 1307. Still one of the most exhaustive sources for Mahaut is Jules-Marie Richard, *Une petite-nièce de Saint Louis Mahaut Comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne (1302-1329)* (Paris, 1887). Also see, *L'enfant oublié: Le gisant de Jean de Bourgogne et le mécénat de Mahaut d'Artois en Franche-Comté au XIV^e siècle*, ed., Françoise Baron (Besançon, 1997). For Jeanne de Bourgogne, see essays such as: Edouard Clerc, *Essai sur l'Histoire de la Franche-Comté*, 2 vols. (Besançon, 1846-70), II, 3-34 and G.-B. Duhem, "Jeanne de Bourgogne, Comtesse de Poitiers et Reine de France," *Mémoires de la société d'émulation du Jura* 1/2 sér. (1928-29), 139-73. Many of the details of her patronage can still only be found in the archives of Paris and Besançon.

⁸ See Dorothy W. Gillerman, *Enguerran de Marigny and the Church of Notre-Dame at Ecois: Art and Patronage in the Reign of Philip the Fair* (University Park, PA, 1994) and Meredith Lillich, "The Queen of Sicily and Gothic Stained Glass in Mussy and Tonnerre," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series* LXXXVIII/3 (1998), 1-131, for the patronage of Jeanne de Navarre and Marguerite de Bourgogne, respectively. Mentions of all these women can be found in *L'art au temps les rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils 1285-1328* (Paris, 1998).

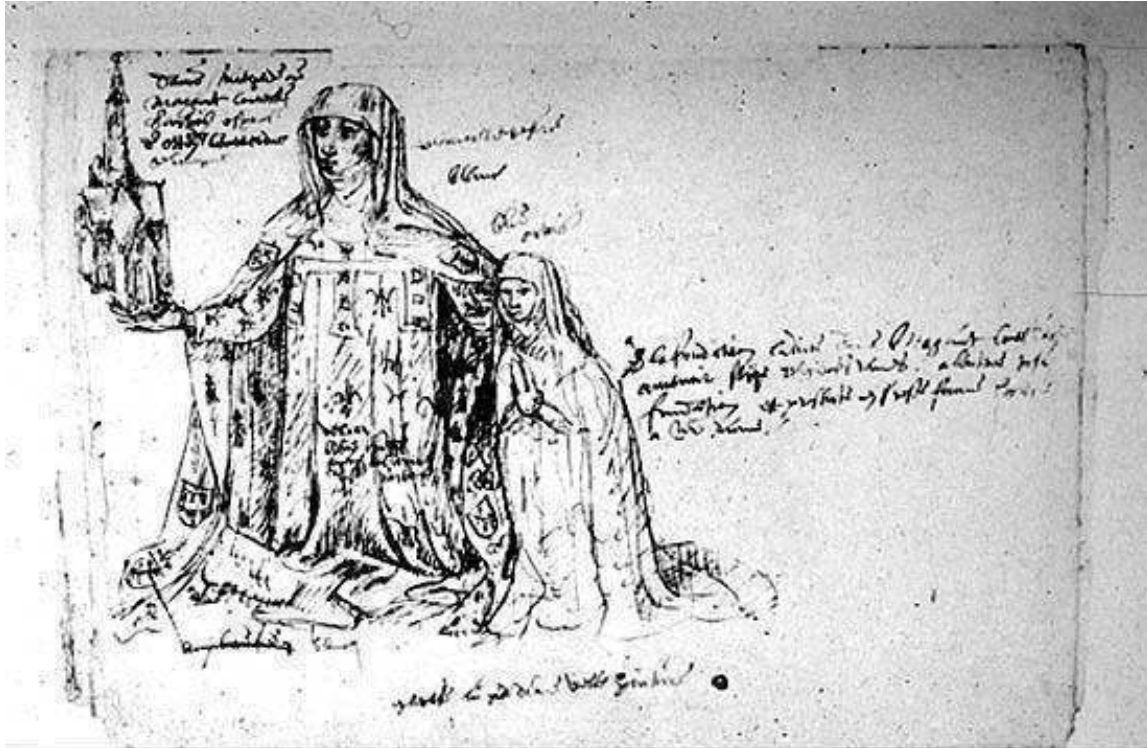


Figure 6. Antoine de Succa, drawing of Mahaut d'Artois from the tympanum of La Theiulloye (after *Les mémoriaux d'Antoine de Succa*, edited by Micheline Comblen-Sonkes et Christine Van den Bergen-Patens. 2 vols. Brussels: Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, 1977).

of power⁹ to make their audience more aware of their presence within a larger “place?” Going so far as to erase boundaries or, at the very least, connect disparate realms, did having their proverbial feet in more than one place facilitate a unifying mindset?¹⁰ And

⁹ While not her invention, Alison Blunt employs this phrase similarly in her essay, “Geography and the Humanities Tradition,” in *Key Concepts in Geography*, 73-91, esp. 78: “Much of this more recent geographical work on writing has been influenced by postcolonialism and feminism, interrogating identity in terms of gender and race and, to a lesser extent, class and sexuality. Most importantly, geographers increasingly recognize that writing – and representation more broadly – is located within a nexus of power relations.”

¹⁰ As to who might have been aware of these connections or were being targeted by this propaganda, the answer is a very wide group. Certainly members of the courts of Europe would have understood the realities of how married women possessed the tools to act as ambassadors between their two realms (and how unmarried women possessed the potential for the same). Marie de Brabant was called upon repeatedly to speak on the behalf of the French king during disputes with the rulers of the Low Countries, many of whom were her cousins and acquaintances. Frantz Funck-Brentano, *Philippe le Bel en Flandre* (Paris, 1896), 326, 358. In my forthcoming book, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France: The Artistic Patronage of Queen Marie de Brabant (1260-1321)*, I have written about how she negotiated an alliance between France and England, using her daughter as the trading piece, as well as of her diplomacy in Reims acting as both French queen and daughter of Brabant. *Foedera convencionis, literae, et cuiusque generis acta publica*, 2 vols., ed. Rymer (London, 1816), I, part 2, 793 and O. de Gourjault and Alphonse



Figure 7. Author presenting his manuscript to Jeanne de Bourgogne accompanied by her mother, Mahaut, comtesse d'Artois (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, ms. St. Peter, perg. 92, *Breviculum seu parvum Electorium* by Thomas le Myésier, fol. 12) (After *Breviculum, seu Electorium parvum Thomae Migerii (Le Myésier)*, Charles H. Lohr, Theodor Pindl-Büchel, et al. (Brepols, 1990)).

Wauters, "Chartes inédites extraites du Cartulaire de Saint-Nicaise de Reims," *Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, Commission royale d'histoire, Comptes rendus*, IX/4 ser. (1882), 168-169, 206-210.

The citizens of late medieval nations also saw their queens as an intercessors. Elisabeth Lalou, "Le gouvernement de la reine Jeanne, 1285-1304," *Cahiers Haut-Marnais* CLXVII (1986), 16-30, illustrated not only Jeanne de Navarre's independent rule of Navarre, but also how she argued on behalf of her people to her husband, King Philip the Fair (r. 1285-1314). For English examples of the synthesis of domestic and ceremonial roles, see John Parsons, "Ritual and Symbol in the English Medieval Queenship to 1500," in *Women and Sovereignty*, ed. Louise Olga Fradenburg (Edinburgh, 1992), 60-77; Parsons, "The Intercessionary Patronage of Queen Margaret and Isabella of France," in *Thirteenth Century England*, ed. Michael Prestwich, R. H. Britnell, and Robin Frame (London, 1995), 145-156; Parsons, "The Pregnant Queen as Counselor and the Medieval Construction of Motherhood," in *Medieval Mothering*, eds. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York and London, 1996), 39-61; Lois Huneycutt, "Intercession and the High Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos," in *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women*, eds. J. Carpenter and S.-B. MacLean (Urbana, IL, 1995), 126-145.

Past studies have attributed this intercessory role to a queen's relationship to the Virgin Mary, but I imagine that her liminal status was created by belonging simultaneously to two places, magnifying these views of her as able to speak and act fairly. See n. 13 below for feminist attributes of modern women to which the idea of "intercessor" could be applied.

can the claim that men's perceived dominance through architecture and space¹¹ be nuanced by illustrating how women may have sidestepped – or stepped over – traditional routes to geographical rule?¹² Most intriguingly, can we justify the assertion made by scholars that the underlying relationship of a woman to the world is one of connection, while a man's is one of separation?

This fundamental tenet of much feminist thought is based on object relations theory (as expounded by Nancy Chodorow in *The Reproduction of Mothering*). Chodorow holds that since the daughter is of the same gender as the mother, development of the daughter's self-identity centers on attachment to the main parenting figure and thereby to the generalized 'other' and the world. In contrast, development of the son's self-identity requires differentiation and separation from the mother, leading to separation from the 'other' and the world.¹³

To address these issues, I examine spaces in and outside of Paris, as well as the lands of Brabant,

¹¹ Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill, 1992), 3.

¹² For the question of how to define French royal power of men geographically see: W. M. Newman, *Le domaine royal sous les premiers Capétiens (987-1180)* (Paris, 1937); Robert Fawtier, "Comment le roi de France, au debut de XIVe siecle, pouvait-il se représenter son royaume?" *Mélanges offerts à M. Paul-E. Martin par ses amis, ses collègues, ses élèves: XL Memoires et documents publiés par la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève* (Geneva, 1961), 65-77; Bernard Guenée, "La géographie administrative de la France à la fin de moyen âge: Elections et bailliages," *Le moyen âge LXVII* (1961), 293-323; Gérard Sivéry, "La description du royaume de France par les conseillers de Philippe Auguste et par leurs successeurs," *Le moyen âge XC* (1984), 65-85; Elizabeth Hallam and Judith Everard, *Capetian France 987-1328*, 2nd ed. (Harlow, England, 2001), 102-111. Gabrielle Spiegel describes as existing under Philippe Augustus in the late twelfth century an, "image of the kingdom as an ordered, hierarchical structure of fiefs [that] was precisely that inscribed in the royal registers by the chancery clerks who drew up the feudal inventories (known now as the *Scripta de feodis*), which for the first time projected a mental map of the territories subject to royal authority both within and beyond the domain," *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1993), 19.

¹³ Karen A. Franck, "A Feminist Approach to Architecture: Acknowledging Women's Ways of Knowing" in *Architecture: A Place for Women*, ed. Ellen Perry Berkeley (Washington, 1989), 201-216, here 202. Responding to a number of feminist theories, Franck sees an overarching series of non-dualistic approaches that united their authors views on women's "knowing and analyzing: (1) an underlying connectedness to others, to objects of knowledge, and to the world, and a sensitivity to the connectedness of categories; (2) a desire for inclusiveness, and a desire to overcome opposing dualities; (3) a responsibility to respond to the needs of others, represented by an 'ethic of care'; (4) an acknowledgment of the value of everyday life and experience; (5) an acceptance of subjectivity as a strategy for knowing, and of feelings as part of knowing; (6) an acceptance and desire for complexity; and (7) an acceptance of change and a desire for flexibility," 203. Whether intentionally enacted or not, many of these points could be applied to the patronage habits of late medieval royal women.

See also, Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender* (Berkeley, 1978); Chodorow, *Feminism and Psychoanalytic Theory* (New Haven, 1989); Susan Saegert, "Masculine Cities and Feminine Suburbs," in *Women and the American City*, eds. C.R. Stimpson, F. Dixler, M.J. Nelson, and K.B. Yatrakis (Chicago, 1981), 93-108; and Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis, 1994).

Artois, Burgundy, and the broader place of the pilgrimage road, in concert with an analysis of the women's pattern of architectural patronage.



Figure 8. Roger de Gaignières, drawing of Jeanne de Navarre et Champagne from College de Navarre, Paris (after Gillerman, 1994).

Procession and Foundation as Marker of Space, Place, and Identity

One element that links these women is the use of procession to mark important events in their lives, anchored by meaningful places within and without their home in Paris.¹⁴ Elsewhere I have written of Marie de Brabant's elaborate entry into Paris and marriage to Philippe III, followed by her coronation ceremony in the Sainte-Chapelle, taking place in 1274 and 1275 respectively.¹⁵ Because of the flexibility inherent in ritual for women, in contrast to the more rigid formations of kingship, it was deemed acceptable to hold the queen's sacral rites in the more lushly intimate, but nevertheless holy and dynastic, setting of the Sainte-Chapelle, rather than at Reims where the kings of France had been crowned since the miraculous anointing of Clovis (465-511), first king of the Franks. The new location of Marie's coronation also served visually to root her presence in Paris and allegiance to the Parisians from the start.

Daughter of and sister to the poet dukes Henri (1231-61) and Jean de Brabant (1252-94), Marie was in all likelihood also accompanied to Paris by a large retinue, among whom numbered Adenet le Roi, one of the most renowned *trouvères* of the late thirteenth-century whose poetry and song was recorded in manuscripts owned by Marie.¹⁶ **(fig. 5)** There is a striking similarity between Adenet's "fictional" account of the entry and fête of Marie's ancestress, Berthe au

¹⁴ By no means limited to these women, procession has, from the beginning of time been a mode of defining territory, announcing shifts or continuations of power, and communicating identity both individual or communal. See for instance, Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process* (Chicago, 1969); Turner, "Variations on a Theme of Liminality," in *Secular Ritual*, ed. Sally F. Moore (Amsterdam, 1977), 36-52; Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York, 1978); or Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago, 1987).

An essay relevant to this period of Capetian France that began my consideration of similar issues is Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Nancy Freeman Regalado, "La grant feste: Philip the Fair's Celebration of the Knighting of His Sons in Paris at Pentecost of 1313," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, eds. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis and London, 1994), 56-86, as well as the entries in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüskens (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 2001).

¹⁵ See my forthcoming book, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France: The Artistic Patronage of Queen Marie de Brabant (1260-1321)*.

¹⁶ The most complete set of his works is contained in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 3142, a manuscript produced for Marie in 1285.

Grand Pied (720-830), wife of Pepin le Bref (715-68) and mother of Charlemagne, to Marie's post-coronation celebration as it was recorded by his contemporary, Guillaume de Nangis (d. 1300), monk at Saint-Denis and the royal chronicler.¹⁷ It follows that Adenet's description was based on the real life events of his patron Marie, to whom he dedicated the poem, *Berte aux grans pies*, in 1276, two years after Marie's journey to France from Brabant. Reflected in the poem's verse we learn that on the road to Paris every person and child from every town came out on foot and horse to greet their queen.¹⁸ By the time they arrived in the capital city, even the monks and abbots had joined the procession.¹⁹ Berthe's passage clearly begins in the land of her mother and father to the north and traces a line (traveling through many of the same towns as Marie would have done) to her new home in Paris. This public movement permanently created an allegiance between the two places through the ephemeral act of procession. In this case, recorded in the text of *Berte aux grans pies*, the ritual was witnessed by all the people of the queen's – or as I suggest, the queens' – two lands.²⁰ When "la Roïne de France est a Paris venue" king Pepin came with great joy to meet them, accompanied by over one thousand and

¹⁷ Guillaume de Nangis. *Gesta Philippi tertii francorum regis; Listoire du roy Phelippe, fils de monseigneur saint Loys*. In *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XX (Paris, 1840), 466-539, esp. 497.

¹⁸ While I paraphrase the journey of Berthe as written down by Adenet, this section of his "story" was most likely inspired by the contemporary, thirteenth-century procession that brought Marie from Brabant to Paris. This section of her journey is not recorded by Guillaume de Nangis, but, again, the similarity of the two queens' coronations as described by the authors whose paths would have crossed either at court – where both men worked – or in the library at the abbey of Saint-Denis – where Guillaume de Nangis was a monk and where Adenet claims to have conducted his historical research – point to the likelihood that Adenet used the actual journey of Marie as fodder for his text concerning Berthe, as the events of Marie's arrival would have been so memorable and fresh in his mind. In a reversal of this reasoning, then, we can read Adenet's description of Berthe's procession as a reflection of Marie's. See Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics* for a full analysis of this overlap.

¹⁹ *Berte aus grans piés*, lines 250-84 and 290-307, as transcribed by Albert Henry, *Les oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi*, 5 vols. (Bruges, 1951-56), here IV, and the author from Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 3142, fols. 120-140v.

²⁰ Denis Cosgrove encapsulates the ties between cartography and movement in "Mapping/Cartography": "In some respects all spatial activities might be regarded as 'mappings,' and all maps as metaphorical to some degree. Mapping is always a performative act, a spatial activity incorporated into the creation and communication of individual and group identity, leaving a trace or mark in the world," *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, 32.

seven hundred of his company, just as the sun was setting. They greeted one another with grace and courtesy and proceeded down the “grant rue” lined by many lovely young girls and gay young men, singing and making merry. The clocks of the city rang loudly, the buildings were richly and beautifully decorated, and the roads neatly strewn with sweet grasses.²¹

In the chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis, whose focus is on the celebration *in* the city of Paris during Marie de Brabant’s coronation, a detailed section of his account speaks of what occurred on the roads. He opens with the prelates and barons of the realms of France, and Germany, and many other nations assembling and traveling to Paris. After a long passage describing Marie de Brabant’s coronation and the intricacies of the finery worn by the barons, knights, and ladies, he turns to how the bourgeois of Paris organized a grand and festive party, outlining the buildings of the city in rich, multi-colored tapestries made from silk and gold fabric. Moving amongst and surrounded by these hangings were singing women and girls.²² The sense of movement from country to country and within the city itself is made visible by the people and ornament that frames them, all qualities that we will see again in the example of Marie and the women who succeed her. Events surrounding Marie’s procession may not have exactly mirrored Adenet’s rendition of Berte’s journey. Nonetheless, the parallel descriptions in Guillaume de Nangis’ history testify that the poet’s verse at the very least reflects the ideal interaction of ceremony and geography for a late-thirteenth-century royal woman. How similar concerns of one’s place within space and location continued into the fourteenth century is illustrated by two of her successors, Jeanne de Navarre et Champagne and Jeanne de Bourgogne.

²¹ *Berte aus grans piés*, 250-84, 3267-78, and 3347-60, as transcribed by Albert Henry, IV, and the author from Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 3142, fols. 120-140v. Translations mine.

²² Guillaume de Nangis, 497.

Collegial Foundations: Remapping the University of Paris

In an era often seen as one in which the power of women had declined, women of the French royal court gained access to public life through the ceremony and patronage intrinsic to architectural commissions, thus making their public identity permanent in both the building's design and the urban landscape.²³ To illustrate this statement, I am primarily concerned with how the siting and designing of the buildings they commissioned revealed a woman's hand in their creation and how that vision fits into the larger physical and ideological topography of the city of Paris. When considering these points, important themes emerge that associate Jeanne de Navarre and Jeanne de Bourgogne with the ideal queen as promoted by Capetian ideology – namely, service to her people – while co-opting a mode that had traditionally been reserved for the world of men – the large-scale educational complex, here in the form of the College de Navarre and the College de Bourgogne.²⁴ Analyzing this patronage within its Parisian context offers historical insight into these royal women's conceptions of their public and, therefore, political identity and reveals their desire to memorialize themselves as patrons of the Parisian university, forever altering the traditionally gendered boundaries that delineated the physical fabric of their city.²⁵ In the case of Jeanne de Bourgogne, I suggest a connection between her foundation of the College de Bourgogne and her burial in the Franciscan abbey of the Cordeliers,

²³ I use the term "landscape" here in its meaning as a "built morphology – the shape and structure of a place," as conceived of by the people who use it and imbued with, in most cases, multiple ideologies. Quote from: Don Mitchell, "Landscape," in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, 49-56, here 49.

²⁴ Please refer to the genealogy chart in figure 3. Jeanne de Navarre was married to Philippe IV (d. 1314) and Jeanne de Bourgogne was their daughter-in-law, who wed their second son, Philippe V (d. 1322).

²⁵ Spain sums up many authors concerned with how space has been constructed with gender in mind: "Women and men are spatially segregated in ways that reduce women's access to knowledge and thereby reinforce women's lower status relative to men's. 'Gendered spaces' separate women from knowledge used by men to produce and reproduce power and privilege," *Gendered Spaces*, 3. Also see notes 5 and 11 above.

Of course, even such breakthroughs had their limits in redefining gender boundaries. Although these colleges were founded by women, no women were allowed to attend the University of Paris as students. Their instruction took place on a more individual basis.

located in southwestern Paris and across the rue des Cordeliers from one another.²⁶ (**figs. 9, nos. 8 and 11 respectively**) This scenario mirrors the creation of college and choice of final resting place made by her mother-in-law, Jeanne de Navarre, who also chose the Cordeliers for burial.²⁷

The College de

²⁶ For the Cordeliers see Laure Beaumont-Maillet, *Le Grand Couvent des Cordeliers de Paris. Etude historique et archéologique du XIIIe siècle à nos jours* (Paris, 1975). Documents that discuss the foundation of the College de Bourgogne are preserved in the Archives nationales in Paris, MM369; K179 liasse 15, nos. 1, 6, 9; K180 liasse 9, nos. 1 and 2, as are the testaments and codiciles of Jeanne de Bourgogne, J404, no. 23 (from 1319); J404, no. 30 (from 1328); JJ66, no. 206; and K42, no. 6. Also the Archives départementales de Doubs in Besançon possess a number of records of her years as countess. Begin by consulting Jean Cortieu, *Guide des Archives du Doubs*, part 1 (Besançon, 1967).

²⁷ The College de Navarre was originally named the College de Champagne et Navarre, based upon Jeanne's rulership of both the county and the kingdom. Histories of the college are: J. De Launoy, *Academia parisiensis illustrata, prima pars Regii Navarrae gymnasii parisiensis historia*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1682), I, 713-15, and Nathali Gorochov, *Le collège de Navarre: De sa fondation, 1305, au début du XVe siècle, 1418: Histoire de l'institution, de sa vie intellectuelle et de son recrutement* (Paris, 1997). For documentary evidence see Paris, Archives nationales, M180, nos. 1-58, and M181, nos. 1-2; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 2833, fol. 162-170v for a version of her testament and fols. 176v-179v for a list of statutes of the College de Navarre; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 23023, fols. 55-65, testament; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 24978 is a 1643 copy of original documents by Rev. Robert Regnault that lists, among others, "Memoires de la Reyne Ianne de Navarre Femme du Roy Philippe le Bel" (fols. 141-152v) and her "Testament: Mars Holy Soul, 1304 & Codicil: Mars 31, 1304" (fols. 157-182v). See also, Gillerman, *Enguerran de Marigny*.

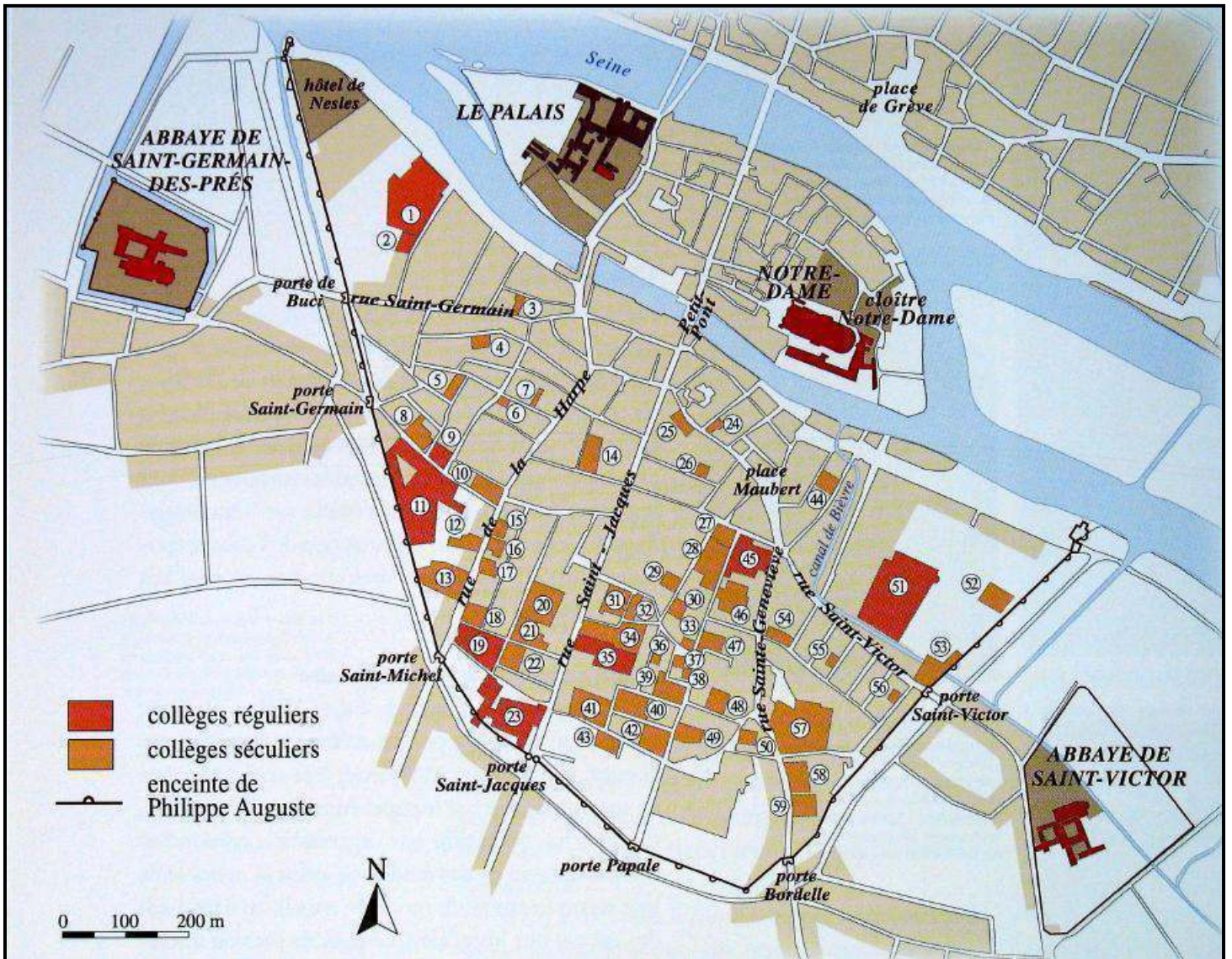


Figure 9. Map of Colleges in Medieval Paris. After *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge*, edited by Philippe Lorentz and Dany Sandron (Paris, 2006), p. 172.

Navarre was located just to the east of the rue Saint-Jacques that led pilgrims in or out the southern gate of Paris. (**fig. 9, no. 57**) At the bottom of the hill on which rested the abbey of Sainte-Genevieve, shrine to the female patron saint of Paris, the college remained one of the more well-endowed and popular educational institutions until the French Revolution.

Both the College de Navarre and the College de Bourgogne were erected on lands situated south of the river in the university quarter.²⁸ (fig. 10) Their location in the heart



Figure 10. Map of Paris, by Truschet and Hoyau (Bibliothèque de l'université de Bâle, Kartenslg AA 124)

http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/france/paris/maps/braun_hogenberg_I_7_b.jpg

of a district that was traditionally patronized by men is significant in itself. That these edifices displayed support of education by women on such a monumental scale adds to the innovative nature of the commissions. A mother's role in the education of her children was one that these

²⁸ South was oriented to the right side of the map, rather than at the bottom as is the norm today.

queens' saintly and learned ancestor, Louis IX (d. 1270), frequently espoused, learned in large part from the actions of his mother, Blanche of Castile (d. 1252).²⁹ And yet these colleges were the first two public manifestations of that duty of the queen vis-a-vis her subjects rather than her children. In this case that the reference was to the nation of France – or more specifically to the counties of Champagne and Burgundy and the kingdom of Navarre – rather than just the royal children enhances the significance of its architectural articulation that we find expressed in the city of Paris.

The founding of these two colleges was prompted in part by the contemporary Franciscan, Ramon Lull (1232-1315), whose teachings were extremely popular among the royal women of the Capetian court and who felt that acquisition of linguistic skills by Christians was the only real route to wholesale conversion of Muslims and Jews.³⁰ He also believed, as he spelled out in his *Doctrine d'enfant*, a text included in a manuscript commissioned and owned by Jeanne de Bourgogne (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, ms. St. Peter, perg. 92) that the best candidates for this rigorous job were “les enfants pauvres” who had both physical and intellectual superiority over their wealthier colleagues.³¹ Lull felt so

²⁹ Joan A. Holladay, “The Education of Jeanne d’Evreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in Her Book of Hours at the Cloisters.” *Art History* 17/4 (December 1994), 585-610 and Tracy Chapman Hamilton, “Queenship and Kinship in the French Bible moralisée: The Example of Blanche of Castile and Vienna ÖNB 2554,” in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan (New York, 2003), 177-208.

³⁰ On Lull and his connections to the French court see, J. N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1971). Thomas Le Myésier, a student of Ramon Lull and doctor to Mahaut d’Artois and Jeanne de Bourgogne, helped popularize Lull’s doctrine.

³¹ Compiled and authored by Thomas Le Myésier, the *Breviculum seu parvum Electorium* (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, ms. St. Peter, perg. 92) was produced in Paris around 1321 and was, as the author states on the folio following this image, “drawn up at the precept of the Queen of France and Navarre,” my translation from *Raimundus Lullus – Thomas le Myésier. Electorium parvum seu breviculum. Faksimile-Ausgabe des Cod. St. Peter perg. 92 der Badischen Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe* (Wiesbaden, 1988), fols. 12,13. **Figure 7** shows Jeanne de Bourgogne receiving the vertically-stacked trilogy from a kneeling Thomas Le Myésier with Ramon Lull standing behind him. Jeanne is accompanied by other contemporary women, among them her mother, Mahaut d’Artois. The other full-page illuminations in this opening cycle record the life and teachings of Ramon Lull.

strongly about this tactic, that he travelled across Europe in the last years of the thirteenth century to speak with rulers hoping to persuade them of the necessity of founding schools dedicated to training missionaries in the oriental languages of Arabic, Chaldean, and Hebrew.³² After his teachings reached Paris, it was the queens, rather than their husbands, who took Lull's pleas to heart and, acting in an intercessory capacity on behalf of the people of their lands, founded institutions dedicated to the education of young, poor scholars. That the chapels of the colleges founded by these royal women were dedicated to their ancestor,³³ Saint Louis (Louis IX), and the Virgin respectively, reiterates these queens' desire to associate themselves with the two most important intercessors of the Capetian court.

In return for this beneficent act of education, the queens spelled out the necessity of prayers made on their and their families' behalf by the resident scholars and teachers of their colleges. Jeanne de Navarre stated in her testament that she wished for them to "chanteront ou feront chanter chaque iour illeucques à l'heure de Prime pour l'âme de Nous"³⁴ as well as to say mass on her behalf each year on the anniversary of her death. So, too, did Jeanne de Bourgogne request that her *écoliers* pray for not just her soul, but for those of "her husband and all her relations."³⁵ The same desire for reciprocal prayers made in payment for their donations were fulfilled by the monks of the Cordeliers in whose abbey Jeanne de Navarre and Jeanne de

³² Lull first visited Paris in 1287, met with Philippe IV and Jeanne de Navarre, and continued to frequent the city until 1311, just four years before his death in 1315. Hillgarth, 150-155.

³³ Saint Louis (Louis IX) was the grandfather of Jeanne de Navarre and great-grandfather of Jeanne de Bourgogne.

³⁴ "Sing [pray] each day on the hour of Prime for our soul," my translation. Paris, Archives nationales, M180, no. 1.

³⁵ Paris, Archives nationales, K179 liasse 15, no. 1.

Bourgogne, accompanied by many members of their families, lay in perpetuity as part of what became an extensive royal tomb program.³⁶

It was this concern with family that may also have been part of Jeanne de Navarre and Jeanne de Bourgogne's motivation for founding these colleges. The funding and siting of these monuments evoked these women's lineage, both near and farther afield.

First, both women used proceeds from the sale of their hotels –familial and personal – in Paris to fund their projects. Jeanne de Navarre kept a separate household from her husband's and resided primarily in the hotel of the kings of Navarre, rather than the Palais de Paris on the Île-de-la-Cité, when in Paris. The hôtel de Navarre was located on the rue Saint-André-des-Arts, near to the porte de Bucy and the porte de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, not far from the Cordeliers. **(fig. 11)** Her daughter-in-law and the second queen in question as a founder of a college, Jeanne de Bourgogne, inherited her hôtel, named the hôtel de Nesle after a former owner, before she was queen when she and Philip were just countess and count of Burgundy. **(fig.11)** It was to this residence, located on the banks of the Seine in a tower of the city wall – again, just a short walk from the Cordeliers (and the hôtel de Navarre) – that she retired after her husband's death in 1322. In later years, both hôtels were described as two of the loveliest residences in Paris, a fact

³⁶ This type of exchange – donations for prayer – was common practice and would have occurred at the numerous churches to which these women also donated annual funds.

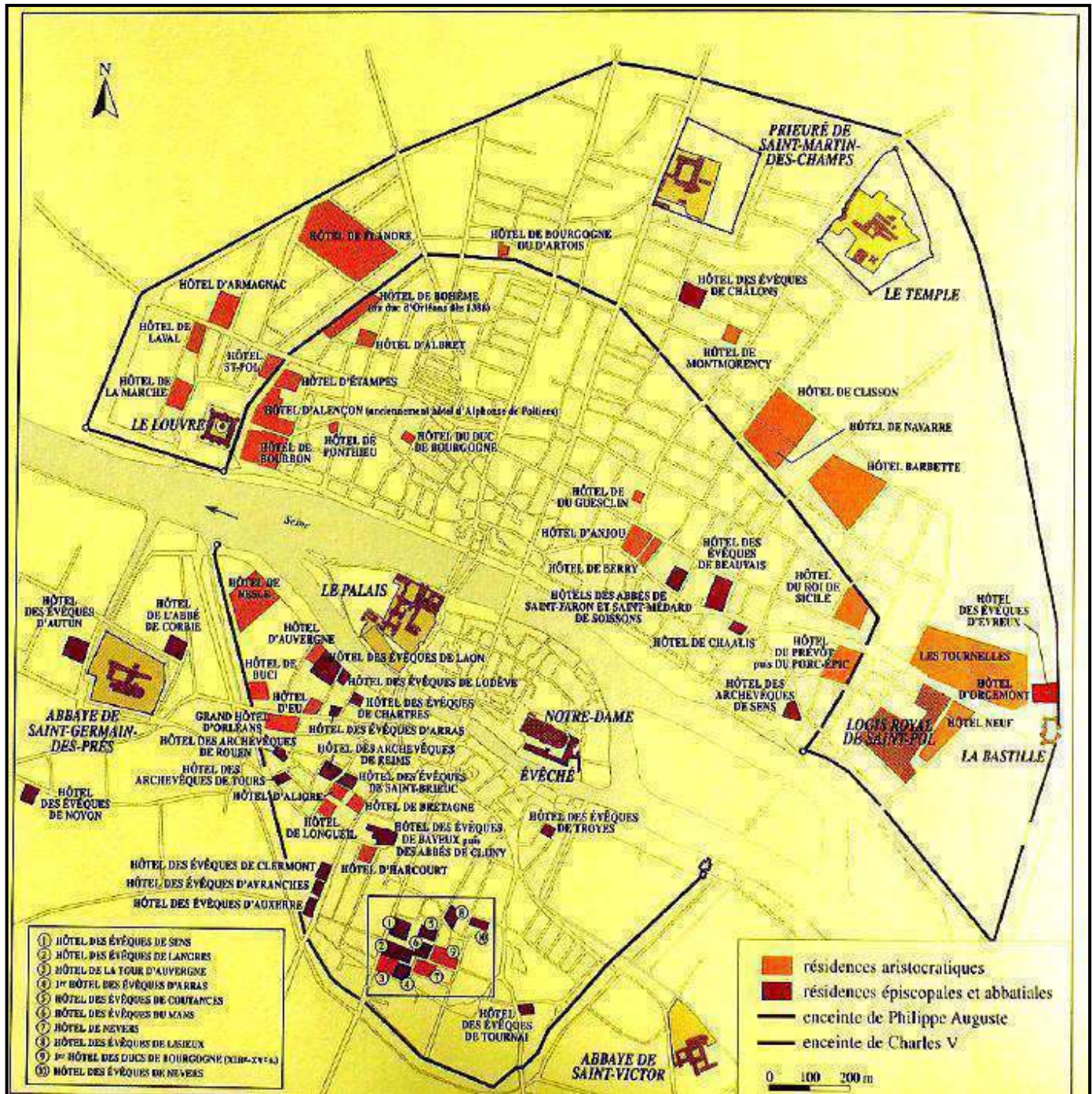


Figure 11. Map of Hôtels in Medieval Paris. After *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge*, edited by Philippe Lorentz and Dany Sandron (Paris, 2006), p. 175.

that allowed these queens to fund the foundations of their colleges for the most part from the sale of these properties.³⁷ Second, the college's operating expenses came from rent on lands in Champagne, Brie, and Navarre, and Burgundy respectively.

Thus, not just in their naming and foundational funding, but also in the source of their continued existence, these colleges were indebted to lands that the women ruled independent of their leadership of France. Elizabeth Lalou illustrated that Jeanne de Navarre was responsible in large part for decision making in the kingdom of Navarre as well as in her palatine counties of Champagne and Brie.³⁸ So too did her successor Jeanne de Bourgogne reside in and govern the county of Burgundy during her marriage and widowhood. After the death of her mother, Mahaut d'Artois, Jeanne de Bourgogne also took over her familial lands in Artois although, even in her testament of 1319 – a decade before Mahaut, died – Jeanne endowed a number of institutions located in Artois with gifts.³⁹ It is worth noting that both women inherited their lands not from their fathers, but from their mothers, who ruled after their husband's deaths until their daughters came of age.⁴⁰ In any case, there is no debating that the young *écoliers* who traveled to Paris from these regions would have realized that they were not just citizens of France, but of the domains ruled by their female benefactresses.

Viewed from another geographic perspective, founding these colleges in Paris to sponsor and bring students from the lands they governed was another method of tracing lines of connection between the two realms, literally in the *écoliers*' journey to Paris, and metaphorically in the young men's remembrance of their former lives and presence in their new home. That the

³⁷ See for instance, A. Robida, *Paris de siècle en siècle* (Paris, 1895; repr. Paris, 1986), 190-191.

³⁸ Elizabeth Lalou, "Le gouvernement de la reine Jeanne, 1285-1304," 16-30.

³⁹ Paris, Archives nationale, J404, no. 23. Please refer to the genealogy in **figure 3**.

⁴⁰ Jeanne de Navarre's mother was Blanche d'Artois (1248-1302).

means to this extraordinary opportunity came from a royal mother figure who herself had connections to these lands made the foundations all the more significant.

Still more striking is the location of these colleges in close proximity to the primary tombs of their patron queens, both south of the river, and particularly in light of the fact that neither queen chose to be buried next to her husband in the royal necropolis at Saint-Denis.⁴¹ Does the location of the colleges in Paris address this geographical and familial debt and allegiance? The answer in Jeanne de Bourgogne seems an affirmative one. The college is located in close proximity to the Hôtel de Nesle (or Bourgogne), on the edge of the university district. Across from the Couvent de Cordeliers, three of whose members were executors of Jeanne de Bourgoignes's testament, the college's entrance opened directly onto the building where Jeanne's body lay in its tomb. **(fig. 9, nos. 8, 11)** This Franciscan monastery, established by Louis IX and in the Late Capetian era, had become an increasingly popular site not just for royal donations, but also for the burial of royal women. Jeanne de Navarre, founder of the college de Navarre, was the first of the women of the fourteenth century to choose burial here rather than at Saint-Denis. Other than love of the Franciscans, this act may have been motivated by Louis IX's statement that kings and only kings should be buried at Saint-Denis.⁴² In fact, his

⁴¹ The Capetian tradition of burial with one's husband at Saint-Denis was long- established for the royal family, with only a few, interesting exceptions. Take the example discussed by Kathleen Nolan in "The Queen's Body and Institutional Memory: The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne," in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, ed. Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo and Carol Stamatidis Pendergast (Aldershot, England, 2000), 249-267. Philippe IV, husband of Jeanne de Navarre, fought her burial in the Cordeliers, but in the end followed her wishes. Less of an issue for Jeanne de Bourgogne as her spouse, Philippe V, had died in 1322, she still made the choice to have herself buried across the road from the site of the College de Bourgogne, in the company of many members of her family, rather than that of Philippe's, as would have been the case at Saint-Denis.

⁴² Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi*, 25, 78, 93, 118; Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Chapels and Cult of Saint Louis at Saint-Denis," *Mediaevalia: A Journal of Medieval Studies* X (1988, for 1984): 279-331, here 279. See also Robert Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London, 1965), 32-33; and Georgia Sommers Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of St. Louis," *Art Bulletin* LVI (1974): 224-43, esp. 224-25, 231; Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Authority, the Family, and the Dead in Late Medieval France," *French Historical Studies*, XVI/ 4 (Autumn, 1990), 803-832, here 810.

own mother, Blanche of Castile, decided to have her body divided between two of her personal foundations: Maubuisson received her corpse while her heart was interred at Lys.⁴³ So, while being one of the more royal bodies of the thirteenth century, she placed herself outside of the confine at Saint-Denis. These precedents, as well as the popularity of both the Franciscan order and the cult of Saint Louis, made the Cordeliers an ideal burial site. In the years between Jeanne de Navarre's death in 1304 and Jeanne de Bourgogne's in 1330, no fewer than three other royal women had their remains placed in tombs that ringed the choir of the church.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, all of these *gisants* were destroyed in a sixteenth-century fire.

If the location of Jeanne de Bourgogne's college was ideal, what can be said of her predecessor's College de Navarre? Archives reveal that the initial setting that Jeanne de Navarre hoped for had to be abandoned after her death. One wonders if Jeanne, too, wished for her college to be placed farther to the west near her former hôtel de Navarre – symbol of her queenship beyond the borders of France – and the convent of the Cordeliers where her body lay at rest. Instead it was placed on the Montagne Sainte-Geneviève, on land owned by one of her executors slightly further to the east. Although different from her original wishes, this location certainly placed the college within the “quartier des écoles” and in close proximity to other important monuments. The most symbolically pleasing of these would have been the venerable church of Sainte-Genevieve, home to the bones of the city's patron saint and founded by France's first Christian king, Clovis who was also buried within its walls. And just to the south, at the Porte Saint-Jacques, was the Jacobins, the Dominican monastery that also housed the

⁴³ Brown, “Authority, the Family, and the Dead,” 809.

⁴⁴ Blanche de France (d. 1320), Marie de Brabant (d. 1321), and Mahaut d'Artois (d. 1329).

bodies of many members of the royal family.⁴⁵ As **figure 12** and the archives reveal, the route that passed directly across the front of the college, up to Sainte-Genevieve, and across to the Jacobins was the site of most major processions south of the Seine in Paris. This route may have been affected by the creation of a site of royal female patronage, displaying queen, king, and patron saint on its façade, but it was also already a major route and therefore perfect for the siting of Jeanne's College de Navarre. Finally, the lands on which the College de Navarre was built had been the original location offered to the Cordeliers by Louis IX and so had – at least in its memory – associations with her sainted ancestor and the Franciscans who would care for her soul in death.

In the end, then, the two queens achieved their goals of financing the education of the people in *their* realms, locating their graves in close proximity – to one another, to their families, and to the prayers of the *écoliers* and processionalists in Paris – thus linking the lands of the living and dead. In so doing, they transformed the landscape of Paris, connecting it to the space of their lands outside the capital, bringing together the living

⁴⁵ Two sons of Louis IX, Pierre d'Alençon (d. 1283) and Robert de Clermont (d. 1318) had their heart and body buried here, respectively, and Marie de Brabant's stepson, Charles de Valois (d. 1325) was later placed next to the body of his second wife, Catherine de Cortenay (d. 1308). Marie's second son and daughter-in-law, Louis d'Evreux and Marguerite d'Artois, were laid here in 1319 and 1311 respectively. The hearts of Philippe d'Evreux (d. 1343), Louis and Marguerite's son, and his wife Jeanne de Navarre (d. 1349), daughter of Louis X, were placed in the choir directly next to the hearts of their grandmother, Marie de Brabant, and great-father, Philippe III, by the couple's daughter, queen Blanche de Navarre (d. 1398). Also buried in the choir were the parents of Marguerite d'Artois, Philippe d'Artois (d. 1298) and Blanche de Bretagne (d. 1322), as well as the dowager queen Clémence d'Hongroie (d. 1328).

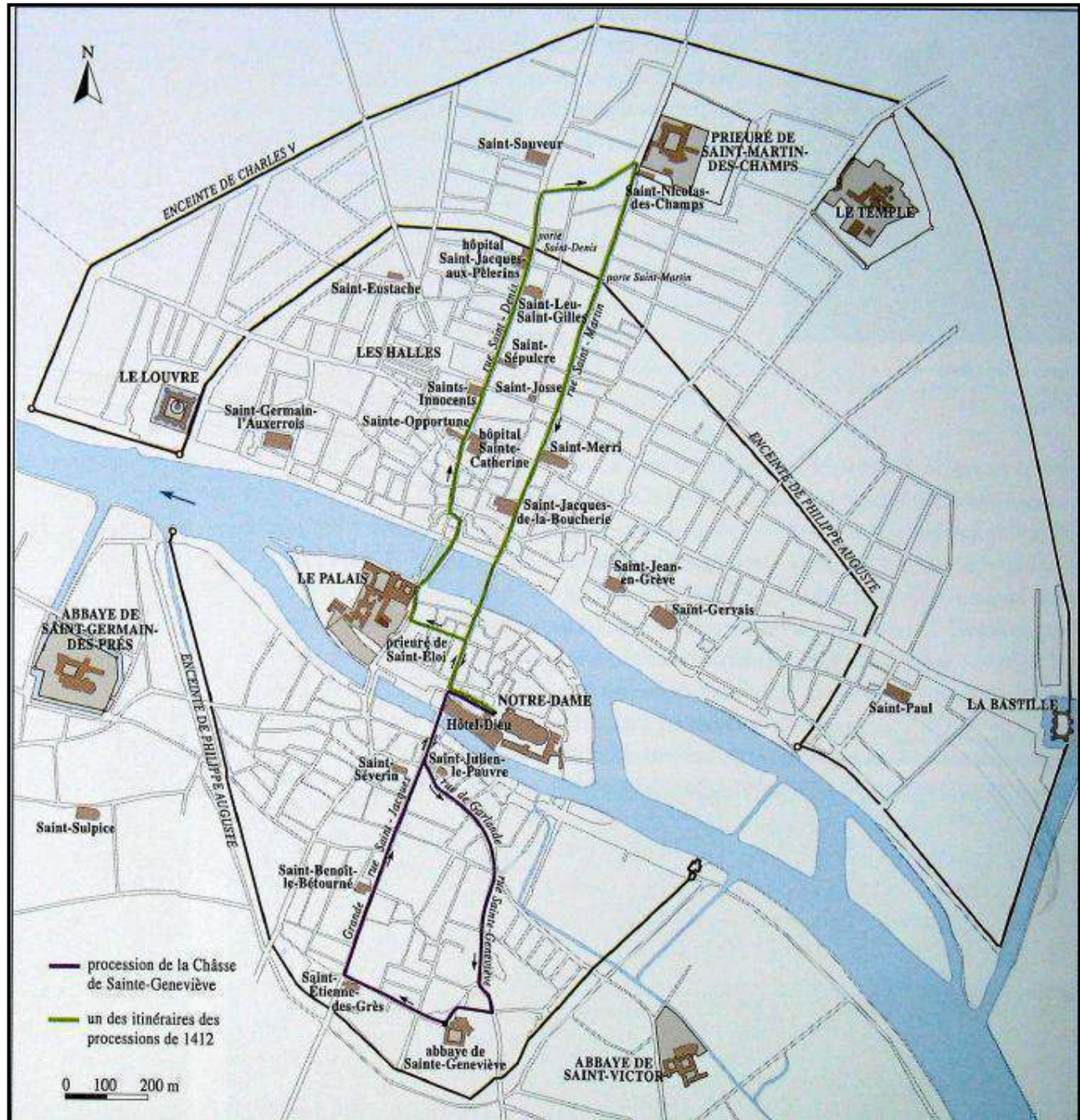


Figure 12. Map of the Procession of the Châsse de Sainte Geneviève. After *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge*, edited by Philippe Lorentz and Dany Sandron (Paris, 2006), p. 177.

and the dead. From here we turn north to look at another example of the erection of a site in the city of Paris and how it can evoke and point towards a number of places far from this center, joining rather than separating.

The Hôpital Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins: Both Place and Space

All of these acts of patronage are tied together through ideology and city topography. Their relationship is heightened by the donation of land by Mahaut d'Artois, to allow her and her daughter, Jeanne de Bourgogne – the queen of France, wife of Philippe V, and founder of the College de Bourgogne – to join other members of the court and merchant class in founding the Hôpital Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins.⁴⁶ Built on land taken from the site of the hôtel d'Artois along the northern wall of Paris, the hospital was strategically situated at the city gate to welcome pilgrims on their way to or from Santiago de Compostela. The rue Saint-Denis was easily the busiest street in Paris, serving the merchants of the main city market at Les Halles and their patrons, members of the episcopal and secular courts, as well as the many pilgrims making their way north or south through town. And as the direct artery between the Ile-de-la-Cité and the Basilica of Saint-Denis it was also the Royal Route, witness to innumerable ceremonial entrances and exits.⁴⁷ **(figs. 12,13, 14)** It was along this road that Jeanne de Bourgogne's funerary cortege would travel as it came from the town of Roye, to the north on the

⁴⁶ The unprecedented cooperative donation of money to produce the Hôpital Saint-Jacques reflects the shifts in class power already evident by the early fourteenth century. For details of the location and appearance of the hôpital see, Dom Jacques Du Breul, *Le theatre des Antiquitez de Paris, ou est traicté de la fondation des églises et chapelles de la cité, universite, ville et diocese de Paris* (Paris, 1612), 732-34; H. Bordier, *La Confrérie des pèlerins de Saint-Jacques et ses archives*, in *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* I (1875), 186-228 and II (1876), 330-397; H. Bordier and L. Brièle, *Les archives hospitalières de Paris* (Paris, 1877); Françoise Baron, "Le decor sculpté et peint de l'hôpital Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins," *Bulletin monumental* CXXXIII/1 (1975), 29-72.

⁴⁷ M. Vimont, *Histoire de la rue Saint-Denis de ses origines à nos jours*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1936), see especially chapter three.

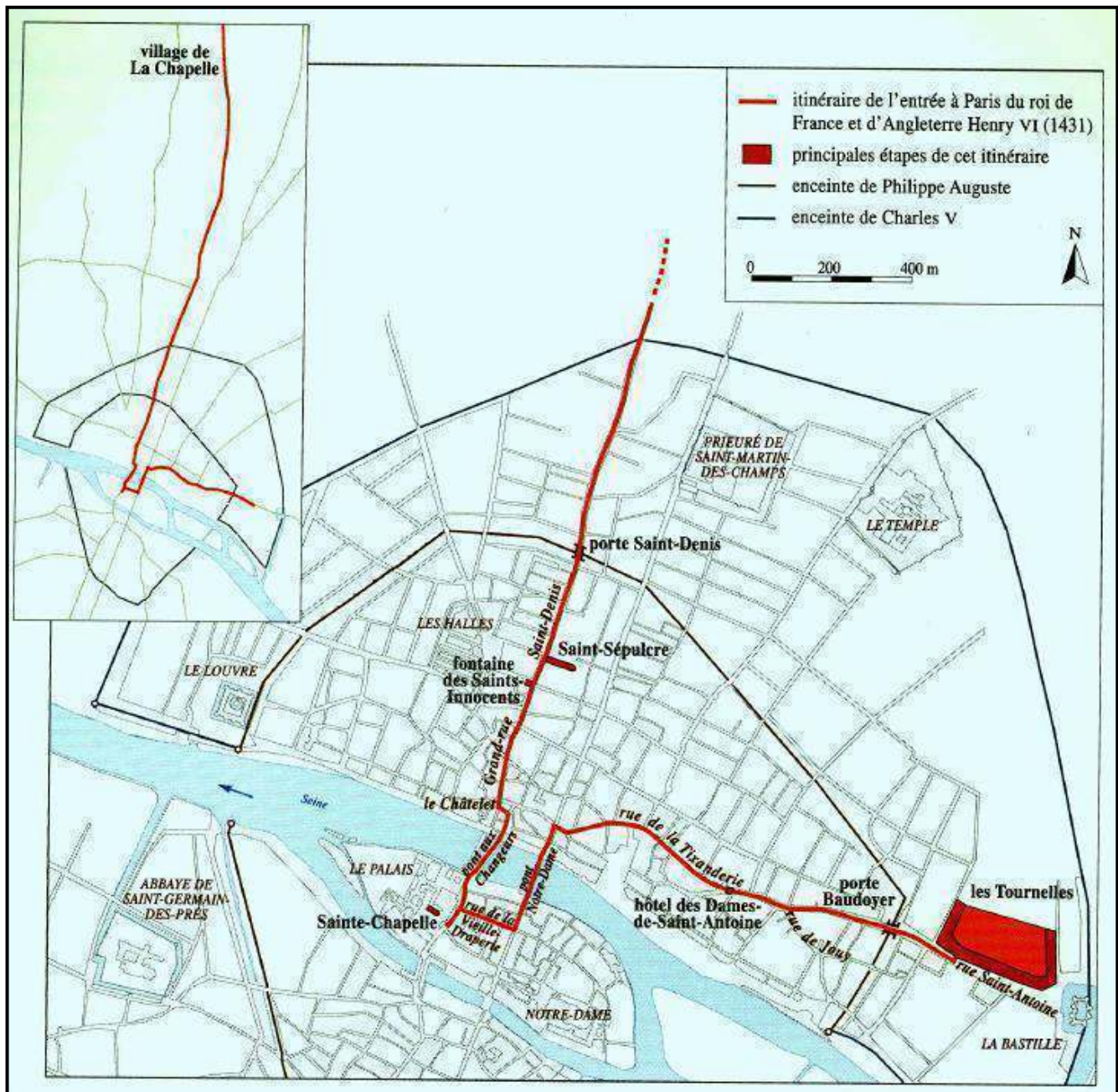


Figure 13. Map of the Royal Entry of Henry VI (1431). After *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge*, edited by Philippe Lorentz and Dany Sandron (Paris, 2006), p. 180.

border of Artois where she died, on its way to the Cordeliers on the southern side of the Seine.

(fig. 15) Acutely aware of the visibility of such projects and of their place within the larger space of the city, the paths that linked these women's foundations ultimately projected far beyond the capital city walls, to trace not just a system of roads to their

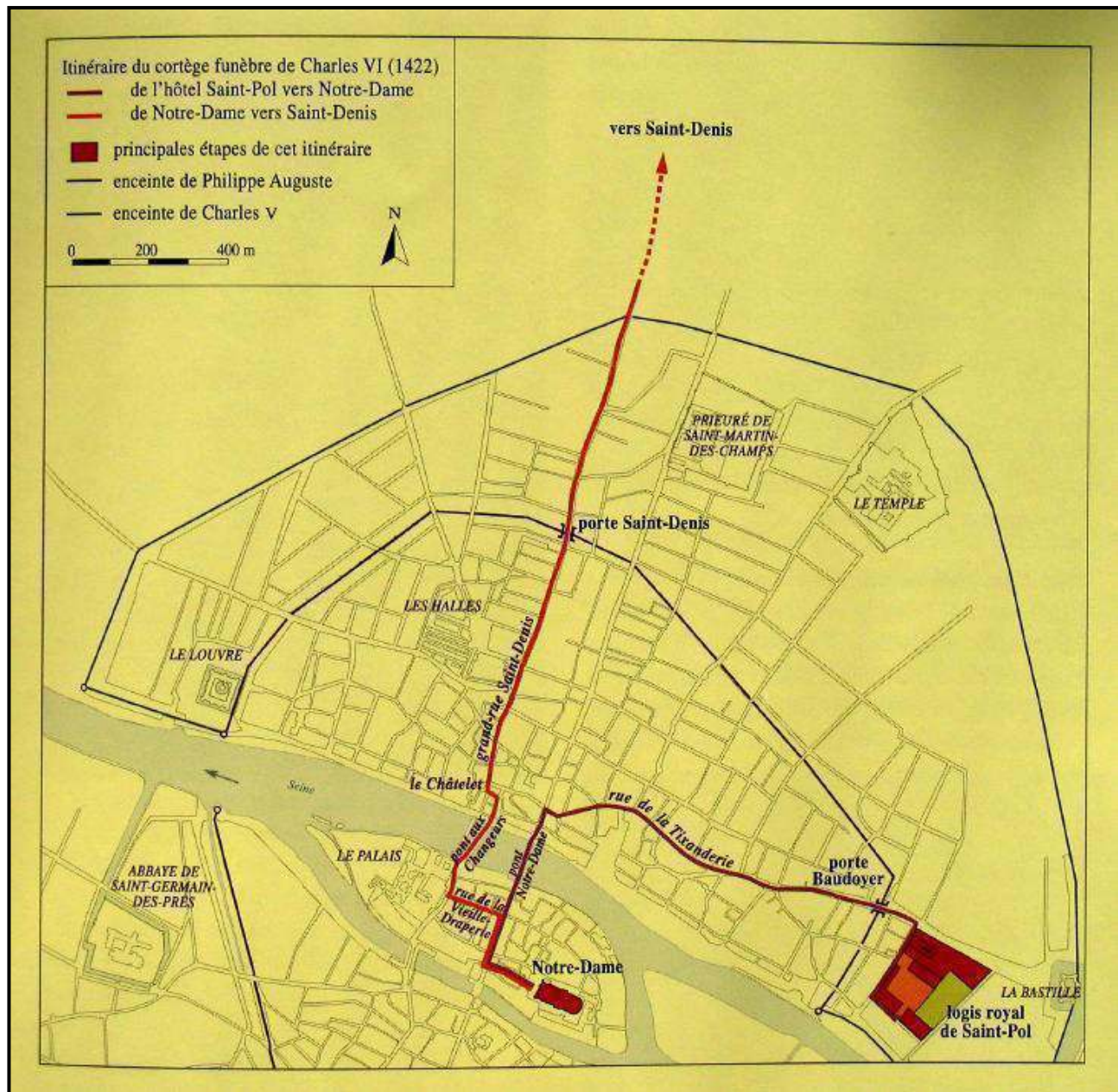


Figure 14. Map of the Funeral Cortège of Charles VI (1422). After *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge*, edited by Philippe Lorentz and Dany Sandron (Paris, 2006), p. 182.

countries, but to call to mind a system of relationships that they represented, as rulers, and wife, and daughter.

Records of the foundation ceremony of the hôpital give queen Jeanne credit for laying the first stone in place, surrounded by her mother, daughters, and members of the confrérie who

would be the hospital's caretakers.⁴⁸ Both Jeanne and Mahaut, as well as Jeanne's three daughters, were memorialized on the tympanum of the portal that faced onto the rue de Saint Denis, the main thoroughfare through Paris.⁴⁹ Each woman, therefore, could act in her expected role as intercessor for all who passed by. The portal image of Mahaut, Jeanne, and her daughters was also significant in its conveying of genealogical relationships. So too, it communicated the geographical breadth of its members; the lands this matriarchy ruled stretched from Flanders and Artois to the north, the county and duchy of Burgundy and county of Vienne to the east, and Poitou to the south.⁵⁰ **(fig. 15)** The portal image thus signaled both an image of succession by women, but also of the future growth and stability of the French kingdom as provided through this female line. This image represented not just a specific place within Paris, but the larger space – or spaces – of France and its neighbors joined together by these women. Moreover, if we expand our topographical scope to include the entire pilgrimage route on which the Hôpital was but one, albeit well-endowed, stop we can find further connections to the imagery of the portal program and to the women who populated it. As the pilgrim travelled from the north to the south, possibly travelling east to Cluny or Dijon she would

⁴⁸ Bordier, I, 190.

⁴⁹ While a few of the statues that decorated the chapel of the hôpital can be found in the Musée Cluny, most of the architecture and sculpture has been destroyed or lost. We do have very complete descriptions of the site and its decoration, as well as a few images that display the façade in a cursory manner. See, in particular, Baron, "Le decor sculpté," for description and images as well as plt. 96 in Yvan Christ, *Églises parisiennes actuelles et disparues* (Paris, 1947), "Façade de l'église [Saint-Jacques-de-l'Hôpital] vue de la rue aux Ours en 1661. Gravure de Le Paultre." (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Estampes). Thank you to Michael Davis for alerting me to this image.

⁵⁰ Her four daughters were countess Jeanne de Bourgogne et Artois (1308-1349), married to Eudes IV, duke of Burgundy; Marguerite de Bourgogne et Artois (1310-1382), married to Louis I, count of Flanders; Isabelle (1312-1348), married to Guigues VIII, Dauphin du Viennois; and Blanche de France (1313-1358), a nun at Longchamp. All but Blanche were married by 1323. The county of Poitou was an apanage of Philippe V and Jeanne de Bourgogne. While not necessarily foremost in people's minds, this breadth of lands was significant with any knowledge of the family.

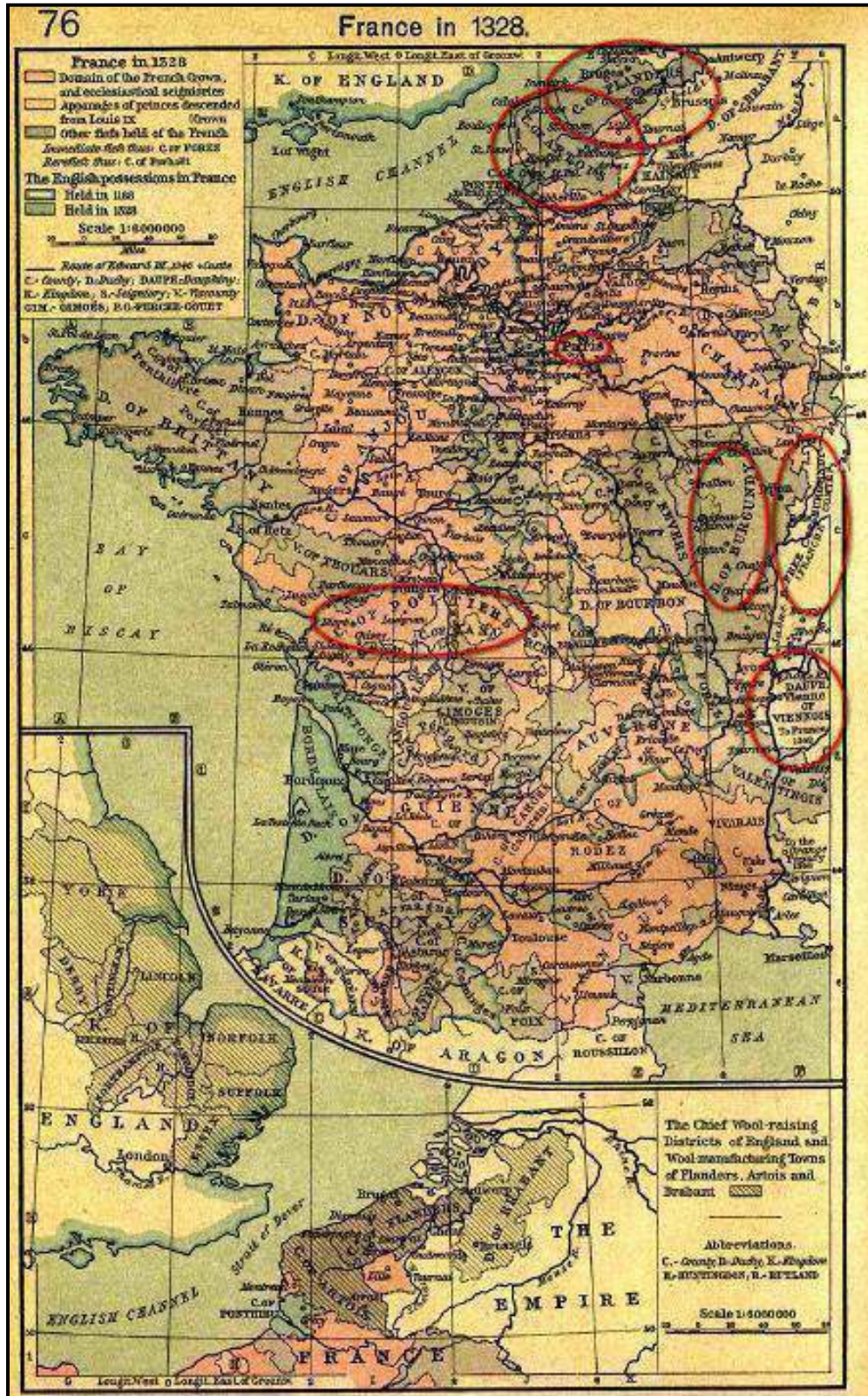


Figure 15. Map of France in 1328. After *The Historical Atlas* by William R. Shepherd, 1911. Modified by author.

temporally and topographically experience these very lands ruled by or associated with Queen Jeanne and the female members of her family: Flanders, Artois, Burgundy, Vienne, and Poitou. In Jeanne's case, this mapped world also included the entire kingdom of France.

It is also only by travelling to the far end of the pilgrimage route that the viewer would find the counterpart, and potential model for the Parisian sculptural composition. For, at the place where the scholar seen earlier in Jeanne de Bourgogne's manuscript, Ramon Lull, began his journey to Paris, another version of the genealogy of Saint Jacques is found on the western porch facade of Santiago de Compostela. (**figs. 16, 17**) Prominently perched on top of the trumeau, Saint Jacques springs from a Tree of Jesse. The patron saint's mother, Mary Salome, is seated underneath him while two other women flank his sides. In all likelihood viewers could interpret the genealogy along multiple lines with the larger message intact. As was the case with the portal of the Parisian Hôpital-Saint-Jacques, Christ was also included in the Spanish program, as were the rest of the apostles. Whether inspired by a contemporary pilgrim or a written description, it is possible that the Gothic French portal program was meant to speak to its Romanesque Spanish counterpart. And by adopting and updating the older, more sacred iconography, the Parisian designers of the Hôpital could establish the site as a key point along the route, while simultaneously expressing the more specific agenda of their patron Jeanne de Bourgogne.

Culture is Spatial

Innovation, in combination with historical, ancestral, and familial awareness, ties these women's commissions together. Another unifying device among their patronage

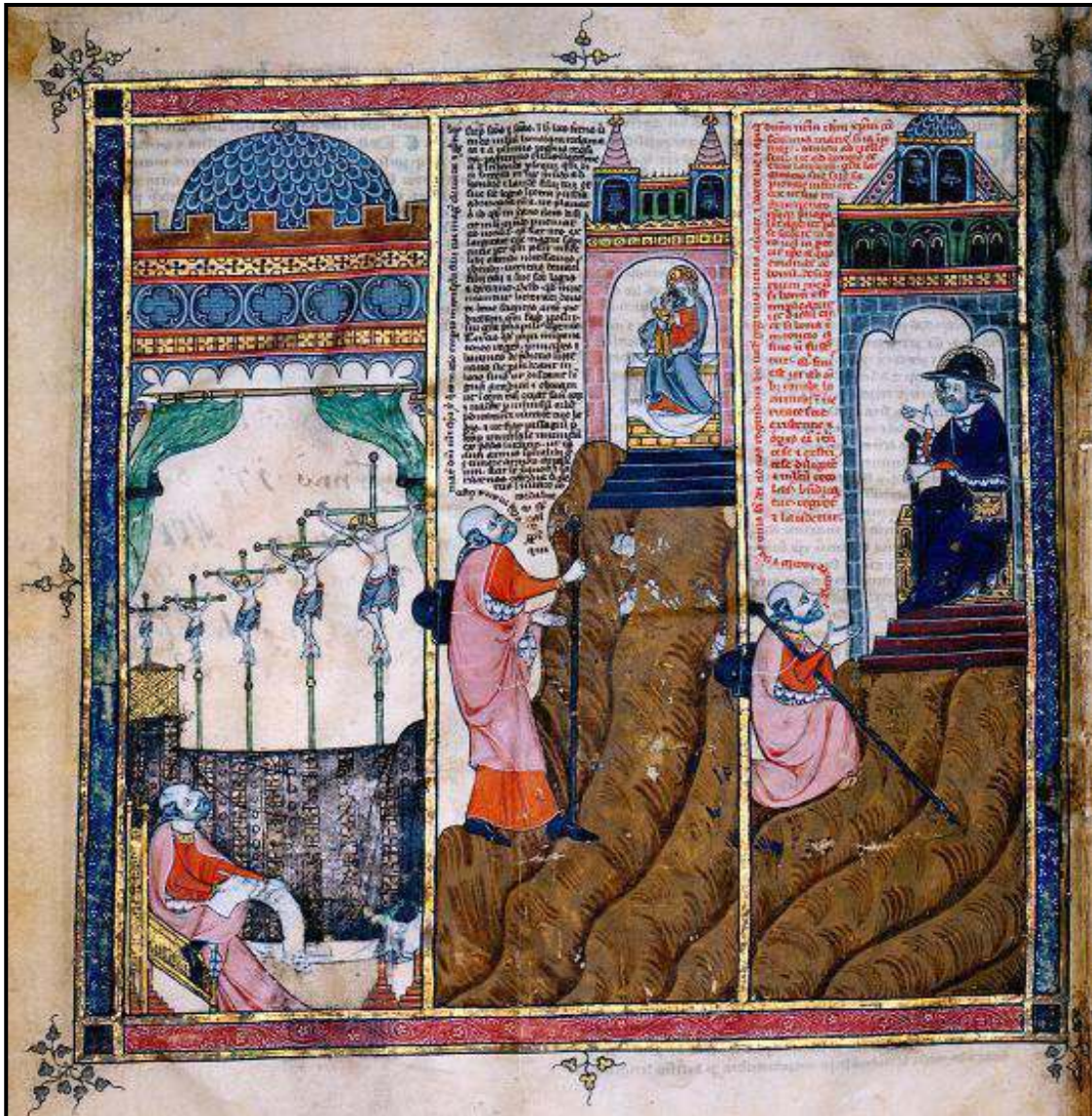


Figure 16. Ramon Lull's conversion, and pilgrimages to Rocamadour and Santiago de Compostela (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, ms. St. Peter, perg. 92, fol. 1v). After *Breviculum, seu Electorium parvum Thomae Migerii* (*Le Myésier*), Charles H. Lohr, Theodor Pindl-Büchel, et al. (Brepols, 1990), p. 45.

projects was its spatial and topographical awareness. Referring back to the description of Marie de Brabant's journey to Paris as fictionalized by Adenet le Roi, we can hypothesize that her procession probably originated in Louvain or Brussels – the two major familial homes of the

dukes of Brabant – from which she traveled south to Nivelles, burial site of her family’s patron, Saint Gertrude, to Mons and Cambrai, both of



which were also associated with familial beneficence, across Picardy to Saint-Quentin and Noyon, down to Saint-Denis, and into Paris via Montmartre.⁵¹ Cheered by crowds from town to town, she set foot in a series of places that figure in her own patronage, or that of her family.

That Marie is recorded as having founded hospitals at Noyon, St. Quentin, and Nivelles is especially significant to this idea of physically and ideologically linked spaces that simultaneously promote pilgrimage, protect travelers, and speak of the queen’s multi-faceted identity.⁵² (fig. 18, 19) Located at strategic

⁵¹ In addition to being a direct route, this took her through the lands of many relatives. See Hamilton, *Poetry, Politics, and Patronage*, in progress, for a detailed explanation of these locations and how her elaborate patronage projects mapped a connectivity similar to the commissions of her successors discussed in this essay. Explanations for much of the following material about Marie exist in my forthcoming book.

⁵² All three buildings are destroyed, but were important pilgrimage sites for this region. (fig. 19) The bodies of St. Eloi and St. Quentin were venerated at Noyon and Saint-Quentin, respectively, and in Nivelles were the relics of St. Gertrude, ancestress and patron saint of the house of Brabant. See Hamilton, *Poetry, Politics, and Patronage* for further discussion.

distances

Figure 17. Trumeau of Portico de la Gloria, Santiago de Compostela.

<http://static.panoramio.com/photos/original/2822170.jpg>

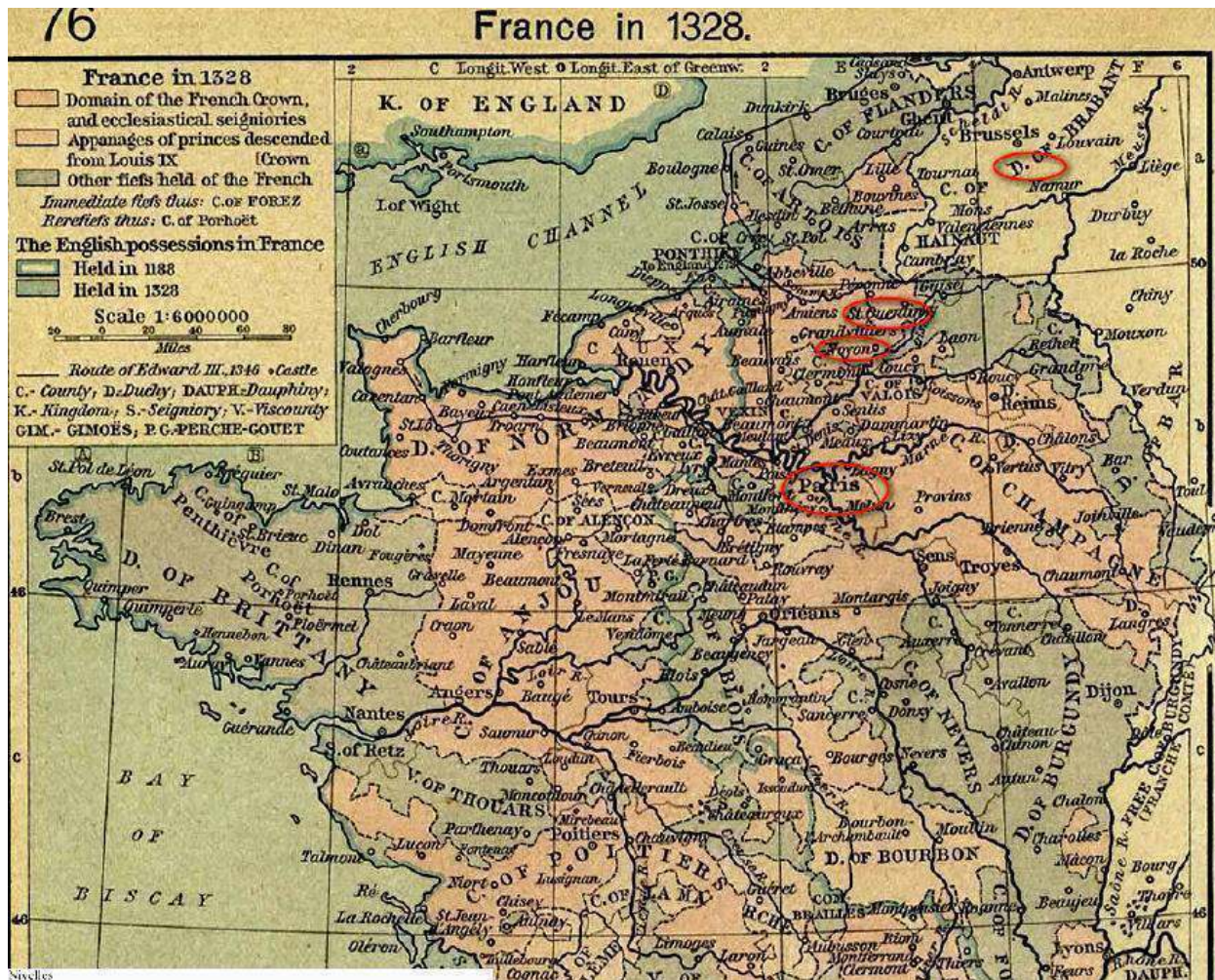


Figure 18. Map of France in 1328. After *The Historical Atlas* by William R. Shepherd, 1911. Modified by author.

from one another along the road from Paris to Brabant, Marie memorialized herself in the minds of merchants and pilgrims for whom her foundations provided shelter and access to prayer.⁵³

Marie was not alone in this type of beneficence; while Mahaut d'Artois and Jeanne de Bourgogne's Hôpital-Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins was founded specifically for pilgrims traveling

⁵³ Hospitals of this type usually contained at least a dormitory and chapel.

to Santiago de Compostela, it operated just as well for local travelers

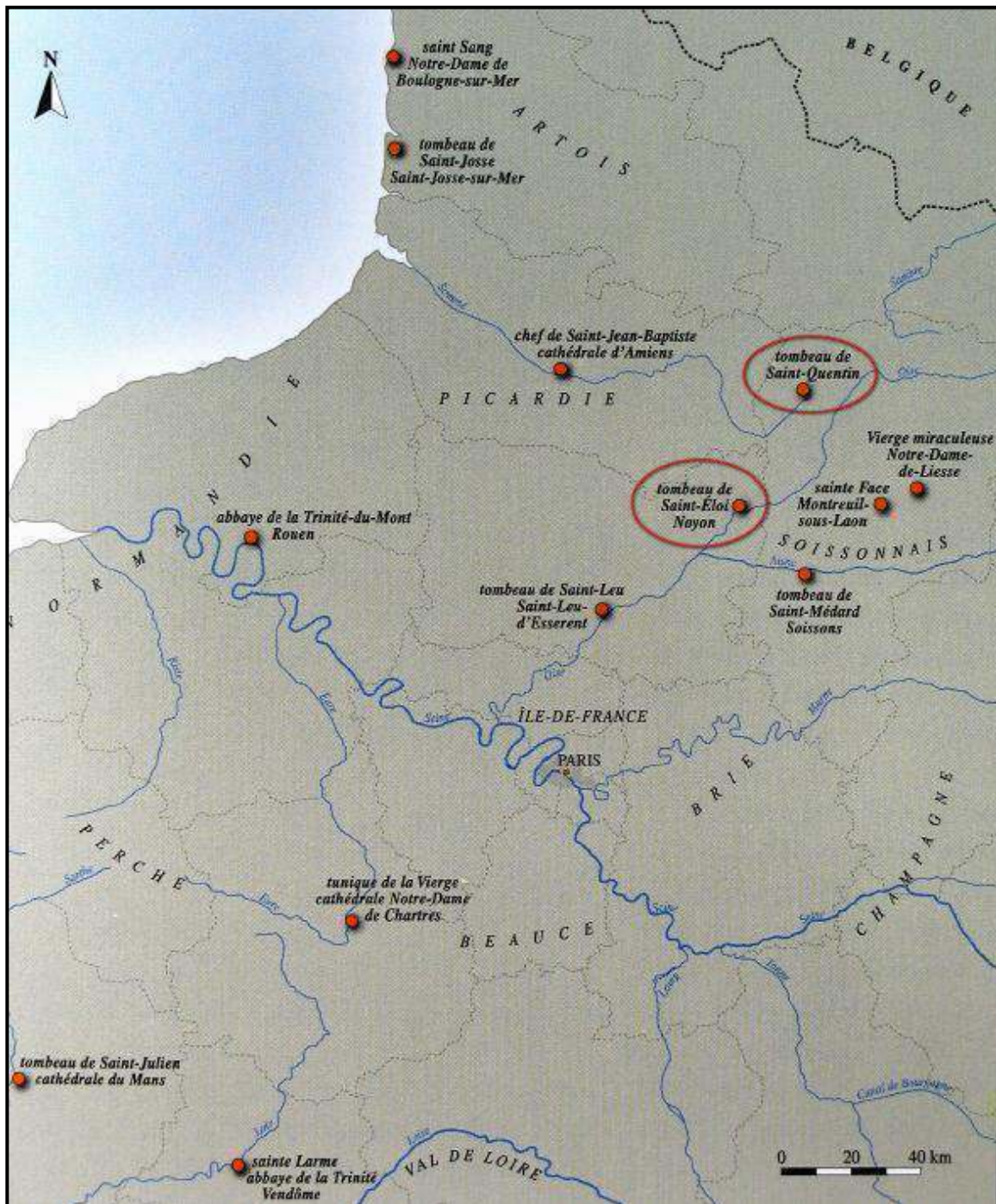


Figure 19. Map of pilgrimage sites in North-Western France. After *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge*, edited by Philippe Lorentz and Dany Sandron (Paris, 2006), p. 170. Modified by author.

as for those who had taken the cross.

The record of another of Mahaut d'Artois's foundations is especially interesting in this discussion of topography. In her testament, while describing funding for a crusade to the Holy Land, the countess designated a sum of money for the erection of no fewer than five hospitals, "sur la route d'Artois."⁵⁴ The major foundations were made in Laon, Bapaume, St. Omer, Calais, and Hesdin. Again, when we study the map we see that these new buildings were placed strategically not only within Artois, but on the roads that linked Mahaut's ancestral palace at Hesdin to her very elaborate hôtel in Paris. That Mahaut's foundations so often recalled her relationship to her father and grandfather – heroes of battle in the Holy Land and Europe – but also her grandfather's brother, Saint Louis, and her mother illustrate her dedication to family while showcasing her noticeable independence as countess of Artois and Burgundy. The location of her commissions reiterated that set of relationships and, because of her marriage to Othon, the count of Burgundy, the scope of her spatial associations took her far beyond the inheritance she received from her father. In a reversal of how we expect power to play out in a patriarchal society like the one in Late Capetian France, it was Mahaut's ability as a woman to acquire manifold lands, and how she could broadcast her status in terms of the roads that linked them together that stand out, in contrast to the limits set upon her "more powerful" male counterparts.

That Mahaut's daughter, Jeanne de Bourgogne, would organize and word her testament

⁵⁴ Archives départementales Pas-de-Calais, A 53 (1307) and A 63 (1318); A. Le Mire, *Opera diplomatica* (Brussels: 1723) IV: 267 (1329); and J. P. Redoutey, "Les trois testaments de Mahaut d'Artois," *Mémoires de la Société pour l'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens Pays-Bas bourguignons, comtois et romans*, XXXIX (1982), 161-178, here 167.

in a similar fashion, I find significant. It seems that these women were entirely cognizant of the function roads – and the buildings or objects situated along them – possessed in terms of spatial linkage. They consciously manipulated these conduits to increase the efficacy of their patronage.

Even – or especially – in death this spatial awareness remains essential to their ideologies. To make perfectly clear this unique quality Mahaut had her body taken to lie “at the feet of her husband Othon” in Burgundy while her heart was laid to rest in Paris at the church of the Cordeliers, just along the ambulatory from that of the bodies of Jeanne de Navarre and Marie de Brabant, adjacent to Mahaut’s son, Robert, who had died at the age of seventeen. She was joined by her daughter, Jeanne de Bourgogne, just one year later, in 1330. Marie de Brabant, Jeanne de Navarre, and Jeanne de Bourgogne also all divided their bodies to take best advantage in death of a display that announced their presence across the lands that were theirs while alive.⁵⁵

Such commissions lead me to conclude that these *royal female* patrons could manipulate their physical and psychological surroundings in a way that *royal male* patrons could not. The utilization of these spaces outside France was something unique to a female patron. In each example discussed here, her ties to both her motherland – of Brabant, of Artois, of Burgundy – and her adoptive land of France, allowed her to enjoy the benefits of a multi-national space that was denied to the king of France. Using modern cultural geographers whether feminist, such as Karen A. Franck, or other as models for framing this material allows us to step back and see how these examples of a space made for women may be extraordinary, but are not unique.

Map with Views

⁵⁵ Brown, “Authority, the Family, and the Dead,” addresses the concept of dividing one’s body for burial in the Late Capetian era. This usage was by no means limited to women; men also chose to have their bodies divided, although to a different effect, as I propose here. See also, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse,” *Viator* 12 (1981), 221-70.

When viewing these acts from a more distant perspective, the movement and thoughts brought about by these foundations encourage a crossing or interlacing of spaces that scholars have categorized as “separate” – determined in part by linguistic and political boundaries – but also in terms of local “styles” (mostly “non-Parisian”). What becomes clear in studying these women, in combination with the still very itinerant lifestyles of many of the courts they represent⁵⁶ is that, while separations certainly existed, the connections between these regions have the potential to speak just as strongly. If we can adopt their use of places *united* by space as a model for the study of culture in general – attempting in part to abandon the museum room schema, or that of center versus periphery (or metropolis versus province to use the words of Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann) – we may discover overlaps and continuities that had been invisible when studied in another light.⁵⁷

In other words, are geography and national identity constructions of men? Is it by studying the linkages forged through women (admittedly produced by a culture of exchange created for and by men) and the records they have left of their “whole” selves that we can see the false – or at least adaptable – nature of those divisions? From this point of view, a region does not need to be seen as fixed; we can have different definitions of what constitutes France and its surrounding countries/regions depending on the maker of the definition. Would gender have affected the reading and, in the terms of a pilgrim, would a unifying view have been more commonplace than one that, while of course noting material and linguistic differences from one

⁵⁶ One imagines that some of the movement of these courts was facilitated, or even encouraged, by women’s marriages into other realms.

⁵⁷ “Even the definition of the cultural geography of the region will vary according to the defining variables of language, politics, or stylistic centers and their diffusion areas.” Larry Silver, “Review of Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*,” *The Art Bulletin*, CXXXVI/4 (December, 2004), 783-787, here 786. “Cultures, like individuals, have more than one form of identity.” Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago, 2004), 151.

region to the next – although those two factors might often not coincide – would also, through the act of pilgrimage, have become one single “space”?

In the end I will not claim that using landmarks to negotiate space is a gendered habit, but it does seem that such a phenomenon is more successful for women than men in their ability to promote their dual natures. Because of the ongoing liminality of the married woman who retained strong ties with her natal lands and family, she in some ways resembles the pilgrim who is discovering new places and space, adding layers of experience daily, while remaining loyal to her source.



PEREGRINATIONS
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF PILGRIMAGE ART



La Pierre-qui-Vire and Zodiaque: A Monastic Pilgrimage of Medieval Dimensions¹

By Janet T. Marquardt, Eastern Illinois University

In 1708, the Benedictine monk Edmond Martène was commissioned to travel around France and Belgium to find archival materials that would support a revised edition of the *Gallia Christiana*. After the exigencies of the first year, he was granted leave to continue with a companion, a fellow monk named Ursin Durand, in spring of 1709. After four years, they claimed to have visited eight hundred abbeys and one hundred cathedrals in order to gather information. In the process, they also documented the architecture, treasures, libraries, and ceremonies they observed in place as they visited sites where the charters they wished to consult were housed. Martène published a written account of their adventures with a few engravings of particularly impressive objects or documents.² A later expedition was launched to the Netherlands and Germany.

In 1951, monks from the abbey of La Pierre-qui-Vire in Burgundy also began traveling to religious sites in France in order to photograph Romanesque architecture, having been struck by the power of the sculptural forms and structural lines at Vézelay when their monastery was put in

¹ This essay is part of a larger study on the Zodiaque publications where I plan to consider the original context and motivations behind both the journal and book series, the selection of topics for examination in journal articles, the impact of the book series' thematic and regional divisions upon art-historical understanding of Romanesque art, the scope of the monuments photographed, the use of the term "Romanesque" across such a wide range of examples, the role of the artistic photographs in creating modern appreciation for early medieval art and architecture, the function and diversity of the accompanying texts, the practical realization of the work by the monks, and so on. Other essays are currently under consideration and I hope to eventually compile a monograph on the entire Zodiaque project.

² Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux benedictins de la Congregation de Saint Maur* (Paris: F. Delaulne, 1717).

charge of the church and parish. Three young members of the Benedictine house, Brothers Angelico, Éloi, and Yves, had formed an artistic atelier for the purpose of painting religious frescoes in nearby churches and they mounted an exhibition of Vézelay's Romanesque sculpture alongside modern art which they felt conveyed a similar "primitive" visual power. Angelico Surchamp had trained with the cubist painter, Albert Gleizes, who himself wrote widely about the spiritual power of modern art as well as the similar intensity found in medieval art of the Romanesque period.³ During the exhibition at Vézelay, Surchamp was forced to write an explanation for visitors, who were offended by this "sacrilegious" combination. He entitled it "*Note sur l'art abstrait*" and tried to elucidate spiritual and aesthetic resonances between the two forms. This text, along with photographs of the art works, were subsequently published in the first issue of a journal that the monastery launched (under Surchamp's supervision) based on the idea that art could serve as the source for spiritual renewal in the twentieth century. The other two members of the atelier were forced to drop out by 1956, but by then the journal was going strong and had spawned a series of books focused specifically on Romanesque art: *Les Travaux des mois* (beginning with *Autun*, 1953) (**fig. 1**) and *La Nuit des temps (Bourgogne romane)*, 1954) (**fig. 2**). Surchamp became the book series' energetic and determined chief editor.

When Martène, in the eighteenth century, described the great abbey of Cluny, which they visited in Burgundy, he wrote:

The third [church] which was built by St. Hugh, of a gothic order, was the most magnificent of its time. It is five hundred and fifty-five feet long, and one hundred twenty feet wide, and is proportionally as high. It has two side aisles, two crossings and two rood screens in the middle of the choir, where there are two hundred and twenty seats for the monks. One especially admires the apse. It is a very delicate octagon, sustained by eight small pillars of marble...⁴

³ Representative examples of his work can be seen at <http://www.fondationgleizes.com/albert-gleizes-work.html>. Especially apt are examples seen by clicking on the link entitled "The Inter-war period (1918-1939)."

⁴ English translation from Tina Waldeier Bizzarro, *Romanesque Architectural Criticism: A Prehistory* (Cambridge: Cambridge U Press, 1992). 124, original French p. 198 n. 65.

This is one of the longest descriptions of a building in Martène's account, and yet it still leaves much to our conjecture, such as what they meant by "a gothic order" or how many side aisles there were. In contrast, by the time the Zodiaque team visited Cluny, it had been almost entirely destroyed at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, they were able to show us exactly what they saw in a series of photographs published in *Bourgogne romane*.⁵

When Surchamp first met André Malraux, they discussed the dearth of good photographs of architecture and Surchamp's goal to make them. Malraux subsequently praised

the publications and thus helped establish the great "Zodiaque

adventure," as Surchamp termed it. Over forty-five years, from 1950 to 1995, the Zodiaque team would visit easily as many sites as Martène and Durand did in the early eighteenth century—of

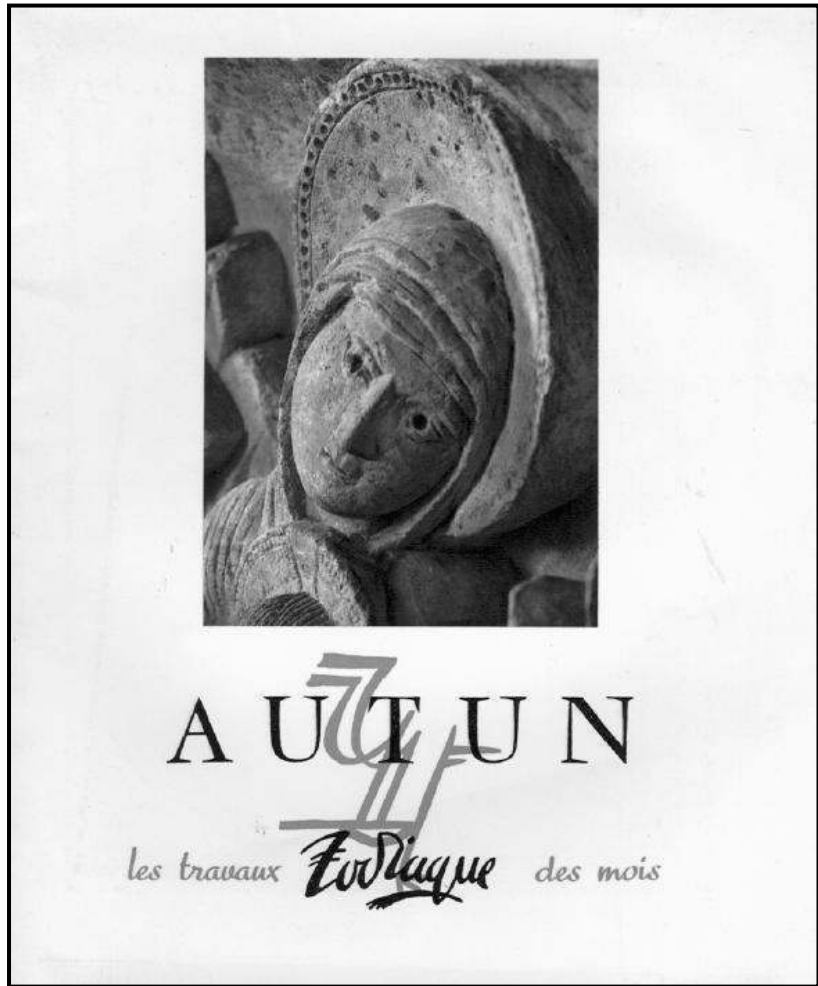


Fig. 1 Cover of *Autun*, the first issue of the series "Les Travaux des mois," 1953 (Photo: Author)

⁵ The first edition of this volume did not include Cluny, it was only added when rewritten by Raymond Oursel in 1974.

course they were traveling in a *camionette* or small panel van, rather than on foot, but it was necessary to cover much more ground to find extant early medieval buildings by the twentieth century (**fig. 3**).

I compare these two monastic tours because they stand out among archival endeavors and both directors acknowledged their similarity to medieval pilgrimage. As Martène wrote “...the proverb which says that a monk outside his monastery is like a fish outside water who does nothing but flap around, is not true since in certain cases they may undertake voyages, even long ones. Antiquity furnishes us many examples of illustrious personages in this endeavor...”⁶ We do tend to imagine monks as captive creatures, spending all their days looking at the same cloistered walls, reading the same books and eating the same bland food. Yet we also know that, during the Middle Ages, clerics were some of the best-traveled members of society and it was their observations of buildings, ceremonies, and documents in foreign parts that helped spread knowledge, artistic styles, and liturgical standards throughout Europe. It is almost legendary among praise for tenth-century Cluny, for instance, that Classical learning only survived in the very “darkest” periods of the “Dark Ages” through the efforts of learned monks.⁷

What is special about Martène/Durand and the Zodiaque teams is their role in a sort of renaissance of this medieval model. They were traveling, like religious pilgrims, to abbeys and churches—not with the intention to merely pay homage to saints and their relics, though they acknowledged the power of such traditions, but rather to continue the monks’ traditional task of

⁶ “le proverbe qui dit qu’un moine hors de son monastere, semblable au poisson hors de l’eau, ne fait que palpiter, n’est pas si veritable, qu’ils ne puissent en certains cas entreprendre des voyages, même assez longs. L’antiquité nous fournit plusieurs illustres personnages de cette profession...” Edmond Martène, *Voyage Littéraire de deux religieux benedictins de la Congregation de Saint Maur* (Paris : F. Delaulne, 1717), preface.

⁷ For references to Cluny’s role in preserving Classical learning, one can consult Lavissee, Ernest, *et al*, *Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu’à la révolution*. Paris: Hachette, 1910. Vol. 2, 123-132; or many of the speeches given at the thousand-year anniversary of the abbey’s founding in 1910 found in the proceedings: Académie de Mâcon. Société des arts sciences belles-lettres et agriculture de Saône-et-Loire., *Millénaire de Cluny : congrès d’histoire et d’archéologie tenu à Cluny les 10, 11, 12 Septembre 1910*, 2 vols. (Mâcon, France: Protat Frères, 1910).

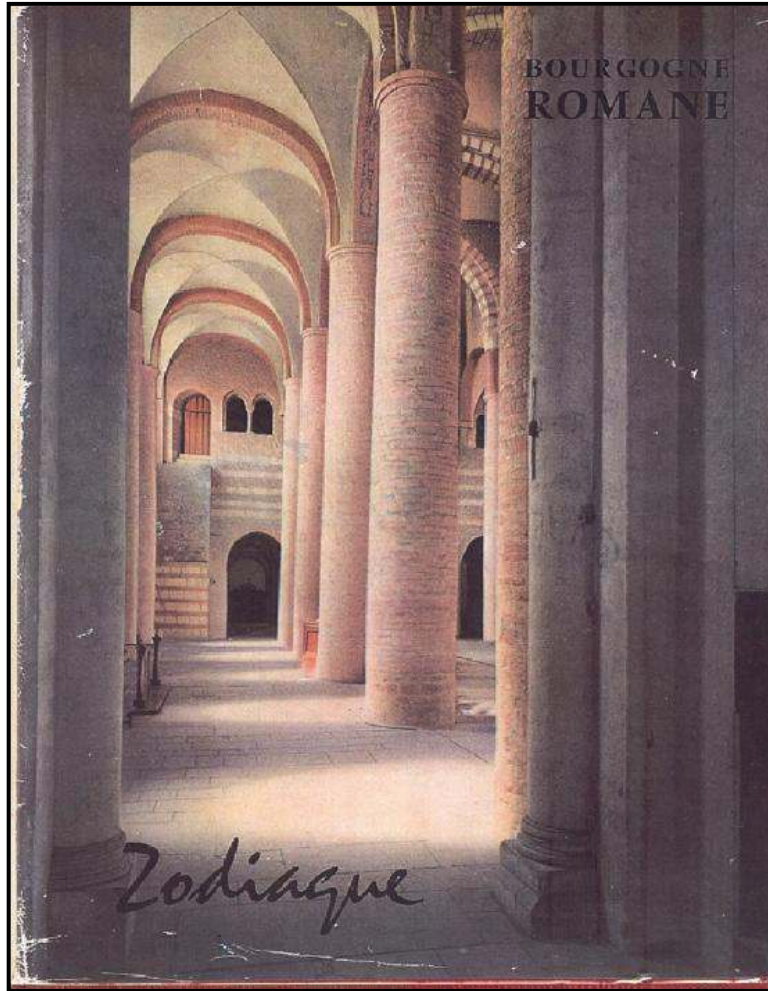


Fig. 2 Cover of *Bourgogne romane*, the first issue of the series “La Nuit des temps,” 1954 (Photo: Author)

recovering and preserving information from the past. In the case of Martène and Durand, their expedition serendipitously updated records for French-speaking ecclesiastical institutions less than a century before the Revolution would dissolve them. And the Zodiaque team, armed with modern implements of photography, set off from the isolation of their remote forest retreat to seek out and record every scrap of Romanesque art they could find in Europe. In this the latter voyagers recall another photographic project, the *Mission héliographique* of the *Monuments historiques* launched in 1851, exactly one hundred years earlier, during the first awakening to the slow demise of historical monuments in France after the Revolution. For this project a team was

also sent out to visually document the sites, both for national posterity and for review by the architects who would choose which warranted restoration. It was a venture undertaken by the secular governments of Louis-Philippe and Louis-Napoléon, however, and did not have the passionate commitment to the religious and artistic messages that Surchamp's troupe did.



Fig. 3 Frères Surchamp and Norberto photographing a church in Aragon, September 23, 1986 (Photo courtesy of *Románico*)

For Surchamp was on a sort of “mission” as well, but one seriously related to true pilgrimage. He believed fiercely in two things: that Romanesque art held a spiritual power and Christian message which, if disseminated through publications, could serve as his monastic *opus dei* much like the work of medieval monastic scriptoria, and that any viewer, religious or not, could be attracted to the “primitive” and abstract quality of Romanesque imagery if confronted

with its similarity to the popular modern aesthetic of the twentieth century.⁸ To these ends, his photography is highly charged and shaped to portray the architecture, sculpture, painting, and other arts in the sharpest “cubist” light possible.⁹ He hoped through his own travels and documentation, to take “readers” (really viewers) on armchair adventures into the world of fresh and forthright Christian imagery. That the administration of his monastery supported this enterprise, although the initial budget was begged, borrowed, and always in hock to the income from the subsequent volume, shows how well such a notion fit the ideals of La-Pierre-qui-Vire, founded in the middle of the nineteenth century as a renewal of the Benedictine life.¹⁰

Ultimately, the *Zodiaque* publications became a hallmark of the monastery and allowed it to increase its inhabitants as well as to build substantially larger buildings—again, not unlike its medieval antecedents. The project eventually produced over 300 books with sales of key volumes, outselling all other contemporary books on medieval art. *Bourgogne romane*, for example, sold 40,000 copies in its first edition, eventually going through nine more, totaling 140,000 copies overall.¹¹ Elsewhere I have written about how the series affected art-historical conceptions of both the style and its regional relationships, as well as how it suggested a cultural

⁸ Information about Angelico Surchamp’s conception of the *Zodiaque* project comes from personal interviews held with him in June 2007 and July 2008, as well as ongoing email correspondence since June 2007.

⁹ This aspect of the series will be treated more extensively in my future publications.

¹⁰ La-Pierre-qui-Vire was founded in Burgundy by Jean Baptiste Muard in 1850. The *Zodiaque* journal and book series venture was actually one of two experimental enterprises undertaken by Abbot Gloriès after World War II. The other was a farm, growing out of the movement for a return to the land fostered under Pétain but shared by more liberal thinkers such as Surchamp’s own teacher, Gleizes who owned and lived on a working farm in the Midi. For the latter see Peter Brooke, *Albert Gleizes: for and against the twentieth century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 259, 219.

¹¹ These figures were obtained from Angelico Surchamp and confirmed by his successor at La Pierre-qui-Vire, Mathieu Collin. They both shared copies of papers about the origins of the series. Surchamp’s was a speech given at the Académie de Mâcon on June 7, 2001 and published as “L’Aventure de *Zodiaque*,” *Annales de l’Académie de Mâcon*, ser. 4, vol. 13 (2001), 182 while Collin’s was a marketing flyer for the series from when he took over in 1995.

network between France and other European countries through the agency of Romanesque art.¹²

I've suggested as well that these monks were essentially appropriating the Romanesque of other countries as they explored the past in the manner of modern-day French explorers. By searching out remaining Romanesque sites, recording them, and then publishing them within their series, always under French titles, those cognizant of the books could begin to consider Romanesque a French medieval development. New thematic series were regularly added and the books were popular as gifts for they quickly became attractive to collect as art objects in themselves.

Certainly, as an artist, it was always one of Surchamp's goals to draw consumers into Christian messages through the beauty of the imagery, as well as its modern appeal, and this was done primarily through the black-and-white photographs which, rather ironically, are the only part of the books that was not printed at the monastery in its workshop where the covers, text pages, and color photographs were done. These photographs were nevertheless the series' primary focus and its most memorable feature, done in the process of héliogravure (called photogravure in English). This technique makes them more akin to the graphic intaglio process of aquatint than modern machine-generated photography such as rotogravure. The originals are rich and subtle monochromatic studies, suiting the linear, straightforward style of Romanesque art (**fig. 4**).

Avoiding signs of modern usage as much as possible, the photographs still record conditions after the restoration work done from the nineteenth century onwards and interior views occasionally had to include pews, wires, even vases of flowers or altar cloths or, in one exterior view on the cover of *Portugal I*, cars. Empty of people, and in this rich monochromatic medium, however, the views suggest a neutral, original, medieval condition. That is, of course, a false effect, since their original condition, environment, and usage would have been neither

¹² Forthcoming in anthology also edited by Mickey Abel and Jennifer Way for Cambridge Scholar's Publishing entitled *Common Terrain: Surveying Geography in Histories of Art, Architecture and Visual Culture*.

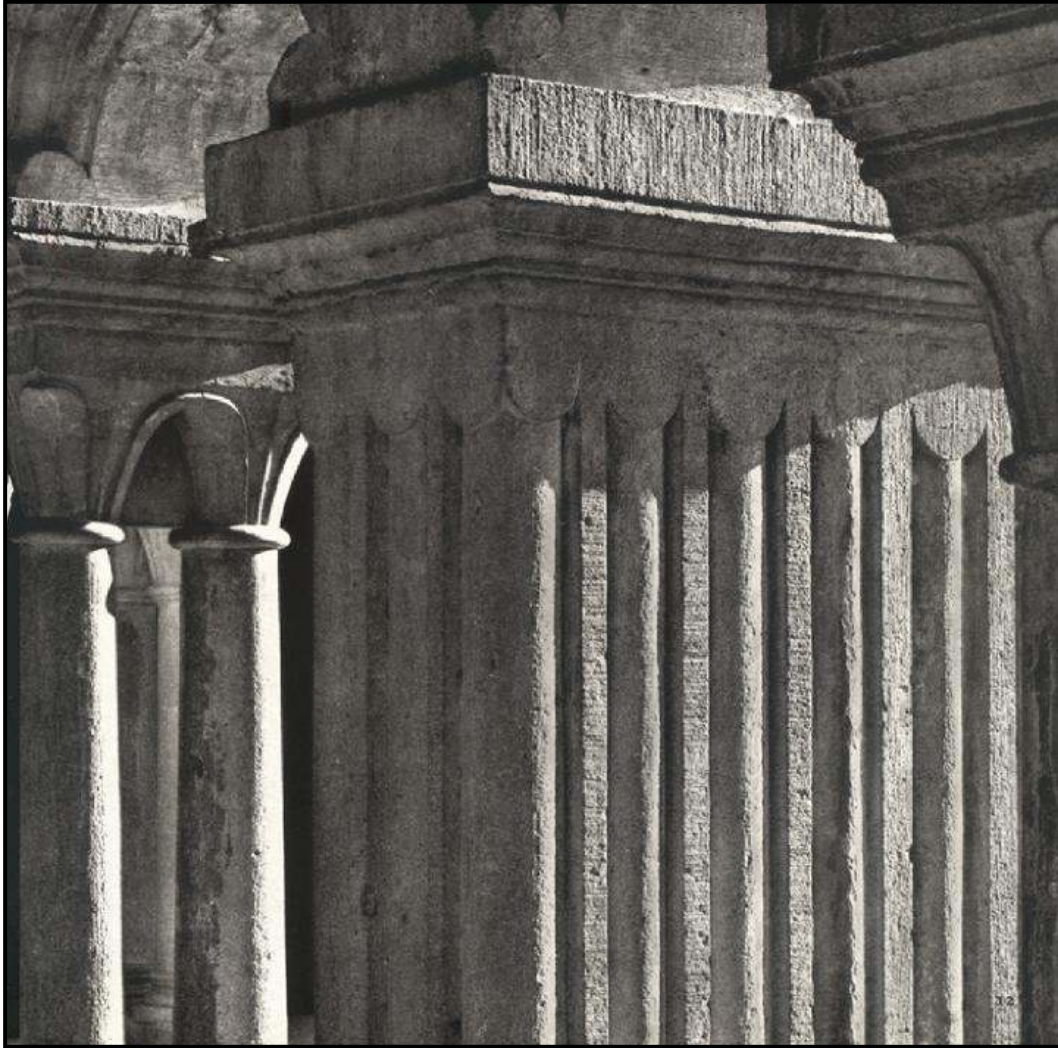


Fig. 4 Detail of a pillar in the cathedral cloister, Vaison-la-Romaine. From *Cloîtres romans de France*, Les Travaux des Mois, 1983, pl. 12 (By permission of Frère Angelico Surchamp)

empty nor neutral, but it persuasively offers a relatively blank slate for modern viewers to imagine their own idea of past usage.

Some works make the connection to pilgrimage particularly explicit. For instance three volumes from the introductory books for the *Nuits des Temps* series are entitled *Routes Romanes*. The first of the set, *La Route aux Saints* from 1982, covers sites along the four medieval pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela as well as three smaller regional itineraries. It actually seems odd that it took so long for this set to appear; it would seem a natural concept for

these monks who must have often seen themselves following one path or another in their travels. On the other hand, it was a practical approach to entrepreneurship; most of the photographs are simply recycled from other volumes dedicated to each region, allowing a low cost addition of three books to the collection. Additional poetic images were included to support the travel theme; a view of the path leading into the famous ancient cemetery at Arles, for instance, underlines the “route” vision, while distance photographs of such sites as San Michele in Italy or the village of Candes from across the river Vienne in France suggest the lure of the destination; often the reader/traveler is subsequently brought up to the church porch in succeeding scenes.¹³ The text for *La Route aux Saints* was written by one of the most prolific art-historical authors for Zodiaque, Raymond Oursel from Burgundy (1921-2008). Oursel organized his commentary around the medieval *Pilgrim’s Guide to Compostela* by Aimery Picard, emphasizing that its existence proves the fact of Romanesque pilgrimage and of the routes along which Arthur Kingsley Porter later traced the major works of eleventh- and twelfth-century sculpture. He also underlined the wide variation in geographical landscape as well as the difficulties these journeys involved. Such descriptions must have resonated with the Zodiaque team, as they laboriously sought obscure and often forgotten remaining buildings, then undertook to gain entrance and obtain permission to photograph site after site.

An entire sub-series was also founded around the local and regional pilgrimage as part of the *Travaux des Mois* selections; travel guides were written by local experts for each region, narrowing the monuments into ideal itineraries for visitors to follow. In *Itineraries romans en Provence*, for example, nine routes are described with accompanying maps. At the end, the monuments are re-collated by theme, such as early Romanesque churches or houses dependent upon Cluny, so users can customize their tours.

¹³ Routes Romanes I, 1982, figs. 35, 62, 63.

The Zodiaque team went furthest afield in their travels when, after completing the volumes on Ireland in 1964, they traversed Europe to the fabled Holy Land. *Terre Sainte romane* is volume 21 of *La Nuit des Temps* (fig. 5). For Catholic monks, steeped in medieval narrative imagery, this must have been a culmination of years of dreaming exotic visual forms.

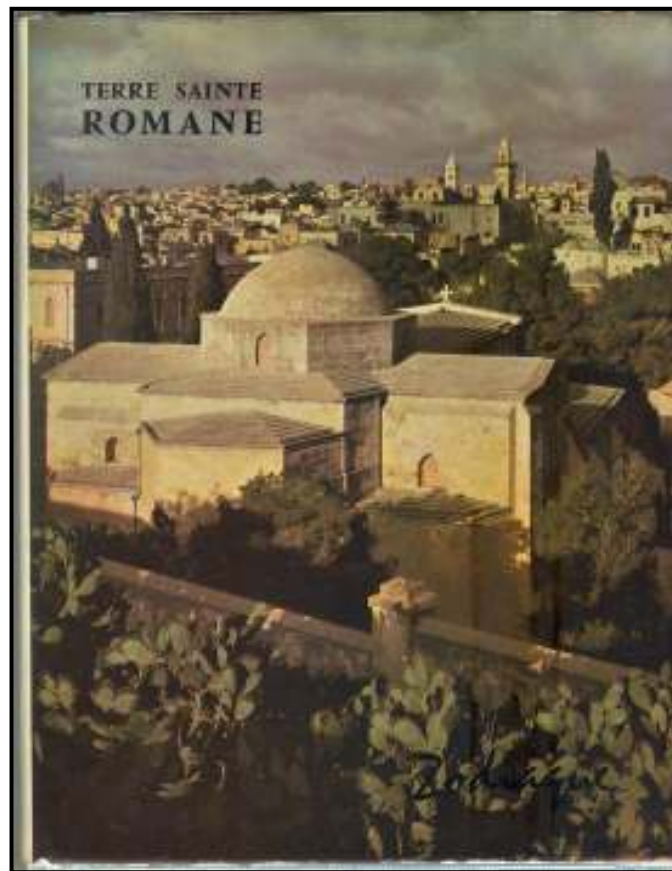


Fig. 5 Cover of *Terre Sainte Romane* from the series “La Nuit des temps,” 1964 (Photo: Author)

Romanesque art in the Holy Land is primarily the work of crusaders, members of the chivalric religious orders from the West, and, unlike the other volumes of *La Nuit des Temps*, half the monuments covered in *Terre Sainte romane* are castles. Since many of the locations continued to be active sites in later periods, finding Romanesque traces was perhaps more of an archeological endeavor on this trip than earlier ones. Surchamp was apparently fascinated by the evidence of

those who went before them; there are numerous close-up photographs which detail traces of time on the very stones.

In his introduction to this volume, Surchamp underlines the confrontation between “the extreme West and extreme East” of twelfth-century Christianity that his team found traveling between Ireland and the Holy Land. The project, however, was concerned with more than merely art and its discovery. The trip to the Holy Land demonstrates perhaps the most administrative preparation and negotiation—the long list of acknowledgements attests to the number of permissions Surchamp needed to obtain—and also reminds us of medieval pilgrimage. Fraught with discomfort and hassles like those encountered by Margery Kempe in the 1430s, the very effort was offered up to God and the saints as proof of personal discipline and piety.¹⁴ Surchamp today, at 84 years of age, constantly offers thanks for the opportunities he had in his life, but he also admits that it was a great deal of work. In this he echoes Edmond Martène, who impressed upon readers the unique experiences he encountered in his travels even as he underscored the grand scale of the effort involved. The work of both teams was initiated for religious purposes and followed their own form of pilgrimage, but proved of wider appeal and lasting value than either had imagined possible.

¹⁴ There are numerous translations of Margery Kempe’s account of her pilgrimage travels. The latest appears to be: Margery Kempe and Lynn Staley, *The book of Margery Kempe: a new translation, contexts, criticism*, 1st ed. (New York: Norton, 2001).



“Geography, Archaeology, Art History: A Case Study for a Multidisciplinary Approach to Mapping Architectural Heritage”

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Tadhg O’Keeffe, in *Archaeology and the Pan-European Romanesque*, made the claim that historically, art historians have had guardianship over certain domains, the study of Romanesque architecture in particular.¹ As an archeologist, he challenges this understanding by questioning the art historical use of the designation “Romanesque,” to represent a uniform *style*. At the core of this critique is the positivistic treatment of the buildings of this period. In an effort to move beyond the notion of these buildings as fragmented or regionalized re-formulations of an antique vocabulary, O’Keeffe proposed several provocative points for consideration. Rather than a history of “dismembered” forms, he suggested that buildings should be considered as a type of text that can be read as a multivalent history of meanings.² As such, buildings become “complex discursive objects of visual culture,” which are “localized in and contributing to networks of understanding at various levels.”³ This expanded definition opens the analysis to the reception of “contingencies and multiplicities of meaning” and highlights the building as an

¹ T. O’Keeffe, *Archaeology and the Pan-European Romanesque* (London, 2007).

² For O’Keeffe, 43, 98, one of the primary differences separating art history methodologically from archaeology is agency. In archaeology agency connects actors to the social context. Art history on the other hand highlights individual agency. It is the difference between social determinism and social relativism. In a similar vein, J. Morland, *Archaeology and Text* (London, 2001), argues generally for an archaeological remedy to the disconnect that lies between the written “word” studied by historians and the “object” studied by the archaeologist.

³ O’Keeffe, 107.

“agent of the discourse.”⁴ Eschewing the consistency implicit in an art historical *style*, O’Keeffe’s definition facilitates a theory of difference where the elements identified as Romanesque can be seen to come together as a series of *stabilizations*.⁵ Defined as “points in time and place where a set of characteristics coalesce and stay constant,”⁶ the identification of these nodal points focuses the analysis down from the generalized, to a level where meaning is found in the specific and the local. Importantly for the project that is the topic of this paper, O’Keeffe suggested that this shift in focus can be accomplished with an increased use of technology.⁷ Criticizing the “connoisseur’s eye,” and art history’s reliance on an individual’s visual memory, he saw the strategic use of technology serving to qualify our observations, quantifying them in the form of data. Adding a technical component to our analysis will shift the weight of our conclusions from the positivistic to the challengeable, thus elevating them to the rank of a scientific hypothesis. From a practical standpoint the question is what type of technology is appropriate to the task? And how does one implement this element into an art historical research program? Ultimately, how will the shift in focus proposed by way of technology change the way we consider medieval buildings?

Our study takes on this challenge by accommodating O’Keeffe’s archaeologically based suggestions, as it combines the visual methodologies of the art historian with the technical tack of the geographer. This essay does not in the end propose a concrete set of conclusions. We seek rather to expand and deepen the perspective of our problem by illuminating the benefits of adding a technology element to our research agenda, thus shifting our approach towards the

⁴ O’Keeffe, 98, 103.

⁵ O’Keeffe, 25-28.

⁶ O’Keeffe, 10.

⁷ O’Keeffe, 63, 88-89. He claims that his method falls between that of the “scientist” and the “culturist.”

scientific. We propose to outline here the genesis and process of a multidisciplinary project, highlighting the planning process, the equipment used, and methodologies engaged as we evaluate the theoretical clashes, productive collaborations, and potential gains entailed in this type of cross-disciplinary program.

The initial objective of our project was to examine a large set of twelfth- and thirteenth-century churches located on the high sierra following the upper Duero River in the province of Soria, Spain, which is located to the east of Madrid. The corpus of these churches was suggested by an article published in this journal in 2005 entitled “Strategic Domain: Reconquest Romanesque along the Duero in Soria, Spain.”⁸ That article showed that Soria was well defined area with a unique identity as early as the Roman era, an identity that was constantly in flux with the battles of the Reconquest. With this in mind, the article examined the relationship between the hilltop fortresses of the Soria region built in conjunction with the Reconquest and the small *ermita*⁹ churches located at their feet. **(fig. 1)** The conclusion drawn from mapping these relationships was that both the fortresses and the *ermita* responded to the location of the Duero River with the orientation of their portals.¹⁰ **(fig. 2)** Regardless of the political affiliation of the builders, the religious faith of the local inhabitants, or visual accessibility of the river, the portals of fortress and *ermita* were found to face north if they were located on the south side of the river, and conversely, to face south if they were located on the north side of the river. And thus while

⁸ M. Abel, “Strategic Domain: Reconquest Romanesque Along the Duero in Soria, Spain,” *Peregrinations* 2/2(2007): 1-57, (<http://peregrinations.kenyon.edu/vol2-2>).

⁹ Historically, an *ermita* is defined as the dwelling of a hermit—a hermitage. It is a term generally used to distinguish small isolated churches from parish churches that had sacramental rights. Evidence presented here suggests that at least some of the churches encompassed in this study processed these rights, and thus the colloquial usage of the term “*ermita*” is not technically correct. It is, however, how these churches are indicated on maps, road signs, and guide books. We use it here to distinguish these essentially undocumented chapels from the more codified designators of the twelfth-century churches, where we are on relatively solid ground in assigning them to a parochial system.

¹⁰ The visibility referenced here in association with the fortress doors is similar to that of the *miradores* of Islamic palaces. See D. Fairchild Ruggles, “The Alcazar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture,” *Gesta* 43/2 (2004), 87-98.

the geographical setting of these buildings in relation to the local topography was significant in conveying the political ideology and social status of the powers that controlled the strategic



Figure 1, Gormaz, Soria, fortress and ermita

hilltop elevations, the pattern of orientational alignment of the portals suggested that these buildings were actually addressing the people who inhabited the broad plain on either side of the river.¹¹ This analytical conclusion added credence to the archaeological view that the inhabitants

¹¹ For the source of this line of thought, see Moreland, 35-44.

of the plain and the work they performed as farmers and shepherds were necessary to both Muslim and Christian economies.¹² Recognized as valuable assets, these people were both

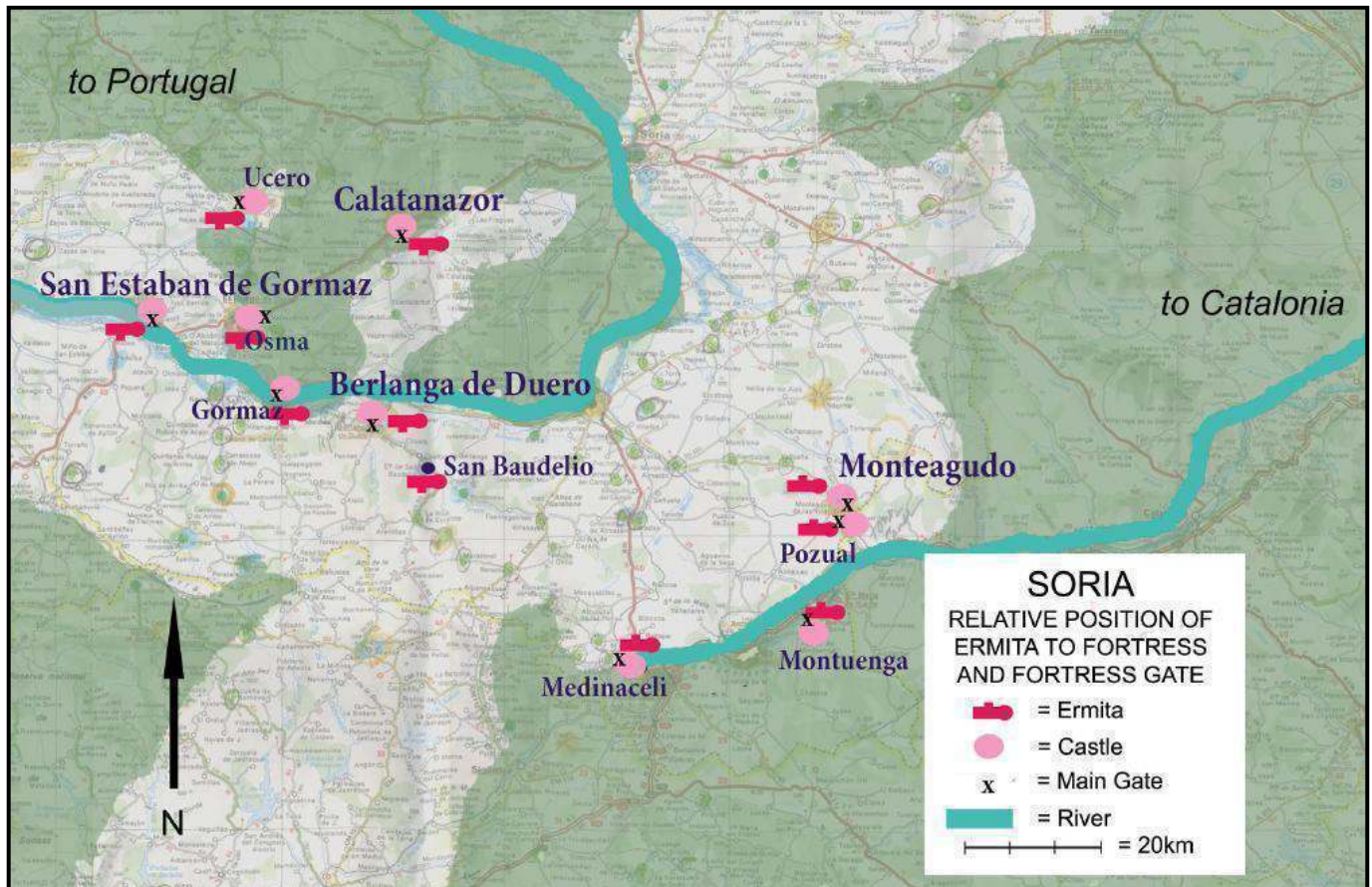


Figure 2, Soria region, map of ermita orientation

protected and supported by whoever held the fortress-dominated hilltops. As such, they were essentially unaffected by the shifts in power at the top.

¹² J. Gautier-Dalché, "Reconquête et structures de l'habitat en Castille," *Castrum 3: Guerre, fortification et habitat dans le monde méditerranéen au moyen âge* (Madrid, 1985), 200-206; D. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (New York, 1978), 96; J. Ángel García de Cortázar, "Sociedad rural y organización del espacio en la Castilla del año mil," *Campagnes médiévales: L'homme et son espace* (Paris, 1995), 613-625; J. Powers, *A Society Organized for War: The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages 1000-1284* (Berkeley, 1988) 13-24; C. Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y Repoblación del Valle del Duero* (Buenos Aires, 1966); T. Glick, "Resettlement and Redistribution of Land," *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, O. R. Constable, ed. (Philadelphia, 1997), 228-231. For a study of the people caught in this nebulous period, see T. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050-1200* (Leiden, 1994), 20-25

The buildings examined in Abel's 2005 study were limited to those constructed before or during the time of the Reconquest. Following this period, when the power struggles had ended, there seems to have been an expansion in the population on the Sorian plain and a growth in the economy evidenced by the large number of extant buildings constructed during this era. It is the ecclesiastical buildings of this post-Reconquest period that define the larger corpus of structures considered in the present study. We begin with the same set of questions posed in relation to the earlier buildings, re-directing them to those churches built after the Reconquest efforts had pushed the Muslim forces to the south and when Christians gained a firm control over the entire region on both sides of the Duero. With the fundamental acknowledgement that these ecclesiastical structures were built on the plain itself, rather than the mountain tops on either side of the river, the primary problem underlying our questions was the difference in the landscape. Did the churches built on this different terrain continue the orientational relationship with the Duero River observed in the analysis of the earlier buildings? Did these new churches serve as a network of signposts broadcasting the secure arrival of Christianity as suggested by the 2005 article?¹³ If so, to whom were they broadcasting, and how were these signs read? Most particularly, we wanted to know what role the local geography played in that visual understanding. We ask, therefore, how the inhabitants of the plain would have seen and understood the visual relationships between these new buildings and the landscape on which they

¹³ The idea of a church façade working as a billboard comes from C. Altman, "The Medieval Marquee: Church Portal Sculpture as Publicity," *Popular Culture in the Middle Ages* (Bowling Green, 1986), 6-16. See also R. Walker, "The Wall Paintings of the Panteón de los Reyes at León: A Cycle of Intercession," *Art Bulletin* 82/2 (2000), 200-225; and M. Abel, "Before Nationalities: Peace Initiatives and Corporate Identity via the Medieval Parish Church Portal," *Connections: European Studies Annual Review*, Center for the Study of Europe, Brigham Young University, Vol. 1 (2005), 6-11, (<http://europe.byu.edu/rmesc.html>).

were built.¹⁴ At this more local level--that is, within the same vicinity as the places where the people lived, worked, and once new churches were built, worshipped--would the Duero River have continued to be the ideological landmark that it had represented in the previous era?¹⁵ Or was there a new “sense of place” driving the construction of the post-reconquest churches?¹⁶

As two graduate students from two very different disciplines-- geography and art history — our involvement in the project began as students in a “Geography and Art” seminar co-taught by Dr. Abel and Dr. Jennifer Way, both of the University of North Texas. In this class we discussed geography as a theoretical model, reading numerous, diverse publications on place and space, landscape, and cognitive mapping, to form an understanding of how concepts of geography might be employed in the art historian’s study of art and architecture. Following this initial exploration we had the opportunity to travel to the Soria region of Spain during the summer of 2008 to carry out the field work on our proposed project under the direction of Dr. Abel.

A combined effort such as the proposed program of study involving two academic disciplines can be encumbered by misunderstandings and contention, as each discipline enters the project with certain expectations for the way things are to be done both in research

¹⁴ A similar question is traced in early medieval Italy. See R. Francovich and R. Hodges, “Conclusions: Four Stages of Transformation,” in *Villa to Village: The Transformation of the Roman Countryside in Italy, c. 400-1000* (London, 2003), 106-114.

¹⁵ This is the line of inquiry presented by historians of the period before the conquest such as Lomax and Powers; R. Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity 400-1000*, (New York, 1983); and C. Bishko, “The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest,” *A History of the Crusades*, K. Setton ed. (Madison, 1975), Vol. 3: 396-456.

¹⁶ E. Casey, “How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena,” *Senses of Place*, S. Feld and K. Basso eds. (Santa Fe, 1996), 14; C. Geertz, “Afterword,” *Senses of Place*, S. Feld and K. Basso, eds. (Santa Fe, 1996), 260-262; C. Renfrew and P. Bahn, “What Did They Think?: Cognitive Archaeology, Art, and Religion,” *Archaeology Theories, Methods, and Practice* (New York, 2004), 393-397, 406-408; Kevin Walsh, “A Sense of Place: A Rule for Cognitive Mapping in the ‘Postmodern’ World?,” *Interpreting Archaeology: Finding Meaning in the Past*, Hodder, et al eds. (London, 1995), 131-140; and S. Feld and K. Basso, “Introduction,” *Senses of Place* (Santa Fe, 1996), 11. A case study for this type of thought can be found in D. Smail, *Imaginary Cartographies: Possession and Identity in Late Medieval Marseille*, (Ithaca, 1999) 1-41.

preparation and in the field. Pre-trip planning and consistent weekly communication were invaluable as we agreed upon project goals and the methods for achieving them. The primary objective in mapping the twelfth-century churches of the Sorian plain was to grasp the architectural building patterns as they related to both the physical terrain and the twelfth-century Christian development of that landscape. We hoped to see, by way of this mapping exercise, relationships between the land, the buildings, and the ideology of the people who built them. Important in this program was the method we would use for the collection and visualization of a variety of data in a manner that would facilitate a period-specific perspective of the landscape. For this we realized that there were benefits in creating our own geographically specific and topographically correct maps of the proposed area. We understood that in scientific terms mapping refers to “plotting points and finding common terms of reference with which to analyze data.”¹⁷ Acknowledging, however, that this process is also a creative act that describes and constructs a place, we were mindful of what we chose to exclude from the study as well as what was to be examined.¹⁸ For example, because we were primarily interested in the role the landscape played in the perception of these churches, we chose not to include the churches within the city of Soria itself. Because of the close proximity of the churches within this city to one another, we decided that these churches would have been perceived as essentially urban, and

¹⁷ Janet Abrams and Peter Hall, “Mapping Mapping” in *Else/Where: Mapping New Cartographies of Networks and Territories*, (University of Minnesota Press, August 2003), 1. For the practice of mapping in the Middle Ages see, E. Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed their World*, (London. 1997), vii; and P. D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, (London, 1991).

¹⁸ Alternative views to mapping are discussed in Geoff King, *Mapping Reality: An Exploration of Cultural Cartographies* (New York, 1996); D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels eds., “Introduction,” *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge, 1988), 1-10; and J. B. Harley, “Maps, Knowledge and Power,” in *The Iconography of Landscape*, D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels eds. (Cambridge, 1988), 277-312. For the geographical understanding of “place,” see T. Creswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2004); T. Yi-Fu, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, 1977); N. Castree, “Place: Connections and Boundaries in an Interdependent World,” in *Key Concepts in Geography*, S. Holloway, S. Rice, and G. Valentine, eds. (London, 2003), 165-187; and Phil Hubbard, “Space/Place,” in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, D. Atkinson *et al* eds. (London, 2005).

therefore quite different from the status of the other, rural churches in the region.¹⁹ Our expectation was that our analysis of the maps we produced would reveal something new, but in order for this revelation to be justified we also understood that our findings had to be verifiable; they had to sustain not only the art historian's visual scrutiny, but the geographer's scientific qualifications.

To accomplish our geographically-theorized objective, we decided early on to supplement art historical observations with the type of data produced by geographers and archaeologists and the equipment they use to record and display data in the field. We wanted our maps to include not only visually perceptible elements such as topographical features and spatial relationships, but also quantifiable information obtained in the field, such as cardinal orientation, elevation, and building measurements. In addition we wanted to embed into our maps the building's stylistic criteria, as well as building phases in those cases where the church had been re-modeled in the Middle Ages.

From a geographer's point of view, one of the most important tasks in undertaking this type of field project is to establish the scope of the project in order to determine the equipment required. Initially, we outlined the parameters of our project corpus by scouring existing art historical catalogues and modern travel guides.²⁰ From these we compiled a list of churches built in the era under consideration and a corollary image bank for preliminary analysis. We

¹⁹ P. Díaz, "City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity," *Towns and Their Territories Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, G. Brogiolo, N. Gauthier, and N. Christie eds., (Lieden, 2000), 3-5.

²⁰ For this type of listing of the Romanesque ecclesiastical structures in the region of Soria, see *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León*, Soria, Volumen I-III, (Aguilar de Campoo, 2002, 51-1340; M. Durliat, *El arte románico en España*, (Barcelona, 1972); M. Gómez-Moreno, *El arte románico español*, (Madrid, 1934); J. Gaya Nuño, *El románico en la provincia de Soria*, (Madrid, 1946); and W. Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century*, (Oxford, 1968).

supplemented this list with additional religious sites indicated on a detailed Spanish military map at the scale of 1/100,000, making note that the validity of these added sites would have to be verified in the field. For cross-referencing purposes the initial catalogue sites were located and highlighted on these military maps. Interestingly, many of these sites were not labeled on the military map as having a religious monument indicating to us that the criteria used by the catalogue authors for this designation were different from that of the military cartographers. This dramatized the need for field evaluation of the validity of the military designated sites.

At this stage of the project we estimated that the corpus of churches built in the Sorian region after the Reconquest was at least 200 buildings. This number would be revised upon visual inspection, but given that the total area of the region to be mapped was only 144 square kilometers, this number represented a significantly denser pattern of building than suggested in the 2005 study. While not necessarily a critique of Abel's study, this realization highlighted for us the necessity for acknowledging the parameters and filters imposed within the studies we consulted to compile our original corpus. Knowing the size of the corpus in relation to the area being mapped highlighted the necessity for locational accuracy and impacted our decisions as to

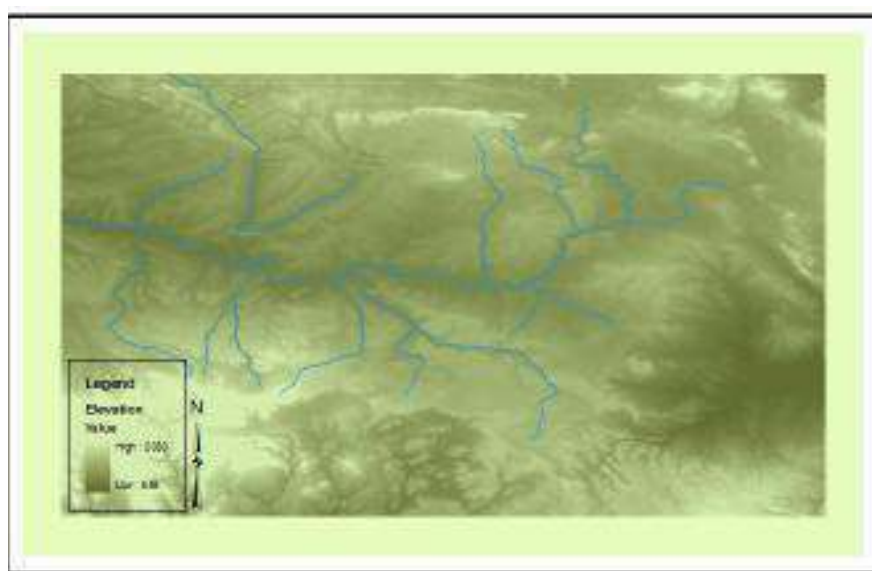


Figure 3, Baseline GIS Map of Soria region

what type of tools we would use to acquire and store our field data. Following O’Keeffe’s suggestion, it was clear that the use of technology—specifically a Geographic Positioning System (GPS), a hardware instrument used by many geography field personnel, would facilitate a more detailed accounting of what was going to be a large quantity and variety of data. With the GPS we could create our own base-line project map that would correspond to the area defined by our military maps. **(fig. 3)** At each site we visited, we would use a hand-held, satellite-driven GPS unit to triangulate the church’s exact position and assign it a geographic coordinate. The map created by the accumulation of these individual coordinates would serve as the base for the accurate recording of the data associated with each church. **(fig. 4)** In essence, this technology allowed the map to function as our data organizer.

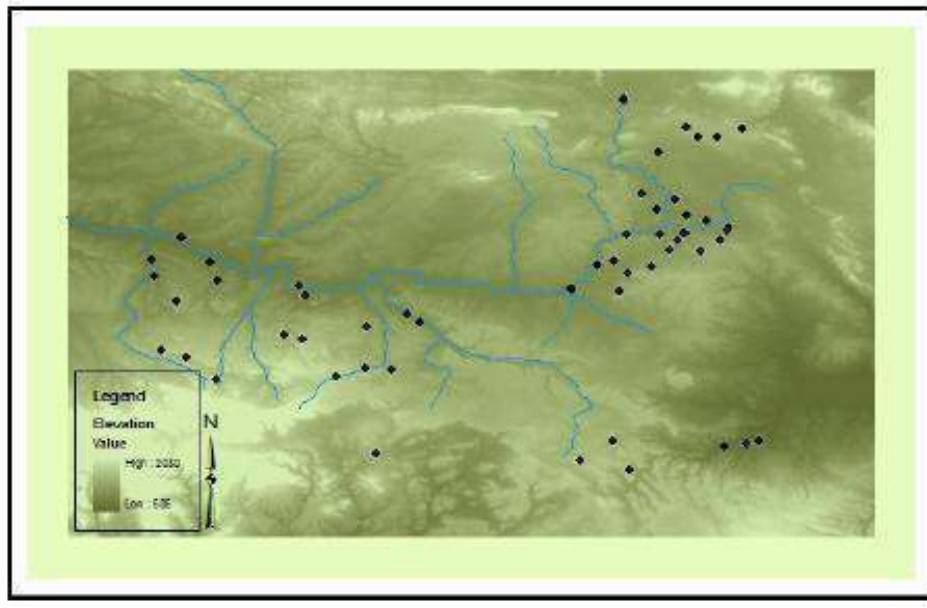


Figure 4, GIS map, all churches surveyed in 2008 field season

One of the advantages of using a GPS is that software programs, such as ArcPad, can be downloaded and used on its system. ArcPad is a mobile Geographic Information System (GIS)

software program designed for this type of field mapping application.²¹ It provides field-based personnel with the ability to capture and analyze geographically-based data through the GPS generated map. For our project it allowed us to automatically link the variety of information we gathered and compiled as database categories to each GPS generated point on our map. Our initial categories of data were: elevation, church orientation, portal orientation, church type (monastic affiliation), portal view/sightline, apse configuration, and church size. (The length and width were measured on site, but were catalogued as small, medium, or large.) In the field, trudging through the weeds and up the hills, under the Spanish sun to closely inspect each church, we recorded these details based on measurements, calculations, and personal observation. Each night the data from our field notes was manually entered into the ArcPad. Later, when we opened the GPS map of churches in ArcPad, a click of the mouse on any given point would enable us to view all of the collected data for that particular church.

The real advantage of the ArcPad program lies in its facilitation of data analysis. Once all the fields of data have been filled, this program will sort, filter and display this data in relation to the GPS generated map. When queried for a particular set of data, the program will produce a map indicating only those sites which meet the criteria of the parameters defined in the question. For example, if asked, it will produce a map that indicates only those sites which are above a particular elevation, south of the Duero river, are small in size, have a round apse, and a southern portal with no tympanum, filtering out all other data. **(fig. 5)** This geographical display has interesting and important possibilities for the visually oriented art historian. It allows us to visualize quantifiable information in terms of its spatial relationship to the geographical locale.

²¹ For a brief introduction to GIS, see Michael Batty, "Using Geographical Information Systems," in *Key Methods in Geography*, N. Clifford and G. Valentine, eds. (London, 2005), 409-425.

One of the most difficult obstacles overcome in our multidisciplinary project was resolving our different epistemologies. Working with a geographer and this type of field equipment required specific, concise consideration of different types of data as categorizing and defining types of information is essential for the precise display and analysis of the data gathered. From the geographer's point of view, the criteria being used to categorize visual

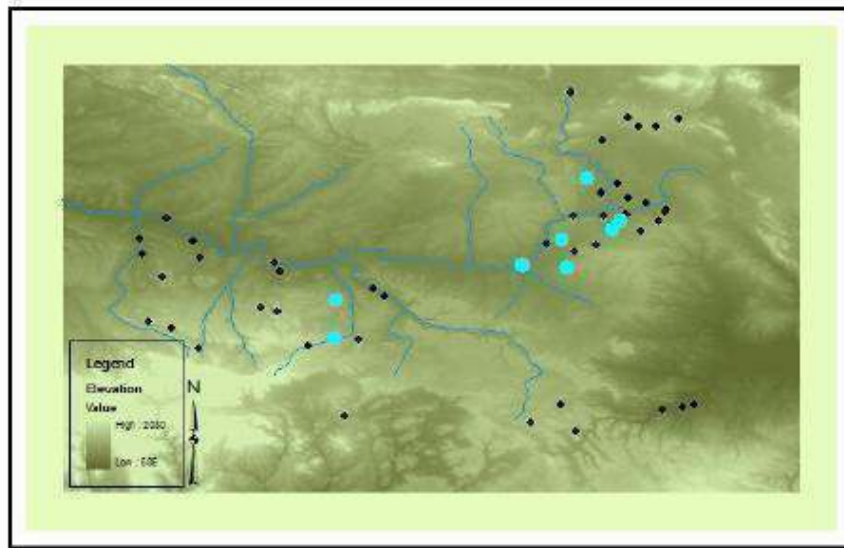


Figure 5, GIS map indicating all churches south of the Duero that are small in size, with a southern portal, no tympanum and a round apse

observations of items listed under the heading “style” were too vague. To the art historian’s mindset, setting the fields of data so precisely did not allow for the nuanced observations necessary to record the innovative solutions to the architectural remodeling and expansion, which were more often the rule than the exception in medieval buildings. In fact we found very few building that had not been altered over the centuries. In the end, we compromised by limiting the “style” categories in order to maintain consistency in our notes for the database construction and implementation, even when the data set seemed artificial. The compromise was justified with the addition of two supplementary sources of data. The first of these was the compiling of an extensive photographic record of each building. Conveniently, these digital

photographs were linked by way of the ArcPad program to the points on the electronic map, and thus could be easily accessible when evaluating the field data. In addition to these photographs, we also drew a footprint plan of each church that, while not a measured and surveyed plan, did serve to indicate significant and relevant details not captured in the data collection recorded in the field notes. (fig. 6) (See also figures 7, and 8A, 8B) These drawings were scanned and linked in the same manner as the photographs so that all forms of data and observations were stored in a single file, accessed through the point on the map.

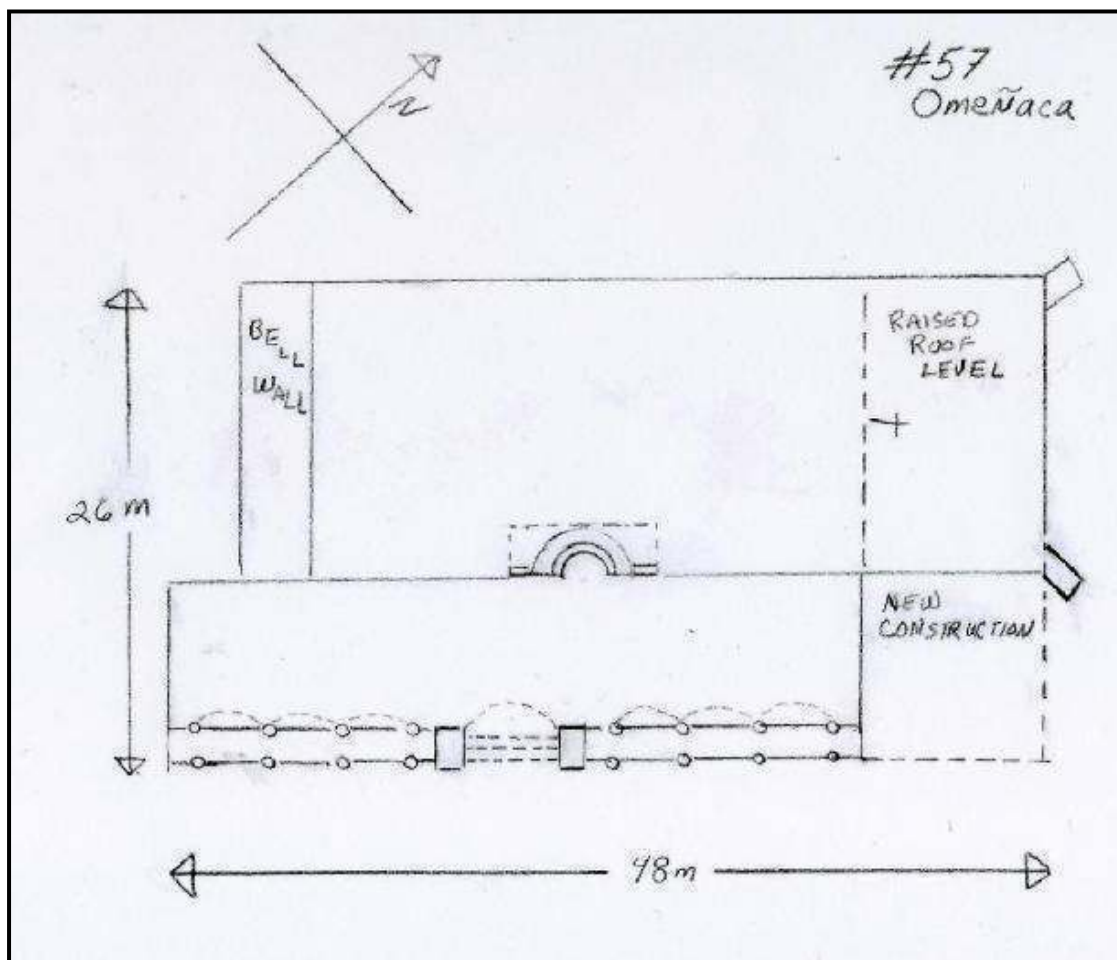


Figure 6, Omeñaca, field footprint drawing

Once these issues in data representation were resolved, the program in the field was quite efficient. At each church, the geographer of our team would establish with a compass the

cardinal orientation of the building. The GPS unit was then positioned at the northwest corner of the building to wait for the requisite satellites to generate the site's geographic coordinates. Meanwhile, the length and width of the church were measured, while Dr. Abel drew the footprint plan of the church. The art historian, with her list of set data categories, would carefully observe and record these and any other architectural details, making note of anomalies. Finally all three members of the team would contribute to the observation of the surrounding landscape — both the built and the natural features — paying particular attention to the sightlines visible from the façade and the portal, as well as any distinctive topographical features such as exposed bedrock, rocky outcroppings, stream beds, or navigational patterns²² which might have influenced the church's location or relation to other structures.

In this first phase of our field cataloging, we divided the Soria region into nine areas relative to the sections defined by the nine military maps needed to cover the region. Knowing that we did not have time to visit every church on the list in this first field season, we surveyed a selection from each area in order to achieve at least a thin coverage of the entire region. At the end of 10 days we had recorded a total of 58 churches or approximately 29% of the churches on our list. The remainder of the churches will be surveyed and the data bank completed in a second field season.

We can report some preliminary statistical conclusions that begin to answer some of our initial questions. As expected for the era, but differing from the objects of Abel's study, all but four of the 58 churches observed were oriented with their apses towards the east. The four that were not oriented to the east, were off axis by 45 degrees, 3 with their apses facing southeast and

²² For the study and analysis of ancient roads and their importance to trade and travel, see B. P. Hindle, *Medieval Roads*, (London, 1982); O. R. Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500*, (Cambridge, 1994); and T. Glick, Chapter 3, "Urbanization and Commerce," *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, (Princeton, 1979), 110-134.

one facing northeast. Most telling for our question of portal orientation in relation to the Duero River was that the majority (52) of the churches oriented to the east had southern lateral portals regardless of whether they were located to the north or to the south of the river. Intriguingly, only six churches had both northern and southern lateral portals.²³ Of these, three were the churches that were off-axis. We found only one church with what appeared to be a “western” portal, but this was also one of the churches that were oriented 45 degrees off-axis, actually making this a southwestern door. Thirty-five, or 60% of the churches had polygonal apses; while the other twenty-three of them were semi-circular; and these were distributed on both sides of the Duero. All 58 churches had a bell wall or bell tower.²⁴ All but five of these were located on the western end of the church regardless of their apse configuration. The remaining five were placed at the crossing or at the north side of the crossing. This anomaly bore no relation to the true cardinal orientation of the building. Twenty-six, or 45% of the churches had portals that were ornamented with an original set of archivolts. (**fig. 7**)

²³ Bango Torviso, “Atrio y pórtico en el románico español: Concepto y finalidad cívico-litúrgica,” *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología*, 40-41, (Universidad de Valladolid, 1975), 186 stated that the village people would have entered the church by way of either the north or south lateral portal, depending on which side of the church would have been closest to the road leading to the church.

²⁴ A western bell-tower wall is called an *espadaña*. This wall is solid at the ground level, but rises well above the roof of the nave, where it is generally pedimental in shape and is pierced by two or three arched niches designed for the hanging of bells. The ropes for ringing these bells would hang into the interior of the church.



Figure 7, Omeñaca, projecting portal with archivolts

Twenty-one or 36% of the churches had a small porch or full *portada* over this portal.²⁵ (figs.

8A, 8B) Forty-nine of the fifty-eight churches had elements of their construction that had clearly

²⁵ For a broader discussion of Iberian porches, see Bango Torviso, "Atrio y pórtico," 175-88; and I. Gonzalo Bango Torviso, "El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados en la arquitectura medieval española," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, 4, (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1992), 93-132. Bango Torviso suggested that the zone in front of and next to the lateral portal was privileged and could be used for a variety of functions to including liturgical celebrations, penitential acts, reunions of the laity, and especially the internment of socially privileged personages.



Figure 8A, Omeñaca, portada

been remodeled between the time of their foundation and the early modern period, as evidenced by the addition of Gothic sculptural elements or visible changes in the building materials building configuration. **(figs. 9A, 9B, 9C, 9D)** The statistical analysis of this sort of data gives us a certain understanding, but it is the visual display of this material on a map that for our



Figure 8B, Omeñaca, portada interior

purposes makes its compilation interesting. We have just begun to explore the results that are possible when the other fields of data, such as elevation or relation to topographical features are added into the analytical equation. Full results will come only after all the churches have been surveyed.

The question, of course, is what does this data tell us; what can be done with our databank in its present state and when it is truly complete? While these are questions yet to be answered, what we can say is that our cross-disciplinary affiliation has opened a new avenue for



Figure 9A, San Bartome, Viane de Duero, added bell tower



Figure 9B, Mountjo de Tiermes, reconfigured porch



Figure 9C, Morcuera, various building materials



Figure 9D, Fuensauco, three building phases and fortification

the exploration and analysis of this network of churches. Significantly different from the focused analysis of the most interesting churches of the region, as is typical of art historical materials we consulted to compile our original list of churches, this more exhaustive type of examination signals where the more singularly focused analysis is warranted and serves to clarify which questions are relevant to ask. Conversely, it also highlights areas of evenly distributed consistency that suggest a different set of conclusions than one might come to with the analysis of only a few examples. The most relevant conclusion is that the availability of the detail provided by a visually oriented data bank does indeed “change the complexion of the analysis.”²⁶ O’Keeffe warned that “aesthetic and experiential engagements with buildings as we understand them today can broadly be regarded as ‘cultural,’ and the difficulty of measuring these cultural qualities in an objective scientific way has significantly reduced their value in the minds of medieval architectural historians.”²⁷ We feel that this exercise addresses that dilemma. We found that the inclusion of the buildings traditionally seen as art-historically less interesting along side those previously documented for their unique spaces or elaborate ornamentation helped us check the subjectivity of our personal observations and provided a balance that enhanced the quantitative value of these experiential and aesthetic impressions. We feel that this exercise in data collection at the local level has important implications for future studies in the region. In the end, our work in Spain merged the methods and tools of three academic fields – geography, art history, and archaeology – providing data that will be readily available to be expanded upon or mined for anomalies.

²⁶ O’Keeffe, 82.

²⁷ Ibid.



Material and Meaning in Lead Pilgrims' Signs

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Thanks to the increase in medieval archaeology over the last half century, pilgrims' badges, ampullae, and other wearable tokens of devotion, most often called "signs" in medieval documents, are now more numerous than any other type of surviving medieval image. Pilgrims acquired these at medieval shrines as souvenirs from pilgrimages accomplished. The vast majority of these small items are cast from lead. Lead is cheap, soft, and melts at a low temperature. It made the pilgrims' signs inexpensive and easy to produce. Lead also had signifying properties that made it ideal for pilgrims' signs. This essay discusses the contribution of the material to the meaning of pilgrims' signs in their medieval context. Various meanings attributed to lead in the Middle Ages are directly relevant to their use in pilgrims' signs. In short, lead had little value of its own, it received value from what it touched, and it was used to do exactly that in other contexts, such as in sealing documents.

Only a few medieval texts refer to pilgrims' signs. Most mentions of them are anecdotal, and their role is incidental. The greatest trove of mentions is in miracle collections, where pilgrims' signs sometimes appear in association with pilgrims who received miracles, for instance among the miracles of Henry VI, Thomas Becket, and Our Lady of Rocamadour. Critics also commented on them. Erasmus famously satirized a wearer of pilgrims' signs and the

author of *The Tale of Beryn* had Chaucer's Pardoner and Miller try to pilfer an armload of pilgrims' badges from a market stall.¹

Canterbury leads other medieval shrines for textual evidence of its pilgrims' signs usage. In addition to having the largest medieval collection of miracle stories, which includes the most references to pilgrims' signs, the signs also make an appearance at the end of some of the lives of St. Thomas, where they demonstrate the growing popularity of the saint. In addition, there is a unique treatise by Herbert of Bosham that directly interprets the Canterbury signs. While Herbert's treatise gives us little in the way of practical information, his interpretive discussion opens a window into the conceptual value of pilgrims' signs and especially of the lead from which they were made.

For the origins of signs from European shrines, *The Pilgrim's Guide* of the late 1130s provides a touchstone.² The tradition of wearing pilgrimage signs in the high and late Middle Ages seems to have begun with the scallop shells acquired by pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela, first mentioned in *The Pilgrim's Guide*, where the phrasing implies that they were already a well-established custom, "After the fountain is the parvis, as we have said, made of stone, where the small scallop shells which are the insignia of the Blessed James are sold to pilgrims. . .³ In the third quarter of the twelfth century, pilgrims' signs began to be manufactured from metal, usually from lead or alloys of lead and tin. Badges from the shrine of Our Lady of

¹ *The Tale of Beryn, with a Prologue of the Merry Adventure of the Pardoner with a Tapster at Canterbury, re-edited from the Duke of Northumberland's unique MS*, eds. F.J. Furnivall and W.G. Stone (London, 1909), p. 7.

² The early use of the scallop shell as a badge worn by pilgrims is chronicled in Christopher Hohler, "The Badge of St. James," in *The Scallop, Studies of a shell and its influences on humankind*, ed. Ian Cox (London, 1957) pp. 49-70.

³ *Post fontem habetur paradisus, ut diximus, pavimento lapideo factus, in quo crusille piscium id est intersigna Beati Iacobi uenduntur peregrines*. . . Paula Gerson, Annie Shaver-Crandell and Alison Stones, eds., *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: Critical Edition*, Vol. II (London, 1998), pp. 72-73.

Rocamadour in France are the first known metal pilgrims' signs from a European context. Canterbury was another of the early sites to use metal signs, beginning perhaps in 1171, less than a year after Becket's death.⁴ Prior to the introduction of metal signs, wooden containers seem to have been used.⁵ No archaeological examples survive, but the Canterbury miracles include several relating to boxwood *pyxides* of "Canterbury water" that leaked, cracked, or otherwise lost their contents when in the possession of unworthy pilgrims.⁶ Beyond the problem of water tightness, wooden vessels would have been made individually by hand. Metal had the advantage of being made in reusable molds, allowing faster and more uniform production. A miracle reported by Benedict of Peterborough and repeated by Herbert of Bosham tells that metal was substituted for wood after a young man was divinely inspired to make ampullae of tin and lead.⁷ The earliest metal signs at Canterbury were tiny ampullae with scalloped ridges on one side that recall the shells of the Compostela pilgrimage. These gave way to larger ampullae with a widening range of imagery, mostly without the scallops. Around 1300, badges were introduced at Canterbury, and these came to outnumber and then to replace the ampullae. Metal became the standard material for pilgrims' signs at most shrines, so that by the fourteenth century, metal pilgrims' signs were commonplace throughout Europe. The signs from Canterbury

⁴ The invention of metal ampullae is reported in Book three of Benedict of Peterborough's *Miracula Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis*. The chronology of the early cult reconstructed from the miracle stories is inexact, but the inclusion of a story set on the Sunday before Ascension in 1171 also in Book Three suggests a similar date for the change in pilgrims' signs. Benedict of Peterborough, *Miracula Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis, Auctore Benedicto, Abbate Petriburgensis* 3.18, ed. James Craigie Robertson, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury* vol. 2 (London, 1876), p. 129. Metal signs are also mentioned in a life of St. Thomas composed between 1172 and 1174. Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (London, 1998), p. 235.

⁵ Benedict of Peterborough, *Miracula Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis* 3.22, ed. Robertson, pp.134-5.

⁶ Benedict of Peterborough, *Miracula Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis* 3.21-25, ed. Robertson, pp. 131-36.

⁷ Benedict of Peterborough, *Miracula Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis* 3.22, ed. Robertson, pp.134-5. See also, Herbert of Bosham, "de pixidibus prius gestatis," in James Craigie Robertson, ed., *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury* vol. 3 (London, 1877), p. 252.

retrieved from archaeological excavations form a long sequence spanning the entire duration of the Canterbury pilgrimage, from the spring following Thomas Becket's assassination on December 29, 1170 until the destruction of the shrine by emissaries of King Henry VIII in 1538. The most direct discussion of pilgrims' signs from any medieval author is the meditative document called the *Liber Melorum* written by Herbert of Bosham shortly after 1186. Thus, Herbert's text falls near the beginning of the long evolution of pilgrims' signs at Canterbury. The pilgrims' signs of Herbert's day were small metal ampullae adorned with low relief imagery, made to be filled with "Canterbury water," a mixture of water tinged with a drop of Becket's blood, which was distributed at the shrine. These ranged in scale from tiny thumbnail sized ampullae to larger examples of about four inches. Pilgrims wore these as pendants, hung around their necks.

Herbert was a scholar and advisor to Thomas Becket.⁸ He is better known as an exegete, Hebraist, and participant in the Archbishop Becket's dispute with the crown. He was an unflinching advocate of both Thomas Becket the politician and Thomas Becket the saint. As a writer during the years when the pilgrimage cult of St. Thomas was taking form, he represents a learned insider's perspective on what has often been conceived as a popular phenomenon. A look into Herbert's text yields significant insight into clerical ideas about the new pilgrims' signs in the developing pilgrimage cult at Canterbury.

Herbert of Bosham was one of Thomas Becket's more than half a dozen early biographers. The *Liber Melorum*, or "Book of Harmonies" is an exegesis that functioned as a

⁸ Herbert of Bosham, *Liber melorum*, in *Herberti de Boseham S. Thomae Cantuariensis clerici a secretis opera quae extant omnia/ nunc primum edidit I.A. Giles*, vol. 2, ed. John Allen Giles (Oxford, 1845-6). The date 1186 as a terminus post quem is discussed by Deborah L. Goodwin, "Take Hold of the Robe of a Jew." *Herbert of Bosham's Christian Hebraism* (Leiden, 2006), p. 35.

pendant to Herbert's Life of St. Thomas. In the *Liber Melorum* Herbert creates an extended metaphor of Christ as a "commander in chief" (*Imperator*) and the martyred archbishop as a knight or "soldier" (*miles*).⁹ Within this framework, Herbert enters into a lengthy discussion of the meaning of the Canterbury ampullae, in which he compares them to the crosses worn on the back and thigh by soldiers, by which he means crusaders. Herbert constructs a parallel between the sign of the cross as a visible sign of the crusaders' triumphal death and vessels of water and blood that are signs of the Thomas Becket's triumphal death as a martyr.¹⁰

Herbert is most explicit about pilgrims' signs in the section entitled "On the mystery of the vessels that the pilgrims of the martyr wear" (*"De vasis mysterio quod martyris peregrini gestant"*).¹¹ Herbert distinguishes three signs in the ampullae: lead, water, and blood. In lead he sees gravity (*gravitas*), in water, purity (*puritas*), and in blood, the power and beauty of death through martyrdom (*mortis virtus et forma per martyrium*). He then doubles the signification of the three elements by saying that old age (*vetustas*) is expressed in the lead, youth or newness (*novitas*) in the water, and the fortitude of martyrdom (*fortitudo martyrii*) in the blood. He follows this with yet a third level of signification in which he interprets the three elements as symbolic of three ages of man and three modes of life on earth: the old man in the court, in the new man in the Church, and the third mode, that of living strongly in the present. These three modes simultaneously express three phases in the biography of Thomas Becket and three general

⁹ "Commander in chief" and "soldier" are Giles' terms, in keeping with a Roman theme. Giles, "Preface," p. v.

¹⁰ "*Imperatoris igitur visibilis palma triumphalis mortis vexillum est crucis quod etiam vitae suae in carne signum est et imago: similiter et triumphalis mortis militis vexillum est vas aquae et sanguinis, et idem ipsum etiam vitae suae in carne hac [sic] signum et imago pariter. . .*" Herbert of Bosham, *Liber melorum* 2.9-14, ed. Giles, p. 53. N.B. Herbert's text divisions become amorphous between *notula* 9 and *notula* 15. My citations follow those in Giles' edition.

¹¹ Herbert of Bosham, *Liber melorum* 2.9-14, ed. Giles, pp. 57-60.

arenas in which any given man might carry out his life.¹² The meanings multiply and branch out from there, drifting farther away from the ampullae themselves, before Herbert returns to restate that the pilgrims' ampullae are comparable to the crosses worn by soldiers in the crusades.¹³ Interestingly, he has nothing to say about the images on the signs—only about the materials of which they consist.

Throughout the *Liber Melorum* that Herbert consistently writes about the ampullae as lead, “*plumbum*,” when in fact the known ampullae made during Herbert’s lifetime were cast in alloys of lead and tin (*stagnum*), often with the tin content exceeding that of the lead. From this it is clear that lead was the element with symbolic importance. Metallurgic facts aside, the pilgrims' signs were perceived and discussed as objects of lead.

Lead is perhaps the least precious of all metals. Herbert implies that the humility of lead is integral to its significance. Here, he seems to draw on the Christian idea that the least exalted may be the most exalted.¹⁴ He writes, “No one would grumble if indeed I said that our lead is necessary to us. Of course, it would be more glorious and even better and more suitable if our lead were turned to silver, or if it were completely purified—only completely pure silver

¹² “*Vide igitur, et attende, quia in isto vasis signo tria sunt, sicut supra in crucis signo quattuor distinximus. Sed in hoc signa tria. Plumbam videlicet aqua et sanguis. Tria haec, tria mystica, in plumbo quippe gravitas, in aqua puritas, in sanguine vero mortis virtus et forma per martyrium. In plumbo itaque vetustas, in aqua novitas, in sanguine vero martyrii fortitudo exprimitur. Ecce vetus homo et gravis, ecce novo homo et purus, ecce martyr fortis et strenuus. Et haec sunt, sicut ex historiae praecedentibus aperte liquet, tres viri vitae, tres videlicet ipsius vivendi modi in vita carnis hac. Primus vitae modus, quasi primus homo vetus in aula: secundus vitae modus quasi secundus homo novus in ecclesia: tertius vero vitae modus iam quasi tertius homo fortis in palaestra cuius tertii hominis fortitudo non solum tunc coepit, quo exiguo illo tempore quod supra descripsimus animam suam exposuit, sed potius ex quo ad exponendum paratus fuit.*” Herbert of Bosham, *Liber melorum* 2.9-14, ed. Giles, p. 57.

¹³ “*Jam ex parte audivimus conformitatem ut mihi visum sic multam signi ad signum vexilli ad vexillum, signi et vexilli crucis imperatoris ad signum et vexillum vasis militis.*” Herbert of Bosham, *Liber melorum* 2.9-14, ed. Giles, p. 60.

¹⁴ Luke 18.14.

shines—otherwise it is scarcely worthy to be put in the treasury of a great king.”¹⁵ He goes on to say that the lead is as suitable as the blood and water because silver must be purified by lead.¹⁶ His meaning here becomes clear when one consults medieval treatises on metalworking, such as *De Diversis artibus* by the pseudonymous Theophilus. In his section on silver processing, Theophilus explains how lead can be used to remove impurities from silver.¹⁷ Herbert here draws a contrast between lead and silver, in which the value and sheen of silver accentuates the humility of lead.

For Herbert, the three elements of the sign—lead, blood, and water—work together. The lead of the ampulla is sanctified through what it signifies, and through contact with its contents. Even the water in the ampullae is only sanctified through contact with the blood, rather like a touch relic.¹⁸

The way mundane materials became sacred is a question central to the working of the Christian sacraments. Medieval theories of signification stemmed largely from sacramental theology, with baptism often serving as the test case. The leading sacramental theologian in the twelfth century was the Parisian scholar Hugh of St. Victor. When Herbert wrote about the ampullae, it is likely that he had Hugh of St. Victor’s *De Sacramentis* in mind. Herbert had studied extensively in Paris and may have been a student at Saint Victor. His intellectual debts

¹⁵ “*Nec murmure quis si etiam plumbum nostrum nobis necessarium dixerim. Tanto quippe gloriosius et quidem melius, commodius, si plumbum nostrum in argentum versatur, aut si ipso expurgato omnino, solum purum argentum examinatum refulgeat, minime alias in magni Regis thesauro reponi dignum.*” Herbert of Bosham, *Liber melorum* 2.9-14, ed. Giles, p., 59.

¹⁶ “*Tria igitur nobis necessaria haec, tam plumbum videlicet quam aqua et sanguis. . .Nunc vero manent nobis tria haec; et commode quidem inter tria haec plumbum, quia non nisi per plumbum emundatur argentum.*” Herbert of Bosham, *Liber melorum* 2.9-14, ed. Giles, p. 59.

¹⁷ Theophilus Presbyter, *De Diversis artibus* 3.23, ed. and trans. Charles Reginald Dodwell (London, 1961) p. 75.

¹⁸ “. . .aqua videlicet ex tactu sanguinis sanctificata per sanguinem. . .” Herbert of Bosham, *Liber melorum* 2.9-14, ed. Giles, p. 56

to Hugh are evident in other examples of his writing, and throughout the controversy between Becket and Henry II, his adamant positions were in accord with Victorine ideas.¹⁹ *De Sacramentis* was widely disseminated in the twelfth century and should have been familiar to other literate men at Canterbury as well as to anyone studying in Paris. At least four surviving manuscript copies of it can be traced to the twelfth-century library at Christ Church. In the *Liber Melorum*, there are passages that suggest Herbert's familiarity with Hugh's *De Sacramentis*.

Word choice is a strong indicator that Herbert had Hugh in mind. The greatest number of references to Canterbury ampullae can be found in the collection of miracles written by William of Canterbury and Benedict of Peterborough, but these writers use the terms *ampulla* and occasionally *phiala*, to refer to the little containers.²⁰ Herbert, however, chooses the word *vas*, which is the term used by Hugh.

In *De Sacramentis*, Hugh of St. Victor described the sacraments as vessels—*vasa*—that contained God's grace and compared them to vials that contained a doctor's medicine. The vial, says Hugh, does not heal the patient, but rather the medicine contained in it does.²¹ Hugh also used the medical analogy for the gifts of the spirit that serve as antidotes to evil.²² The medical

¹⁹ Deborah L. Goodwin, "Take Hold of the Robe of a Jew": Herbert of Bosham's Christian Hebraism (Leiden, 2006), pp. 9-43. Goodwin's work builds upon that of Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools* (Totowa, NJ, 1973).

²⁰ Benedict of Peterborough, *passim*. William of Canterbury, *Miracula Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis*, ed. James Craigie Robertson, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, vol. 1 (London, 1875), *passim*.

²¹ "Postremo quinque discreta et distincta ab invicem ad cognitionem procedunt: Deus medicus, homo aegrotus, sacerdos minister vel nuntius, gratia antidotum, vas sacramentum. Medicus donat, minister dispensat, vas servat quae sanat percipientem aegrotum gratiam spiritalem. Si ergo vasa sunt spiritalis gratiae sacramenta, non ex suo sanant, quia vasa aegrotum non curant, sed medicina." Hugh of St. Victor, *De Sacramentis* 1.9.4, PL 176:323.

²² "Deus medicus, dona Spiritus sancti antidota . . . per dona enim Spiritus sancti vitia sanantur." Dodwell, Introduction to *De Diversis artibus*, xxii.

analogy used by Hugh to explain the role of material things in the working of the sacraments is made manifest in the twelfth-century ampullae from Canterbury. These were literally vessels that contained a mixture renowned for its healing properties. The agency of the saint in cures brought about by the Canterbury water is made explicit in the inscriptions found on many of the larger and more complex ampullae, generally variations of the phrase, “Thomas has become the best doctor of the worthy sick,” (“*optimus egrorum medicus fit Thomas bonorum.*”)²³ **(Fig. 1)**

Here the material evidence of the ampullae parallels the two layers of interpretation offered by Herbert. The lead of the ampulla is sanctified through its contents, and the object’s lack of inherent sanctity highlights the salutary agency of God

²³ Forms of this inscription vary from ampulla to ampulla. For published examples, see Brian Spencer, *Pilgrims Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (London, 1998), pp. 47-53.



Fig. 1. Pilgrim's ampulla from Canterbury, early 13th century. Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY

and His saint. At a time when magical properties were attributed to more precious materials, like gemstones, which were often placed on containers for relics, Gospel books, and Eucharistic vessels, the innocuous lead was the best material for expressing the theory behind Canterbury's healing water.

Lead, the quintessential material of humility and low inherent value, featured in another medieval discussion of sacramental efficacy, namely the covenantal model. According to this model, God chose to confer grace through the sacraments in accordance with a covenant He established. This denied any independent value to the material form of the sacraments (bread,

wine, water, gesture, etc.). The covenantal explanation was expressed in an exemplum first found in the writings of Richard Fishacre at Oxford around 1240.²⁴ The exemplum explains the efficacy of the sacraments through analogy with a coin stamped from lead, which would have little inherent value based on the worth of the material itself, yet which was still effective and valuable as a medium of exchange because it was manufactured at the command of the king.²⁵ Thus, it was the king's authority that imprints value into the lead. Indeed, most coins in this period bore an image of the king or an inscription of the king's name, like pilgrims' signs that bore images of the saint.

By the year 1300, pilgrims' badges had been introduced at Canterbury. They were soon produced in far greater numbers than the ampullae. Canterbury's badges took a range of shapes. The majority, however, were images of the reliquary bust displayed in the Corona Chapel at the extreme east end of Canterbury Cathedral. **(Fig. 2)** Like the ampullae, the badges were normally made of lead or an alloy of lead and tin. Unlike the ampullae, the badges were single-sided—often with a pin at the back—and contained nothing. They were commonly worn on the pilgrim's hat or clothes and offered visual testament to the fact that the wearer had made the journey to the shrine of the saint.

The choice of lead for the manufacture of pilgrims' signs has further resonances related to the encounter of pilgrim and saint at the shrine, based on the idea of the seal.

²⁴ R. James Long, "Richard Fishacre (circa 1205-1248)," in *Medieval Philosophers (Dictionary of Literary Biography* vol. 115) ed. Jeremiah Hackett (Detroit: Gale Research, Inc., 1992), pp. 195-200.

²⁵ William J. Courtenay, "The King and the Leaden Coin: The Economic Background of 'Sine Qua Non' Causality," *Traditio* 28 (1972), pp. 185-209.



Fig. 2. Pilgrim badge in the shape of St. Thomas Becket's head, second half of the 14th century. HIP/Art Resource, NY

Seals and pilgrims' signs had many things in common, one of which was the terminology used to denote them. Unless the ampulla form was being specifically intended, pilgrims' signs were most often indicated in medieval texts by the word *signum*. However, the range of terms used for pilgrimage souvenirs in general included not only *signum* but also *signacula*, and *sigillum*. This last word was most often used to refer to seals. Several continental European shrines issued pilgrims' signs with inscriptions that use the word *sigillum*. These include the early pilgrims' badges from Our Lady of Rocamadour and Our Lady of Le Puy following soon after. Both of

these shrines used badges in the *vesica piscis* or pointed oval form explicitly modeled on the designs of their church seals. The inscriptions reading “+ SIGILLVM BEATE MARIE DE ROCAMADOR” and “+ SIGILLVM BEATE MARIE DE PODIO” respectively insist on the direct connection, reinforced by overall shape and the image of the enthroned Virgin and Child found also on seals.²⁶ A handful of other French shrines also use the word *sigillum* in inscriptions on badges that did not take the overall shape of seals. These include Saint-Denis, Noyon, and Saint-Maximin.²⁷ In England, badges usually had irregular outlines that followed the contours of the image, rather than a *vesica piscis* shape. However, there are still visual similarities with seals. At Walsingham, for instance, many of the badges portrayed the statue of the Virgin and Child, which also appeared on the priory’s seal.²⁸

Even where the word choice or shape of the badge did not invoke the idea of the seal, the use of impressionable metals for pilgrims’ signs implied the presence of both the pilgrim and the saint at the shrine in a manner comparable to the way presence was implied by a seal. Like wax, lead was also used as a material into which sealing images were pressed. After wax, lead was the second most common material for sealing documents. Lead *bullae* remain affixed to numerous medieval documents, and even more survive detached from the documents they once sealed. In addition to being a practical and inexpensive material, lead had semiotic associations with sealing that may have made it a desirable choice for the manufacture of pilgrims’ signs. The practice of making pilgrims’ badges in reusable molds, like the process of sealing documents,

²⁶ Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, pp. 233-35.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 234.

²⁸ J.C. Dickinson, *The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 118.

results in identical or nearly identical images that all attest to presence, both that of the pilgrim at the shrine and that of the saint at the site of his relics.

At Canterbury, badges of Thomas Becket's reliquary bust, or other less common images such as the saint's shrine or the archbishop on horseback returning to Canterbury before his passion, or miniatures of the sword that killed him, all referred to the saint's relics, through which the saint himself was understood to be present.²⁹ The clearest statement of the saint's presence at the place of his relics is the inscription on the fifth-century tomb of Martin of Tours, recorded by Gregory of Tours, "Here is buried bishop Martin of sacred memory, whose soul is in the hand of God. But he is present here, made manifest to everyone by the goodwill of his miracles."³⁰ The same concept centuries later motivated an image in the stained glass windows that surrounded Becket's shrine after the Translation of 1220, which depicts the saint emerging from his shrine to appear to a sleeping pilgrim. Thus, by depicting the reliquaries or the events that produced the relics, the badges referred to the continued presence of the saint at the pilgrimage center.

Lead was an ideal material for representing both the presence of the saint and of the pilgrim at the shrine. More durable than wax, it was similarly malleable, and both were used for sealing. For wax, medieval semiotic theory has been more fully articulated than for lead, but as it is based on its use for sealing, it could apply to both materials. The metaphoric value of wax has a long history in western thought. Medieval theologians were familiar with Aristotle's comparison in *De Anima* of the way the mind receives sensory impressions to the way wax

²⁹ Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton, 1993), p. 134.

³⁰ Van Dam, p. 315.

receives the impression from a seal, but not the material of the seal matrix itself.³¹ In keeping with the Aristotelian allusion to the wax receiving the seal's impression, wax features most prominently in discussions as a material for sealing documents.³² The impression of a noble person's seal stamped into wax and affixed to a document testified to the presence of the seal's owner at the moment of sealing. The impressed image, then, derived its authenticity and meaning from the person who owned the seal, and served as a stand-in for the presence of the owner after the document had left his or her hands. By pinning a pilgrimage badge onto his or her clothing, the pilgrim was representing an encounter with the saint at the time when both the pilgrim and the saint were simultaneously present at the shrine. The badge was an approximation of the saint having stamped his seal onto the body of the pilgrim.

Sealing itself had a long association with pilgrimage. Cynthia Hahn has written on the use of the Greek term *sphragis*, meaning sealing or stamping, to describe the lasting psychological impact of pilgrimage on those who reached the holy sites.³³ She also relates the story of a pilgrim who awoke from a dream of his saint to find a wax seal impressed with the image of the saint in his hand.³⁴ There are even some surviving pilgrims' signs that take the form of clay lozenges made by the pilgrim holding soft clay in his or her hand while an impression was imprinted by pressing a seal matrix into the soft material. The result is a lozenge with an impressed image on one side and the imprint of the pilgrim's palm on the other. Hahn refers to

³¹Aristotle, *De Anima*, 2.12.424.a17. Christine Göttler's work on wax "soul portraits" in the early modern period offers another relevant discussion of Aristotle and material images. Christine Göttler, "Seelen in Wachs. Material, Mimesis und Memoria in der religiösen Kunst um 1600" in *Ebenbilder. Kopien von Körpern—Modelle des Menschen*, ed. Jan Gerchow (Ostfildern-Ruit, 2002), pp. 83-96.

³² For a relevant discussion of the semiotics of seals, see Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept," *American Historical Review* 105 (2000), 1488-1533.

³³Cynthia Hahn, "Loca Sancta Souvenirs: Sealing the Pilgrim's Experience," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. Robert Ousterhout (Urbana and Chicago, 1990), pp. 85-96.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 93.

this practice as “sealing the pilgrim’s experience.”³⁵ The resulting object is a direct document of the presence of the pilgrim at the holy site and as a participant in the ritual of sealing. Although these lozenges from sites in the Holy Land predate the manufactured metal pilgrimage souvenirs of western Europe by several centuries, the shared materials and designs used for both seals and badges conveys the same ideas of physical and psychological encounter.

Closely related to sealing is the idea of the touch relic. Touch relics were objects not initially sacred in their own right but sanctified through contact with the body of a saint. Items such as clothing worn by a saint, places a saint had been, or objects a saint had handled were touch relics, and could achieve a status equalling that of primary, corporeal relics. Relics of Christ or the Virgin Mary were mostly secondary relics of this sort, since the tradition of their bodily ascensions into heaven (leaving only foreskin, breast milk, and other such remnants) negated the possibility of large primary relics on earth. Touch relics could also be created by pilgrims at a shrine. It appears that sometimes pilgrims sanctified objects by bringing them into contact with shrines. This practice has been documented at sites such as Chartres, where pilgrims touched cloth to the relic of the Virgin’s *Sancta Camasia*.³⁶ Pilgrims at other sites may also have touched their pilgrims’ signs to shrines, reliquaries, and miraculous images. In one instance, a fifteenth-century testimony from the context of an ongoing dispute over the rights to manufacture and sell pilgrims’ badges declared that badges sold without the approval of the monastery could not be touched to the image of the Virgin.³⁷ It is possible, though it would have left no visible evidence, that this was a widespread practice. If it were standard to create touch

³⁵Ibid., p. 85-96.

³⁶ Charles Challine, *Recherches sur Chartres* (Chartres, 1918), pp. 178.

³⁷ The text of the testimony is printed in Esther Cohen, “*In Haec Signa: Pilgrim-Badge Trade in Southern France.*” *Journal of Medieval History* 2 (1976)213, n. 29.

relics from lead pilgrims' signs, it would be in keeping with the associations of lead as a material ideal for receiving the imprint of ephemeral presence and would be another way that the badge recorded the pilgrim's encounter with the saint.

From these ideas of sealing and making touch relics, it becomes evident that a badge that was authorized by the custodians of Becket's shrine and that bore an image of the saint's reliquary would not have needed any material value in its own right in order to be a sign of the power and authority of the saint. When these signs were affixed to the body of a pilgrim, much as a seal was affixed to a letter or other document to represent the authority of the person who had sealed it, the pilgrim's sign indicated the saint's authority and protection over the wearer, as well as signifying the wearer's having been present at the site of the saint's relics. Indeed, the comparison with wax seals accents the likelihood that the materiality and process of manufacture were not merely incidental to the signs' meaning, but in fact may have substantiated these meanings through a centuries-old tradition of signification. In this case, the lead would not have been considered a poor substitute for more expensive materials, but rather an ideal material for conveying concepts essential to the pilgrimage experience.

I would not go so far as to suggest that the interpretations discussed here were the sole or even primary motive for the shift at Canterbury from wooden *pyxides* to metal for pilgrims' signs at Canterbury or for the choice to produce tin and lead ampullae and badges at the many shrines throughout Europe. The practical advantages of durability, speed of manufacture, malleability, and low cost were more likely the major reasons for the choice. However, it was characteristic in this period for medieval thinkers to find religious significance throughout the material world. Lead was cheap and easy, but that did not mean it was not subject to spiritual interpretation. The attention given to the lead of the pilgrims' souvenirs by writers such as Herbert of Bosham

demonstrates that the material was given serious attention. Lead was important because of what it is—malleable and associated with seals—and because of what it is not—valuable and scintillating. Lead and its alloys with tin were the materials of choice for the vast majority of ampullae and badges worn by pilgrims from the twelfth century onwards. Regarding the elite few pilgrims who chose to forgo the more humble associations of pilgrim's costume and were able to commission instead badges in silver or gold, it is entirely likely that they too found the materials from which their badges were made to be meaningful. These precious metals would evoke a different set of meanings entirely. To quote Thomas Aquinas, “Objects are corporeal metaphors of things spiritual.”³⁸ This approach to the material world could be applied to both silver and lead equally. However, given the much greater attention that images of sumptuous materials have received in art historical literature in general, the intention here has been to consider the range of meanings available for the material of the ubiquitous pilgrims' objects at inexpensive end of the spectrum.

³⁸ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I qu. I, art. 9c.



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Digital Mappaemundi: Changing the Way We Work with Medieval World Maps

By Asa Simon Mittman, Arizona State University, and Martin Foys, Hood College

Are there any dog-headed *cynocephali* on the Hereford Map? If so (and indeed there are three sets), are they in the same place on the Cotton Map, the Psalter Map, and all others medieval world maps? What texts served as the source for these images? These *mappaemundi*, or maps of the world, pose such questions (and of course we might ask the same questions about cities, about biblical events or holy figures, about geographical features and landmarks) but these highly complex documents can be daunting and difficult to understand. Such challenges inspired the creation of *Digital Mappaemundi: A Resource for the Study of Medieval Maps and Geographic Texts*. This interactive digital resource will allow users to freely link between medieval world maps and the geographical texts on which they were based. Created by Martin Foys, Associate Professor of English at Hood College and Asa Simon Mittman, Senior Lecturer of Art History at Arizona State University, this resource is designed to help students and scholars alike.

Medieval *mappaemundi* (“maps of the world”) present, literally, some of the earliest Western worldviews. Derived from classical and Biblical literature, as well as from local lore, *mappaemundi* reveal significant facets of the European cultures that produced them. These maps are not only geographical but also spiritual and political documents: they showcase how religion informed the worldview of those used them, and also chart medieval societies senses of their

place in the world, as compared to the nearest neighbor or the most distant lands. [The Cotton Map](#) (British Library, Cotton Tiberius B.v, ca. 1050), for example, which is the earliest surviving detailed English world map, and reveals the Anglo-Saxon state's cultural insecurity as a remote corner of the world (graphically rendered by England's own depiction in the map) and the culture's sense of the larger world around it, as derived from local knowledge, and classical and Biblical literature. As such, this document stands as a unique testament to the cultural origins and aspirations of the nascent English state, simultaneously referring back to its past history as a Roman colony, and anticipating its own six century growth and development into a colonial empire. In effect, this thousand-year old map charts the earliest stages of the process by which an arguably insignificant ex-colony, on the margins of the world (as depicted on the map), began to explore and desire to affect the world around it—a process that, ultimately, led to the English settlement of the 'New World' and other territories around the globe.

In contrast to medieval art and literature, such maps remain relatively unknown and under-studied. This neglect is in part because the boundaries of traditional academic disciplines have not accommodated them, and in part because all of these maps are located in European collections, inaccessible to many researchers. To compound the problem of study, these maps' layers of representation encompass manifold academic fields, including geography, art, literature, history, ethnography, mythology, theology and science, as well as flatten considerable chronology onto a single two-dimensional plane. Such "thick" data, to borrow a term from New Media studies, has remained difficult to study, parse and disseminate within the limitations of print media. But cartography is a field of increasing interest in cultural studies and the humanities, with many major publications in recent years and an increase in conference sessions

on the theme. Such maps should be accessible and of use to any scholars interested in the study of medieval culture, regardless of disciplinary affiliation.

Digital Mappaemundi will provide an entirely new mode of interaction with these complex medieval documents, allowing them to be accessed in ways not possible with traditional print sources. In essence, the project will provide a simple, intuitive user interface through which researchers of all levels can examine medieval maps, and the texts on which they were based, not only individually but relationally, thereby examining points of correlation and difference. The software will allow a user to begin with a map, a geographical text, or a search for any keywords to be found in the database, and then will be able to move fluidly between documents, tracing connections and points of difference.

The planned user interface contains a series of frames, as depicted in the mock-up in **Fig. 1**. The **Search** tab (shown selected here) is the basis for much of the functionality of the program. It allows the user to query the database for any terms or keywords that appear in any of the maps or texts, and to choose what types of documents will be included in the results (i.e. texts, maps, secondary supporting materials). The list of results presents small thumbnails icons of the maps (and a generic icon for all the texts), with basic information and links to more detailed information as well as to the documents, themselves, which can be viewed in the frame to the right. Up to four documents can be simultaneously viewed here in frames-within-frames, as the larger frame dynamically splits into two, three, or four sub-frames, as additional documents are opened. The number, size and position of these frames can be adjusted as necessary.

If an image is opened in the right frame, the user has access to a standard set of navigational tools, including pan and zoom, but in addition, the program allows the user to select any inscription or visual detail (e.g. cities, bodies of water, peoples, animals, monsters,

landmarks and depictions of historical events) on the map, and link from this not only to a transcription and translation, but also to the appearance of this feature on any of the other maps and within any of the texts in the database. Such cross-referencing simply cannot happen in

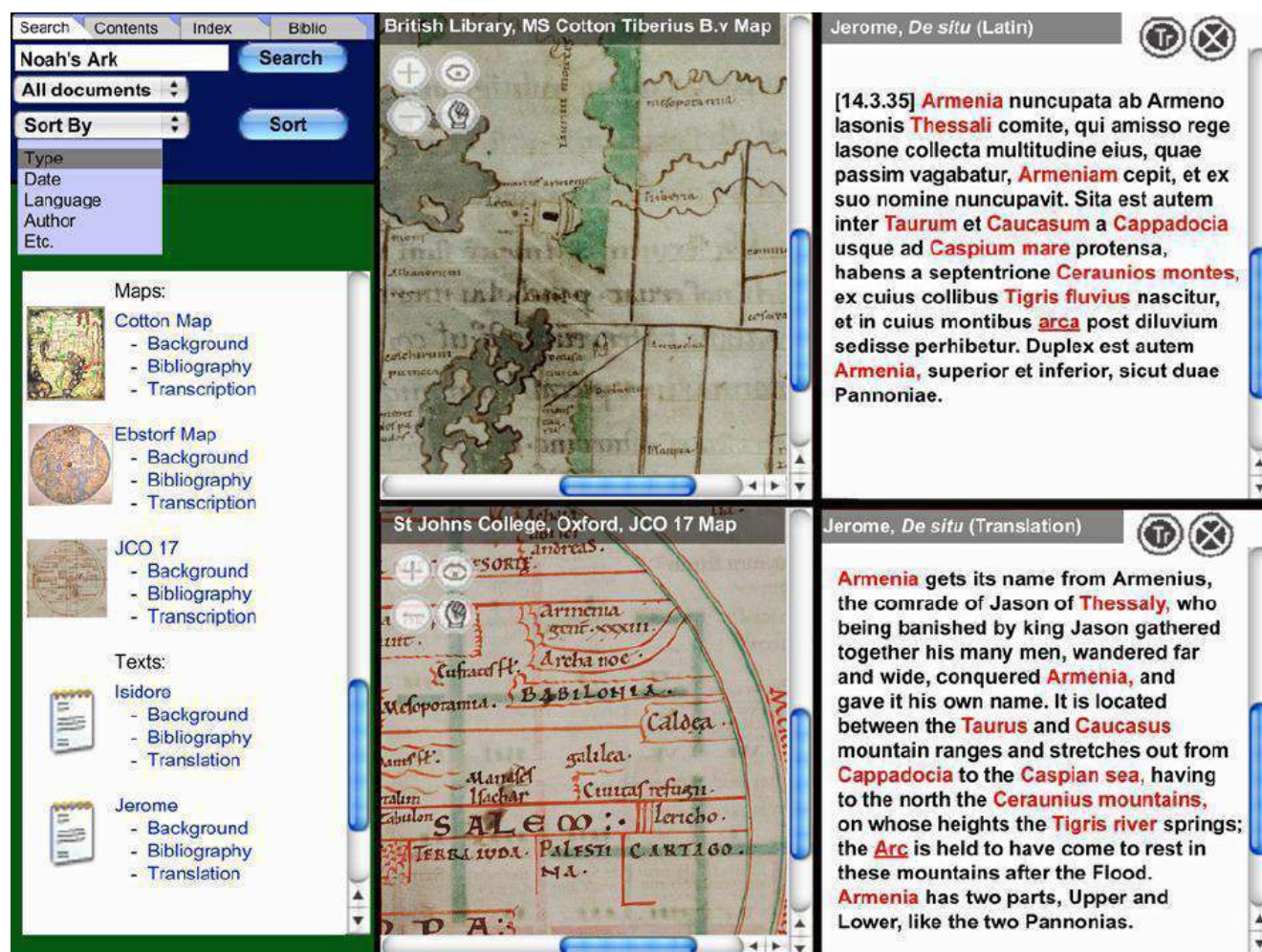


Fig. 1

traditional modes of study for such materials, and provides users the ability to swiftly identify connections and correspondences between these documents, thereby gaining a rich understanding of the role geographical texts played in the construction of medieval *mappaemundi* and also of the manner in which content of the maps relate to one another.

If a text is opened in the right frame, all tagged passages can be highlighted. Clicking on these presents the user with the same set of options. These links within and between documents

allows for a completely fluid association of texts and images which, instead of functioning as static documents, become incorporated within a complex nexus of interactive information. In traditional print sources, associations between works are by necessity linear in nature, which does not accurately represent the process of reading and interpreting images. Instead, in digital form, a researcher can proceed according to the dictates of the maps, themselves.

The functionality of this project is perhaps best illustrated through example. A researcher working on Noah's Ark could enter this in the search tab (as shown, with the option to search all document types, as opposed to searching only maps, texts or secondary materials, selected below) and among the results would be Jerome's *De Situ*, where we reads "Si quidem in montibus Ararat arca post diluvium sedisse perhibetur: et dicuntur ibidem usque hodie eius permanere vestigial." ("The ark is indeed regarded to have settled in the mountains of Ararat after the flood, and its vestiges are said to remain in that very place up to today.") With the linked passages highlighted in red, the user could click "arca" ("ark") and instantly be taken to this text and location on, for example, the Cotton Map, as shown in Fig. 1.

While this screenshot is only a conceptual mockup of the user interface, it nonetheless indicates much of the intended functionality. It shows in the left frame the search results, including Jerome's *De Situ* and the Cotton and JCO 17 Maps. The right portion of the screen is divided into four sub-frames, as if the user has already opened four documents. In the upper left frame, we see a detail of the Cotton Map, zoomed in on "Arca noe" ("Noah's Ark," with an accompanying image). Below this is the same detail on the JCO 17 Map. To the right, above we have Jerome's Latin text, and below this we see a translation into English. Clicking on the inscription or image on either map gives the user the option of viewing this same location on the other maps or in other texts.

Function buttons appear on the texts and images. In the image frames, the buttons bearing plus and minus signs are for zooming in and out. The Eye button puts the program in rollover mode, in which the user can mouse over map details, tagged in XML, so that the content (i.e. inscription, translation, notes) will appear in a pop-up box. This feature toggles with the Hand button, which instead allows the user to grab and drag the image. In the text frames, the “Tr” button allows (through AJAX protocol) each section of a text to be interspersed with its original or modern English form (depending on the current display). The “X” Button highlights all cross-referenced passages tagged in XML (as shown in red, here).

A user might have taken any number of paths through the documents to arrive at this screenshot. For example, a user might have selected all four documents from the search results, but also might have opened only one, and then linked from that to the other three, or from one to the next to the next. The user might begin with an image detail on the Cotton Map, link from this to the Latin Jerome text, then open the translation, and link from that to the JCO 17 Map, or alternately from the English translation of the Jerome to the Latin to the JCO 17 Map to the Cotton Map, and from there on to any number of other maps and texts in the database. The paths are not predetermined, but rather, chosen by the researcher in the process of investigating these inherently trans-disciplinary documents.

The details will be tagged in XML (extensible markup language), a programming language that allows us to associate data with particular points on the images and particular passages in the texts, so that all of the texts and images can be easily linked together. Through this unique interface, which will eventually be hosted on the Internet, we will provide access to previously inaccessible information by transcribing the texts on all of the digitized maps,

translating all materials and writing a series of critical essays, thereby facilitating research on all levels from high school students to professional scholars.

This project is significant in four ways. First, cartography is a field of increasing interest in cultural studies and the humanities, with a number of major publications in recent years and an increase in conference sessions on the theme. Second, this project is a trans-disciplinary exploration of material that is difficult to access through traditional means. Maps are both text and image, simultaneously, and need to be dealt with as such. We are developing a research tool that will facilitate the study of these complex objects by those who would come at the subject of medieval geography from either the study of images or texts. Since geography is a reflection of world view, this tool should be of use to any scholars interested in the study of medieval culture, regardless of disciplinary affiliation. Third, as all of these maps are located in European collections, many of which are inaccessible to any but the most advanced scholars, the interface would greatly expand basic access to these works. Finally, we hope that this progressive use of digital technologies will inspire other projects in the humanities to move beyond the basic model of putting books on-line.

We are now seeking funding to expand a limited prototype into a full version, and to launch it online. As we will need to raise a substantial amount, we are looking as broadly as we can, at both large grants and small donations. With proper funding, the potential of the technology of *DM* could in the future feasibly expand past medieval content, and the nature of the site could be transformed to accommodate historical maps from all periods and regions, to allow users to compare how geographic concepts change in an individual location—say, how Rome’s view of its own location develops from Classical Antiquity through the Middle Ages, into the Early Modern period. *Digital Mappaemundi* hopes to lay a foundation for a future

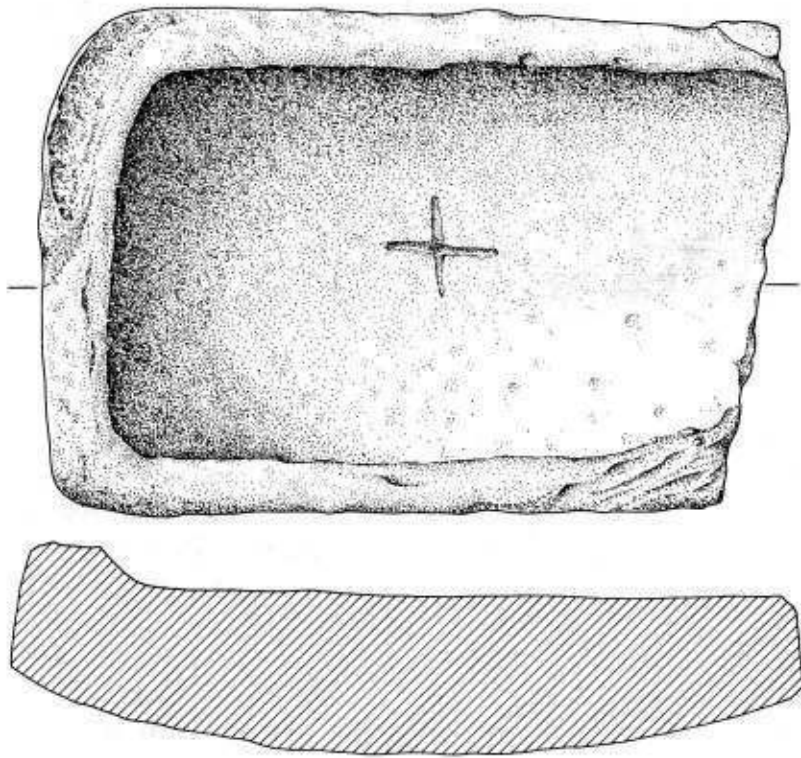
resource that will become a tool not only useful to those interested in the European Middle Ages, but to the growing field of Comparative Humanities, facilitating trans-disciplinary approaches to maps that will drastically alter and improve how historical maps and geographic texts are studied and used.



More Feet Washing

By Mark Hall, Perth Museum and Art Gallery

In the previous issue of *Peregrinations* Mark Hall brought to readers' attentions the probable pilgrim's footbath from Iona Abbey, Iona Island, Scotland and asked if anyone knew of other examples. There have been no further notifications as yet but a second probable example has recently been published following archaeological survey and excavation on the monastic island of Inishmurray, Co. Sligo, Ireland.



It is published as a cross-incised stone basin. It is broken at one end but is otherwise a rectilinear stone basin of very shallow depth, the bowl incised with a cross, the whole measuring 0.93m (L) x 0.63m (W) x 0.2m (Th). The basin stands adjacent to a cross-inscribed pillar and has generally been seen as a water font but a personal comment by Cormac Bourke suggests it could 'have been a ritual foot-washing basin for pilgrims or clerical visitors' (p. 90). The publication drawing is reproduced here by permission of Tomás Ó Carragáin. The full details of the excellent publication volume are: O'Sullivan, J and Ó Carragáin, T 2008 *Inishmurray Monks and Pilgrims in an Atlantic Landscape Volume 1: Archaeological Survey and Excavations 1997-2000*, Cork: Collins Press (www.collinspress.ie/), the entry for the foot bath is at p. 89-90 and fig. 20



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Editor's Introduction

By John Michael Crafton, University of West Georgia

Although Charles Dickens referred to the Bayeux Tapestry as “The work of very feeble amateurs,”¹ if its worth can be gauged by the number of admirers visiting it and the number of scholars writing about it, the Tapestry’s stock value is doing quite well. Since its rediscovery in the early 18th century by Antoine Lancelot and Bernard de Montfaucon, the Tapestry has been, according to Sylvette Lemagnen, Conservator of the Bayeux Tapestry, the subject of “over 600 learned books and articles.” For good reasons, she goes on to suggest: “It is endlessly informative, not only relating the events of the years 1064-1066 which brought Duke William of Normandy to the English throne, but also affording us unparalleled insights into the everyday realities of life in that time.”² These words were written in 2002, and what was true then is even truer now. The rate of scholarly production has actually increased since that time. The Tapestry, furthermore, has in some ways made the city of Bayeux something of a pilgrimage site, as thousands of visitors, of all ages, every year make their way to the museum in Bayeux to see it. In the earliest days visitors may have seen it in the Cathedral, either on some rare occasion in the Treasury or more likely displayed in the nave during the Octave of the Feast of the Relics, but shortly after Napoleon commanded that the Tapestry be displayed for a brief period in Paris, it

¹ Carola Hicks, *The Bayeux Tapestry: The Life Story of a Masterpiece* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2006), iv.

² Sylvette Lemagnen, Preface. *Bayeux Tapestry*. By Lucien Musset. Trans. Richard Rex. New Edition. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 9.

was recognized as a national treasure, and as a result, when it was relocated in 1804 back to its home of Bayeux, it was secured not in the Cathedral but in the Hôtel de Ville where it was stored on a spindle and displayed over a table. In 1842 it was moved to the public library, and there it was displayed behind glass, thus providing a bit more protection from wear and tear. In 1913 it was moved to the Bishop's Palace across from the Cathedral wherein a special display room had been created for it. To protect it from the ravages of war, the Tapestry was moved around a second time during World War II to locations in and around Bayeux, and during this time it was studied and photographed by several of Hitler's officers. After the war it was exhibited again in the Louvre as part of a celebration of the Liberation and of French culture. On March 2, 1945,



Figure 1: *A replica of the Tapestry hanging in Bayeux Cathedral. Published with special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

at the end of its five-week tour in the Louvre, it was taken back to the Bishop's Palace, where it remained until 1982 when it was moved to a special purpose building created for the primary purpose of displaying the Tapestry. This dedicated space is now known as the *Centre Guillaume*

le Conquérant. This facility displays the Tapestry under protective glass at waist high level under the proper light, temperature, and humidity, and provides a very comfortable space for examining the embroidery very closely.

Not only do thousands visit the Tapestry every year, but also they take away and disseminate images of the Tapestry in every kind of souvenir – ties, scarves, buttons, miniature paper versions of the Tapestry, coffee mugs, pillows, and embroidery kits with which one can learn the “Bayeux stitch.” For those who cannot make the trip to Normandy, even more



Figure 2: *A typical Tapestry tie.*

thousands of Tapestry images are distributed through the powers of merchandising. In addition to the ordinary channels of commerce, images from the Tapestry are becoming almost iconic for things medieval, so copies of Tapestry images find their way into movies and festooning the covers of books, magazines, newsletters, and anything else that might need an image that signifies, immediately, the Middle Ages. In the image copied below the library of the University of Auckland uses an image borrowed from the Tapestry to stand for the medieval world.

**A Guide to Medieval History Resources
In
The University of Auckland Library**



Figure 3: *Auckland's guide to medieval resources.*

The last few years have provided quite a rich supply of scholarly treatments of the Tapestry. The University of Caen brought out an excellent collection of recent studies of the Tapestry, from the historical to the scientific and lots of interesting places in between. Titled *Embroidering the Facts of History*, it was edited by Pierre Bouet, Brian Levy, and François Neveux. This is an excellent place for any scholar to begin to get a sense of the wide range of contemporary studies of the Tapestry. In this book, Shirley Ann Brown provides an update to her indispensable book-length bibliography, *The Bayeux Tapestry, History and Bibliography*, which was published in 1988. In the first few years of the twenty-first century, a half-dozen book length studies were published: Andrew Bridgeford's *1066: The Hidden History in the Bayeux Tapestry*; R. Howard Bloch's *A Needle in the Right Hand of God*; Lucien Musset and Richard Rex, *The Bayeux Tapestry*; Carola Hicks, *The Bayeux Tapestry: The Life Story of a Masterpiece*; and coming soon from Boydell Press a new set of essays by some of the best scholars today, edited by Dan Terkla, Martin Foys, and Karen Overby, *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Meanings*. We should also mention that in 2004 David Wilson's widely used photographic reproduction of the Tapestry was reprinted, and in 2003 Scholarly Digital Editions published

Martin Foys' digital edition of the Tapestry, an edition that may change the way most of us view and study the Tapestry from now on.

In this special edition of *Peregrinations*, I provide a sample of some of the representative approaches and the variety of scholarship on this subject. Shirley Ann Brown and Gale Owen-Crocker are two of the best known, most productive, and most influential scholars on the Tapestry writing today; to have an essay from each of them here is a great honor indeed and one that does not go unappreciated by the humble editor. Shirley Ann Brown's essay makes a new and forceful argument for the importance of considering Viking art and identity for a proper reading of the Tapestry and for understanding its origins. Gale Owen-Crocker's essay revisits the question of Roman influence and makes an extremely persuasive argument about three scenes in particular on the Tapestry as informed by imagery on Trajan's Column. Jennifer Brown, Richard Koch, and I are newer to Tapestry scholarship. Professor Brown's essay explores the relationship between the medieval lives of Edward the Confessor, who is featured prominently in the first third of the embroidery, and the Tapestry's design. She even suggests a possible explanation to a problem that has vexed Tapestry scholars for decades: what appears to be a reversed time sequence in the scene that depicts Edward's death and burial or, as it appears in the Tapestry, his burial and then death. Richard Koch's essay makes the case for a more religious reading of the Tapestry, particularly by arguing for the religious meaning of the animals represented throughout the embroidery. My own essay explores the effects of remediating the Tapestry in digital forms, using the term in the new sense as it has been adopted by communication theory. Hypertext and hypermedia are two very interesting new developments in digital media, and reading the Tapestry in light of these very recent creations offer us new ways

of reading the work as well as perhaps an insight into how or why it was created. We hope that the readers of *Peregrinations* will find these essays useful and find from one of them the end of a golden string that when wound into a ball might not, as William Blake, “lead you in at Heaven’s gate,” but rather might lead you to a gate nonetheless, a gate that opens to one of most transformative periods of European medieval history. The Tapestry is a gateway to the Anglo-Norman world, perhaps its first writing, perhaps its first cultural production.



NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS

Jennifer N. Brown is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Hartford in West Hartford, Connecticut. Her work centers on devotional literature for, about, and by women in the late Middle Ages. In 2008 her book "Three Women of Liège: A Critical Edition of and Commentary on the Middle English Lives of Elizabeth of Spalbeek, Christina Mirabilis, and Marie d'Oignies" was published by Brepols Press in their series "Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts." She has a forthcoming article on the lives of Edward the Confessor in *Medieval Translator* Volume XIII. She is an officer of both the Society for Medieval Feminist Scholarship and the Medieval Club of New York.

Shirley Ann Brown is Professor of Art History at York University, Toronto. Her publications include *The Bayeux Tapestry: History & Bibliography* (1988) and *Christ in Celtic Christianity* (with M.W. Herren, 2002), along with many articles on various aspects of the Bayeux Tapestry. She is currently preparing the updated 2nd edition of the *History & Bibliography* for a 2010 publication date, and is editing the French and German documentation of the Tapestry during WWII. During Winter term 2007, she was Visiting Professor of Medieval Studies at the University of California at Berkeley, directing an upper-level seminar "The Bayeux Tapestry: Then & Now". Engaging a second field of academic research, she is also the founding Director of the Registry of Stained Glass Windows in Canada. Her personal professional website is www.yorku.ca/sabrown

John Micheal Crafton is Professor of English at the University of West Georgia in Carrollton, Georgia, where he has taught Chaucer, medieval literature, and the history of the English language for over twenty years. He has published on medieval literature, principally Chaucer and fourteenth-century English culture, in a variety of journals, and most recently as a byproduct of his work on the Bayeux Tapestry, he has published with Mellen Press *The Political Artistry of the Bayeux Tapestry: A Visual Epic of Norman Imperial Ambitions*.

Gale R. Owen-Crocker is Professor of Anglo-Saxon Culture at The University of Manchester, UK. She is Director of a 5-year AHRC-funded Project "The lexis of cloth and clothing in Britain c. 700-1450: origins, identification, contexts and change," Co-Director of the Manchester Medieval Textiles Project, Co-founder and -editor of the annual journal *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, and Deputy Director of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies. Her recent books include *The Four Funerals in Beowulf* (2000), *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England: revised*

and enlarged edition (2004), *King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry* (edited, 2005) and *Medieval Textiles of the British Isles AD 450-1100: An Annotated Bibliography* (with Elizabeth Coatsworth, 2007). She has published numerous articles on The Bayeux Tapestry and is working on a monograph *The Design of the Bayeux Tapestry*.

Richard Koch is Assistant Professor of Humanities at Hillyer College in the University of Hartford. He teaches primarily history and focuses on both medieval and nineteenth-century American history.



The Bayeux Tapestry and the Vikings¹

By Shirley Ann Brown, York University, Toronto

In 1958, Hollywood produced *The Vikings*, a blockbuster featuring first-rank stars like Kirk Douglas, Tony Curtis, Janet Leigh, and Ernest Borgnine. The director, Richard Fleischer, wanted the utmost authenticity, so he filmed the action in the fjords of Norway. One of the intriguing aspects of the film's visuals was the rolling credits at the beginning and end of the movie for which the Bayeux Tapestry served as the basis.



Figure 1: *Opening credits from The Vikings, Metro Goldwyn Mayer, 1958.*

¹ This article is an expansion of a paper originally read in French for the colloquium “La Tapisserie de Bayeux: une chronique des temps vikings?” held 29-30 March 2007 in Bayeux, organized by Sylvette Lemagnen, Conservateur of the Bayeux Tapestry. I would like to thank Eric Eydoux and Jean-Marie Levesque, Conservateur of the Musée de Normandie, for drawing my attention to the 1996 exhibition *Dragons et drakkars, le mythe viking de la Scandinavie à la Normandie* and its excellent accompanying publication. I should also like to draw attention to the conference: “The Bayeux Tapestry: An Embroidered Chronicle from Viking Times” held at the National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark in February 2006.

Images closely adapted from the Embroidery prepare the audience for the story to come: Viking ships on their way to attack England, where the king sits enthroned, and the clergy pray for protection from the savagery of the Northmen.



Figure 1A

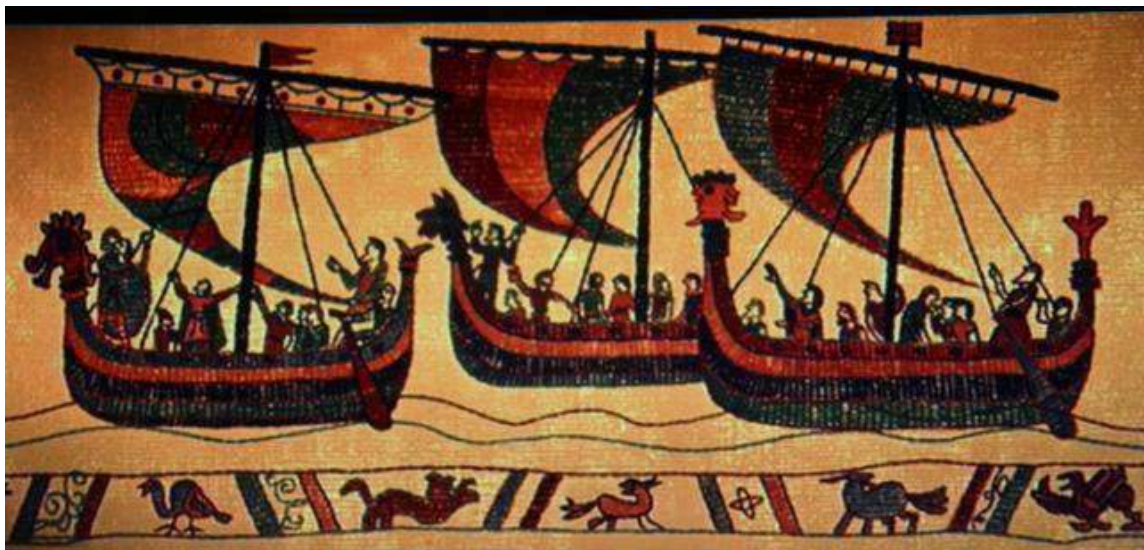


Figure 1B



Figure 2: Ships on the way to England. Second image is a detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century and reproduced by special permission of the City of Bayeux from the Bayeux Tapestry.



Figure 2A



Figure 3: Enthroned King. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.



Figure 3A



Figure 4: *Clergy praying. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

In the final credits, there are many more borrowings from the Tapestry. It is interesting that none of the credit images are based on the actual battle sequences in the Embroidery and that there is no reference to the Bayeux Tapestry as the source of the imagery. In the movie itself, there is a wall hanging in the Viking leader's hall, suspended behind the feasting table. This hanging, while not borrowing images from the Bayeux embroidery, is about the same proportions and format – a long and narrow strip with a central frieze and upper and lower borders.

How did the Bayeux Tapestry, with its images of Normans and Englishmen, come to be so strongly equated with the legendary Vikings in the popular imagination? And in the United States, where familiarity with medieval European history and art is not one of

the major concerns of the school curriculum? Perhaps the designer of the movie's credits had visited Bayeux in the 1950s and, having seen the Tapestry when it was exhibited in its former home in the Bishop's Palace, decided it would serve his purpose. Perhaps he was familiar with a book on the Bayeux Tapestry, something like the comprehensive study edited by Sir Frank Stenton which first appeared in 1956. We will never know if he was aware of the long and convoluted history which links Scandinavia, the Vikings, and the Bayeux Tapestry.

The question of the relationship between Scandinavia, the Vikings, the Norman Conquest of England, and the Bayeux Tapestry, has been discussed from the viewpoint of archaeology and art. It is equally necessary to investigate it from the standpoint of national attitudes and interests, for it is possible to interpret the Bayeux Tapestry, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Vikings as nineteenth-century century creations. The ways we look at these phenomena and the questions we ask of them were formulated during the post-Napoleonic period when national identity was a major concern, and many European countries were reconstructing their own early histories.

* * *

The Bayeux Tapestry depicts certain carefully chosen events from the years 1064 to 1066. In the embroidery images, and in modern English-language history books, the Battle of Hastings and the ensuing "Norman" Conquest of England are most often described as a bloody encounter between the Normans and their allies on the one side and the Anglo-Saxons on the other, with the prize being the crown of Anglo-Saxon England.

Harold Godwinson (also spelled Godwinesson) is described as the “Last Anglo-Saxon King,”² and the Conquest as “The Death of Anglo-Saxon England.”³

The term *Anglo-Saxon* was coined to refer to the Germanic Saxons in Britain before the Norman Conquest in distinction from the continental Saxons.⁴ The implication subsequently developed is that it was a purely Germanic kingdom and people that William of Normandy overcame, a kingdom established during the reign of Cerdic, king of sixth-century Wessex. This notion had been incubating since the Reformation and developed into full form during the nineteenth-century rewriting of English history. It reflects the then current cultural and political antagonisms between post-revolutionary France and England, and the leanings of the Hanoverian monarchy to emphasize the Germanic aspect of English history. It was then that the term *Anglo-Saxon* came to predominate. The term was not entirely unknown in the early Middle Ages, for King Alfred the Great, is reputed to have been the first monarch to style himself “*rex Anglorum Saxonum*” or “*rex Angul-Saxonum*.”⁵ But generally, the inhabitants of Great Britain referred to themselves as either “*Saxones*” or “*Angli*.” The Bayeux Tapestry inscriptions refer to Harold as “*Dux Anglorum*” and “*Rex Anglorum*”,

² Edward Bulwer Lytton, *Harold the Last of the Saxon Kings* (1848), and more recently, Ian Walker, *Harold: The Last Anglo-Saxon King* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997).

³ N. J. Higham, *The Death of Anglo-Saxon England* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997).

⁴ The term *Angli Saxones* seems to have first been used in continental writing in the latter part of the 8th century by Paul the Deacon, historian of the Lombards, to distinguish the English Saxons from the continental Saxons. The first printed edition, in 1692, of the group of annals narrating the early history of Great Britain was called *Chronicum saxonum*.

⁵ This title is attested in Asser’s *Life of Alfred*. See *Alfred the Great: Asser’s Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, eds. and trans. Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge (London: Penguin, 1983).

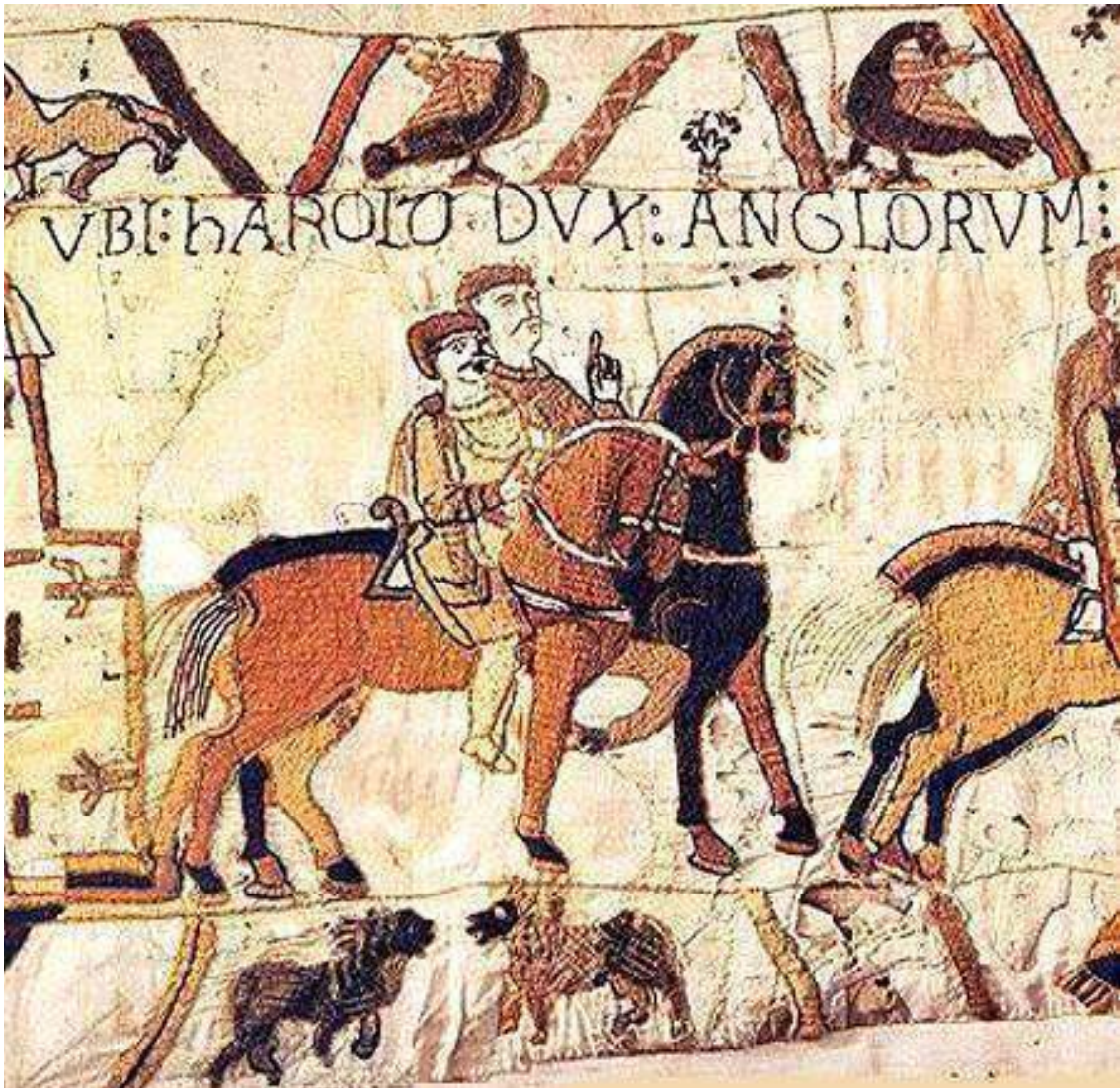


Figure 5: Harold labeled as Dux Anglorum. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.



Figure 6: Harold labeled as Rex Anglorum. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

furnishing a term which better translates into “English” rather than “Anglo-Saxon” and undoubtedly was meant to refer to the people over whom Harold ruled, whatever their cultural background.

The eleventh-century reality was very different from the Victorian construct. As Ian Howard recently pointed out, William of Normandy subjugated an Anglo-Danish

England, not a purely Anglo-Saxon kingdom.⁶ Since the incursions of the Vikings along the English coasts at the end of the eighth century, followed by the settlement of Danish raiders after 867, and the establishment of the Danelaw in 879 in the peace treaty between King Alfred and Guthrum, the Danish leader, the Danes had been a recognized entity in Great Britain. Danish ambition to the English throne materialized when Swein Forkbeard, King of Denmark and Norway, successfully invaded England and was recognized as King on Christmas Day, 1013. Under his son Cnut, the Anglo-Danish kingdom expanded and soon encompassed England, Denmark, Norway, and part of modern Sweden. England remained under Danish kings for almost thirty years – Cnut, Harold Harefoot, and Harthacnute – during which time the focus of the island turned to the north and east rather than to the continent across the Channel.

It was during Cnut's reign that Earl Godwin rose to power, serving with the king in Danish campaigns. By 1023 he had become the wealthiest and most powerful of the earls. About that time, he married the Danish heiress Gytha, a close relative through marriage to Cnut and herself descended from the Danish and Swedish royal families.

⁶ Ian Howard, "Harold II: A Throne-Worthy King," *King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 35.

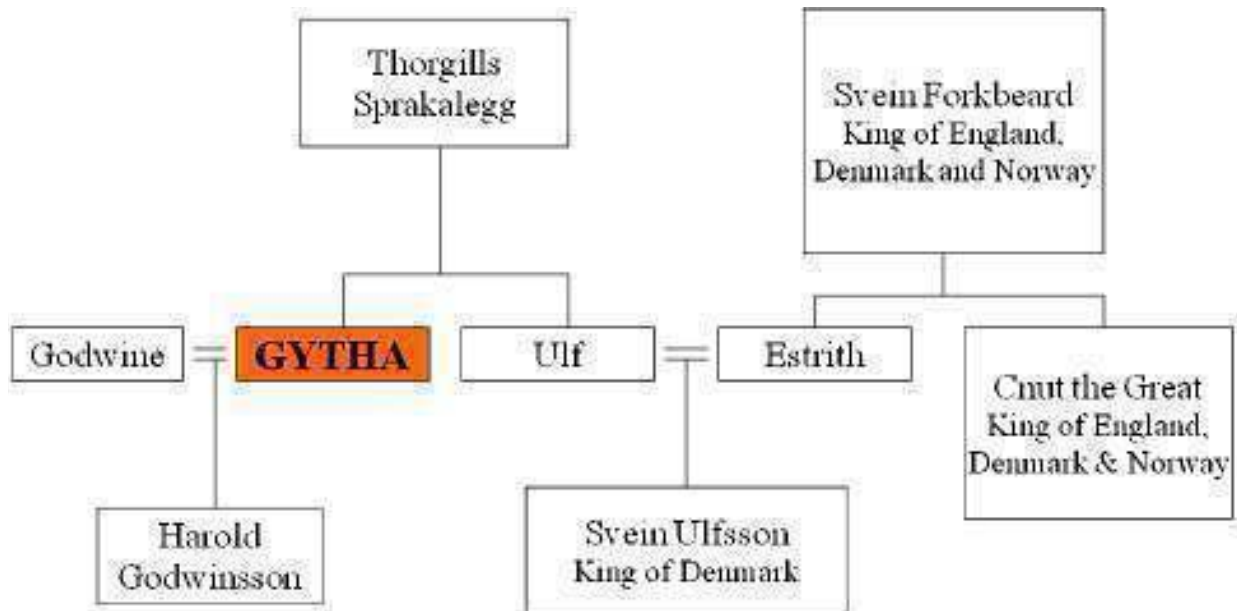


Figure 7: *Genealogy table.*

Godwin's marriage to Gytha produced a large family, and the names of their children reflected this multi-cultural context: three of their sons were given Scandinavian names: Sweyn, Tostig, Harold; two daughters were called Gytha and Gunhild. Gytha took the anglicized form Ealdgyth (Edith) when she married King Edward in 1042. The other four children were given English names: Gyrth, Leofwine, Wulfnoth, and Aelfgifu. Marriages had made Harold Godwinson a first cousin of Swein Ulfsson, King of Denmark, who was himself one of the contenders for the English throne upon the death of King Edward. After Hastings, three of Harold's children, Harold, Gytha, and Magnus, all bearing Danish names, took refuge with Swein Ulfsson in Denmark.

It is generally written that Harold Godwinson had no dynastic claim to the English throne other than the dubious distinction of being Edward's brother-in-law. This conclusion perhaps reflects the Victorian view of the purely Germanic/Saxon nature of pre-Conquest England, following from the concept that Edward's reign had heralded a return to the line of Cerdic. The claims on the English succession made by Swein

Ulfsson of Denmark, (1019-76) and Harald Hardrada of Norway (1015-66) establish that the Scandinavian claims were not dead in 1066. Harold Godwinson (1022-66), through his mother's lineage, had a claim on the throne through the Danish line, stretching back to Swein Forkbeard and Cnut. That, along with the fact that he had become the most powerful man in England, probably led the Witan to support his candidacy.

Swein, King of Denmark, was not in a position to press his claim to the English throne at the time of Edward's death. Harald Hardrada of Norway had no dynastic claim but instead based his campaign on a supposed agreement between his nephew, King Magnus of Norway, and King Harthacanute of England whereby if either died without heir, the other would inherit both England and Norway. This would have been made during Harthnacnut's short reign between 1040 and 1042. Harald Hardrada's claim is suspiciously similar in nature to that made by William of Normandy's propagandists who claimed that Edward had promised William the throne many years earlier, should he die childless. Spurred on by Harold Godwinson's malcontent brother Tostig, it would be Harald Hardrada who would make the first move after Edward's death. He landed his forces in the north of England, and, although initially victorious at the Battle of Fulford on September 20, he would lose against Harold Godwinson five days later at Stamford Bridge. But the fighting in the North would deplete the energy of Harold's men and would, in the end, contribute to his defeat at Hastings.

Scandinavian aspirations for the English throne did not end at Stamford Bridge. Swein Ulfsson mounted assaults on England in 1069-70. Although not successful, they fomented antagonism against the Norman overlords in the North. His son, Cnut the Holy, mounted another invasion in 1085, once again unsuccessful. Scandinavian activity

demanding King William's attention throughout his reign, and was a constant reminder that it was an Anglo-Danish England that the Normans had conquered, not a purely Saxon one. Among the observers of the Tapestry would be Anglo-Danes, English, Normans, and Anglo-Normans. William had to deal with trouble from all of them. The Bayeux Tapestry would serve as a warning to anybody who would interfere with his claim to be King of England – Danes included.

The Bayeux Tapestry's narrative presents the invasion of England as a personal conflict between William and Harold. It was meant to reinforce the theme that William had prevailed in battle because of the justness of his cause, and because it was God's will. It strengthens the Norman claim by not recognizing any other contenders for the throne. Hardrada's attempted invasion of Yorkshire is apparently ignored in the Bayeux Tapestry. But there is probably a reference to the activity in the North and the delay between the landing at Pevensey and the Battle at Hastings. This time-span is included in the Embroidery's narrative imagery with the foraging for provisions, the feast, the fortification construction at Hastings, and the activity of scouts and spies. This indicates that Harold and the English forces were elsewhere. It might also be that if the mysterious Aelfgyva is meant to refer to Aelfgyva of Northampton that this would be a recognizable statement that the Danish claims to the throne were illegitimate.

There is a project currently underway in Fulford to draw attention to the fighting which took place there. A team of local people is creating a five-meter long embroidery to commemorate the Battle.

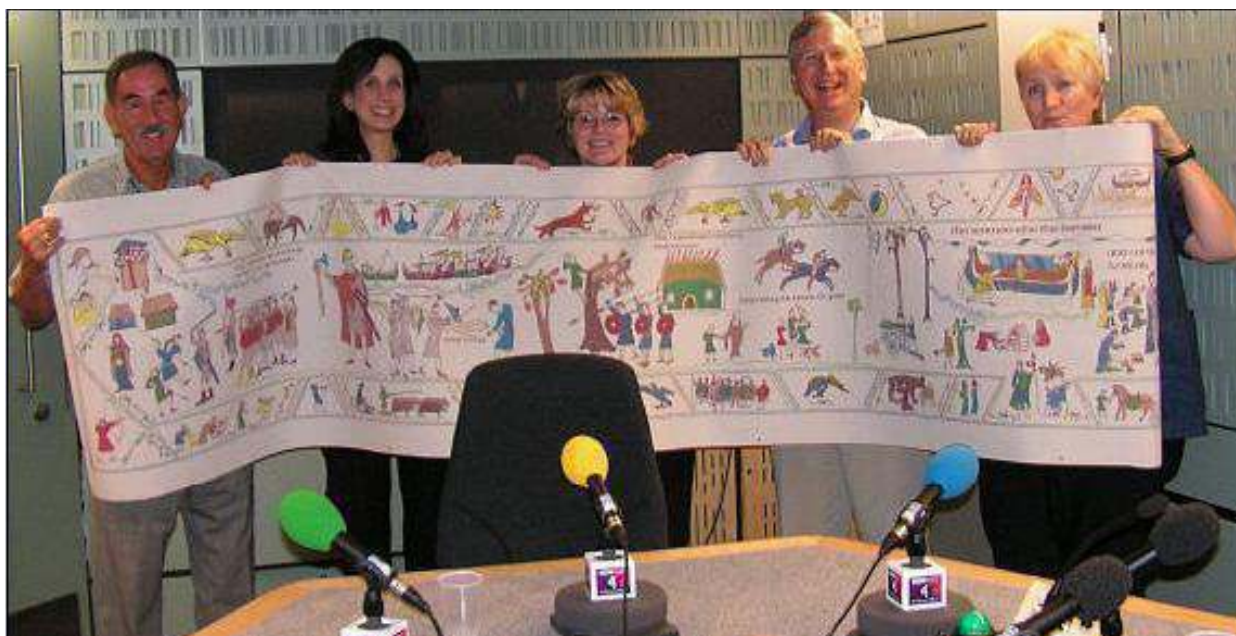


Figure 8: *The Fulford Tapestry team. Permission to print this image granted by Charles Jones, director of the Fulford project.*

It is designed in the style of the Bayeux Tapestry in order to link the Battle of Fulford with that at Hastings. It is a reminder that if the English had not been defeated at Fulford, requiring Harold to move his troops north, the outcome of the Battle at Hastings might have been very different.

The Fulford embroidery starts with the Norse landing at Scarborough,



Figure 9: Norse landing at Scarborough. Permission to print this image granted by Charles Jones, director of the Fulford project.

progresses through the fighting,



Figure 10: Fighting at Fulford. Permission to print this image granted by Charles Jones, director of the Fulford project.

and ends with Harald Hardrada entering York.



Figure 11: Harald Hardrada entering York. Permission to print this image granted by Charles Jones, director of the Fulford project.

It is a tribute to the Vikings and the role they played in determining who would be King of England, expressed with a reference to the Bayeux Tapestry!⁷

* * *

The Bayeux Tapestry's images are studied for the information they provide about material culture. Given the complex nature of eleventh-century English society, it would not have been possible for the designers of the Tapestry's images to ignore Scandinavian elements embedded in the material and visual culture of the time.⁸ But the Nordic factor

⁷ The project is also part of a campaign to preserve the site of the Battle of Fulford from being developed for housing – there is a plan to route an access road across the site. Charles Jones, *The Yorkshire Preface to the Bayeux Tapestry* (London: WritersPrintshop, 2005); for images of all the scenes, see http://www.battleoffulford.org.uk/bayeux_project.htm.

⁸ For a recent discussion of this issue, see John Micheal Crafton, *The Political Artistry of the Bayeux Tapestry* (Lewiston: Mellen, 2007), 81-92.

in English and Norman culture was not recognized until well after the Tapestry's rediscovery in the 1730s.

During the 18th century in the Scandinavian countries, interest was growing in the Nordic past and there were several translations of Old Norse literature. But the knowledge of Nordic mythology and history was scanty. In 1799, the University of Copenhagen undertook a campaign to replace Greek mythology with Nordic mythology in literature studies. In the 19th century, when the boundaries of the Scandinavian countries were constantly changing, patriotic societies were founded to promote research into the sagas and traditional history, national origins, and the vernacular. One such organization was the Gothic League (Götiska Förbundet) formed in Stockholm in 1811 by a group of young people who wished to provoke a nationalist movement in a country traumatized by the loss of Finland. Likewise, in Norway, which separated from Denmark but was united with Sweden in 1814, romantic nationalism in the 1830s and 40s sought to rediscover national roots. During this period, students and poets created the concept of an inclusive Scandinavian culture based on a common past. There was a nostalgia for the golden age of Scandinavian unity, a time when the Northmen were the most powerful force in Europe.⁹ **The Viking myth was born.** The term "Viking" became the preferred descriptor for these newly recreated heroes.¹⁰ The search for the recovery of Viking culture turned the attention of Scandinavian scholars to the study of the Bayeux Tapestry.

⁹ Eric Eydoux, "Les littératures du Nord et le temps du paganisme," in *Dragons et Drakkers* (Caen : Musée de Normandie, 1996), 29-36 ; also Carin Orrling, "The Old Norse Dream," in *Vikings, the North Atlantic Saga*, eds. W. Fitzhugh and E. Ward (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2000), 354-364.

¹⁰ Lucien Musset, "Vikings et drakkars: des questions de mots ," in *Dragons et Drakkers*, 11-14, suggests that the term "viking" corresponds to the Old English *wicing*, used since the 6th century to designate pirates, and also to the word *vikingr*, attested in the Nordic world, to describe participants in maritime expeditions.

Hector Estrup, a Danish historian¹¹ who visited France in 1819-20, was one of these men. His journal was translated into French and published, ninety years later, in 1911 by his grandson, as a tribute for the Millénaire de Normandie, the celebrations of the founding of Normandy a thousand years earlier. It was described as a memoir of one of the first of the Danish scholars to have travelled through Normandy with the purpose of looking for the origins of his heritage.¹² Estrup described Bayeux as “the Danish town par excellence in Normandy.” When he visited the Bayeux Tapestry, Estrup was struck by features he associated with the Nordic heritage. His list included: i) William of Normandy’s garb, which is identical to that worn by Rollo on his sarcophagus;



Figure 12: Rollo’s sarcophagus. The image is provided by Wikimedia Commons.

¹¹Hector Frederik Jansen Estrup (1794-1846) was associated with the Academy of Sorø between 1822 and 1837.

¹² Estrup, 1911, 38-39; The complete publication is available online at <http://www.normannia.info/pdf/estrup1911.pdf>

- ii) the English wore mustaches while the Normans did not;
- iii) the northern drinking horns;



Figure 13: English drinking from horns. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century
by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

iv) the knights' shields ornamented with painted figures, especially dragons and crosses;



Figure 14: Knights with shields. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

v) the ships carrying shields on the gunwales, the ships being of a form which recalls the long boats with which the inhabitants of Blankenese¹³ brave the fury of the waves;



¹³ Blankenese was a fishing village on the Elbe, near Hamburg; it is now part of greater Hamburg.



Figure 15: *Ships & shields. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

vi) William's daughter wears a cloak similar to those worn by old women in Caen; and
(he noted that)

vii) there was no trace of Taillefer's juggling with the sword as described by Gaimar.

The Millénaire de Normandie took place in June 1911 and was a celebration of the culture and history of the duchy founded by Rollo a thousand years earlier through a treaty with Charles the Simple.¹⁴ Centered in a series of public spectacles, parades, concerts, and other events held in Rouen, it was meant to help create a Norman identity which would acknowledge the special nature of the province, differentiating it from the rest of France. One of the ways in which this could be achieved was to emphasize its Viking roots. This movement had actually begun somewhat earlier. In 1884, the Society for the History of Normandy published *le Dragon normand*, a twelfth-century epic attributed to Etienne de Rouen (died c.1169), a monk at Bec-Hellouin, which affirms the Nordic origins of Normandy and describes the followers of the Conqueror at Hastings as

¹⁴ V. Jean-Pierre Chaline, "Rouen 1911: le Millénaire de la Normandie," in *Dragons et Drakkars*, 71-78.

Danes.¹⁵ In this, the poem follows the precedent set by Dudo of St-Quentin (c.965-c.1043) who traced Norman origins back to the Dane, Rollo, in his *Historia Normannorum*.

For the Millénaire, there was an emphasis on the encompassing sentiment of “normandité,” Normanness. Interest in the thousand-year anniversary was expressed from countries far and wide which could claim a Norman imprint. There were participants not only from the Scandinavian countries, but also from North America, and many gifts were offered to the city of Rouen and the Norman people by these groups.¹⁶ All this contributed to the notion of a vast “Norman” community united by the memory of their common ancestor, Rollo, the legendary founder of the Norman dynasty. The statue of Rollo, sculpted by Letellier in 1869 for the city of Rouen, was particularly honored. The transmission of the story of Rollo led to the question – was he Danish or Norwegian? The Norwegian city of Aalesund, the legendary birthplace of Rollo, was given a copy of the statue by the city of Rouen. Fargo, North Dakota, with a population of Norwegian immigrants who had expressed interest in the celebrations, received the same gift.

¹⁵ *Le Dragon normand et autres pièces d'Etienne de Rouen, présentés par Henri Omont* (Rouen : Société de l'Histoire de Normandie, 1884). The poem was published in England shortly thereafter – Richard Howlitt, ed., *Draco Normannicus in Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I* (London, 1885), 2: 646-647.

¹⁶ Jean-Marie Levesque, “Les cadeaux des pays scandinaves à la Ville de Rouen, à l’occasion du Millénaire de la Normandie, 1911,” in *Dragons et Drakkars*, 79-82.



Figure 16: *Rollo of Fargo.*

Two extravagant books were published soon after the celebrations : *Le Livre du Millénaire de la Normandie* and *Le Millénaire normand, souvenirs, études*. These were collections of scholarly articles discussing the art, literature, and history of Normandy from its inception until the beginning of the 20th century. In all of this, the Bayeux

Tapestry, which had been exhibited in the public library in Bayeux since 1842,¹⁷ seems to have played a surprisingly small role. Only the publication of Estrup's journal drew attention to the Scandinavian elements in the Tapestry's images. When a piece of narrative embroidery was found in the storage building of the church at Ofverhogdals, in Norway, in 1912, there was only a very summary note establishing a parallel with the Bayeux Tapestry.¹⁸ *Le Livre du Millénaire de la Normandie* included the paper read by Emile Travers at Bayeux in 1906, in which he suggested that the Bayeux Tapestry had been created in England, for Odo of Bayeux, between 1088 and 1092.¹⁹ The city of Rouen published the proceedings of a learned conference associated with the anniversary and included the opposing opinion that Eugene Anquetil had published in 1907 whereby he argued that the Tapestry had been created in Bayeux, for Bishop Odo, for exhibition at the dedication of his cathedral in 1077.²⁰ The Norman scholars failed to see the Embroidery as a visual affirmation of their Scandinavian roots.

In nineteenth-century literature, Vikings were often associated with ships. But nothing was known about the actual appearance of early Nordic vessels, and some of the illustrations were extremely fanciful. One good example is the engraving for the 1825 edition of *Frithiof's Saga*, a heroic poem composed by the Swedish author Esaias Tegnér, in which the Viking's boat was transformed into a fabulous dragon, probably following the description in the sagas.

¹⁷ Shirley Ann Brown, *The Bayeux Tapestry. History and Bibliography* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988), 15.

¹⁸ Thn E., "Ofverhogdals-Tapeten," *Konst* (1 March 1912): 74-75.

¹⁹ Travers Emile, "La tapisserie de Bayeux," *Livre du Millénaire de la Normandie*, (Rouen and Paris: G. Ficker, 1911), 1:153-156.

²⁰ Eugène Anquetil, "Antiquité de la Tapisserie de Bayeux," *Congrès du Millénaire de la Normandie tenu à Rouen* (Rouen, 1912), 405-409.

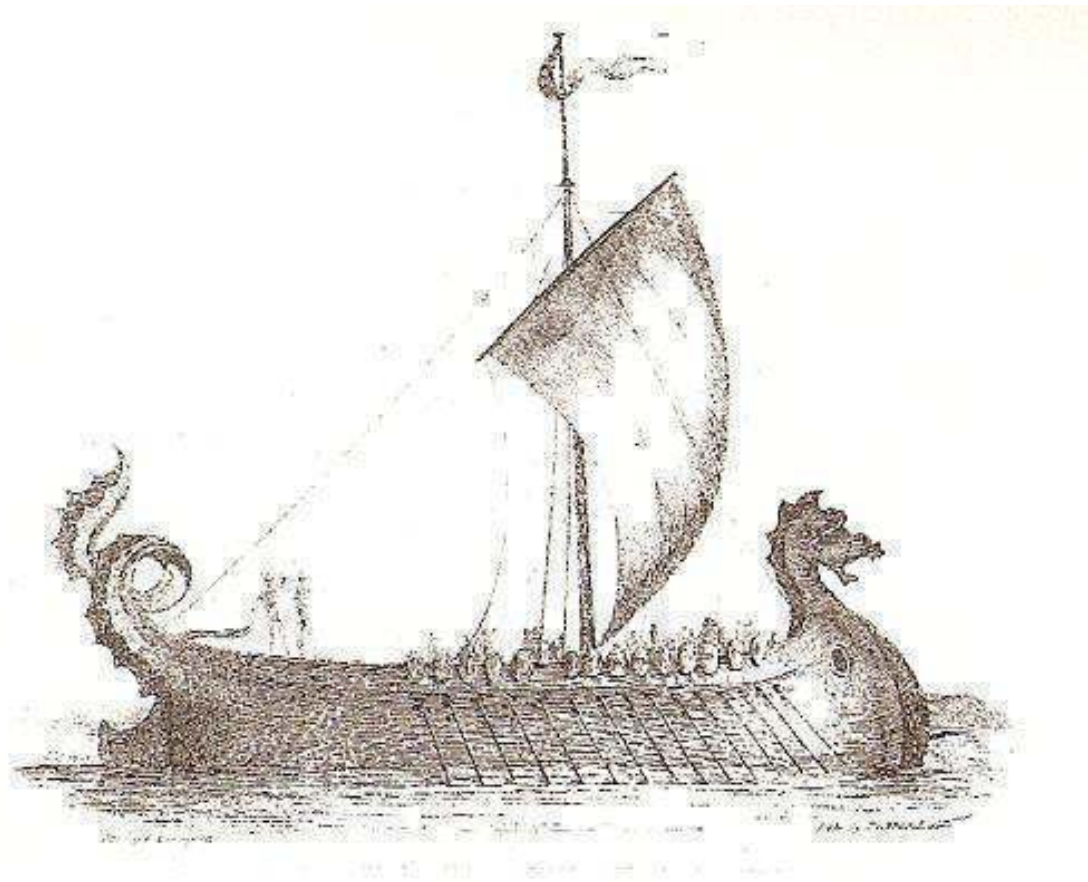


Figure 17: *Illustration of Ship from Tegnér's Frithiof's Saga, 1825.*

The discovery and excavation of the Norse ship at Gokstad in 1880, drew attention to the true appearance of Viking vessels. The similarity with the Bayeux Tapestry's ships was duly noted and people began to see links between Nordic, Norman, and English ships. For the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893, a full-size replica of the Gokstad boat was built in Norway.



Figure 18: *Ship at World's Fair.* The image is provided by Wikimedia Commons.

It was sailed from Bergen, across the Atlantic to Newfoundland, then on to Cape Cod and New York, along the Erie Canal to the Great Lakes and on to Chicago.²¹ This was to affirm that Leif Erikson, the Viking, was the true discoverer of North America, some five hundred years before Christopher Columbus. Perhaps the images of the ships in the Tapestry were used to reconstruct the rather fanciful dragon with protruding tongue on the prow, since the Gokstad ship did not have an animal-headed prow. The arrangement of the shields along the gunwale is similar to that seen in the Tapestry (see **Figure 15**). From then on, the ships in the Embroidery were recognized as being the true “Viking” type.

²¹ Elisabeth Ward, “Reflections on an Icon: Vikings in American Culture,” in *Vikings. The North Atlantic Saga*, 365-373. Today, the *Viking* is exhibited in Good Templar Park, Geneva, Illinois, a Chicago suburb.

It was with the Gokstad discovery that Danish interest in the Bayeux Tapestry flourished. In 1885, a full-sized, colored, photographic reproduction of the Embroidery was exhibited in the Museum of National History in Frederiksborg Castle, near Copenhagen, where it still resides today.²² Johannes Steenstrup (1834-1935), professor of history at the University of Copenhagen and author of the guidebook, was an advocate of the theory that Rollo, the legendary founder of the Norman dynasty, was a Dane.²³ Thus, the Bayeux Tapestry could be claimed as an integral product of the greater Danish heritage. In the revised guidebook of 1925 by Johannes Brøndsted, there are references to the similarity between the Tapestry ships and excavated Viking boats; the Norman fighters are expressly equated with the Norse Vikings.²⁴

In 1933, Phyllis Ackerman, an American art historian, wrote about the Bayeux Tapestry as a reflection of Nordic culture, basing her argument primarily on literary sources.²⁵ She described the Tapestry as the greatest remaining monument of the art of the Norsemen, claiming that the eleventh-century Normans were still essentially Norse. She saw the true theme of the Bayeux Embroidery to be the sanctity of the oath, the central motive of the Norse code of honor. When Harold accompanies William on the Brittany Campaign, he fulfills the Norse expectation that a guest was expected to fight like one of his host's own retainers. The banquet preceding a great battle is a commonplace in Norse literature. She sees Vital as a herald who, according to Norse

²² This reproduction must be an exemplar of the first photographic facsimile of the Tapestry made by E. Dossetter in 1871-1872.

²³ Johannes C. H. R. Steenstrup, *Bayeux-Tapetet*, (Copenhagen, 1885), 32; translated into German and republished in 1905; see 34.

²⁴ Johannes Brøndsted, "Bayeux-Tapetet," *Frem* 51 (1925): 820-833, at 826, detail 40.

custom, communicates between the two enemies, giving formal announcement of the impending contest, challenge, and reply. When William sends messengers to Ponthieu to rescue Harold there are two cocks in the border, one golden and one dark red.



Figure 19: Section of Bayeux Tapestry with cocks in upper border. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

To the Norsemen cocks were the herald of doom for a cock with a golden crest and a deep red cock from the netherworld would crow to announce the end of the world. Thus we have a Nordic presaging of the end of Harold's world. Ackerman alluded to the Scandinavian belief that each man has his guardian, his *fylgja*, in the form of an animal representative of his character. She established a tie between Edward and the lion,

²⁵ Phyllis Ackerman, "The Norsemen and their Descendents," in *Tapestry: The Mirror of Civilization*

Harold and the hawk, William and the leopard, Turolde with the goose, and Guy de Ponthieu with the levrier (French racing dog), but she did not indicate exactly how this was carried out in the Tapestry. Ackerman described Harold's standard as a dragon "made to inflate with the wind as if the real beast itself were keeping watch."



Figure 20: *Harold with dragon standard. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

(1933; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 39-53, 348-351.

This she relates to the banner Sigurd's mother made for him when he went to war, as described in the *Volsungasaga*: "It was in the shape of a raven, and when the wind blew on it, it seemed as if it spread its wings." The dragon and the raven were attributes of Odin, god of War.

In a similar vein, Lucien Musset in 1951 remarked upon the similarity in shape between William's quarter-circle flag and the metal standard or weathervane in the Ringerike style, from Norway.²⁶



Figure 21: "Weathervane" battle-standard. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

²⁶ Lucien Musset, "Récentes contributions scandinaves à l'exégèse de la Tapisserie de Bayeux," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie* 51 (1948-51): 275-279.

E. M. C. Barraclough noticed the bird design on the standard and equated this with the “Raven Flag of the Vikings which had been retained by their descendants, the Normans.”²⁷

The belief that the mid-eleventh century Normans should still be considered Vikings, or at least Northmen, reached its epitome during the Nazi period in Germany, with the study of the Tapestry undertaken by the *Institut allemand d’histoire de l’art* in Paris. One of the main investigators was Professor Herbert Jankuhn, an archaeologist from the University of Rostock, who had lead the archaeological investigation of the Viking settlement at Hedeby (Haithabu) from 1930-39. The earlier Danish exploration of Hedeby had been taken over by the *Ahnenerbe*, the Institution for the Study of Ancestral History and Culture, with the purpose of investigating the early material culture of the Germanic peoples. The Bayeux Tapestry was seen as a monument of the Normans, who were themselves Vikings, who were themselves part of the Germanic peoples. The promised book was never published, but the German project was the first attempt to study the Tapestry in a comprehensive, detailed, and professional manner, by a team of trained scholars from different fields. One immediately sees the similarity with the study overseen by Sir Frank Stenton in 1957.²⁸

After WWII, there was more attention paid to the Scandinavian elements apparent in the Bayeux Tapestry. The discovery, in Denmark, of the eleventh-century Skuldelev ships in Roskilde fjord in 1957 yielded the most valuable information about the vessels depicted in the Embroidery. They proved that although there was a small amount of

²⁷ E. M. C. Barraclough, “The Flags in the Bayeux Tapestry,” *Armi Antichi* 1 (1969): 117-125, at 119.

²⁸ Sir Frank Stenton, ed., *A Comprehensive Study of the Bayeux Tapestry* (London: Phaidon, 1957).

artistic license exercised in their depictions, the ships in the Bayeux Tapestry were remarkably authentic.

The Danish stamp issued in 1970 appropriated the ship-building scene in the Bayeux Tapestry.



Figure 22: Danish stamp.

It links the legendary maritime skills of the Danish Vikings and that of their Norman cousins. In 1982, the Viking Ship Museum in Roskilde undertook the building of a replica of a Viking ship. They chose a small cargo ship about fourteen meters long from the Skuldelev group.



Figure 23: *Skuldelev Ship 3. The image is provided by Wikimedia Commons.*

The aim was to use construction techniques and tools as close as possible to the originals. The techniques were inferred from salvaged parts, from faint tool marks on the original, and from the Bayeux Tapestry. In fact, the Tapestry is the sole contemporary source that we have for boat-building techniques in the mid-Middle Ages. It took two years to build the ship they dubbed *Roar Ege* (pronounced *Ro-ar Ee-yeer*) (Roar's Oak Ship). The tools

used closely resemble those in the ship-building scene in the Embroidery. The felling axe, the broad axe, the small shaping axe, the spoon drill (breast auger), and adze were all similar to those attested in the Embroidery. The depiction of the stemsmith checking the lines of the boat by eye suggested the importance of the use of the eye to align the pieces and to check measurements.



Figure 24: *Eye-measuring in the Tapestry. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

The sea performance of the vessel was perfect. *Roar Ege* has been described as “a voyager through time and a tangible reminder of the spirit of an amazing age.”²⁹

²⁹ Henrik Juel, *Roar's Circle – a Viking Ship returns to the Sea* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2006).



Figure 25: Roar Ege

The little ship in the Norman fleet has been brought back to life through the efforts of a team of Scandinavian builders and ship-lovers. Today's Vikings still provide tangible links with the past.

There has been a continuing reciprocal relationship between the Bayeux Tapestry and archaeology. The excavation of the Viking ringed fort at Trelleborg, published in 1948,³⁰ made possible a comparison between the “hog-backed” Danish house and the buildings in the Bayeux Tapestry.

³⁰ Poul Nørlund, *Trelleborg* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1948); for an extract in English, *Trelleborg* (London: Committee of the Exhibition of Danish Art Treasures, 1948.)



Figure 26: Hogback house at Trelleborg. The image is provided by Wikimedia Commons. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

Lucien Musset suggested that these buildings with the curving rooflines were adopted in Anglo-Danish England, and from there found their way into the Tapestry's repertoire of buildings.³¹ There are other items which can be related to finds from Norway and Denmark, items such as the curved tool held by the man wading to the ship at Bosham,

³¹ Lucien Musset, *Récentes contributions scandinaves à l'exégèse de la Tapisserie de Bayeux*, 275-279; and further developed in Anne-Marie Flambard Hericher, "Archaeology and the Bayeux Tapestry," in *The Bayeux Tapestry: Embroidering the Facts of History* (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2004), 261-287, at 273-277.

the anchor of the ship landing at Ponthieu, the beasts on the prows of the ships, the animal-headed posts on furniture. Swords found in Danish sites are very similar to those found in the Tapestry.³²

Nordic connections have been discerned in the military tactics seen in the Bayeux Tapestry. Parallels between the Battle at Stiklestad, fought in Norway in 1030, and the Battle of Hastings as depicted in the Tapestry were pointed out by A.W.Brøgger, the Norwegian archaeologist. At Stiklestad, the role of the archers was decisive in the outcome. Brøgger suggested that since the Bayeux Tapestry shows the use of archers by both sides, that both the English and the Normans had learned this tactic from the Scandinavians.³³

³² David M. Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry* (London, Thames and Hudson, 2004), 213-227; also Rikke Behrend, "Vandfundne svaerd fra middelalderen," *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* (Copenhagen, 1970), 89-102.

³³ A. W. Brøgger, *Stiklestadslaget* (Oslo, 1946); also Lucien Musset, "Récentes contributions scandinaves à l'exégèse de la Tapisserie de Bayeux," 275-279.

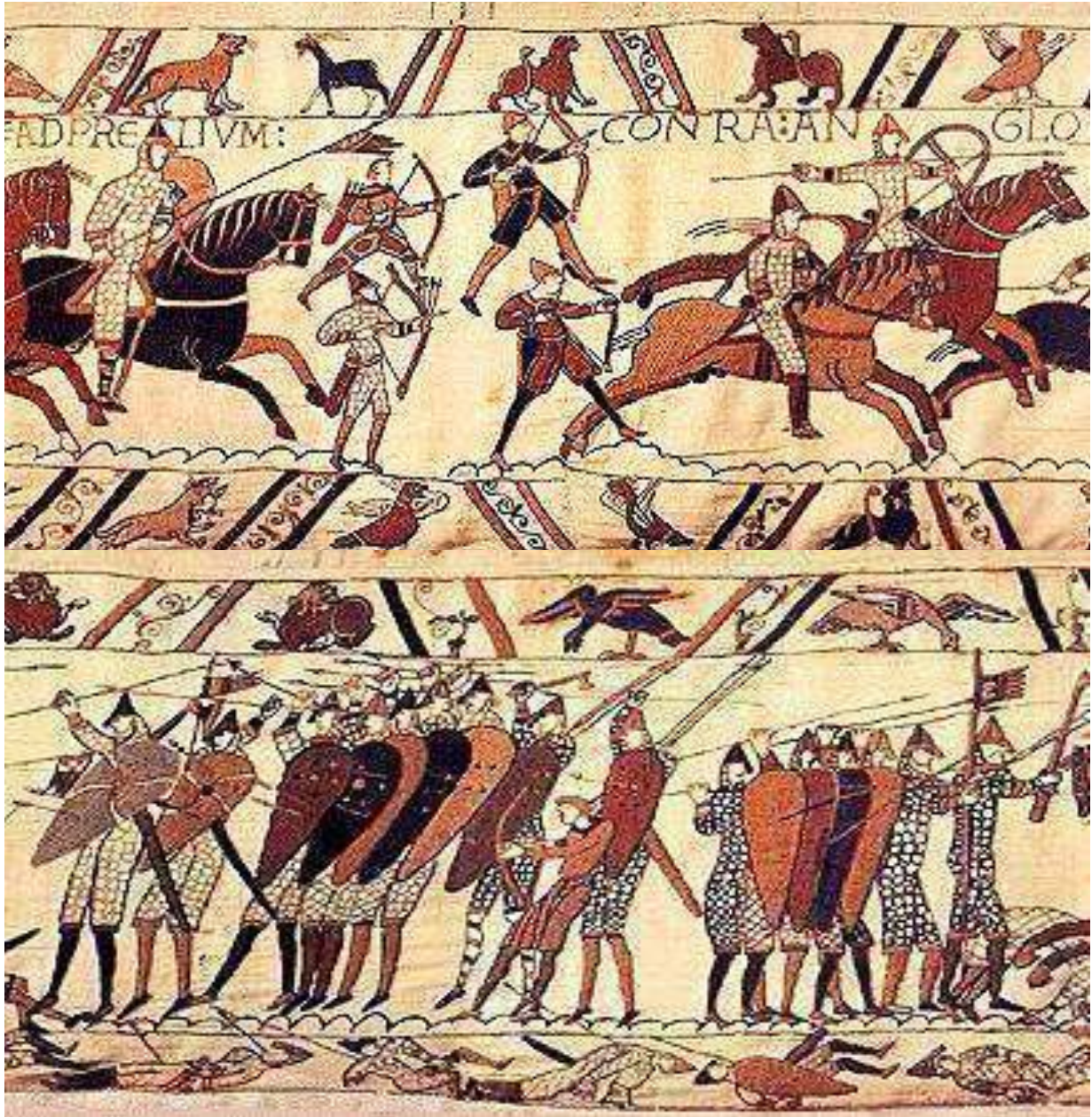


Figure 27: French and English archers in the Tapestry. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

The Bayeux Tapestry has often been studied in connection with English and French historical writings as well as with English epic poetry and the French *chanson-de-geste*. With the exception of the study of Ackerman, the Tapestry's narrative and images are very rarely compared to the Scandinavian sagas, perhaps because of their later

dating.³⁴ But Marit Monsen Wang has interpreted the symbol of the portal under which Aelfgyva stands in the Tapestry as reflective of an ancient Nordic concept: the portal between this mortal life and that of the other-world as described in the Scandinavian *Eddas*.

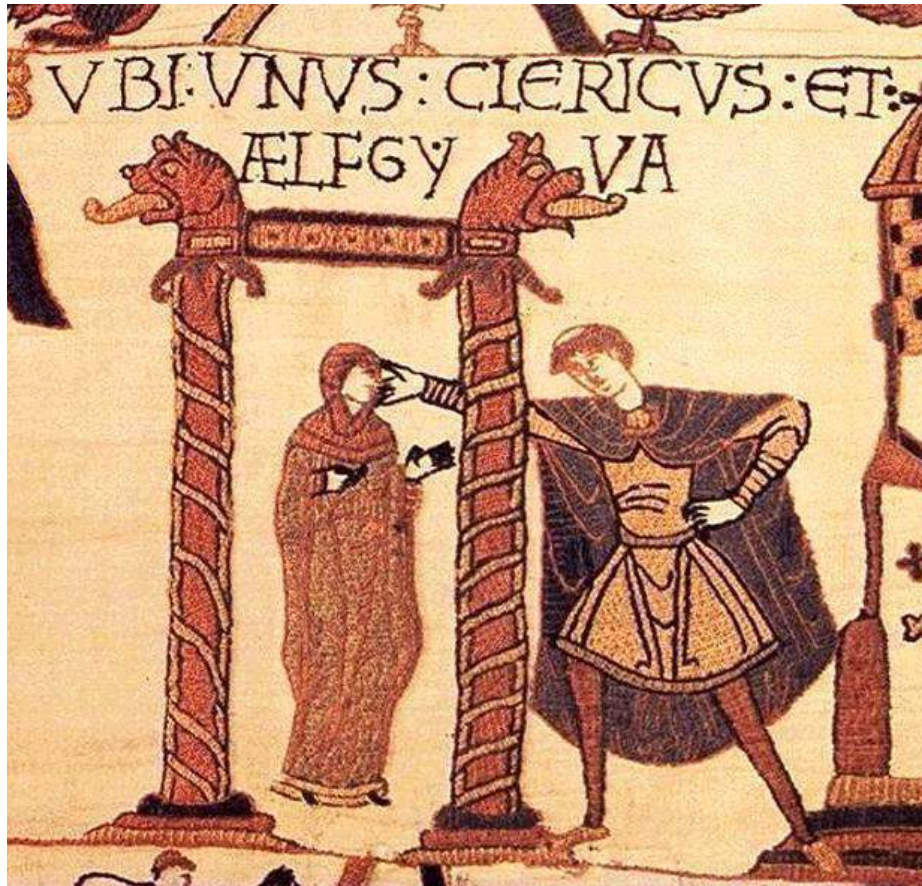


Figure 28: *Aelfgyva. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux*

Monsen Wang also traces this theme in the *Risala*, the description of an encounter between an Arab traveler and the Russian Vikings in the 10th century. She refers specifically to the funeral rituals of the Viking king described in detail in the tale.³⁵ As

³⁴ The earliest manuscript dates from the 13th century.

³⁵ Marit Monsen, "Portalsymbolikk," *Viking* 34 (1970): 73-96.

she puts it, the argument seems a bit far-fetched, but there will undoubtedly be more said about it. Other researchers have drawn attention to the Scandinavian character of the framing doorway.

Tribute must be given to the research of the late Lucien Musset, professor of history at the University of Caen. His publications are consulted in all the studies of Nordic elements in the Bayeux Tapestry. Recognizing the Scandinavian elements in the different cultures of north-west Europe during the Middle Ages, Musset was the pre-eminent transmitter of the influence of this heritage on our understanding of the Tapestry.

During the twentieth century, the Scandinavians, the Vikings, and the Bayeux Tapestry became intricately linked once more. It is possible to see the Scandinavians, and perhaps the Vikings, as the common link between opposing camps, as the common element in both England and Normandy. Rather than interpreting the Bayeux Tapestry as an Anglo-Norman document, we should see it as a reflection of the more nuanced society the Conquest produced, one that combined English, Anglo-Danish, and Norman cultures. In the preface to his book, *The Bayeux Tapestry and the Battle of Hastings*, Mogens Rud explains that his interest in the subject has been spurred by one fact: “I am a Dane and as such a kinsman of both the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans.”³⁶ That statement says it all.

³⁶ Mogens Rud, *The Bayeux Tapestry and the Battle of Hastings 1066*, trans. Chris Bojesen, (1983; Copenhagen: Eilers, 2001), 8.

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Stylistic Variation and Roman Influence in the Bayeux Tapestry

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Introduction

It is generally assumed that the Bayeux Tapestry is to be read as a continuous, historical narrative and that it is the work of a single artist, consistently executed. The subject-matter is largely heroic: it deals with kingship and battle, oath and betrayal; it includes scenes of courage and carnage, a rallying eve-of-battle speech and two grand feasts; its chief actors are men of the ruling class, supported by their attendants and knights. The visual effect of the frieze (a point not previously, as far as I know, observed by scholars) exhibits, in general, a rhythmic alternation of the horizontal and the vertical: scenes of motion, in which long-bodied horses and dogs, ships, even King Edward's funeral cortège, are juxtaposed with static scenes where the protagonists confront one another, or where the forward impetus of the frieze is stopped by a building, a tree, or a hill.

However, there are a number of places in the Tapestry where the graphics of the main register are different in both subject matter and style. The men pictured at these points are workers, engaged in practical, mundane (distinctly non-heroic) tasks. They are depicted in a stiff, stylised manner, yet the drawing is not incompetent and individual "stage props," such as tools and foodstuffs, which occur in plenty here, are executed with striking attention to detail. Whereas the Tapestry in general is serious in tone,¹ in three instances the areas under discussion show clownish behaviour which is probably intended to be humorous. At some points in these sections the images are uncharacteristically spread out and in another rather

¹ Though arguably it sometimes displays a subtle wit – often by interplay between the border and the main register; for examples, see Gale R. Owen-Crocker, "Squawk talk: commentary by birds in the Bayeux Tapestry," *Anglo-Saxon England* 34 (2005): 237-254.

compressed; the layout is crude; there seem to be some attempts at perspective, naively realised; and the buildings or trees, which elsewhere act as divisions between scenes, are sometimes omitted entirely, botched or incorporated into the main action.

In this paper the following sections of the Tapestry and their probable sources will be analysed in detail: Scene 35 (DW 35-36),² felling trees and building ships for the Norman invasion; Scenes 40-43 (DW 45-48), pillaging, preparation of food and serving of the Norman feast at Hastings; Scenes 45-47 (DW 49-51), constructing Hastings Castle and arson, alternating with Duke William interacting with a messenger and a groom. Individual figures from adjacent scenes will be included in the discussion; and Scenes 43-44 (DW 48), the Hastings feast and the council of Norman brothers which follows it, which I consider to be pivotal images in the overall Tapestry design, will be examined.

Building on parallels identified in 1976 by Otto Werckmeister between the Bayeux Tapestry and Trajan's Column, and to a lesser extent the Column of Marcus Aurelius, in Rome,³ I will suggest that the majority of episodes depicted in these portions of the Tapestry can be traced to the influence of the Roman sculptures. Not only are figures directly modelled on specific images as Werckmeister proposed, I will suggest further that there are cases where the Tapestry artist absorbs and reinterprets ideas suggested by the columns. Sometimes the Anglo-Norman artist completes a scene by drawing on other models – specifically on pictures from manuscripts in the library of St. Augustine's, Canterbury – but it appears that the inspiration for the composition of episodes in these areas of the Tapestry came, directly or indirectly, from Roman sculpture.

² The scene numbers here refer to those that have been written on the cloth in an early modern hand, and it is the scene divisions that are central to my argument. For those referencing David Wilson's edition, which does not use the scene numbers, I will add his plate numbers in parentheses.

³ O. K. Werckmeister, "The Political Ideology of the Bayeux Tapestry," *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser, 17 (1976): 535-595 and plates at 539.

I will also consider whether the identified differences in style and the Roman models behind these areas of the Tapestry could be attributable to a different hand at work on the cartoon; and if so, whether there could have been reason to insert some additional scenes at a late stage in the design of the Tapestry, and hence to employ an additional artist to make hasty changes.

Sketches from Rome?

Trajan's Column, a 138 foot (42 metre) marble pillar was erected in Trajan's Forum, Rome, in A.D. 113, commemorating Emperor Trajan's two wars against the Dacians.⁴ This triumphal monument, and also the slightly smaller imitation of it, the Column of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 180),⁵ which commemorates Emperor Marcus Aurelius's campaigns against Germans and Sarmatians, bear sculpted accounts of Roman military victories, arranged as spiral strips round the cylindrical pillars, running from left to right, bottom to top. Significant similarities between the columns and the Bayeux Tapestry have been recognised since the eighteenth century.⁶ All three consist of continuous friezes depicting what was, at the time of construction, recent history, in the form of long, narrow pictorial registers. On both columns and Tapestry, the narrative is divided into perceptible "scenes" bounded by trees and buildings. The resemblance of the columns to the vividly embroidered Tapestry is more striking when one appreciates that the now monochrome marble was originally painted. However, the eleventh-century Tapestry is starker, since it shows little spatial awareness and rarely depicts background, whereas the scenes of the columns are crowded with tiers of

⁴ Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule: ein römisches kunstwerk zu begin der Spätantike* (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1926); and Florea Bobu Florescu, *Die Trajanssäule: Grundfragen und Tafeln* (Bukarest: Akademie-Verlag and Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1969). The scenes on Trajan's column are conventionally identified by Roman numerals, which are the same in both the reproductions; www.aviewoncities.com/rome/trajanscolumn.htm.

⁵ Eugen Petersen, Alfred Von Domaszewski, and Guglielmo Calderini, eds., *Die-Marcus-säule auf piazza Colonna in rom*, 3 vols. (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1896). The scenes are again identified by Roman numerals.

⁶ Werkmeister, 536-537, and notes 9, 10.

protagonists and space-filling structures and observers. Although the sculptors do not use perspective systematically – figures are not carved smaller to indicate distance from the viewer – they do show some awareness of it: buildings are often shown in diminished size as background, and architectural structures are typically depicted in two-point perspective, viewed from a corner. The Bayeux Tapestry, as is typical of medieval art, generally does not show awareness of perspective, rather arranging figures of similar size in overlapping groups. However there are some places in the Tapestry where relative size of images, or the placing of a second tier in the upper part of the frieze, indicates distance, betraying the influence of classical art.⁷ Though not confined to the areas discussed here, such attempts at perspective are particularly recurrent in these sections.

Today it is impossible to identify much detail on the Roman columns with the naked eye from ground level, since they are so high, and the paint, gilding and attachments which once brought the images to life are now gone. They have endured nearly 2,000 years of weather and the recent pollution of a modern city environment. The Marcus Aurelius Column, on a tall plinth and with some areas badly deteriorated, is, to my own myopic eye, hardly distinguishable.⁸ Trajan's Column, viewed from the modern street, Via dei Fori Imperiali, which is about level with the top of the plinth, is slightly more visible. However, the situation may have been different when they were half their present age. Moreover, Trajan's Column, at least, may have been more accessible in the eleventh century since, according to Werckmeister, the upper windows of two flanking library buildings⁹ and the

⁷ See Peter Lasko, "The Bayeux Tapestry and the Representation of Space," in *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives. A Memorial Tribute to C. R. Dodwell*, eds. Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Timothy Graham (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 26-39; see especially pages 29-31.

⁸ The Marcus Aurelius Column, currently a more famous landmark than Trajan's Column, stands in what is now the Piazza Colonna in Rome. There was originally a Temple to the deified emperor nearby, but I have no information about how the scenes might have been viewed in the eleventh century.
<http://www.aviewoncities.com/rome/columnofmarcusaurelius.htm>.

⁹ The library buildings, one for Greek, the other for Latin, texts were part of the original Forum construction and apparently existed until some time in the eleventh century; Werkmeister, 543;
<http://cheiron.mcmaster.ca/~trajan/>.

roof (and perhaps a bell tower) of the adjacent tenth-century church of San Nicola a Columna could have provided viewing points, at least of the bottom third of it.

Werckmeister suggested that the Bayeux artist had observed Trajan's Column first hand and remembered details of it. That a Norman or English traveller had seen it is quite possible since there was constant traffic of senior ecclesiastics, and their entourages, to and from Rome. In particular, Bishop Odo, brother of William the Conqueror and a favourite candidate of modern scholars for the role of patron of the Tapestry, is known to have visited Rome and owned property there. His ambition to be elected Pope may have entailed the long-term presence of influential lobbyists. It is therefore entirely plausible that the Column was observed and recorded in detail by a medieval visitor who transmitted both an overall impression of the narrative frieze and some individual details to the designer of the Tapestry, who was probably located in Canterbury. The observant traveller was not necessarily himself "the Bayeux artist." The naturalistic Roman images are interpreted in the Tapestry in ways that are stylised, naïve and sometimes erroneous, and the examples I discuss here stand out stylistically from the rest of the Tapestry.¹⁰ One could posit various scenarios, including the untrained hand of the Roman traveller being transmitted through the Bayeux artist, or a subordinate Bayeux artist grappling with models in an unfamiliar style. Though Werckmeister specifically rejected the idea of a "sketchbook,"¹¹ I would not. The concept of a sketch or preliminary cartoon is not confined to modern times, and there is no reason to suppose that

¹⁰ I have not included in my present discussion Werckmeister's comparison of Scene 17, the crossing of the River Couesnon with its perilous quicksands, to Trajan's Column Scene XXXI (Lehmann-Hartleben, plate 17; Florescu, plates XXII-XXIII) where Dacians sink into the marsh (Werckmeister, 539), and Scene XXVI (Lehmann-Hartleben, plate 15; Florescu, plate XX) a river crossing, since I do not observe stylistic variation in the Tapestry at this point. There is certainly a similarity in general subject matter; and the perspective use of Mont-Saint-Michel in the background suggests Antique influence, though the detail of the Mont is not paralleled on the Column.

¹¹ "It would hardly be consistent with our view of painting in the eleventh century to assume that an artist went out to sketch the Column of Trajan, as did the artists of the Renaissance and Baroque periods. He would have carefully studied the column, and he would have thought about the meaning of the spiral reliefs, but the actual designing of the Tapestry he did in his atelier, on the basis of the pictorial traditions available to him, adding from the column a number of details which he could draw from memory..."; Werckmeister, 547.

the Bayeux Tapestry designs existed solely in the final context of the embroidery which has survived until the present day. There is evidence that medieval artists made drawings on wax tablets, and there are geometric designs sketched out on blank areas in surviving manuscripts.¹² The Tapestry contains so many echoes, both specific and general, of Trajan's Column and at least one of the Column of Marcus Aurelius, that drawings of Roman artworks¹³ transmitted on spare pages of a traveller's book, eventually lodged in the library at Canterbury, seem at least a possible source.

Werkmeister identified several specific details from Trajan's Column which he related to the Tapestry. Some of these, such as a misunderstood source for the "spade fight," seem to me to be inspired (even though we may be able to improve on them)¹⁴ while others, such as the encounter between the emperor and scouts, appear more general than specific.¹⁵ Werkmeister also usefully compared and contrasted the functions of reiterated images on Trajan's Column and the Bayeux Tapestry, identifying what he called "three kinds of topical scenes: the shipping of troops and equipment across waterways, long marches through enemy territory culminating in attacks, and works of field engineering"¹⁶ adding that despite some specific parallels "... on balance, field engineering is much less in evidence [in the Tapestry]."¹⁷ It is necessary to recognise that military activity occupies little more than a

¹² See Elizabeth Coatsworth and Michael Pinder, *The Art of the Anglo-Saxon Goldsmith* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), 167-170. I am grateful to Dr. Coatsworth for drawing my attention to this material.

¹³ Such drawings might have included artworks now lost and could have included other media such as wall paintings.

¹⁴ I suggest a modification below.

¹⁵ Werkmeister, 539, compared this (Scene XXXVI; Lehmann-Hartleben, plate 20; Florescu, plate XXVII) with the encounter on horseback between Duke William and Vital (Scene 49), but the Roman version has many more figures and a central tree. The face-to-face image of riders and horses has been used before in the Tapestry, at Scene 13.

¹⁶ Werkmeister, 537.

¹⁷ Werkmeister, 538.

quarter of the Bayeux Tapestry,¹⁸ and that the majority of the Tapestry's action, including discussion between figures in what Werkmeister called "strategic counsel,"¹⁹ takes place in non-military contexts: palaces, churches, the roads of England and Normandy and the countryside around Hastings. Consequently "the shipping ... across waterways" and "long marches," which he identified as characteristic of both works, though important in establishing the visual rhythm of the Tapestry which I mentioned in my opening paragraph, are not all presented in the Tapestry as military operations: this is a different kind of story, concerned with the subtleties of human relationships, only presenting battle and conquest as its culmination. Similarly, in the less militaristic context of the Tapestry, there is little need of "field engineering": the only specific example is the construction of Hastings Castle. Yet at certain points, a Bayeux artist has evidently borrowed from Trajan's Column the principle that the depiction of practical, preparatory activity is appropriate subject matter. The nature of the activity is adapted, the social status of the protagonists is changed from soldiers in armour to workmen in civilian dress,²⁰ and there are evident attempts to imbue the figures with symbolic meaning and, sometimes, individualism.

Tree-felling, building and launching of ships

Description

As the Tapestry presents it, the preparation of the Norman fleet is precipitated by the news of Harold's coronation in England. The inscription (**Figure 1**)

¹⁸ Specifically, the Battle of Hastings with which the incomplete embroidery now ends (Scenes 51-58) and the earlier Brittany campaign (Scenes 16-22).

¹⁹ Werkmeister, 538.

²⁰ On the Roman sculptures it is the barbarian enemies who wear civilian dress and the men carrying out "field engineering" are Roman soldiers in military garb. In eleventh-century England and Normandy only the military elite would wear armour, and while they might have a supervisory role they are not depicted carrying out the hard labour.



Figure 1: Bayeux Tapestry Scene 35, ordering of invasion fleet. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

informs us HIC WILLELM DVX IVSSIT NAVES EDIFICARE, “here Duke William ordered ships to be built” over an image of four figures: two seated, wearing the long robes of authority, flanked by two standing figures in short garments, all enclosed by an elaborate building with towers. The standing man on the left is addressing the seated men urgently and a figure holding an adze is standing on the right. The seated figures represent William and, on the right, almost certainly, his brother Bishop Odo (the man is tonsured). The man on the left may be the third brother, Robert, or the messenger from England. The presence of the carpenter anticipates the preparation of ships that follows. **(Figure 2)**



Figure 2: *Scene 35, tree-felling. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

Three men in culottes swing axes to fell trees and a fourth straddles a plank as he smooths it. The plank is supported by a forked tree-trunk. Other planks are stacked unrealistically from the fork to an adjacent tree that is being felled, and parallel lines indicate planks stacked behind the man's legs. The forked tree-trunk, which curves slightly to the left, and a tree with leafy branches, which curves over to the right, (**Figure 4**) frame two ships under construction. The "shipwrights section" was not separately numbered by the sixteenth-century hand which added numerals to the backcloth and has not, traditionally, been counted as an independent scene; but it is in fact framed by the trees and might well be considered one. The novelty that the left-hand tree is functional in the action has led to the episode being treated as a continuum with the tree-felling.

Two bearded shipwrights work on the bottom boat, with an auger and hand-axe; two other shipwrights in the upper one work with an adze and a breast-auger; and a fifth man stands between the two boats, apparently steadying the upper one. Beyond the curving leafy tree, (**Figure 5**) ships are dragged to the water by barefoot men who wade through the shallows wearing slit or tucked-up tunics. One of the men attaches the ships to a tall post.

An arcaded building, close to the water's edge, marks the scene-end, and is followed by a two-tiered procession of men, mostly wearing tunics. They carry mailcoats, swords, spears, helmets, a barrel and an animal skin and follow a cart loaded with a very large barrel, helmets and spears. It is pulled by two small male figures who are harnessed to it, preceded by a man carrying a bundle on his shoulders. The third seam of the Tapestry follows.

Sources and style

The seated figures of William and Odo, and the standing figure of Robert (or the messenger) are probably, as I have argued elsewhere, modelled on an illustration of Lot speaking to his prospective sons-in-law in the Old English illustrated *Hexateuch*, a manuscript from St. Augustine's, Canterbury.²¹ The standing figure of the carpenter is an addition to this model. Oversized in relation to the seated figures, the man's body is turned onwards towards the tree-felling and boat-building activity but his head twists backwards to receive the orders evidently emanating from Odo. This backward look has been used occasionally before in the Tapestry²² but the twisting of the body is particularly frequent in the sections under discussion here, sometimes making the figure look awkward and unrealistic, as in the case of the carpenter. The second tree-feller turns backwards, but more naturalistically, while the man who ties the ship to a post twists his arms away from his backward-facing body and his large, prominent face.

The tree-felling episode is different in style from anything that has gone before, with its figures and trees individual and separate, not overlapping. This sub-section offers one of Werckmeister's most compelling arguments for influence from Trajan's Column on the

²¹ Gale R. Owen-Crocker, "Reading the Bayeux Tapestry through Canterbury Eyes," in *Anglo-Saxons. Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, eds. Simon Keynes and Alfred P. Smyth (Dublin: Four Courts, 2005), 243-65. (See especially pages 251-252, 254.) The manuscript is London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B iv; C. R. Dodwell and P. Clemoes, *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 18 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1974).

²² Scene 3 calling the feasters to the ship; Scene 4 seaman; Scene 31 acclaiming King Harold; Scene 32 awe at the comet; Scene 34 seaman.

Bayeux Tapestry. Although David Bernstein was not convinced by the parallel,²³ if one omits the two figures in the foreground of Trajan's Column Scene XV,²⁴ **(Figure 3)** who are supporting a yoke on their shoulders to carry a heavy log swinging on a rope, then the other three figures and the trees bear a close parallel to the tree-felling of Bayeux Scene 35.



Figure 3: *Trajan's Column Scene XV, tree felling.*
Image from Lehmann-Hartleben, 1926.

The Roman trees are tall and thin, not branching till on level with the head of the man on the left and at shoulder height of the man in the middle. The Bayeux trees at this point are also tall and spindly, unlike the thick-trunked, luxuriantly-branching trees which have acted as scene boundaries earlier in the Tapestry. The left-hand man on the Roman sculpture has his legs wide apart to steady himself and his right arm is across his body to swing an axe (now missing) above his head. Although the Bayeux artist has not depicted the weight distribution quite correctly, he has copied the wide-legged stance (adding the other leg which is behind a tree in the original) and the way in which the man's body faces back while his head faces

²³ David J. Bernstein, *The Mystery of the Bayeux Tapestry* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), 95-97.

²⁴ Lehmann-Hartleben, plate 11; Florescu, plate XI.

forward towards the tree. On Trajan's Column the central figure is above, in perspective behind the log carriers. The Bayeux artist has brought him down to ground level, adding legs, and bringing his hands close together, raising an axe; but the man's position, body facing forward, head looking back, right arm up, is copied from the Roman model. The third Roman figure faces forward, arms raising an axe above his head. His face is concealed by his arms. The Bayeux artist has copied his wide-legged stance, weight on the front foot, though more lightly indicated; and his man also faces forward, though his face is visible in profile. The Roman figures wear breast plates and short skirted tunics, the Bayeux figures wear culottes; but the left-hand Roman's tunic has a slightly kilted effect to his left and the other two have folds from belt to hem to their right, which might conceivably, when transmitted through an amateurish copy, have been interpreted as boundary lines for culottes. It is worth considering whether these short culottes, generally interpreted today as characteristic of Normans and of physical labourers²⁵ could have arisen from misinterpretation of a Roman model.

The style of the next sub-section, the shipwrights, is noticeably different. **(Figure 4)**

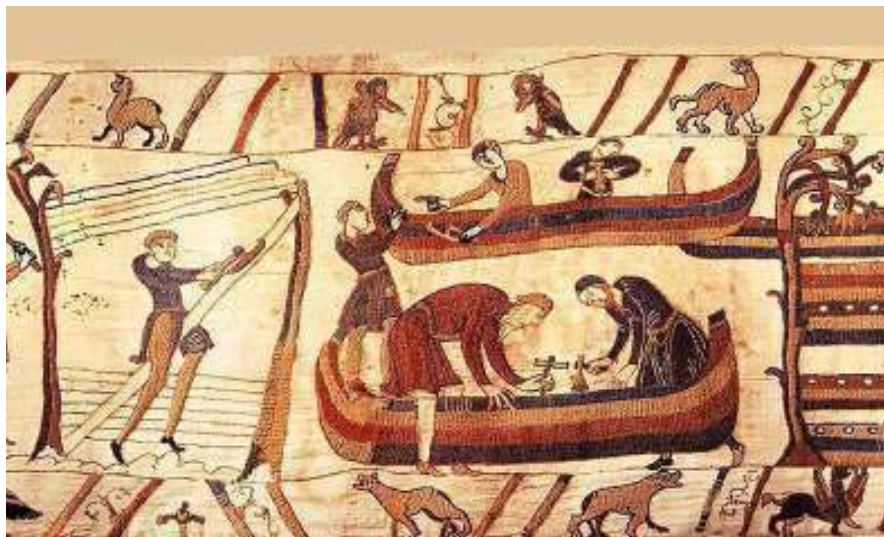


Figure 4: Scene 35, building ships. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

²⁵ Earlier in the Tapestry, Normans wear longer culottes.

The lower figures are more naturalistic, and there is both foreground and background, and an attempt at perspective, albeit imperfectly managed. Both the figure straddling a plank at the end of the tree-felling section, and the bearded shipwrights in the foreground of the ship building section are, it seems to me, influenced by the depiction of Noah building the ark in the *Hexateuch*, fol. 13v.²⁶ Beards are unusual in the Tapestry as a whole, and, though their inclusion may indicate the age and experience of the shipwrights, when considered together with the very full-skirted tunics, suggest that the two figures working on the lower ship were modelled on a different source from other figures in the scene. In the *Hexateuch*, the figure labelled *Noe* has a forked beard, faces left, and straddles a plank. It seems that the Bayeux artist has taken three ideas from this single image: the rather stylised carpenter straddling a plank, which the artist has ingeniously associated with a forked tree and backed up with other planks, some unconvincingly up in the air; a bearded shipwright facing right, straddling the side of a ship; and another bearded shipwright facing left. The figure drawing is not quite correct: the right leg of the left-hand figure is outside the ship and his left apparently inside it, but his left foot incongruously appears beneath the ship. He could not straddle a ship of sufficient size to carry men and horses. The right-hand figure appears to be working inside the ship but his feet appear beneath it.

The artist has included a shallower ship containing smaller figures, at the top of the register. The upper ship, however, is longer than the lower one, negating the perspective. The presence of the man standing below and apparently steadying the upper boat as the shipwright directs him, also ruins the perspective since it makes the ship appear to be floating in the air, rather than resting on the ground in the distance. The cartoon of the upper ship has been set too high, causing one man's head to overlap the upper border of the Tapestry and the head of the other to be awkwardly tilted sideways. I have not found a model for this upper

²⁶ Genesis 6:12-22.

image, which includes a very distinctive positioning of the arms; but the attempt at perspective here, and in the depiction of the planks, just before, suggests Roman models for more than the tree-felling figures.

The ships which are being dragged to the water (**Figure 5**)

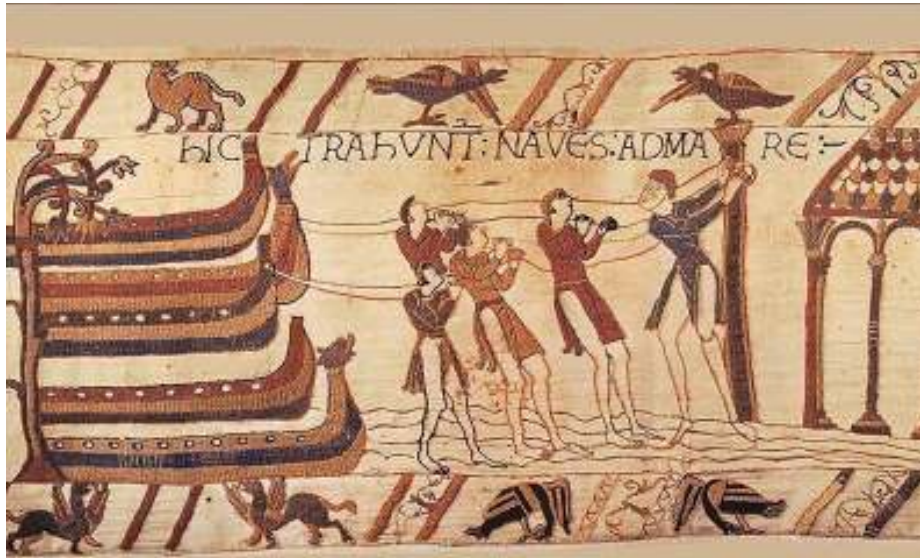


Figure 5: Scene 36, launching of ships. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

are, all but one, incompletely drawn. The sterns are omitted. This would make sense if the ships were appearing round a wall, or some other massive feature, but emerging as they do from the trunk of a thin tree which could not conceal very much, the part-ships testify to the misunderstanding of a model, probably from Roman art. The Marcus Aurelius Column, at Scene III,²⁷ has a sophisticated, almost three-dimensional, depiction of the ends of nine ships, lined up under a bridge. At Trajan's Column Scenes IV and (more clearly) XLVIII (**Figure 6**)

²⁷ Petersen et al., *Die-Marcus-säule*, vol. 2, plate 10.



Figure 6: *Trajan's Column Scene XLVIII, part-ships.*
Image from Lehmann-Hartleben, 1926.

ships are moored under bridges.²⁸ They are depicted as part-ships, overlapping one another from right to left, as if each ship conceals the stern of the one beside and behind it. The Bayeux artist was probably imitating an effect of this kind.

Werckmeister compared the Bayeux arcaded building with a seaport at Trajan's Column Scenes IV and (more clearly) XLVIII where ships are under bridges;²⁹ but, other than the location, there is not a close resemblance: the Roman buildings are single arcades, one above the other, whereas the Tapestry's building is a roofed triple arcade. A more likely source is the *Harley Psalter*, which has several examples of triple arcades, either as open-sided pavilions or entrances to buildings, though I have not found a parallel as close as that demonstrated by Bernstein for Scene 11,³⁰ since the Tapestry building appears to have a pitched roof whereas the *Psalter* buildings are generally domed or rounded.

Scene 37 (DW 38), with its procession of figures carrying arms and armour, suggests classical influence since it exhibits another attempt at perspective. An upper tier of figures is

²⁸ Florescu, plate V, groups of five ships and two ships; plate XXXVII, four ships.

²⁹ Lehmann-Hartleben, plates 6, 24; Florescu, plates V, XXXVII. The latter scene is misnumbered LVIII instead of XLVIII in Florescu.

³⁰ Lehman-Hartleben, plate 18; Florescu plate XXIV. Bernstein, 44. plates 11-12, convincingly compared the building at Scene 11 with that in the *Harley Psalter*, London, British Library, MS Harley 603, fol. 1v.

correctly depicted in slightly smaller size, though not entirely successfully: three men lack legs and one carries his head at an awkward angle, like the earlier shipwright, for the same reason: he has been placed too close to the upper border.

Cartloads of military equipment appear several times on the Column of Marcus Aurelius,³¹ the contents arranged less tidily but more realistically than on the Tapestry cart, where the neatly ranked spears have tops but no bottoms. They were perhaps intended to disappear inside the cart, but in order to display the enormous barrel the artist omitted the sides of the cart, drawing in only the supporting hoops. The barrel on the Bayeux cart could have been suggested by a Roman model: barrels on carts appear on both Roman columns.³² The Roman carts, however, are always drawn by animals, either horses or oxen. The Bayeux artist has chosen to depict human beings dragging the cart, harnessed like animals, highlighting this fact with wry humour: both men have their fists under their chins, a “thinking” posture developed in the Roman theatre, originally associated with deities and philosophers, but as a comic device, employed by slaves.³³

Riders, pillagers, cooks and waiters

Description

Horsemen gallop away from their beached ships (Scene 40 [DW 44]; **Figure 7**),

³¹ Scenes XXVI, XXIX, XXXVIII, XCIII, CXI; Petersen et al., *Die-Marcus-säule*, plates 34, 36, 44, 101/2, 120.

³² Trajan’s Column Scenes LXII, Lehmann-Hartleben, plate 30; Florescu, plates XLV-XLVI. Marcus Aurelius Column, Scene XXV, Petersen et al., plate 33.

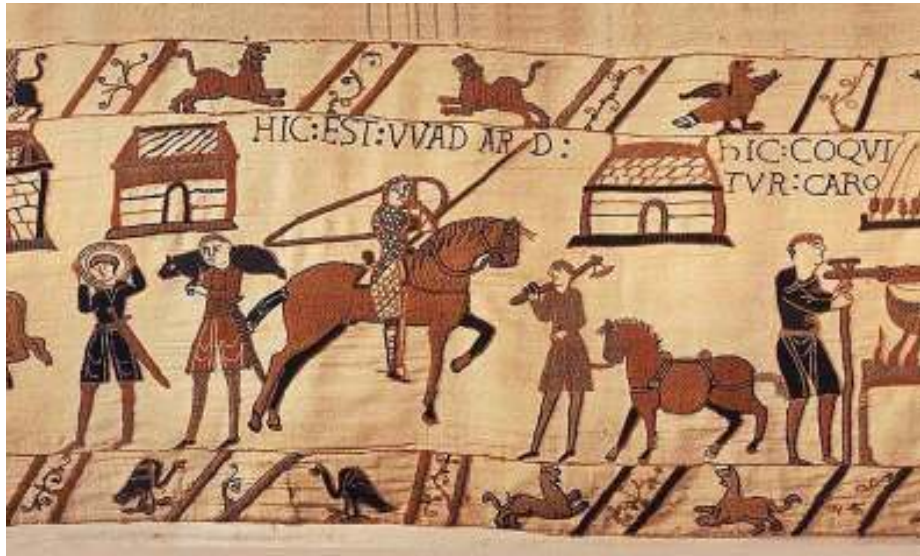
³³ See Gale R. Owen-Crocker, “The Interpretation of Gesture in the Bayeux Tapestry,” *Anglo-Norman Studies* 29 (2007): 145-78, at 165 and 167, Figure 11. This is one of six gestures which I have identified in the Tapestry as originating from the Roman stage. They were recorded in an illustrated Carolingian manuscript of the plays of Terence and some of them can be found in the Old English illustrated Hexateuch and the Harley Psalter, see C. R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Gestures and the Roman Stage*, prepared for publication by Timothy Graham, *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England*, 28 (Cambridge: University Press, 2000).



Figure 7: Scene 39, exit of horses and two riders. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

immediately after which there is a scene depicting pillage (Scene 41 [DW 45-46]; **Figures 8a-b)**





Figures 8a-8b: Scene 40-41, pillaging. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

followed by one showing practical actions of cooking and serving food (Scene 42 [DW 46]), shown in considerable detail. Three small buildings appear above (and by implication of perspective, behind) the pillagers. They are all rectangular, set on sills, with central, semi-circular doorways and pitched roofs and without windows, but they differ in detail: the first and third have vertical spikes at each end of the roofs; the roofs of the first and second appear to be rounded at the ends; the first is roofed with shingles or tiles, the second has oblique lines which might represent thatch; the third, rhomboid shingles; the first is walled with rhomboid shapes that suggest stone; the other two with horizontal lines that resemble planks. There are no other examples of this sort of architecture in the Tapestry. Commentators generally assume that these are English cottages.

Armoured figures on horseback, one of them captioned HIC EST VVADARD, “here is Wadard,” oversee the collection of animals. A small figure, perhaps a child, grasps a sheep by its horn and holds on to a man who swings an axe, apparently intent on butchering the animal, though his gaze is upwards, perhaps directed towards an awkwardly-drawn bull with bent legs. This animal may be intended to be lying down, but upright; or it may be on its

side, already dead. One man carries an unidentifiable burden, depicted as concentric circles over the top of his head and across his neck, another hoists a pig on his shoulders, while a third leads a pony with panniers. Ostensibly the sheep, bull and pig are ingredients for the feast which follows, but it is notable that the food being prepared for the feast will not consist of large joints. The field kitchen is processing whole small animals or fowls, and indeterminate items: round and oval shapes might possibly indicate bread, rhomboid shapes could be meat or vegetable, though possibly these items were shaped and coloured for their pleasing variety rather than realism. In a further inconsistency, the items on the table at the forthcoming feast will be fishes and round loaves, iconic in Christian terms,³⁴ different both from what has been plundered and what has been cooked. The pillaging scene may be interpreted on two levels, which may reflect both Norman patronage and English execution of the Tapestry. Depending on the audience's/designer's point of view, it may contribute to glorifying the Normans, or to condemning them: in terms of immediate continuity it relates to the feasting of the Norman elite, but in anticipation of the forthcoming conquest it may be intended to demonstrate that the invading army, fed at the expense of the local community, was already oppressing the English population.

Two figures attend a cooking pot suspended over a fire on a brazier and a third cook uses long-handled tongs to lift hot food from the top of a square oven, mounted on legs over a ground-level fire. A disembodied tray of meats on spits occupies an area near the upper border over the cooking pot. One spit carries three small items, another a small, whole creature, the rest indeterminate shapes. Two men deliver food on spits to a man at a makeshift sideboard constructed from shields and a hurdle. They stand in front of a building

³⁴ Loaves and fishes relate to Christ's feeding of the 5,000 with loaves and fishes, Mark 6: 38-44 (as four thousand, Mark 8: 5-9) and also functioned as an iconographical device in depictions of the Last Supper; N. P. Brooks and H. E. Walker, N. P. Brooks, and H. E. Walker, "The Authority and Interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry," in *The Study of the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. Richard Gameson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), 63-92, at 75. Originally published in *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies* 1 (1978): 1-34 and 191-9.

represented by a tower with a window, an area of tiled roof marking a storey with a rounded top; by a second tower, without much detail; and between them what looks like a horizontal beam topped by a domed roof. The presence of the building is perhaps meant to signify that the sideboard and feasting table were located indoors, and in crossing in front of the towers the waiters are perhaps meant to be entering the interior space. The artist does not handle it well: whereas elsewhere in the Tapestry actors are framed by buildings, in this case a tower disappears into the waiter's head. The elaborate style of the building is incongruous in relation to the field kitchen outside, and the necessity for building fortifications, soon to be depicted. Though small and incomplete, this building echoes the architecture of the royal palaces of Edward and Harold and is inappropriate in this place.

The spits in the hands of the first of the *ministri* and the right hand of the second are loaded with indeterminate foods: the colouring suggests a single item on each stick. However, the two spits in the second server's left hand each contains a complete small animal or a fowl. The recipient also holds a bowl with a spit sticking out of it. A man behind holds a tall jar with a domed lid, and there are more vessels – a smaller bowl mounted on a foot, and a small cup -- on the first shield. The second shield holds a round loaf and a knife. There are also unidentifiable objects on both shields. Behind the “sideboard” are two other attendants. One blows a horn, presumably to announce the meal, to the evident indignation of his companion who turns his head sharply towards the horn-blower. The effect is comical in a slapstick sort of way. The focus on a horn is also, as I have previously suggested,³⁵ a back-reference to the Bosham feast (Scene 3, DW 3-4), when one of Harold's party drank from the wide mouth of a decorated horn; the physical reversal of the horn – the servant at

³⁵ Gale R. Owen-Crocker, “Telling a Tale: Narrative Techniques in the Bayeux Tapestry and the Old English Epic *Beowulf*,” in *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives. A Memorial Tribute to C. R. Dodwell*, eds. Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Timothy Graham (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 40-59, at 53.

Hastings puts the narrow end to his mouth – and thus its transformation from prized drinking vessel to noisy instrument, is humorous.

Sources and style

I suggest that much of the pillaging scene was inspired by Roman art. However, in this case the images were not direct copies, as the figures in the tree-felling scene seem to have been, and they derive from contexts with subject matter quite different from that of the Tapestry.

The stone walls of the first cottage are not typical of Anglo-Saxon domestic architecture of the humbler kind and the crude but recognisable attempt at perspective is not characteristic of medieval art at all. It may be no coincidence that the depiction of small houses with pitched roofs at the top of the pictorial register occurs in the opening scenes of both Trajan's Column (Scenes I, III)³⁶ and the column of Marcus Aurelius. The Trajan buildings, which are on the bank of the River Danube, form a background to river workers arranging cargo in boats.³⁷ The point of similarity lies in the attempt to use domestic architecture to convey perspective. The Roman buildings are depicted in a much more sophisticated manner, and undeniably differ from the naïve Tapestry houses in several ways: the sculptured houses are at three quarter angles so that gable ends as well as pitched roofs are visible; they are set within stockades and they have window and (mostly) square door openings rather than the round-headed doorways of the Tapestry.³⁸ However, there are some similarities of detail. The Trajan houses and the first house of the Marcus Aurelius Column

³⁶ Lehmann-Hartleben, plates 5, 6; Florescu, plates I, III.

³⁷ I am grateful to my husband, Richard Crocker, for suggesting a similarity in the use of houses on the columns to the Tapestry, while observing them from street level.

³⁸ Round-headed openings do in fact appear on the column, at Scene XXXIII (Lehmann-Hartleben, plate 18, Florescu, plate XXIV) on tiny buildings in the distant background, beyond a wall. However the openings are multiple and I would not suggest them as a model.

(Scene I)³⁹ are composed of large stone blocks, a possible model for the first house of the Tapestry. This and the next Marcus Aurelius house are roofed with slates, perhaps a model for the third house of the Tapestry. The third Marcus Aurelius house is within a fence of horizontal posts with a round headed doorway and open door, a parallel to the round-headed openings of the Tapestry; the house itself is built of thin, close-set, vertical posts and the roof is depicted the same way, but in two thicknesses that might represent thatch, which appears to be the roofing material on the second Tapestry house. The spikes projecting from two of the Tapestry houses may reflect the building technique of watch towers adjacent on the bank of the Danube, near the beginning of Trajan's Column.⁴⁰

The animals brought in from the foraging expedition on the Tapestry are a bull, a curly-horned sheep and a pig. It seems likely that the Bayeux artist took inspiration from the appearance of these animals as sacrificial victims on Roman sculptures. Sacrificial processions were a popular theme on second-century sculptures;⁴¹ they included attendants carrying the instruments of execution and other stock ingredients such as musicians. Extant examples include the *Lustratio* ("purification") panel of the Arch of Constantine, with a bull, a sheep and a pig,⁴² Scene XXX of the Marcus Aurelius Column,⁴³ where there are a bull and a sheep, and two scenes on Trajan's Column, IX⁴⁴ and LIII⁴⁵ which have a bull, a sheep and a pig in procession.

³⁹ Petersen *et al.*, plate 5. There are more little buildings to the right but the surface of the sculpture is deteriorated at this point.

⁴⁰ Scene I (Lehmann-Hartleben, plate 5; Florescu, plate II).

⁴¹ Inez Scott Ryberg, *Panel Reliefs of Marcus Aurelius* (New York: Archaeological Trust of America, 1967), 22, 37.

⁴² Ryberg, *Panel Reliefs*, plate XXVII.

⁴³ Petersen *et al.*, plates 38-9.

⁴⁴ Lehmann-Hartleben, plate 8; Florescu plate VIII.

⁴⁵ Lehmann-Hartleben, plate 20; Florescu plate X.



Figure 9: *Trajan's Column Scene IX.*
Image from Florescu.

It is unlikely to be a coincidence that in the former of these, **(Figure 9)** which lies well within the range that Werckmeister postulated as being visible in the eleventh century (the first six spirals) a pony with a round pannier appears to the right of the scene, just as it does in the Bayeux Tapestry, depicted with similar stance and mane. The Bayeux version omits the background architecture, standards, trumpeters and tree, though it retains the concept of “background,” moving the bull to middle range and including small houses. The composition of the Bayeux scene is different from the Roman. The bull and sheep on the Tapestry face left, the bull is unattended, the sheep is being held by the horn and butchered; whereas at Trajan's Column Scene IX, men are driving the bull and sheep from left to right towards the end of a wall and the sheep is touched on the neck, not the horn. The pig⁴⁶ moves right to left, going round the wall. This animal therefore faces the same way as the Bayeux animal, but the latter is being carried by a man. The Bayeux pony is similar to the Roman one, but the tack is different and as the Tapestry pony is being led, its reins are

⁴⁶ The animal is not instantly recognisable (to me) as a pig since its head is hidden by the wall and its tail by the herder's body, though the legs are carefully sculpted and others might be more confident in identifying it. However, I name it by analogy with Scene LIII where the curly tail and distinctive pig shape are clear, and the Arch of Constantine. I do not suggest Scene LIII as a direct model for the Tapestry as it is higher up the Column.

forward, not lying on its neck. The Bayeux artist removes the Roman animal handlers and onlookers, replacing the former with differently posed figures. What we see here, therefore, is the transmission of an idea, but not the copying of a model, though its subject matter – sacrifice – may have been seen as an ironic analogy for the Norman depredations on English farms.

For the sheep's handlers, and the manner of grasping the animal, the artist may have borrowed from an illustration in the Old English *Hexateuch*, fol. 29v, which shows a calf being held, butchered and cooked for Abraham's (spiritual) visitors. The narrative moves from right to left of the manuscript scene. At the right a man holds the calf with both hands by its pointed horns while a smaller figure swings an axe; in the middle, a man has decapitated the calf and on the left a man tends a cooking pot over a fire. A very similar cooking pot will appear in the Bayeux Tapestry in the field kitchen immediately to the right of the pony.

Though the stylised folds of skin on the Tapestry bull's neck may be found, albeit more naturalistically, on some of the Roman sculptures, in general attitude the Tapestry beast is very different from the realistic carvings, and almost certainly has its source in a manuscript drawing.⁴⁷ The artist may have copied the image direct, or he may have imitated and reversed the earlier appearance of a bull in the lower border at Scene 7, where its bent legs make it appear to be running, along with a goat, sheep(?) and lion, in pursuit of a deer, illustrating Aesop's fable of the lion hunt. The pillaging figure carrying a burden, who stands

⁴⁷ C. R. Hart suggests that the bulls here and at Scene 7 derive from the figure of *Taurus* on a planisphere in the astrological manuscript London, British Library, Harley 647, fol. 21v, a ninth-century Carolingian manuscript which was in the library of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, by the tenth century. However, the *Taurus* image shows only the front end of the animal and Hart adds "The back halves of the bulls are due to the Tapestry artist, the end-result being most odd-looking beasts which do not fit in well with their surroundings"; Cyril Hart, "The Cicero-Aratea and the Bayeux Tapestry," in Gale R. Owen-Crocker, ed., *King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 161-78, at 166. However, there would have been other models for bulls readily available, in the emblems of St. Luke depicted in Gospel Books and compilations drawing on the gospels. The same awkwardness caused by having to adapt a "bust"-type model to a full-length figure can be seen in the ninth-century Book of Cerne, Cambridge, University Library MS Ll.1.10, fol. 21v; Michelle P. Brown, *The Book of Cerne: Prayer, Patronage and Power in Ninth-Century England* (London, Toronto, and Buffalo: British Library and University of Toronto Press, 1996), 185, plate 1a.

between the bull and the man with a pig, is, as established by Francis Wormald,⁴⁸ modelled on the figure of *Labor* in London, British Library MS Cotton Cleopatra C viii, fol. 30, a Canterbury manuscript of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*.⁴⁹

While some of the cooking and “sideboard” images appear to be freely composed, it is tempting to suggest that the blowing of the instrument, which provokes the rather clownish humour, may have been inspired by the musicians traditionally accompanying Roman sacrificial processions, which the Bayeux artist had exploited for the adjacent pillaging episode. Trajan's Column Scene IX includes trumpeters, and the Column of Marcus Aurelius Scene XXX a curved horn.

The foraging episode appears to be composite: images of Roman domestic buildings and of what appears to be a Roman sacrificial procession are combined with images from three Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, all interspersed with two armed figures on horseback; these and other details may be the artist's own compositions. While it is uncertain how much of the context of the Roman carvings was understood by the Bayeux artist, it is likely, as I have argued elsewhere, that the images in manuscript sources were very well understood, and unequivocally associated with their narrative context, by the artist and anyone else who knew the St. Augustine's, Canterbury, library well. There may, therefore, be a certain irony in the borrowing of Abraham's reception of honoured guests for the preparation of the invaders' feast; while the figure with the unidentifiable burden, taken from the image of *Labor* in a Canterbury manuscript of Prudentius, may have been included by an English artist as implicit criticism of the Norman pillagers: *Labor* in the *Psychomachia* is an associate of *Avaritia*,

⁴⁸ Francis Wormald, “Style and Design,” in Frank Stenton, ed., *The Bayeux Tapestry* (New York: Phaidon, 1957; 2nd ed., London: Phaidon, 1965), 25-36 at 32.

⁴⁹ Thomas H. Ohlgren, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration: Photographs of Sixteen Manuscripts with Descriptions and Index* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), 516, plate 15.44.

“Greed.” To the artist who used this model, and any of his colleagues who knew it well, the Normans, then, are being seen as greedy ravagers.

Here, as in the tree-felling scene, the individual images are spread so that there is a noticeable amount of empty space, bare linen backcloth, between them. There is a lack of scene dividers: the trees and buildings which have previously punctuated the frieze as boundaries marking changes of time and place, journey and destination, are absent. The section is presented as a continuum from invasion through pillaging, cooking, serving and (at Scene 43) feasting. The only architectural structure in this part of the Tapestry – the two thin towers bridged by a beam and domed roof – does not act as a boundary dividing the main register since the two waiters (labelled *MINISTRI*) step in front of, and across, it to pass the food from the field kitchen to the servers at the makeshift sideboard. It does, however, serve to separate sections of the caption, coming between *ET hIC MINISTRAVERVNT* with *MINISTRI* below, and *hIC FECERVNT PRANDIVM*. Other inscriptions over the pillaging and cooking scenes are separated by the little houses and the tray of meats on spits which abut, and in one case overlap, the upper border of the frieze: [two houses] *HIC EST VVADARD* [one house] *hIC COQVITVR CARO* [meats].

Proportions are inconsistent. The lack of a scene divider results in the small figure leading a smaller pony being adjacent to a pair of much larger men attending a cooking pot. The collection of foods on spits pokes out of a tray, placed, like the three small houses which are spaced along the scene, beneath the upper border and occupying about the same area as any one of them. This tray of meats is incongruously hanging in the air, unattached to anyone or anything. Nowhere else in the Tapestry is there such a disembodied detail.⁵⁰

The first of the Tapestry’s nine sections of linen had made careful distinction between the figures of English and foreigners. The English wore tunics, and had bobbed hair and

⁵⁰ The unconvincing and unrealistic treatment of planks in Scene 35 is worth comparing.

moustaches, the French and Normans culottes and hair shaved at the back of the neck which sometimes flopped menacingly at the forehead. The costume is less consistent in subsequent sections and by the time the invaders cross the channel the Norman hairstyle is appearing only rarely.

In the pillaging/food preparation scenes, figures are stiff and rather awkward. Arguably the basic lines of the garments could be taken as either culottes or tunics, and in one instance the embroiderers have chosen to fill in the area between the legs making a tunic⁵¹ but otherwise have left it bare, creating culottes. The garment borders which have generally been marked by horizontal stem-stitched lines or zones of contrasting colour are mostly missing here, and the colour contrast of belt and collar which is common throughout the Tapestry is frequently omitted. The hair is perched on top of the head, sometimes cut above the ears, sometimes below, but it is neither the long bob of earlier Englishmen (cut below the ears), nor the severe crop of earlier foreigners (shaved to above the ears).

There are a number of errors and idiosyncrasies in both the graphic details and the embroidery of this section. The first two horses overlap slightly, in keeping with the Tapestry's usual "grouping" of images, but the precise manifestation of the device has been misunderstood here (**Figure 7**): the blue-black stallion emerges from behind a ship, then its front legs overlies the brown stallion and its rider which are in the foreground, as if it is, absurdly, jumping over the other horse.⁵² The now-green (originally blue)⁵³ horse is badly proportioned, with an impossibly deep body and short front legs. The mail of the first three

⁵¹ The first server in front of the building.

⁵² For a successful use of a similar alignment of horses see Scene 13, where a small part of the back of Harold's horse, the end of the tail and a little bit of a back leg is obscured by the horse behind, but a front leg is similarly foregrounded in relation to the leg of Guy's horse which precedes in the procession (Harold is the figure moustached, with hawk, on a brown stallion; Guy is the figure with a hawk on a blue/black mare/mule).

⁵³ The original colour is shown in Stothard's watercolor (1821) consulted in Martin K. Foys, *The Bayeux Tapestry Digital Edition* (Leicester: Scholarly Digital Editions, 2003). The fading of the original blue is discussed in Isabelle Bédard and Béatrice Girault-Kurtzman, "The Technical Study of the Bayeux Tapestry," in *The Bayeux Tapestry: Embroidering the Facts of History*, eds. Pierre Bouet, Brian Levy and François Neveux (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2004), 83-109, at 91 and discussed at 92, plate 14.

riders (counting from the left) is depicted, neatly enough, by a diamond pattern; that of the following two, including the figure captioned “Wadard” with small circles or near-circular shapes. **(Figure 8b)** The embroidery of the individual rings of mail is neatly executed, but their inconsistent shapes and the spaces between them give an impression of carelessness to the depiction, which is probably to be attributed to the artist rather than the needleworkers.⁵⁴ However, both the mail suits depicted in circles show changes of colour, which suggest that more than one embroiderer worked on the figures, in the case of “Wadard” probably operating from opposite sides of the cloth.⁵⁵ The differences in colour might reflect a disregard for continuity, or a hiatus in the production such as a local shortage of embroidery thread of the right colour. Either scenario implies a disruption in the usual professionalism of the Tapestry’s workmanship.

This scene is the only one where linen thread is used occasionally for embroidery. It can be seen in the depiction of concentric rings around the head of a man in the pillaging scene.⁵⁶ Again this scene is found to exhibit a difference in embroidery practice from elsewhere in the Tapestry, in this case perhaps either because the artisans had not been instructed that only wool was to be used for embroidery, or because they wished to convey

⁵⁴ The depiction of chain mail in the Tapestry so far has not settled down to the consistency it will show in the Battle of Hastings sequences, where large rings are uniformly depicted. Chain mail up to this point has largely been in squares, with William at the surrender of Dinan being depicted in diamonds and some figures or parts of figures in tightly packed, small circles. The small circles are probably a more realistic rendering of actual mail rings; the large ones are a satisfactory artistic device for the purposes of the Tapestry, but would not translate into effective protection.

⁵⁵ Study of Wilson’s color facsimile (David M. Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry* [London: Thames and Hudson, 1985], plates 44-5) suggests that variations in colour of the diamond pattern chain mail may be the result of repairs. Many of the threads used in the nineteenth-century restoration of the embroidery have subsequently faded; Brigitte Oger, “The Bayeux Tapestry: results of the scientific tests (1982-3),” in *The Bayeux Tapestry: Embroidering the Facts of History*, eds. Bouet *et al.*, 117-23, at 121; Bédard and Girault-Kurtzman, “Technical study,” 103. The variations in colour of the diamonds are not shown in either Montfaucon’s engravings (1729-30) or Stothard’s watercolours; if the stitching was incomplete when they copied the images, they reconstructed it.

⁵⁶ Isabelle Bédard and Béatrice Girault-Kurtzman, “The Technical Study of the Bayeux Tapestry,” in Bouet, 83-109, at 90-1. The undyed linen can be seen between the red and green rings and between the green rings in Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, plate 45. The authors mention that linen is also used in this scene for hands, face and garment folds but they do not illustrate these; I note that there are white threads for the face and garment folds on the adjacent figure (holding the pig) and on the hand of a waiter at the sideboard made of shields, but I cannot confirm that these are the instances the authors observed.

the solidity of the object by filling in the spaces between the coloured rings, but lacked the embroidery wool they needed (perhaps undyed wool which is found occasionally in the Tapestry at other points). In the model for this figure, the *Psychomachia's Labor*, the concentric circles, though prominent, pass behind the figure's neck. Wormald suggested (not entirely convincingly) that *Labor's* burden represents "a large boulder"; there is certainly a possibility that the circles depict the outline of a solid object behind his head. The Tapestry pillager, however, carries a burden represented by concentric circles which pass in front of his neck and cut into his left shoulder. Since they pass in front of the body, and the bearer's face shows through the gap in the middle, in the Tapestry the rings cannot represent a solid object. They could only be a coil or hoop. The artist may have deliberately changed the model, or he may have misunderstood it; or this may be another case of poor transmission between artist and embroiderers.

It is tempting to interpret some of these oddities as the manifestation of an artist who was not experienced in transferring a cartoon to linen. If the blue-black stallion was drawn first, so its forelegs showed through the line drawing of the brown stallion; and if the rings were drawn before their bearer, so that they appeared to cross his neck rather than disappear behind it, the embroiderers, following their cartoon, would perpetuate the errors. There seem to have been weaknesses in both parts of the workshop: the green horse is badly drawn and the inconsistencies of embroidery threads indicate problems with the needlework.

The feast and council

Description

The makeshift sideboard, behind which the servers stand, is juxtaposed to the semi-circular table at which the feasters sit. This in turn is adjacent to a simple building with wooden posts and a pointed, shingled gable, under which three figures, labelled ODO

EP[ISCOPUS]S, WILLELM and ROTBERT⁵⁷ occupy a cushioned seat. The early modern hand which numbered the scenes on the backcloth counted the two images as a single scene (43), placing the numerals over the end of the sideboard, while considering the council of brothers, which flanks the feast on the right, balancing the sideboard, a separate scene (44), numbered centrally over the building where the brothers sit. This scene labelling is logical in view of the fact that the serving from the sideboard and the feasting presumably took place at the same time, and the council followed later, but is not entirely satisfactory. The lack of boundary markers means that three static groups are juxtaposed, uniquely in the Tapestry; arguably these images could be treated as comprising a single scene. Alternatively, the trestles of the sideboard, the feast table and the supporting post of the building might be seen as scene dividers and the three images as separate scenes. However, the pointing finger of one of the diners appears to invoke the first section of caption above Scene 44, ODO EP[ISCOPU]S, while looking back at the ecclesiastic who blesses the bread, implicitly identifying him as Bishop Odo.

Sources and style

The feast scene and the depiction of the three brothers which complete this triple focus offer some of the Tapestry's most complex and sophisticated use of models from manuscripts known to have been in the library of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. The feast at Hastings, with its semi-circular table, is, as has long been recognised, copied from a scene of the Last Supper in the *St. Augustine Gospels* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 286, fol. 125r),⁵⁸ while the waiter at the front of the table, with his two-cornered napkin and open

⁵⁷ That is, William, duke of Normandy, and his younger half-brothers Odo, bishop of Bayeux and Robert of Mortain.

⁵⁸ Laura Hibbard Loomis, "The table of the Last Supper in religious and secular iconography," *Art Studies* 5 (1927): 71-90; Brooks and Walker, 74-76.

hand supporting a large bowl, is probably taken from the Old English *Hexateuch*, fol 57v.⁵⁹ As the final meal before a decisive battle, the Hastings feast is indeed a Last Supper, and as such, the model is an appropriate source for the artist to copy. Ostensibly the feast inherits something of the sanctity of the original, with the bishop blessing the bread, in imitation of Christ, supplemented by the images of symmetrically arranged feasters whose hands lead the viewer's eye to the loaves and fishes on the table, the food of Christ's miracle. However, the orderly figures of the Augustine Gospels disciples are here replaced by feasters who point and lounge over the table⁶⁰ in a manner which is at best, ill-mannered, at worst dissolute. While the placing of Bishop Odo in the position occupied by Christ in illustration of the Gospels might appear a compliment to the bishop, his disorderly table companions make the scene a parody rather than a pious imitation of the biblical Last Supper. The presentation of Odo presiding over such a feast while imitating Christ may be seen as distasteful, critical. The waiter, who to judge from his tunic is English,⁶¹ is not modelled on some anonymous servant, but on the captive Joseph. The context of the borrowing is that he is waiting on Potiphar's wife, who will shortly have him thrown into prison. If we "read" the *Hexateuch* text this scene illustrates, the man who waits upon the Norman feasters is a foreign captive; and one who cannot expect any favours from his masters.

In the overall design of the Tapestry, this Last Supper at Hastings parallels the Last Supper eaten by Harold on the eve of his departure for France (Scene 3; DW 3-4), which, like Christ's last supper in the Gospels, takes place in an upper room. As I have argued previously, I believe that in the original layout of the frieze, these two supper scenes would

⁵⁹ Genesis 39:1-6. The resemblance between the two figures, their bowls and napkins was demonstrated in C.R. Dodwell, "L'Originalité iconographique de plusieurs illustrations anglo-saxonnes de l'ancien testament," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 14 (1971): 319-328 at plate VIII, figs. 21-22, albeit in the context of a different argument that both *Hexateuch* and Tapestry were depicting contemporary equipment.

⁶⁰ The pointing fingers of the two outer figures clearly indicate a loaf and fish; but another man points out of the picture, turning his body away from the table; another has his hand over a loaf; and another rests his arm on the table, overlapping his neighbour.

⁶¹ Though his hair is very short, a device used earlier in the Tapestry to indicate Normans.

have been set opposite one another.⁶² The two Last Suppers are key markers in the Tapestry's parallelism, which involves Harold's cross-Channel journey and (mis)adventures as both precipitating and prefiguring William's cross-Channel invasion and successful conquest of England. The imagery of the Last Supper, together with the loaves and fishes, was intended to suggest spiritual justification for the Normans who were ostensibly honoured by the Tapestry; but it seems to me, the artist subtly undermines the feasters with subversive motifs.

The council scene which follows, and is visually linked to, the Hastings feast scene, is also a complex amalgam of images from manuscript art. The building under which the brothers sit, beneath a triangular tiled or shingled roof supported by two posts, is an adaptation of an authority image which occurs several times in the *Harley Psalter*, itself a copy of a Carolingian manuscript utilizing architecture ultimately classical.⁶³ Although the pillars and roof are here presented in isolation, they originate from entrances to buildings: the triangular shape is derived from the pediment which supports the roof of a Greek temple; and the bases and capitals of the supporting posts testify to an ancestry of stone Doric columns. The branching at the top of the supporting posts suggests that they are wood, characteristic of Anglo-Saxon secular building techniques, though this may be misleading: it is possible that the detail is a misunderstanding of the acanthus capitals of Corinthian columns such as those shown in the *Harley Psalter*, fol. 1v.⁶⁴ The figures of Odo and William wear long cloaks fastened with central brooches, over robes augmented by what look like short aprons in contrasting colours, apparently an adaptation of the tiered costume worn by Pharaoh and his

⁶² Gale R. Owen-Crocker, "Brothers, Rivals and the Geometry of the Bayeux Tapestry," in *King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry*, 109-123, at pp. 115-6 developing a "structural pattern" discussed in Owen-Crocker, "Telling a Tale," 52-3.

⁶³ David. J. Bernstein, 42-3, plates 9, 10, makes a comparison with the *Utrecht Psalter* (Utrecht, MS Universiteitsbibliotheek 32, Script. Eccl. 484) fol. 32v, but there are a number of eleventh-century examples in the *Harley Psalter*, a Canterbury copy of the *Utrecht Psalter* (which was used elsewhere by the Bayeux "artist"); for example fols. 6r, 22v, 53v, 58r, see Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, Item 2.

⁶⁴ Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, 2.2:148.

councillors sitting in judgement in the *Hexateuch*, fol. 59r.⁶⁵ The figure of Robert, with his horizontal sword, is copied from a corrupt king in the *Harley Psalter*, fol. 7v. Arguably, to anyone who was acquainted with the manuscripts, these borrowings would suggest that William and his brothers were corrupt tyrants.⁶⁶

The selection and blending of images from manuscript models produces a subtle and complex imagery in the Hastings feast and council episodes. Many of the details chosen are symbolic (as in the loaves and fishes) or at least suggestive (as in the choice of architectural setting). Moreover, these images are part of a structural interlocking of scenes which plays a part in the overall design of the Tapestry, which is a web of prolepsis and echo, parallel and antithesis. The feast, as I have stated, is one of a pair of contrasting Last Suppers. The council scene balances the scene of the decision to prepare a fleet (Scene 35; **Figure 1**) thus enclosing the preparation for, and execution of, the invasion. It also relates thematically and visually to the scenes where Edward, seated, speaks with Harold (Scenes 1, 25 [DW 1, 28]), and to the discussion which takes place between Harold and William (Scene 14 [DW 16-17]). The feast scene and the council scene, therefore, are, it would seem, very carefully designed and placed. It appears to me that they are central to the structural design of the narrative hanging.

In style this key section exhibits a mixture of the disordered and the detailed. The depiction of the feasters departs from the neat overlapping of its model, the *St. Augustine Gospels*, a device used elsewhere in the Tapestry also. If, as modern commentators have tended to assume, the man on the bishop's right is his brother, Duke William, this is not indicated by physical prominence; although his arm is slightly in front of the bishop's, he is eclipsed by the arm of the bearded man with a shoulder brooch, who drinks from a large bowl

⁶⁵ See Dodwell and Clemoes, *Hexateuch*. The copying is selective; the Bayeux artist omits headgear and Pharaoh's staff.

⁶⁶ This scene is discussed in more detail in Owen-Crocker, "Reading the Bayeux Tapestry through Canterbury Eyes," 254-255.

while propping himself on the table. The table is untidy and crowded compared with the *Augustine Gospels* table. There are not just loaves and fishes, but bowls, both round-bottomed and with feet, and a jar on a base; a long curved knife and a short straight one. The embroiderers have used at least seven colours for the items on the table and the tiny eyes and mouths of the fish are embroidered in contrasting colours. The folds in the waiter's napkin are embroidered with loving care; however, by accident or design, the cartoon is set low down so that the waiter's foot dips into the border. The style of the council scene is also a little awkward. The brothers sit on a disembodied seat – it has no legs, unlike other thrones in the Tapestry which are often rather grand, sometimes made in the shape of stylized beasts. Robert's horizontal sword overlaps the next figure in the sequence, lessening its effect.

Constructing Hastings Castle, military orders, arson and preparing to exit Hastings

Description

The council scene is followed by a second section involving physical labour. Again figures in authority direct labourers: this time the instructions are not given by riders but by two standing figures, dressed in tunics and cloaks, holding spears with pennants. The situation is clarified by the caption: *ISTe IVSSIT VT FODEReTVR CASTELLVM AT HESTENGA*, “This [man] has commanded that a castle should be thrown up at Hastings.” The first standing figure addresses men holding spades and shovels; one looks back at him with the same ungainly movement as the carpenter in Scene 35 and the man disturbed by the horn in Scene 43. Again the effect is slightly amusing – perhaps the workman resents the orders. Two more labourers hit each other over the head with spades, the tools crossing each other like a parody of the modern abbreviation for the word “Battle,” in ironic anticipation of the conflict which will follow, when weapons will be deadly and consequences mortal.

The second authority figure oversees five workers energetically constructing the castle at Hastings. One wields a pick and one a spade while three shovel earth upwards to create the mound, which is shown above and behind them. The soil is rendered by dark embroidered circles on the shovels. One such lump falls from the shovel of a workman who is looking upwards and appears unaware of it. It bounces off the head of the workman below, who has what might be interpreted as a pained expression. This is a further example of the human clumsiness which this artist introduces, evidently as comic relief.

A tower acts as a scene divider and indicator of interior space. A figure with a pennant, on an elevated seat with footstool, is evidently indoors, though the messenger he faces stands on a ground line, indicating that he is arriving from outside. The caption HIC NVNTIATVM EST WILLELMO DE hAROLD, “here news about Harold is brought to William,” makes it clear that the seated figure is the Duke, though he now wears a knee-length garment rather than the long gowns of the council scenes. The seated figure and the messenger before him (Scene 46 [DW 50]) are much larger than the figures on their immediate left and right (a digger and an arsonist). There is no scene-divider after the messenger other than the spear he holds in his hand, which stretches from top to bottom of the main register, so that the first arsonist is directly juxtaposed to the messenger and the difference in their proportions is noticeable. However, both arsonists are unusually tall in relation to the house they fire and the victims who flee from it (Scene 47 [DW 50-51]). The left-hand arsonist reaches the second storey of the house they are firing, while his companion, a larger and particularly ill-proportioned figure, reaches the roof. Both have slightly unusual costumes, what look like slit tunics revealing other tunics beneath, the latter decorated with transverse bands. The space beneath the burning building is occupied by two smaller figures. One is identifiable by her headdress and long gown as female. Her left hand is raised; with her right hand she grips the wrist of a shorter figure in masculine dress, evidently a child,

who she is leading from the burning building. The disproportionate size of the Scene 50 arsonists in relation to the building and the fugitives effectively conveys the menace of the attackers and the vulnerability of the woman and child leaving from the ground level of the building, who are depicted on a much smaller scale. However, such extreme disproportion within an image is not typical of the Tapestry as a whole.

There is a slight gap after the arsonists, then an elaborate building with two storeys, a pitched roof and adjacent tower, which probably represents the town of Hastings rather than the fortification we have seen under construction. A large open door indicates that the following figure has exited. He stands exceptionally tall – the tallest figure in the Tapestry. He wears a chain mail garment from head to knees, close-fitting leg coverings also embroidered to depict mail, a helmet with dangling ribbons and a sword. He carries a spear with pennant, and although not identified by name, is presumed to represent William. This impressive armed figure faces a man in civilian dress leading a stallion. The scene is captioned *HIC MILITES EXIERVNT De hESTeNGA*, “here the soldiers come out of Hastings,” more suited to the massed cavalry in the next picture rather than this. A scene divider of three stylised trees is followed by bunched, overlapping riders in a compositional style familiar from the earlier part of the Tapestry.

Sources and style

Werckmeister proposed that the image of the workmen fighting with spades was “based on a misreading of a recurrent symmetrical group of castle-building soldiers on the Column,”⁶⁷ illustrating this suggestion with a photograph of Scene LXVIII⁶⁸ in which two soldiers in breastplates and tunics swing their tools on either side of a corner. The left man

⁶⁷ Werckmeister, 540 and plate IV.

⁶⁸ Lehmann-Hartleben, plate 32; also Florescu, plates LIV-LV, but this is less clear because the gutter of the book interrupts the image.

holds a claw hammer – he is wielding it claw first; what the other man holds is not clear. They both swing their arms, hands together, in front of their heads, and the tool on the left swings over the man’s head. Werckmeister’s identification would be entirely convincing were it not that, occurring at the tenth spiral from the bottom, the scene is considerably higher than Werckmeister’s other Tapestry analogies, which all fall within the first six spirals. A second example of the “recurrent” image identified by him is even higher, at Scene CXVII and so even less likely to have been visible. He appears to have overlooked, however, Scene XVI,⁶⁹ which falls within the first six spirals and therefore offers a more likely model.

(Figure 10)



Figure 10: *Trajan’s Column Scene XVI.*
Image from McMaster Trajan Project. Image courtesy of Peter Rockwell.

Again two men are positioned on either side of a corner of the fortification under construction. They are evidently working together, hitting the same chisel-head, one with a hammer, the other with a mallet. Ironically, the Bayeux artist’s misunderstanding has turned cooperation into conflict!

⁶⁹ Lehmann-Hartleben, plate 11; Florescu, plate XII.

It is worth noting that there are soldiers shovelling and emptying soil at Scene LVI of Trajan's Column, though this is a little higher than the other analogies I support and propose.⁷⁰ They are building a mountain road, which involves felling trees. This scene, like the lower Scene XV, already discussed, bears some resemblance to the Bayeux Tapestry tree-felling, with a similar left-hand figure and one in the background with the axe above his head, like the Tapestry's right-hand figure. In front of him are two men bending down. The left one appears to be shovelling and the other is tipping a basket of soil, indicated by small circles. The way they bend towards one another resembles the shape made by the men with pick and shovel at Bayeux Scene 49-50; there is also similarity in a figure between and behind them: in the Tapestry this man is shovelling upward to the motte of Hastings Castle. It is not clear what the Roman figure is doing, but he is turned away from the other workmen, towards the wall under construction.

The image of the fleeing woman and child is the only item which Werckmeister identified as being modelled on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (Scene XX).⁷¹ The similarity is undeniable. Not only is the subject matter the same, so are a number of details: the Tapestry figures move in the same direction as the Roman ones, the woman's raised left arm and grasp of the child are comparable, and so are the curve of the little boy's arm and the position of his legs.⁷² It is also worth noting the frequency with which the Column of Marcus Aurelius associates putting barbarians to flight with a background of arson. Although the Marcus Aurelius woman and child do not flee a burning house, arson occurs in the same

⁷⁰ Lehmann-Hartleben, plate 27; Florescu, plate XLII.

⁷¹ Werkmeister, 541: "It occurs on the fourth of the twenty spirals of the Marcus Column ...still within comfortable view of the beholder on street level."

⁷² It is worth mentioning that there is also an image of an adult leading a little boy by grasping his forearm on Trajan's Column, in a scene of Dacian evacuation, Scene LXXVI (Lehmann-Hartleben, plate 36; Florescu, plate LXIV). This version is different in that the adult is male and the figures move right to left. Furthermore this scene is higher up the column than most of the recognised analogies. However, since the Marcus Aurelius Column was modelled on Trajan's, it is possible that the adult-leading-child motif was derived from the older column.

Scene, to the left,⁷³ and again at the extreme right.⁷⁴ Higher up, a building is torched at Scene XLVI⁷⁵ and at Scene CII⁷⁶ a round hut is fired and others are burning, while in front another woman shields a child, this time a little girl.

In a previous arson scene in the Tapestry (Scene 19 [DW 23], the surrender of Dinan) the men with torches were small and they ignited a fortified building from below, which, while far from realistic, is certainly more plausible in method and proportions. For Scene 47 (DW 50-1), however, the Bayeux artist has adopted what might be seen as the Roman method of committing arson, whereby a torch is applied to the roof; if the barbarian buildings were thatched, they would take fire quickly. I suggest that, although the association of arson and flight may have been suggested to the Tapestry artist by the Column of Marcus Aurelius, the direct model was not provided by this, but by Trajan's Column, where at Scene XXV⁷⁷ **(Figure 11)** Roman soldiers torch the roof of a Dacian building within a stockade. The soldiers loom disproportionately over the building from either side. Although the architecture is different from that of the Bayeux Tapestry – the Dacian buildings have plank walls and pitched roofs -- the two-storey Tapestry building might have been suggested by the juxtaposition of a larger and smaller building on the Column. The soldiers are setting fire to the roof of the taller building. The lower one is already ablaze and flames are coming out of the windows. In this Trajan's Column scene, all the human figures are larger than the buildings; but whereas the Dacian fugitives (who are out of

⁷³ Pedersen, plate 28.

⁷⁴ Pedersen, plate 29.

⁷⁵ Pedersen, plate 53.

⁷⁶ Pedersen, plate 110.

⁷⁷ Lehmann-Hartleben, plate 15; Florescu, plate XIX.



Figure 11: *Trajan's Column Scene XXV.*
Image from Lehmann-Hartleben, 1926.

proportion to the stockaded settlement they flee) can be interpreted in terms of foreground/background, the spatial relationship of the arsonists to the building which they touch is impossible; it is a *grotesquerie* which the Tapestry artist seized and exploited. The lower parts of the Roman arsonists are not visible, so they cannot be models for the unusual costume of the Bayeux arsonists – but it may be relevant that some of the Dacian fugitives in the same scene wear slit tunics.

There is just one identifiable borrowing from an Anglo-Saxon manuscript in this area of the Tapestry: the stiff-legged stallion being brought to William is, as Sarah Keefer has demonstrated, taken from the *Hexateuch*, fol. 51r, where it is the horse of Esau – the rightful heir but not the hero of the biblical story.⁷⁸ The borrowing may be significant in an artwork which ultimately celebrates the triumph of William, who claimed to be King Edward's named heir, but focuses rather more on Harold, who took the throne on the death of Edward and occupied it until he was killed by William's army.

⁷⁸ Sarah Larratt Keefer, "Body Language: A Graphic Commentary by the Horses of the Bayeux Tapestry," in *King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. Owen-Crocker, 93-108 at 101-4. Keefer also suggests (*ibid.* and in "Hwær cwom mearh? The horse in Anglo-Saxon England," *Journal of Medieval History* 22.2 [1966]: 115-34 at 130-2) that the Tapestry horse represents a stallion famously presented to William by Alfonso of Castille.

Where the pillaging section was noticeable for its empty space, this section is noticeable for its economy – three times letters of the inscription are neatly miniaturised (*Willelmo, Hastings* and *milites*), one digger overlaps the motte of Hastings Castle and the body of another is placed in front of the tower which acts as a scene divider, rather than alongside it. The castle building, depicted as an incomplete structure on a mound, is awkwardly placed, with its base about half way up the main register and its posts abutting the upper border. The caption CEASTRA is inscribed within the structure, as if there was not enough room for it anywhere else. The abrupt way in which Hastings Castle is cut off by the upper border may be a device to indicate that its construction was not yet completed; but perhaps the building had been intended to project into the border and this could not be achieved because the border had already been worked when the castle was drawn in, and there was no room for any more. Other raised, fortified structures, pictured earlier in the Tapestry (Scenes 18-19 and 22 [DW 21-3, 25] representing Dol, Rennes, Dinan and Bayeux), begin at the bottom of the main register and fill most or all of it, in two cases projecting right to the top of the upper border (Scene 19, Dinan; Scene 22, Bayeux); while the church of Mont-Saint-Michel (Scene 16 [DW 19]) – which, like Hastings Castle is placed high up in the main register -- is shown as if in the distance, the “Mont” and supporting timbers embroidered at the top of the narrative zone of the frieze and the church neatly filling the upper border.

The mail of the tall, standing figure representing William is embroidered in a combination of the small circles used for the riders in the pillaging scene and the diamonds employed on the riders who gallop from the ships. Both circles and squares/diamonds have been used earlier in the Breton campaign, but never in combination like this. We may have evidence of disagreement between embroiderers, or an attempt to make the future

conqueror's costume distinctive. The groom, like the stallion he leads, is a rather stiff figure, with an awkwardly-drawn garment, probably intended as culottes.

A different artist?

The sections of the Tapestry under consideration include different subject matter from the rest of the embroidery – workers building ships, preparing food and digging fortifications; their composition is distinctive, with no use of overlapping groups of figures, some wide spacing and some setting of figures against backgrounds, as well as other attempts at perspective. The concept of scene division, which has appeared as a fairly regular feature in the early part of the Tapestry, is here treated more loosely and sometimes abandoned. Roman sculptures are used liberally both as specific models and as sources of thematic inspiration. The artist deftly melds this classical source material with images from several different Canterbury manuscripts, creating pictures which, for the initiated, are meaningful beyond their immediate context. Although the Roman sculptures may have been drawn upon occasionally at other points in the Tapestry, and all the Canterbury manuscripts copied here were also used at other points in the design, the dense accumulation of models in these particular scenes is notable. Yet, while this assemblage of meaningful material creates images which are intellectually and politically challenging, the artist deliberately lightens the atmosphere with clownish behaviour by the labourers here introduced into the heroic narrative. It is in these parts of the Tapestry also, that tools, equipment for cooking and portage, vessels, cutlery and foodstuffs are depicted in authentic-seeming detail. This artist is capable of an immediacy very different from the dignified but distant effect of crowns, thrones and palaces earlier in the Tapestry.

The figure-drawing is often angular and awkward. As we have seen, the artist of these sections may have sometimes misunderstood a model, or may have imperfectly

transmitted his intentions to the embroiderers. However, in the portrayal of faces the artist is versatile and sometimes sensitive. Elsewhere in the Tapestry, many of the faces are in profile, with features indicated in a minimalist way, sometimes by no more than a brow line, a dot for the eye and a line for the mouth, and there is generally little distinction between individual faces in the same scene.

Here the artist makes more of the features, using three-quarter faces more often than elsewhere in the Tapestry and even depicting the bishop at table and an anonymous waiter full-face, a device elsewhere reserved for the newly-crowned king and the archbishop of Canterbury. Our artist makes much use of the lower eyelid, and sometimes draws “cupid’s bow” mouths and dimpled chins, which makes the faces convincing. The use of colour variation for some of the features adds realism. The case of the shovellers shows some attention to both gaze and facial expression: while the man above gazes up at the motte, oblivious to the fact that he has dropped a clod of earth, the man below who is hit by it has a displeased expression, achieved by the wide eyes and down-turned line of the mouth. The face of William in his armor, is, like his graceful hands, very harmonious.

Some of the faces are inevitably clones of one another, but there is also considerable variety, especially noticeable when it is between the pairs of figures carrying out the same task. One of the men managing the cooking pot has a heavy rounded chin; one of the men fighting has a small but prominent chin. One of the arsonists is bald and has a very pointed nose; one of the servers and one of the feasters is bearded. The right-hand arsonist, like the man tethering the ships, turns a big, unattractive face to the audience. Did this artist, who has already exhibited a sense of humour, amuse himself by putting the faces of his acquaintances onto some of his figures? If so, I wonder, were those acquaintances fellow canons at St. Augustine’s, or were they men who had actually taken part in the events preceding the conquest; after all, this passage contains the identification by name of one armed rider: *hic est*

Wadard. Wadard has been plausibly identified as a tenant of Bishop Odo's in post-Conquest England, a man who received land from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and therefore likely to be known by name at that establishment. However, the face of Wadard in the Tapestry is not particularly individualised. I am not suggesting the artist was making a portrait; only that the designer had, or pretended to have, some inside knowledge of events at this point.

I would suggest that the sections of the Tapestry discussed here, which depict mundane occupations and feature disproportioned figures, attempts at perspective, and clownish humour, were space-fillers, and that they may have been late additions to the design. They were created largely from a source which recorded impressions of Roman art, plus some manuscripts already being used for the design of the Tapestry, along with personal observation of objects and possibly of people. The explanation for the need of extra material can be found in my supposition, already published, that the whole embroidery was designed as a square, and that the two feast scenes were intended to lie opposite one another.⁷⁹ The recognition of a miscalculation in the length of the walls where the Tapestry was originally intended to hang may have necessitated the insertion of some extra subject matter to augment the agreed narrative.

We may find clues in the relative sizes of the lengths of linen and the positions of the seams which join them to make the frieze; and the likelihood that the Tapestry was made to fit a specific room, which historians of architecture (following up my claim that the Tapestry was designed as a square) have suggested was a Norman keep of square dimensions.⁸⁰ The first two lengths of linen are much longer than any of the others, the first now 13.70 metres long (something may be lost from the beginning), the second longer, 13.90. The embroidery on the first piece of linen is quite individual; it includes a series of related images in the

⁷⁹ Explained in detail in Gale R. Owen-Crocker, "Brothers, Rivals and the Geometry of the Bayeux Tapestry," in *King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry*, 109-123.

⁸⁰ Chris Henige, "Putting the Bayeux Tapestry in Its Place," in *King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry*, 125-37.

bottom border, a device which is never repeated; and it is graphically self-contained, probably, as I have argued elsewhere, made for a measured wall and terminating at the corner of the room. The person who commissioned the woven linen, aware that the display area of the first wall was limited by the presence of a corner staircase, may have deliberately requested a similar, but slightly longer, length for the second wall, only to find that this wall was much wider than he had thought. The piece of cloth was not sufficient to complete the design for the second wall and a third, shorter piece of linen was attached, by a neat seam, passing through the depictions of King Edward's deathbed and shrouding (one above the other, Scenes 27-28 [DW 30]), and wrapped round the second corner, which I estimate occurred at Scene 36, the launching of the Norman ships. It is quite possible that the design was also found to be a bit short for the second wall, and that the Roman-derived tree-felling scene, with its stylized culottes, a backward-glancing figure and some strangely unsupported planks, was an *ad hoc* creation to fill the space. Be that as it may, the length of Tapestry between the second seam and my proposed second corner of the room is similar to the sum of the two sections which flank the important feast and Norman rulership images: the pillaging and food preparation and the building and arson episodes. Measuring on the pull-out version of the Tapestry, which is one-seventh size, that is 34 and a half inches or 87cm. Multiplied by 7, we are talking about roughly 20 feet or 6 metres.⁸¹ That would have been a considerable shortfall to make up if was discovered that the crucial feast image was going to fall too soon, and the lead-up to the fourth wall, which was to contain the climactic battle, did not fill the space. That, I suggest, is the reason why these distinctly unheroic, and sometimes humorous, images have been included. The change in plan may have presented the embroiderers with a cartoon which was not always clear and instructions which were not complete; it may have left them short of materials at one point.

⁸¹ Measuring from the horse's leg emerging from behind the boat to the end of the "sideboard" and from the standing figure with the pennant to William standing in armour.

However, if there was a change of artist I am not sure where it began and ended and if it was the only such division of labour. Although the mundane subject matter, the execution and occasional humour of the pillaging, cooking, digging and arson episodes suggests a different designer at work, the treatment of faces at the feast and the brothers' council suggests that these crucial and complex images were the work of the same hand. The same artist may have drawn the groom who is leading the horses from the ships, since he wears stiff-looking culottes, although they have a contrasting edge, which is different from those in the following scene. The part-ships abutting his back suggest another classically-based attempt at perspective. I initially excluded William's groom from my measurement, but his size and the hybridity of his garment, with the vertical lines of culottes and the flare of a tunic, suggest he may be the work of this clever but stylized hand.

A dividing clump of three trees and the massed overlapping horses of Scene 48 (DW 52) indicate a return to design principles which the artist of the pillaging and other scenes had ignored. It looks as though our artist had completed his work; but does this mean the artist of the earlier part of the Tapestry resumed here? Possibly a detailed comparison would indicate yet another hand at work. This matter is for future research. At present one can only assert that the Tapestry is not the coherent product it has been supposed.



Hypertext, Hypermedia and the Bayeux Tapestry: A Study of Remediation

By John Micheal Crafton, University of West Georgia

While browsing recently through some back issues of computer science journals to prepare for a conference talk on hypertext, I anticipated coming across many odd and indecipherable things. What I certainly did not expect to find was humor, so imagine my surprise when I came across this publication: “Hypertext – Does It Reduce Cholesterol, Too?”¹ The humorous title notwithstanding, this turned out to be quite a serious paper delivered by Norman Meyrowitz in 1987 at the first ACM² supported conference on hypertext. In the essay the author criticizes the overselling or overuse of hypertext in software development, likening it to oat bran that was being promoted at the time as a miracle cure for lowering cholesterol. So just as every other food product on the market was getting repackaged with oat bran and promising a cholesterol-lowering miracle, so too was hypertext being included where it need not be in order likewise to provide a touch of the miraculous. Thus Meyorwitz’ central question: is hypertext the oat bran of computing?

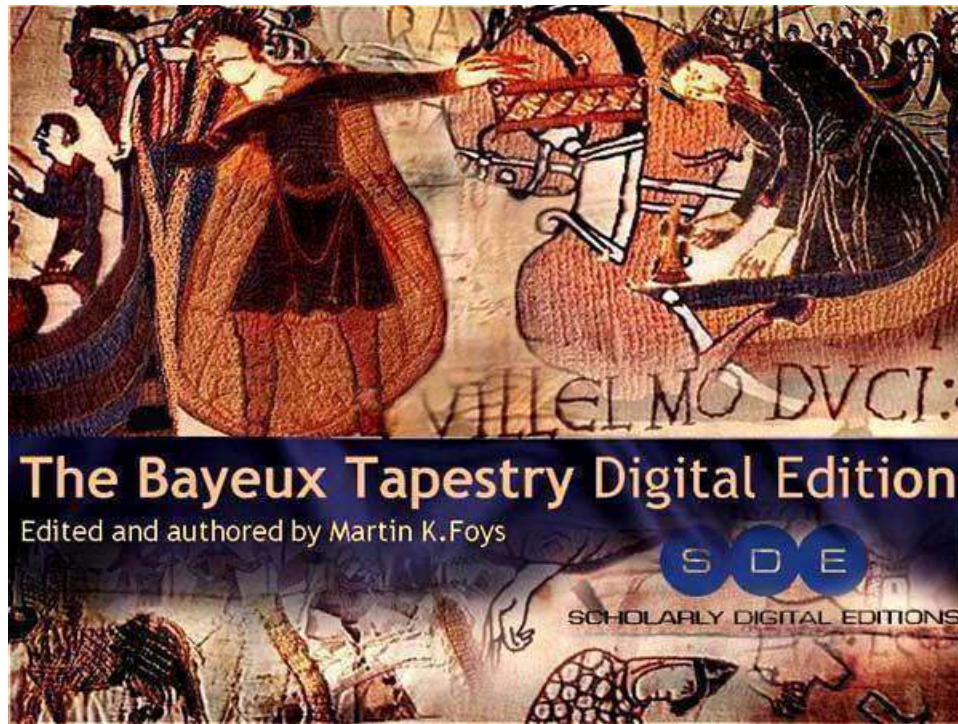
The coupling of oat bran and hypertext has got to be one of the oddest in contemporary culture, but the promise of the hypertext-induced miracle is reminiscent of the utopian, wide-eyed enthusiasm that accompanied talk of hypertext in literary-theory circles in the 90’s. George Landow’s book *Hypertext*, first published in 1992 and now in its third edition, still selling well and still one of the best books on the subject, presents hypertext at every turn as the

¹ Reprinted in *Memex to Hypertext: Vannevar Bush and the Mind's Machine*, eds. James M. Nyce and Paul Kahn (Cambridge MA: Academic Press, 1991), 287-318.

² ACM is the acronym for the Association for Computing Machinery, the major organization for computer scientists.

concrete and pragmatic realization or instantiation of everything anticipated by post-structuralist and postmodernist literary theory. In fact, if someone were to produce a greatest hits of literary theory from the 80's, just about every author and every position could be found referenced somewhere in Landow's book. The arrival of hypertext for literary theorists, particularly in less judicious books than Landow's, is described as something like the arrival of the Messiah. With some historical distance now and a slightly reduced fervor for new technology, one cannot help but wonder, with Meyorwitz, just how much hype was in the hypertext? The answers to these questions are not easy, but the industry of exploring the effects of digital media and its accompanying technology on medieval studies is growing quite steadily, and therefore it seems appropriate that for a special edition of *Peregrinations* (an online journal afterall) on the subject of the Bayeux Tapestry, we should explore the new media version of the Tapestry which arrived in 2003 in the form of CD-ROM created by Martin K. Foys. This essay will examine, then, the question of the status of these new editions and the effects of this new media using the indispensable *Bayeux Tapestry Digital Edition* as the test case.³ **(Figure 1)**

³ Martin K. Foys, ed, *Bayeux Tapestry Digital Edition*, CD-ROM (Leicester: Scholarly Digital Editions, 2003).



*Figure 1: Opening screen.*⁴

One of the first steps one might take in sorting out the hype in the hypertext is to ask the simple question what is truly new here and what is not? But there are several claims of newness to explore, so we shall begin at the highest level of abstraction and move to the specifics of the CD and thus at the same time introduce the various features of the CD to those who still may not have used the product. The first topic to explore is that of *remediation*, defined briefly as the representation of one medium by another. The term was given currency by Jay Bolter and Richard Grusin in their 1998 book *Remediation: Understanding New Media*. Any electronic book or edition, the electronic *Beowulf* or *Canterbury Tales*, is a remediated book; in other words, it is a computer program but presented on the screen in such a way as to resemble a printed book. In any remediated book, hypermedia and hypertext play not just a significant role, but a role, I will argue, that constitutes the fundamental difference created by the new medium.

⁴ Screen shots from the *BTDE* are here courtesy of the Martin Foys and SDE.

Bolter and Grusin include a formal definition of the term in the glossary to their book:

We define the term ... to mean the formal logic by which new media refashion prior media forms. Along with immediacy and hypermediacy, remediation is one of the three traits of our genealogy of new media.⁵

Elsewhere they add “that remediation is a defining characteristic of the new digital media.”⁶

The related traits of immediacy and hypermediacy, referred to in the definition cited above, are concepts necessary for understanding remediation. Furthermore, these concepts are manifestations of what they call the “double logic of remediation,” a culture’s desire both to “multiply its media and to erase all trace of mediation.”⁷ The clearest example of new media remediation is the web page that seems to incorporate design elements, the “look and feel,” of a magazine, or a book, or television. When a web page remediates something in an old medium, it will most likely reveal evidence of the older medium, especially in the early stages of remediation, and, typical of the character of hypermediacy, the new medium will actually celebrate that influence. But it works the other way too, so that in time television shows, newspapers, magazines, and books begin to look more like web pages.⁸ Another development that may seem a little less obvious but forms a crucial part of their theoretical foundation is that of Virtual Reality. A Virtual Reality device is a remediation of film or television, but instead of passively observing the scene, the user seems to be an active agent inside the program. The development of VR and the evolution of web pages represent, then, expressions of the two

⁵ Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999), 273.

⁶ Bolter and Grusin, 45.

⁷ Ibid., 5.

⁸ It works both ways, that is, unless the older medium is remediated out of existence. Print books remediated manuscripts so well and so completely that there was not much of an opportunity for manuscripts to reflect the effects of print.

desires of remediation – immediacy and hypermediacy. In the former, the new medium’s goal is to provide “reality itself” or rather to conceal as much as possible the artificial apparatus of the medium. On the other hand, hypermediacy results from the desire for fullness of the mediated experience and thus not only is the medium *not obscured* but it is actually amplified, as in the case of the web page that appears overloaded with extra buttons and clickable hot spots. Bolter argues that both, ostensibly contradictory, sides, of this double logic are two attempts at the same desire, the desire to constitute “the real, the authentic, or the natural.”⁹

But the “real,” as referred to here, is not reality in any essential or ontological sense, but rather the phenomenological reality of the viewer. “The real is defined in terms of the viewer’s experience; it is that which would evoke an immediate (and therefore authentic) emotional response.”¹⁰ Every medium (writing, drawing, sculpting, television, hypermedia and embroidery) has as its primary desire to deliver reality as transparently (immediacy) or as fully (hypermediacy) as possible. As part of their self-designated Foucauldian genealogy of these concepts, the authors trace immediacy back to Renaissance perspective painting and hypermediacy back to late medieval illuminated manuscripts. These early instances may not seem like remediations so much as innovations in representation or technique in one medium. What is the older medium that Renaissance perspective painting is remediating? In order to widen the scope of their conceptual framework, the authors broaden philosophically the concept of mediation in such a way that many of us would consider to be a definition of *perception*. In a similar way that Derrida claimed there could be no “outside of textuality,” these scholars claim that there can be no outside of mediation. “Just as for them [postmodernists], there is nothing

⁹ Jay David Bolter, *Writing Space: Computers, Hypertext, and the Remediation of Print*, 2nd ed. (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2001), 43.

¹⁰ Bolter and Grusin, 53.

prior to writing, so for our visual culture there is nothing prior to mediation.”¹¹ Therefore every act of mediation is always already an act of remediation, and since there is nothing prior to mediation, then any grasp or experience of reality is a mediated experience or *ipso facto* a remediated experience. With this latter theoretical twist the authors give the broadest license to talk about remediation and such pre-modern art as Renaissance perspective drawing and painting as well as medieval illuminated manuscripts.

As might not be too surprising, one of the best attempts at applying these concepts to pre-modern art is by Martin Foys. His book *Virtually Anglo-Saxon*,¹² published last year, attempts to cover more ground with regard to this theory and the number of medieval subjects to which it is applied than any other single publication in medieval studies that I know of. Certainly, there are many items in the bibliography on this subject that we could pull from, but they are all either editorial introductions or essays published in scattered books and journals or the few specialty journals such as *Digital Medievalist*, *Forum Computerphilologie*, *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, *The Heroic Age*, or recently *Medieval Forum*. Foys’ text covers a variety of subjects: *The Dream of the Rood*, Bede’s finger-counting mathematical system *De computo vel loquela digitorum*, Anselm’s *Prayers and Meditations*, the *mappamundi* known as the Cotton Map, the Nunburnholme Cross, and, of course, the Bayeux Tapestry. Each of these chapters, however, supports the general thesis that the Anglo-Saxon cultural record, the artifacts, and the reality represented thereby, have been remediated by the print culture of the modern period. Print culture, as Elisabeth Eisenstein famously argued, in part created the scientific revolution, but was furthermore in part created by it, and thus it becomes part of modern ideology that the

¹¹ Bolter and Grusin, 56.

¹² Martin K. Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media, and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 2007).

only humanities scholarship to take seriously is that which has met all the requirements of print culture and all the attendant quality control mechanisms that are borrowed from the sciences. So in this milieu, texts of Anglo-Saxon documents begin to emerge and thus non-print Anglo-Saxon artifacts, maps, crosses, tapestries, become remediated in book form and as such their representational meaning is warped or altered or re-shaped by that print context. The *geist*, however, is changing. As Foys claims, contemporary Anglo-Saxonists are coming to a “growing understanding that centuries of printed redactions of medieval discourse have, in the end, produced material with distinctly un-medieval qualities.”¹³ These un-medieval qualities are ones long known and long lamented by medievalists, ones that result from reproducing a medieval manuscript in modern book form, regularized spelling, punctuation, and typography and the production of the so-called “best text” when there was none. The effect of these characteristics becoming so concretized, so reified by print culture has been to create a “textual mentality no Anglo-Saxon scribe, author, or reader would ever experience.”¹⁴ The question now is to what extent do new media remediations remedy these problems imposed by print culture?

The Remediated Bayeux Tapestry

The specific instance of the Bayeux Tapestry makes for an even clearer illustration of this larger claim against print culture than does that of a manuscript. The Tapestry has come to us moderns for the most part in a book form, but, as Foys almost shouts from the page (or Word file), the Tapestry is “manifestly a spatial document, most likely designed to be hung around the walls of a hall or other building. As such, medieval audiences experienced the work not only in

¹³ Foys, *Virtually*, 19. These critiques are from a wide range of Anglo-Saxon scholars, from some of the most established scholars, such as Fred Robinson and Bruce Mitchell, to those of the new digiterati, such as Kevin Kiernan and Murray McGillivray.

¹⁴ Foys, *Virtually*, 19.

a linear fashion but in an instantaneous, monumental, and, to use Suzanne Langer's phrase, *presentational* mode."¹⁵ But since the 18th century, the reproductions of the Tapestry and the scholarly work written about it have actually created a reduction of the Tapestry, not only a literal reduction in its size so it could fit in a book but also a semiotic or rhetorical reduction or subordination of the image to text, again as part of visual culture submitting to the forces of print culture. Foys sums this up with a memorable phrase: "The forces and contingencies of print culture have, in effect, textualized the textile and ... compromised its study as much as they encouraged it."¹⁶ Here again is an example of the double logic of remediation. Re-fashioning the Tapestry to fit in book form greatly expands the number of viewers and greatly expands the intensity of analysis, of focus, and thus enhances the understanding and appreciation of the artifact. And this is predictably what a successful new medium does; it accelerates access. Such re-fashioning, however, also changes the nature of the artifact, and thus the scholarship that results is to a certain extent about a different object. And certainly none or very few medievals would have beheld the Tapestry in the way we do via the book.

Foys' remediated digital edition, therefore, attempts to correct the wrongs imposed upon the Tapestry by the print culture, particularly to the degree it can reclaim the Tapestry as visual not textual art. As he asserts:

With hypermedia one can recenter the visual object of study and can format textual commentary to remain hidden until a user requires/desires to view it. Reproducing the Tapestry digitally also enables a spatialization of the textile that, though certainly not identical to the presence of the original work, provides for a more useful representation.

¹⁵ Ibid., 97.

¹⁶ Ibid., 102.

Such display allows for a seamless presentation of the continuous narrative on any number of resolutions of detail, in marked contrast to the traditional conundrum of the print medium: show longer sections of the Tapestry only at the expense of close detail, or vice versa.

Digital technology and hypertext theory herald a reduction, if not a rejection, of the physical and hermeneutic influence of printed scholarship.¹⁷

The rejection, as such, has not quite occurred, but in this period of what Jay Bolter has termed, after Fredric Jameson, the Late Age of Print, we are not quite in the Age of Electronic Writing, so we really must withhold judgment.¹⁸ That new media seem suited to rescue the visual from the textual is certainly claimed widely. Michael Joyce begins his widely disseminated essay on hypertext with this provocative sentence: “Hypertext is, before anything else, a visual form.”¹⁹ If the World Wide Web represents the essence of what is new media, then the visual character, even visually centered character, we might say, is without question. In *Writing Space*, Bolter devotes a chapter to this subject that he calls the “Breakout of the Visual.”²⁰ For him, the close interplay of text and image is reminiscent of medieval models. In our post-literate society, our world of secondary orality, we are developing something like a visual literacy, what Bolter refers to as a reverse ekphrasis, images that function for or stand for the verbal. (By contrast, a traditional ekphrasis is a written representation of the visual, a painting for example, and thus words stand for the visual.) In this new world, images will do the work of words. The first step in assessing how well the *BTDE* resurrects the visual from the hegemony of print culture is to

¹⁷ Ibid., 107-108.

¹⁸ Bolter, *Writing Space*, 3-4. Bolter takes the phrase from Jameson’s work on postmodernism as an effect of late age of capitalism, entitled *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*.

¹⁹ Michael Joyce, *Of Two Minds: Hypertext, Pedagogy, and Poetics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 19.

²⁰ Bolter, *Writing Space*, chap. 4, pp. 47-76.

repeat our simple question: what difference does this remediation make? What do we get with this digitized version that we don't get with a paper one?

In many ways the Tapestry CD is packaged like a rather old-fashioned, scholarly variorum edition. Included are essays on the Tapestry's date, manufacturing, and purpose, essays on the background history to which the imagery on the Tapestry refers, essays on the restorations, facsimiles, and reproductions, and finally a long essay on the critical history of the Tapestry. Along with genealogical charts of the major historic figures in the Tapestry, there are two special sections of supplementary material. The first, called the Museum, contains photographs of relevant medieval art and artifacts, and the second, the Library, is basically a minor anthology of all the relevant documents students would want to read, from Norman and English sources contemporary with the Conquest to a few later ones, the latest an excerpt from Wace's *Roman de Rou*. What will especially impress anyone who uses this edition with any degree of care, however, is the critical commentary provided for every scene on the Tapestry. It is an extremely useful feature, obviously a labor of love, yet, again, very much in the vein of a traditional variorum edition. Foys divides the Tapestry into scenes and then again into panels: 40 scenes or 173 panels. The commentary accompanies each panel. By contrast, David Wilson's book edition of the Tapestry, probably the best known and most used of English editions, is organized into 73 plates.²¹ So the *BTDE* chops up the Tapestry in smaller sections and is able to provide much more focused and more comprehensive commentary. The CD is wonderful work; I can't praise it enough, but we still we must note that the influence of print culture is powerful. In fact, as each small image appears on the computer screen it seems overwhelmed by text below and all around it, and even though one can toggle the commentary off the screen, I do not think

²¹ David Wilson, *Bayeux Tapestry* (1985; London: Thames and Hudson, 2004).

we can say that this remediation, alone, completely liberates the visual from its Gutenbergian Captivity.

If all of these qualities, then, are still steeped in the print culture of a critical variorum edition, then what is new to print culture are the features that are familiar to us through electronic writing, and they are also the ones we often use to characterize hypermedia: search, copy-paste, toggle, scale, and hypertext. The CD's search engine works like that of a word processing document in that it will find all exact matches of a term. This feature goes far beyond that of any paper index because the search feature includes every single word in the CD.²² The search feature does not work quite the same as that in, say Microsoft Word, which uses a floating screen that can be invoked anywhere and which takes the reader to all the locations in the text of search object. In the *BTDE* the search is launched from a special window and once the search is launched the program brings the objects of the search to the special window. It's a little different. Once there, however, the user can click a button marked "Link," and he or she is then taken the objects in their original context. **(Figure 2)** The next function is again very

²² The search function is somewhat limited in that it will find only exact matches to the search term; it is not programmed to perform fuzzy-logic searches. That limitation, however, is something that can be easily amended in future editions.



Figure 2: Search page.

much like that in word processing, the copy and paste function; it may not seem very sexy, but it eliminates the steps of Xeroxing or scanning. Thus Anglo-Saxon scholarship on art, architecture, manuscripts, really any aspect of material culture that one is writing about, is made much more doable if one can simply find, copy, and paste right into one's own document or presentation software.

The next two items, toggle and scale, cannot really be duplicated at all by any normal print edition. The *BTDE* uses toggle switches in several places. In the main panel, as mentioned above, one can toggle a scene to display the commentary or a description of the scene (usually comprising two to three panels) or leave the area blank. Furthermore, more interestingly, one can toggle the depiction of the script above the Tapestry to reveal a transcription of the original Latin with something of the original epigraphy or toggle a translation in modern English. Therefore, students could try to work in Latin as much as

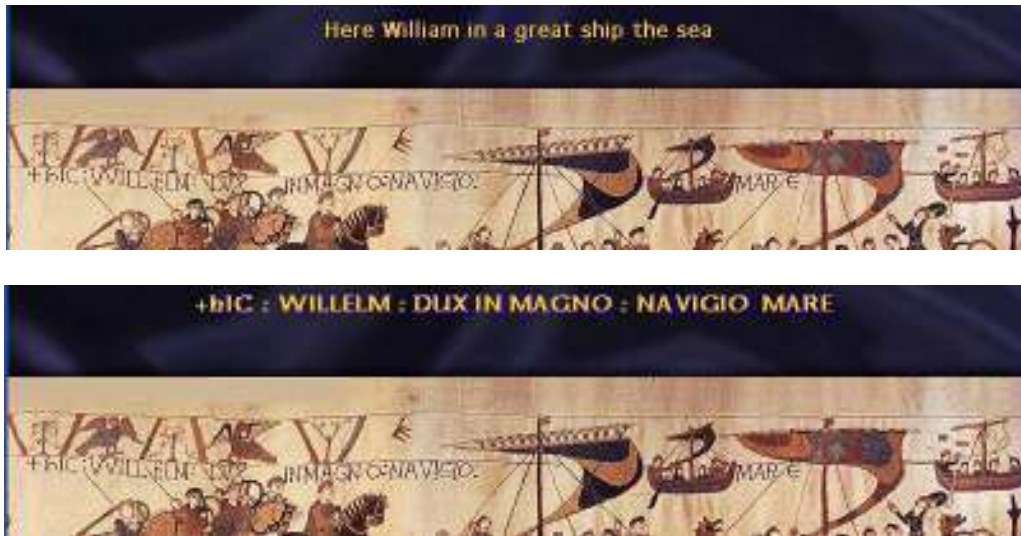


Figure 3: *Toggle of script.*

possible, but easily toggle the English to help with a difficult word or phrase.²³ The *BTDE* also uses the toggle in one other interesting area, in the special section referred to earlier called the Museum. There, the user can toggle between an image from the Tapestry and an image from the Museum that may have served as a model. For example, in the lower border of panel 23 (Wilson 11),²⁴ directly underneath the main image of William's men negotiating with Guy de Ponthieu for the release of the captured Harold, there is an image of a man slinging stones at birds. The image by all appearances is a very close copy of an image in Aelfric's *Hexateuch* (British Library MS Claudius B.iv.) which depicts Abram slinging stones at birds in order to keep them away from his sacrifice, illustrating the narrative in Genesis 15:11. In the Museum section, then, both images are provided and the user can look at one or the other or both side by side to experience the remarkable similarities.²⁵ **(Figure 4)**

²³ The toggle device would be very useful for an electronic version of any Anglo-Saxon text or any medieval text, for that matter. In a hypertext edition of Alfred's translation of Boethius, for example, the toggle could switch between Old English, Modern English, and Latin or present all three or two in columns.

²⁴ Since most readers use David Wilson's edition, I will add his plate reference in parentheses after the reference to the *BTDE*.

The last topic is perhaps the most important for Tapestry scholars and would be likewise for any Anglo-Saxon scholarship and that is scale. The Tapestry is presented as a continuous scroll of imagery on the computer screen. One can move forward or backward without any artificial division of scenes. A book edition cannot do this unless it creates an enormous fold-out. Failing that, it cannot avoid making an editorial decision to divide scenes and thus superimpose a kind of arbitrary punctuation on the Tapestry and thus, too, an ordering of scenes. The other use of scaling is that any image in the Tapestry can be enlarged by two magnitudes. As Foys has pointed out, this addition is, in fact, still somewhat limited because one should be able to zoom in and out by many other levels of magnitude, and in future editions I am sure that one will be able to do just that.

Finally, Foys makes one more rather large claim for his remediation of the Tapestry based upon the scrolling and scaling function. He argues that the ability to

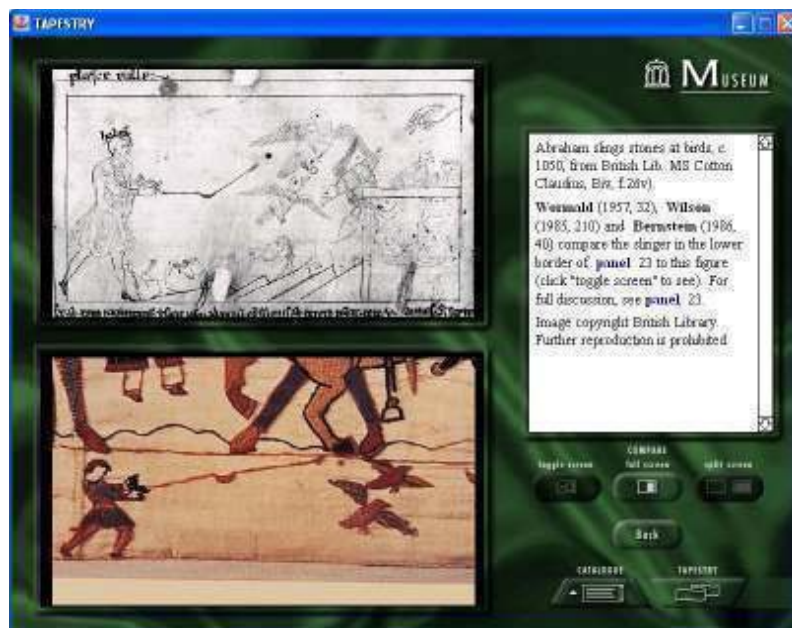


Figure 4: Museum images.

²⁵ This image is important not only as a possible source of the Tapestry but also in the history of Tapestry criticism; it and several others like it have been used to convince a majority of scholars that the Tapestry was designed and made or designed either near Canterbury or by monks from Canterbury.

scroll back and forth and jump from place to place that the CD affords may well present the Tapestry in a manner closer to the original presentation than anything else, including the *original*. For very good reasons, the actual artifact in Bayeux at the Centre Guillaume le Conquérant displays the Tapestry in such a way that it appears as a straight line, although it's actually laid out in a semicircular shape. The Tapestry is always on the left, waist high, under glass, and one is not encouraged to go back and forth. In fact, if one is in the museum in the midst of visiting school groups, merely slowing down is not easy. So in a sense he is correct. However, until the virtual reality version of the Tapestry is created with which the user is allowed to enter a virtual hall and look up to the Tapestry displayed around the room in three or four long stretches, there is much that the CD does not do. One negative effect of Foys' remediation for many users will be that the Tapestry appears even less material than what appears in a book and that the reductionism of the Tapestry is not only not corrected but actually worsened. Remediating the monumental Bayeux Tapestry in to a 6 by 7.5 inch window cluttered with hypermedia devices on a laptop does not present the awe-inspiring monument the we assume designers had in mind. With a future edition, however, it may be possible to project a 360 degree view of the Tapestry and with special projectors on one or even four walls (or four Smart boards). This technological development is a distinct possibility; getting the Tapestry out of the town of Bayeux with any frequency is not.

While scale partially addresses one of the CD's grand claims for hypermedia, hypertext attempts to claim another. The hypertext employed here in a somewhat limited version compared to the great expanse that we experience on the Internet. Selected words or references throughout the *BTDE* are hyperlinked to other places in the text. Now, this feature does not move us too much beyond a well-done print index and reference system except for the speed and

the potential to link to everything in the CD and in multiple ways and the potential to link beyond the CD to web sites. Still the immediacy of clicking a hyperlinked reference in the commentary to the first panel on, let's say, hairstyles that takes the user to a fair-sized entry from the glossary on hairstyles both in and out of the Tapestry with references to scholarship and with hyperlinked references to other images of hairstyles in the Tapestry is very fast and convenient. The scholar can easily click on all the references and view all the hairstyles whereas looking up each panel by turning pages in a print version may seem too time-consuming or burdensome, thus, the usefulness of the hyperlink.

Foys further considers the use of hypertext as a key feature that goes toward deconstructing my notion of the *BTDE* as a type of variorum edition:

In designing the *Bayeux Tapestry Digital Edition*, I found myself confronted with regrettable lacunae between theoretical possibility and possible praxis. For instance, though it seeks to distance the Tapestry from the limitations of print culture, the *BTDE* functions as a clearing house for the corpus of print scholarship on the Tapestry, inevitably directing students and scholars back to the academic writings referenced herein. However, to the extent that such a product may be avoided, this edition seeks to avoid fulfilling a "clear-text" strategy, that is, becoming an edition that operates under the rubric of monologic hermeneutic authority. ... Similarly, the *BTDE* presents not a version of the Bayeux Tapestry, but instead an architecture through which the user may explore and synthesize any of a number of critical approaches to parts or the whole of the work.²⁶

²⁶ Foys, *BTDE*, Introduction.

To say that the free flowing movements and connectedness of the digital edition allows for versioning of the Bayeux Tapestry is a bit of special pleading since the same kind of versioning can be had from a paper text, and in fact much of hypertext theory is being applied to medieval forms such as the *Glossa ordinaria*, the cathedral, the summa, and all forms of what critic Robert Jordan referred to as “inorganic aesthetics.”²⁷ While there may be a will to be polyphonic in the production of any instance of “new media,” this is still very much Martin Foys’ edition, and it has his editorial design all over it. Producers of digital texts want to participate in the creation of this new space of hyper-reality and create what the inventor of the term, Ted Nelson, calls the docuverse of free flowing text and graphics, interactivity and the multiple multiplicities of media, meaning, and messaging. Yet this utopian or heterotopian world, as Foys himself admits in *Virtually Anglo-Saxon*, is “a long way off.”²⁸

The *BTDE* does make use of hypertext and hypermedia, and we must attend to what that fact entails. While there is nothing in the programming of the CD that will connect one out to the web where the most dynamic hypertext activity occurs, a future edition could easily make the connection outward. Communication theorists, however, frequently posit two types of hypertext: static and dynamic.²⁹ A closed system like that of an electronic book is an example of static hypertext that is self-contained, and even though the text is self-contained, it is still active in that it is clickable and thus filled with links and nodes that lead to other links and nodes and with enough of these we have the condition that provides a for all practical purposes a limitless

²⁷ David Solomon, *The Glossa Ordinaria: Medieval Hypertext* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 2007); the cathedral reference is in Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*, 34-35; Robert M. Jordan’s reading of medieval poetry as inorganic and in some ways postmodern can be found in *Chaucer’s Poetics and the Modern Reader* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987).

²⁸ Foys, *Virtually*, 200.

²⁹ Michael Joyce suggests another binary of hypertext, the exploratory and the constructive. In the latter instance, the use of hypertext actually changes the object in the world, like a hypertext story that is literally different after the reader has gone through it once.

number of ways that the reader can choose to navigate the text, and, in that sense, a static hypertext document can be argued to be more like the Barthesian writerly text that was invoked by George Landow in his text on critical theory and hypertext. This level of interactivity, though perhaps limited by web-based and wiki standards, is certainly something that a printed book cannot match. One can hold a book and flip from page to page, but one cannot press a word and have an embedded text appear or rub one's finger over a text and see an image or explanatory note appear. Furthermore, as Jay Bolter notes, the hyperlinked text will have its own hyperlinks that then go on indefinitely, whereas rarely would a footnote have further footnotes. On the other hand, the traditional footnote may take one on a theoretically infinite regress, yet following that regress will require that one take many trips to many non-theoretical libraries. Furthermore, of course, we remember that Barthes was not talking about hypertext; it did not exist when he was writing *S/Z* in 1970. The writerly text for him exists in the phenomenological realm of the reader's experience once unburdened by the shackles imposed by the tyranny of the Book, in the classic sense. The physical qualities of hypertext would seem to further realize or instantiate, as Landow says, that which Barthes hypothesized.

It is perhaps not so much the changes in physical mechanism of hypertext, especially in a static text, that is most provocative, but rather the changes in the experience of reading, the manner of travel in cyberspace which results from the physical change. With the Bayeux Tapestry CD one is at an even better place to see the difference. With the opening screen the user sees a small portion of the beginning of the Tapestry but beneath the image of the Tapestry is a bit of an outline of the plot that is hyperlinked, so that immediately the user can switch to a

battle scene or whatever and then go from there clicking and leaping from place to place.³⁰ The experience, then, of this movement in the text and of the multi-layeredness of the hyperconnections leads to – theorists assume – a different conception of what text is and for some perhaps a more accurate view of intertextuality. In other words, with hypertext the experience of reading and the experience of writing may be changing, but the essence of textuality as an endlessly linked system of signifiers has not changed; rather, the new experience of reading hypertext merely exposes the nature of textuality for what it is.³¹ Hypertext theorists like to claim that hypertext changes all three points in the communication triangle: writer, text, reader. The text itself is changed physically and the manner of moving through it makes our experience of it different. Thus, the reader is changed by the inter-operability of hypertext, thereby engendering a much more active engagement with the text. Finally, the writer is changed to construct a much more open text; he or she must assume less control. Also, the scholar or critic is affected by the copy, search, scale, and toggle functions of the CD. Writing with hypertext, the theory goes, creates in the writer a sense of hybridity as a result of the inter-operability afforded by these hypertextual functions. The writer's agency becomes blended with the computer's agency and the software's agency. If we add the potentialities created by networking then we really do have something of a changed nature of the writer. The live interconnectedness of the medium could transform the writer sitting alone in a study to something more akin to a

³⁰ This is, of course, available with an electronic book of any sort. I can see no reason that the opening of page of an electronic version of the *Great Gatsby*, say, could not include a scale of the book with links to chapters and subsections allowing users to jump to from place to place.

³¹ With hypertext, the physical nature of the text is also changed; we move from paper or vellum to electronic signals and the functional equivalent of tiny light bulbs, and this change alone may heighten a the reader's awareness of textuality, intertextuality, and the semi-permeable and inescapable presence and reality of media and may lessen the sense of a monological version of the one and only edition. The experience of reading is furthermore changed by being able to move, scroll, enlarge the text at will and by the ability to at a click pull forth images of reproductions of the Tapestry, images from art and artifacts considered as sources or analogues, and the quick retrieval and search of the many historical documents possibility informing or informed by the Tapestry. All of these added attractions may add to a fullness of the reading experience that can somewhat compensate for the emptiness that some claim resulting from ephemeral and insubstantial nature of electronic text.

musicians in a jam session whose work affects that of the others and vice versa. With hypertext we exchange the image of the solitary writer in his scriptorium for the image of Miles Davis on stage with a band.

Remediated Readings of the Bayeux Tapestry

The very fact of a remediated pre-modern text, for whatever reason, be it to rescue the visual from the textual or the non-linear from the linear, opens up the possibility of reading the original artifact as if it were modern, a product of the new media. Thus, Martin Foys refers to the Bayeux Tapestry as a “hypertextile” partly for this reason; he invites us to re-view the Tapestry in whatever new lights the equipment of the new media provides. One of those lights is simply to consider the text as a dynamic nexus of media intersections or hybridities instead of an objective, static, completed and somewhat inaccessible “other.” Foys invokes this hermeneutic as he discusses the missing ending of the Tapestry and the implications of that for recent critical reception. The Tapestry as we have it is incomplete in that a ragged end reveals the lack of a concluding image or images of the visual narrative. Some scholars surmise that we are missing as much as eight feet of imagery. Furthermore, many careful readers (as well as some casual observers) of the Tapestry assume that the end must have depicted William’s entry into London and his crowning at Westminster on Christmas Day of 1066, but, of course, we can never know for certain until the actual ending is found. It may have ended with an image of Bishop Odo looking like the Pope, a position he sought,³² which might explain why that section

³² Odo’s story is told in many places, but a still reliable source is David Bates, “The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/50-1097),” *Speculum* 50, no. 1 (1975): 1-20.

is missing. Most likely the final section displayed William crowned, and it is missing simply due to wear and tear.

Foys claims that the desire for the ending, the need to determine what that missing ending looked like and signified, drives (and is driven by) a particular kind of interpretive strategy. Calling upon Frank Kermode's famous essay about the importance of endings as well as New Criticism's requirements for unity, he points out that many critics sense a need for an ending in order to satisfy the demands of their critical project, so modern readers have projected one for the Tapestry. Much like a need for an order and an ending in the *Canterbury Tales* and thus one (or several) is projected. However, neither the hypertextual model nor the paradigm of a post-structuralist view of textuality needs to project such an ending. In fact, multiple endings made possible by not having the physical ending open up the Tapestry to be read again as the Barthesian writerly text, mentioned earlier, or perhaps better as a Borgesian hypertext like "The Garden of Forking Gardens" and thus the missing ending actually serves the readers of the Tapestry better. Foys writes:

The moment the Bayeux Tapestry lost its ending, it joined the ranks of such texts, as only the reader, and not the author, can construct the possible ending. Like a hypertext, the work is now, to paraphrase Douglas, a narrative about its own structure and about its suspension of closure; its hypertextual element – its missing end and special linkages – also serve as a link to understanding the critical and technological plurality in which the visual narrative now exists."³³

This rather beautiful peroration nonetheless runs the similar risk of a kind of over reading that we read in some texts about fragments and ruins that we might parody as thus: "when the temple lost its roof, it joined the community of postmodern sculpture that points to the roofless nature of

³³ Foys, *Virtually*, 101-102.

grand narratives; only in opening up to limitless religious plurality can a temple truly be a place of authentic worship.” In other words, we could be overdoing it a bit; however, the argument still stands that using hypertext suggests what is always already the nature of text or media as textuality or mediation (or mediatization) and thus reading pre-modern texts with a postmodern method is appropriate if indeed the postmodern method reveals what there is to know about textuality and thus what medievals may well have perceived also. Obviously, a neoplatonic and/or Augustinian understanding carries with it the conviction not only that transcendental signifiers exist but also that our human texts participate in them, yet even Augustine was not so completely certain of possessing control of textuality³⁴ and with later developments in sign theory particularly among the nominalists we have even more of a distant mirror of recent textual theory.

Another dimension of the hypertext question in its role of remediation is the way it allows us to read the original Tapestry as if it were a hypertext. In the technical sense of an electronically linked text, the Tapestry is quite obviously not hypertext, but one can make the connection that the Tapestry be viewed as an instance of a non-electronic hypertext, like footnotes and references in a printed text, that set up a type of non-sequential or networked reading of the text by following links in verbal and graphic cues. The main narrative of the Tapestry seems fairly linear and sequential. In fact, we notice at least two violations of the rule of sequence and they stand out very much because of the dominant sequential mode of the Tapestry. (These are the scenes of William sending messengers to Guy of Ponthieu, and the

³⁴ John Caputo and Michael Scanlon, *The Postmodern Augustine: Confessions and Circumfession* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005).

scene of Edward's death and funeral.³⁵) While there certainly are gaps in the main narrative sequence and many missing transitions still the sequence is fairly clear and easily followed. It's primarily in the script and imagery that any hypertextual element is most clearly working as well as perhaps the connection between one scene and another parallel scene. As in the case of an illuminated manuscript, wherein the image may well be in something of a dialogue with the text, setting up a resonance that deepens the meaning of the text and the imagery, so also in the Tapestry we have what we might call dialogic connections among its three bands of images and even occasionally the script.

For the most part, the script rolls along seemingly innocuously in the background and functioning largely as an index of places and people and a few events, but occasionally it does seem to play a role in the visual register. One example often pointed to is panel 59 (Wilson 26) wherein the captive Harold swears an oath on two reliquaries. In the background a smaller and unnamed figure points to the embroidered word *sacramentum*.³⁶ He seems to be almost putting his finger right on the text to indicate its importance, a sacred oath of loyalty from Harold to William, at this very moment (**Figure 5**). In panel 117 (Wilson 48), where Odo in a Christ-like last supper mode is blessing the feast, there appears to be an unnamed person is sitting next to Odo who is looking directly at Odo and pointing with his left hand to the word *Odo*. Another instance may occur in panel 30 (Wilson 14) where it would seem a spear pulls down the "o" in Harold's name.

³⁵ See Jennifer Brown's essay in this volume for a suggestion that the reversed sequence may have been influenced by the anonymous *Vita* of Edward that also reverses the sequence.

³⁶ The image of the pointing hand is found, of course, in many medieval manuscripts and thus functions as a kind of hypertextual marker. See Jonas Carlquist, "Medieval Manuscripts, Hypertext and Reading. Visions of Digital Editions," *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 19, no. 1 (2004): 104-118. There Carlquist analyzes some Swedish manuscripts with these images of hands and reads them as a type of primitive hypertext and that he calls "analogue links." He includes some images of the hands in the essay.



Figure 5: *Harold's Oath. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

(There are numerous places where the letters of Harold's name are punctured by a spear.) Of course, the idea suggested here is that these connections form a hyperlink, a link forward to Harold's death by an arrow in his eye. These instances that appear to create a dialogue between text and image may well be totally accidental because they don't seem to ever form a consistent pattern. However, the great art historian Otto Pächt based a major argument about the Tapestry's departure from classical representation upon the *sacramentum* scene.

The more obvious case is the script framing or naming an image in the main narrative. Accordingly, small images that represent towns are named: Bosham, Dol, Rennes, Dinon, Mont St-Michel, Bayeux, Hastings – also an occasional architectural image is clarified as an *ecclesia* or *ceastra*. And individuals, of course, are also named: Edward, William, Harold, and Odo are the most frequently named, but also Guy of Ponthieu, Ælfgýva, Vital, Waddard, and Turolde. So few people are actually named that it makes the last three quite interesting because they are not well known from other sources. In fact, they may not be known at all, but the best guess right now is that they were vassals of Bishop Odo. One instance of Harold's naming that seems perhaps a little more dialogic than merely indexical appears in his coronation scene. In two panels juxtaposed, we see a group of men, perhaps representing the Anglo-Saxon witan handing

Harold the crown and in the next panel Harold appears in majesty (Foys 71-72; Wilson 31). In both scenes the inscription appears to form a crown around Harold's head as if over-determining or hypermediating this indexical reference.

Unlike the inscriptions that do function primarily in an indexes, the imagery, particularly in the upper and lower panels, the so-called minor panels, hypermediates narrative moments in the main or middle panel. The idea that the minor panels add connotative depth to the narrative is something that has been pointed out and commented upon so often as to no longer require a secondary source. The most obvious visual references are those of the dead and maimed bodies in the minor panel below the battle scenes. Another one about as obvious is the image of the howling dog underneath the funeral cortege of Edward. Less obvious but more ominous is the set of ghost ships underneath the second image of the crowned Harold, an image to unsettle the new king's peace of mind. Likewise more ambiguous but provocative of much critical commentary are the nude images in the minor panels, particularly the ones associated with *Ælfgyva* (Foys 39; Wilson 17). The bibliography on the mystery of *Ælfgyva* almost equals that of the Tapestry as a whole, a mystery that is deepened exponentially by the curious nude figures in the panel below.³⁷ There are a few instances wherein it seems the decorative imagery in some way comments on the narrative action setting up a moment of hypermediacy. In panel 101 (Wilson 43), for example, as the first of William's ships lands at Pevensey, the birds in the upper panel appear likewise to be landing. In panel 13 (Wilson 7) as Harold exits his boat in Ponthieu for a hunting adventure (though the event gets turned around as Harold becomes the hunted and

³⁷ For one of the most theoretically sophisticated treatments of this mystery, see Gerald Bond, "Arresting Subjects: *Ælfgyva* and the Coloring of History," in *The Loving Subject; Desire, Eloquence, and Power in Romanesque France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 18-41. Also for a good argument on her identity, see J. Bard McNulty, "The Lady *Ælfgyva* in the Bayeux Tapestry," *Speculum* 55 (1980): 659-68 and Richard D. Wissolik, "Code in the Bayeux Tapestry," in vol. 19 of *Annuaire Medievale*, ed. Frank Zbozny (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1979), 69-97.

captured by Guy de Ponthieu), in the panel below the narrative moment of the hunt is then amplified by smaller images of hunting.

These instances as noted above wherein the panel imagery functions to hypermediate the action or meaning of the main panel may be thought of as a pre-computer version of a static hypertext. If we can posit such a thing as a dynamic hypertext, it would perhaps be the instances of hyper-intertextuality, wherein the imagery in the panels connects to main panel by way of a narrative or reference outside the Tapestry. One such image already mentioned is the scene taken from Aelfric's *Hexateuch* showing Abram slinging stones at birds to chase them away from his sacrifice to God made in hopes of achieving the Promised Land. The scene from Genesis illustrates a moment in a narrative that includes a divinely ordered sacrifice that has everything to do with nation building, precisely what the Tapestry is about as well, for at this moment in the narrative action Harold is being held by Guy of Ponthieu but William is working to get him released. Thus, are Guy and his men the birds that William as Abram must shoo away from his sacrificial victim Harold? Of course, this is but speculation, and the image, which does seem to come from the *Hexateuch* is but one of several under this narrative sequence of William hearing the news of Harold's capture and sending messengers to Guy (panels 23-28). The other images all seem to create a series of agrarian scenes, plowing, sowing seeds, and harrowing, taken from perhaps a variety of manuscripts sources including the Harley Psalter and calendar manuscripts. What does the relationship between these scenes of planting crops have to do with William freeing Harold from Guy of Ponthieu? Again one can invoke Genesis: this is the creation of a new relationship between William and Harold; it will be grown anew from the

ground. It's hard to know, but the scenes *do* represent the early work of creating a garden and William *is* in the early stages of creating a relationship with Harold and England.³⁸

There are some references to other narratives that furthermore function to hypermediate the main narrative and they come in the form of Aesopian fables or perhaps some mythological references. The fables have been the most commented on, and most scholars agree that nine or ten of these fable identifications are pretty conclusive, whereas another twenty or so identifications are doubtful. One of the most obvious and most interesting is that often referred to as the Fox, the Crow, and the Cheese. The image that evokes this fable appears in three different places and in three different configurations. In the first (upper border, panel 6) the cheese appears to be in flight between the crow's mouth and the fox's; in the second (lower border, panel 40) the fox has the cheese in its mouth; in the third, strangely the crow has the cheese in its mouth. In the fable, of course, the fox talks the crow into dropping the cheese and there is a lesson about paying attention, keeping one's mouth shut, and hanging on to one's property. So it would seem that the order following the narrative of the fable should be 3rd, 1st, and 2nd. This reference has been written about quite a bit and none has written more clearly than McNulty who argues that the cheese represents the English crown that has fallen from where it should be for a time; furthermore, since the fable concludes with the crow losing the cheese to the fox, the prediction then is that the crown will be lost to Normandy. That is only one way that the fable has been read. It has also been read as both as a pro-Norman and pro-English

³⁸ For much greater exploration of these possibilities, see Gale R. Owen-Crocker, "Reading the Bayeux Tapestry through Canterbury eyes," in *Anglo-Saxons. Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. Simon Keynes and Alfred P. Smyth (Dublin: Four Courts, 2005), 243-265.

propaganda, which in some ways underscores the hypertextual nature of the piece, in that, absolute sequence of the reading is not determined.³⁹

One last manner of considering the Tapestry hypertextually concerns the reflection of one panel image upon that of another. Richard Brilliant's essay on reading the Tapestry in terms of its visual display is an excellent attempt to explore this semiotic dimension of the textile. It is an engaging essay that takes up the issue of the under-regarded performative aspect of the Tapestry, and after researching archaeological information about eleventh-century halls that might have hosted the Tapestry, he asks the question of how it would have been hung and what image would be across from what. In other words, he asks, how did the Tapestry remediate the space in which it was hung? What image would be behind the lord at the high table? Also, how would these images thus arranged reflect on each other?⁴⁰ This possibility of reading the imagery of the Tapestry in a completely non-sequential and theoretically continuously looped and differing repetitions is most appropriate as a pre-modern instance of hypertext. Like clicking images in a database of images over and over and in different sequences, the observer standing in the middle of the hall in which the Tapestry is hung can move from image to image and arrive at much more meaning than was perhaps planning by the designer(s).

³⁹ J. Bard McNulty, *Visual Meaning in the Bayeux Tapestry: Problems and Solutions in Picturing History* (Lewiston, New York: Mellen, 2003).

⁴⁰ Richard Brilliant, "The Bayeux Tapestry, a Stripped Narrative for Their Eyes and Ears," in *The Study of the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. Richard Gameson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), 111-37; Gale Owen-Crocker has posed similar questions about the arrangement of the imagery in an essay on the geometry of the Tapestry and the question of parallel or mirrored images; see Gale R. Owen-Crocker, "Brothers, rivals and the geometry of the Bayeux Tapestry," in *King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. G. R. Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 109-123.

The Bayeux Tapestry as Remediator of Prior Texts

As Bolter and Grusin indicate in their genealogy of the concepts of immediacy and hypermediacy, pre-modern art can be said to result from the same desires and to have been shaped by some of the same forces and, therefore, can be better understood according to the same double logic as that of new media productions. Some pre-modern art, however, appears more obviously involved in the work of remediation than others. For example, on a very basic level, the remediation of a plain and non-illustrated codex by an illuminated codex is an example not only that Bolter and Grusin cite in their book as one of the earliest instances of hypermedia, but also it is an example that makes a good deal of sense. As a manuscript was copied into a more deluxe illuminated edition, say a Psalter, quite a bit of new work would be required in that reproduction, work involving a new design and new craftsmen and even sometimes new material, gold leaf, for example. There can be no doubt that the manuscript increased in value as well as information. Each illuminated page, whether it be the eleventh-century *Harley Psalter* (polychrome copy of the *Utrecht Psalter*) or the wonderful *Luttrell Psalter* of the fourteenth century, when hypermediated by an illustration increases the amount of information (especially in the communication theory sense of that word) on that page simply because of the addition of the visual, but also because of the dialogic information that results from the interaction between the text and visual. On the other hand, the application of the binary immediacy/hypermediacy is certainly problematic in medieval texts because that which is real may be considered quite different. In fact, the polarity may be reversed, for a neoplatonic theologian might well consider the abstract symbol in an illumination to present reality much more immediately than any photorealistic detail. The modern theorists may not care about the metaphysical implications of

real or not real, but I believe most medieval readers did and that difference would also constitute a difference in the phenomenological reality of the reading experience.

So now we must ask the question about the Bayeux Tapestry and in what ways it could be said to remediate prior media or prior individual works? First of all, it is quite clear that the Tapestry adopted forms, styles, and techniques of prior media, and I have argued elsewhere that the designers did so intentionally to make a point about the epic dimension of the Tapestry, its inclusiveness, its monumentality, and to suggest a point about Norman imperial intentions.⁴¹ Setting the imperialism argument aside for the time, there does seem to be a pattern in the adoption of other media in such a way as to signify artistic traditions and peoples that extend in four different directions from Normandy: from the North, Scandinavian hangings as well as a characteristic decorative style and imagery of Viking ships; from the west, Anglo-Saxon embroidery and manuscript imagery; from the south, Roman monumental sculpture; and from the east, Byzantine silk work and imperial imagery.

Perhaps the clearest case, at least in my mind, can be made for the Tapestry as in part a remediation of Roman art, particularly that which we associate with the triumphal columns, arches, and friezes. Professor Gale Owen-Crocker's essay in this issue of *Peregrinations* makes the strongest argument recently about the influence of Roman art, particularly the art on the monumental columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, on the development of the design of the Tapestry. This same connection, however, between the Tapestry and the columns was first suggested quite early by Montfaucon during the eighteenth-century rediscovery of the Tapestry. His reproduction of the drawings of Nicholas-Joseph Foucault that he came to possess and then the drawings of Antoine Benoît that he commissioned constitute an instance of an eighteenth-

⁴¹ I have written a monograph on just this subject. See John Micheal Crafton, *The Political Artistry of the Bayeux Tapestry: A Visual Epic of Norman Imperial Ambitions* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 2006).

century remediation of the Tapestry not only in a different medium, but also in service of the monarchy. He titled his two volumes of the Tapestry later drawings *Monumens de la monarchie de la française* (1729), and thus I believe his connection between the Roman columns and the Tapestry informs us as to how he perceived the Tapestry, as a type of monument and as an assertion of regnal power.

While the suggestion of this connection to Rome has been in the air for two centuries, it was in the twentieth century that the scholar O. K. Werckmeister in 1976 published the first professional essay demonstrating detailed connections between the Roman world and the Tapestry.⁴² He made some stunning correlations between a few scenes on the columns and the Tapestry, but he also argued more global observations of what we might consider the larger artistic design of the Roman columns and that of the Tapestry.

Both the Column of Trajan and the Bayeux Tapestry show wars that are methodically prepared, carefully directed, and strategically executed, by means of a more or less clearly readable chronological as well as topographical continuum which has been designed on the basis of the continuous picture strip format, where movement in space and progress in time interlock. Differing from the stereotyped climactic battle clashes of late antique and early Christian manuscript illumination, both religious and secular, they unfold the visual record of a campaign in stages, including the technical and logistical preparations, which are shown to be as much of an achievement as the victorious fighting itself.⁴³

⁴² O.K. Werckmeister, "The Political Ideology of the Bayeux Tapestry," *Studi Medievali* 17, no 2 (1976): 67.

⁴³ Werckmeister, 537.

Finally, Werckmeister tries to place all of his points about the connection between these two monuments of art in a subordinate position to the main thrust of his argument which is that both are in effect panegyrics to Caesar and to William as Caesar.

Werckmeister's arguments were not very highly regarded until recently. Peter Lasko, in a recent essay in honor of C.R. Dodwell, has given the Roman argument new life by making a case for parallel use of space in both works.⁴⁴ Finally, the two most recent books on the Tapestry published in English by Carola Hicks and Howard Bloch both present the Roman thesis as if it is no longer a critical debate. Carola Hicks states it briefly but firmly:

The designer and his team drew on a vast range of sources from different media.

The narrative strip had firm classical roots in the carved friezes of the Roman world, like those on the columns of Trajan or Marcus Aurelius. Their images of warfare would have fascinated a traveling monk-artist or a potential patron. Harold was just one of many English visitors to Rome, and Odo aspired to remain there permanently as Pope.⁴⁵

And now Gale Owen-Crocker's essay builds upon the work of Werckmeister and Lasko in order to demonstrate the influence of Roman art on three scenes in particular: the ship building episode; the pillage and feasting before the battle panels; and the castle building and arson scene. This last one contains a parallel to an image on the column of Marcus Aurelius that is most remarkable in its similarity. Even those who are somewhat skeptical of the Roman connections, such as David Bernstein and Wolfgang Grape, have said that there is no denying the parallels.⁴⁶

The scene in question shows a woman leading a child from a burning background, a very

⁴⁴ Peter Lasko, "The Bayeux Tapestry and the Representation of Space," in *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives. A Memorial Tribute to C. R. Dodwell*, eds. Gale Owen-Crocker and Timothy Graham. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), 26-39.

⁴⁵ Carola Hicks, *The Bayeux Tapestry: The Life Story of a Masterpiece* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2006).

⁴⁶ David Bernstein, *The Mystery of the Bayeux Tapestry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 97.

powerful image evoking the horrors of war.⁴⁷ Professor Owen-Crocker's very careful and detailed analysis of the scenes makes an all but iron-clad case for Roman influence, but her essay does not go so far as to suggest a purpose for the influence. However, there is no doubt that some aspect of remediation, repurposing we might say, of some of the triumphal columns to the Tapestry is irrefutable.

My surmise on the purpose of this remediation is that the designers had in mind the larger pattern as well, the genre of monumental art. The Bayeux Tapestry remediates the triumphal columns of Rome by peeling off, as it were, the narrative frieze from the column and stretching in out in a single line with the added features of two minor panels and a script. As Wolfgang Grape has argued, the Bayeux Tapestry then becomes a portable and movable monument to the Norman triumph. It remediates the triumphal column or arch but in a format that not only adds much more hypermediacy, including more text and pictures, but also in a format that can be placed inside a hall and from hall to hall, thus converting the lapidary medium of Rome to the more nomadic quality of the Normans and, perhaps, signifying a Viking connection, since the hanging as a genre, the *tjell* of textile art, would have been recognized as Viking.

Our knowledge of these Scandinavian hangings is sadly very thin; quite simply, not very much of that art has survived. The advantage of the hanging is its portability, but the disadvantage is that it is so easily damaged. As a result there is not much of a record, an extant record, upon which to make secure arguments, but what little we have and combined with other evidence of the influence of Scandinavian art and artifacts may enable us to make a case for a second major effort at remediation. As with the case of the Roman influence, the case for Scandinavian is an old one that fell out of regard, but is now making something of resurgence. The French scholar Lucien Musset, late of University of Caen, has done more, perhaps, than

⁴⁷ Marcus column Scene XX and Tapestry panel

anyone in Normandy to build the case for the importance of Scandinavia in the Tapestry, and Professor Shirley Ann Brown is publishing in this journal an argument that builds upon Musset and others and offers a synthesis of the available evidence that demonstrates the importance of Scandinavian or Viking nationality in the consideration of the Tapestry. She writes that the importance of Scandinavia somehow got lost in the nationalistic arguments over the Tapestry's provenance.

The question of the relationship between Scandinavia, the Vikings, the Norman Conquest of England, and the Bayeux Tapestry, has been discussed from the viewpoint of archaeology and art. It is equally necessary to investigate it from the standpoint of national attitudes and interests, for it is possible to interpret the Bayeux Tapestry, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Vikings as 19th century creations. The ways we look at these phenomena and the questions we ask of them were formulated during the post-Napoleonic period when national identity was a major concern, and many European countries were reconstructing their own early histories.⁴⁸

And in reviewing the scholarly and some popular material on Viking and Tapestry connections, she concludes that, properly regarded, we should view the Bayeux Tapestry not as English or as French, but “as a reflection of the more nuanced society the Conquest produced, one that combined English, Anglo-Danish, and Norman cultures.”⁴⁹ Professor Brown makes the larger case of moving beyond modern nationalist barriers to see the identity of the Normans as a complex blend of these Scandinavian and cross channel identities. The Northern English, Scandinavians, and Normans were in some ways one people, though separated by water boundaries and languages.

⁴⁸ Shirley Ann Brown's essay is the first in this volume.

⁴⁹ Brown.

In her essay, as is the case in Gale Owen-Crocker's essay, Shirley Ann Brown builds the case based upon clear and very specific pieces of evidence that demonstrate the influence of Scandinavian artistry. She quotes Musset's argument of the evidence of the Ringerike style; she connects the "hog-backed" style of Danish houses with similar imagery in the Tapestry; and, of course, she points to the numerous connections between the ships in the Tapestry and Norse ships that have been excavated in the twentieth century. It is interesting that one of the most Danish connected scenes, according to Brown, is the ship-building scene, which is also one of the three scenes that Owen-Crocker demonstrates to be informed by Roman art. This is not an either / or condition. The designers were consciously blending these styles, perhaps for ideological reasons, as I believe, or perhaps merely to enhance the hypermediacy, or perhaps to show off. At any rate, what we can see now is that just as the Roman column was remediated as a long horizontal, Viking style, narrative hanging, so also was the Viking hanging, which was probably more often than not a true tapestry instead of an embroidery,⁵⁰ remediated with Roman imagery and Roman triumphal purpose. Furthermore, the remediated hanging was enhanced by the technique of embroidery, the so-called *opus Anglicanum*, for which England was quite famous, figure drawings taken from English manuscripts, and imagery taken from silk weavings from Byzantium.

The Bayeux Tapestry's efforts at remediating Scandinavian hangings to become a Roman imperial narrative of conquest and remediating Roman triumphal columns to become a portable hanging with English, Norman, Viking, and Byzantine imagery is quite an artistic or media triumph. The Tapestry is a hypermediated work of art with a powerful and dominant visual narrative that is complemented by sub-narratives in the forms of Aesopian fables, by mysterious

⁵⁰ The major exception that we know of here is the fragment from Røn in the Oslo museum. A photographic reproduction is available in Wilson, Grape, and Bernstein, among other places.

historical allusions (for example, Aelfgyva and Turolde), by a Latin script, and by English manuscript images doubtlessly replete with allegorical meanings, and finally by images from the imperial East, conjuring up Byzantine and the Ottonian dynasty. If the purpose of hypermediacy, as Bolter claims, is to create a sense of fullness in the viewer / reader, then the Bayeux Tapestry delivers on that purpose; it is almost overwhelmingly full, a fact that helps explain why it is as fascinating to twenty-first-century audiences as it must have been to eleventh-century ones.

Conclusion

The bulk of what has been written about the Tapestry has been dedicated either to ascertaining its provenance (the recent assertions by Michael Lewis and others for reclaiming the Tapestry as English art is one result of this) or solving a few of its mysteries; the result of these investigations has revealed many different styles or nationalities of art woven, as it were, into its fabric. The argument for which style or nationality is the “real” or foundational one or the official one still rages on, but it could well be that with remediation there can be no single source that stands for the base or official style in the same way that it would be hard to find one design element in a web site to indicate firmly the place of origin. Rather, the remediation is the new source, and like hypertext, seems to have no foundation, but in this case, the remediated text is produced to do what Jay Bolter and others claim that all remediations do, provide immediacy and hypermediacy. The gruesome imagery and some the domestic scenes (much like some in the *Luttrell Psalter*) as well as some of the rather crude efforts at perspective work toward immediacy, but the triple bands and the script and the extra-realistic moments of the pointing to the script all add hypermediacy. Despite some historicist claims to the contrary, analyzing the

Tapestry by analogy with contemporary media may well purchase for us a much deeper comprehension of the historical moment of the Bayeux Tapestry which may include a final indeterminacy about nationalities, settling forever, perhaps, the “English versus French” debate. Instead, we shall perhaps conclude that this hypermediated eleventh-century work of art had already exceeded that simple binary, and we are just now catching up.



Sacred Threads: The Bayeux Tapestry as a Religious Object¹

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There is a duality to the Bayeux Tapestry. The first half is seemingly sympathetic towards Harold Godwin (*c.*1022-1066), with the second part strikingly pro-Norman. There is a double narrative, one running through the frieze itself and another among the animals and creatures in the borders. We see clerics and knights, churches and palaces, with the sacred blending in with the secular. The interpretation of the Tapestry's narrative has leaned heavily towards the secular nature of the narrative. With its vivid depiction of aristocratic life, of hunting and war, it has been argued that the Tapestry was originally meant to hang along the wall of a castle or a manor house, its embroidered tale of war and conquest depicting in wool and linen the songs and stories of knightly deeds.² Attractive and ingenious as some of theories suggesting a secular venue for the Tapestry are, no evidence exists to prove or substantiate any of them. If an embroidery as long and as costly as the Bayeux Tapestry had been displayed as a background to feasting and storytelling in one of the great halls of England, then surely one of the monastic chroniclers would have heard about it and made reference to it. To display a

¹ This study of the Tapestry is a product of a National Endowment for the Humanities Seminar held at Yale in the summer of 2005 under the direction of R. Howard Bloch, who has recently published *A Needle in the Right Hand of God: The Norman Conquest of 1066 and the Making and Meaning of the Bayeux Tapestry* (New York: Random House, 2006).

² Richard Brilliant, "The Bayeux Tapestry: a stripped narrative for their eyes and ears," *Word and Image* 7 (1991): 99-127. Gale Owen-Crocker, "Brothers Rivals, and the Geometry of the Bayeux Tapestry" and Chris Henige, "Putting the Bayeux Tapestry in its Place," in *King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. Gale R. Owen-Crocker, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 109-123 and 125-137, respectively.

“monument to a Norman triumph” in an English hall would surely have aroused comment, and the monastic chroniclers adept at collecting gossip would surely have made mention of it.

True to its dualistic nature, the Bayeux Tapestry has had two lives: one religious, the other secular. From what little evidence is available we can see that the Tapestry was made for a clerical patron who had sufficient resources to commission such lengthy embroidery. As for the Tapestry itself, it was most likely embroidered by nuns sewing in a monastic workshop. The Tapestry is worked on linen, a fabric long associated with the clergy. Also, only monastic houses would have had enough sheep to produce the huge quantities of wool required for the embroidery. Many of the designs and images in the Tapestry derive from sacred texts and manuscripts that may well have been found in the libraries of the monasteries of St. Augustine’s and Christ Church, Canterbury. Mingling with images that derive from Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia are those that show the influence of that most hieratic of societies, Byzantium. The Bayeux Tapestry has always been associated with clerical buildings, first the Cathedral and now the museum, a former seminary. It can be said that the “secular” phase of the Tapestry began with its near-demise during the French Revolution and the use made of it by Napoleon, English and French nationalists of the nineteenth-century, and then the Nazi occupying power.

From the Enlightenment onwards a secular interpretation of the past has become almost the standard view. The opposite was the case during the medieval period: religion was at the essence of life, and it was also the prism through which lives and events were judged. Even the decorative elements in the Tapestry, such as the animals for example, had a moral purpose to them. History, art, literature: they were written or produced with a religious theme or moral behind them. Works such as the Tapestry should be seen within this moral, religious, context: it

was part of the fabric of the culture of the day. If we look at the Tapestry as embroidery as having sacred as well as secular threads, then we surely gain a clearer understanding of its purpose. And that purpose was religious, moral one: the wages of oath breaking and disloyalty was death and damnation. The Conquest was cast by the Normans in terms of a religious crusade, not a brutal land-grab; otherwise, the Pope would not have given his sanction for one Christian nation to devour another.

The Bayeux Tapestry first became known to history in 1476 in an inventory made of the treasures of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame of Bayeux. We learn that the Tapestry was hung around the nave of the church of the Feast of Relics (July 1) and was displayed during the Octave, the eight days, of the Feast. Created as it was of linen and wool, the Tapestry must have seemed quite plain alongside the jeweled riches of the Cathedral treasury.³ Today, the Tapestry is housed in a museum that, as we mentioned, was once a seminary, complete with a Norman chapel.⁴ In all likelihood the Tapestry was designed and embroidered in monastic houses. A case has been made for the Tapestry having been made in a French monastic house,⁵ although the general consensus is that it was associated with St. Augustine's or Christ Church, Canterbury. Only a wealthy monastic house, with considerable financial and artistic resources at its disposal, or a great magnate, whether secular or clerical, would have had the ability to finance an enterprise as large as the Tapestry, which though quite narrow is of extraordinary length, the equivalent of an Olympic swimming pool.

³ Carola Hicks, *The Bayeux Tapestry: The Life Story of a Masterpiece* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2006), 63.

⁴ For a history of the museum building, see www.tapisserie-bayeux.fr.

⁵ George Beech, *Was the Bayeux Tapestry made in France? The Case for Saint-Florent of the Saumur* (New York: Palgrave, 2005).

There are two likely candidates that could be the patron, or indeed patroness, of the Tapestry, both to be found depicted in the Tapestry itself, and both of them had clerical and secular roles in society. Carola Hicks has made the suggestion that the Tapestry had a patroness, Queen Edith (c.1020/30-1075). Edith (**Figure 1**)⁶ is shown at the foot of her husband, at Edward's deathbed, warming his feet, weeping, covering her face, and pointing in her brother



Figure 1: *Queen Edith. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century
by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

Harold's direction. A pawn in her father's political schemes, Edith, Harold's sister, was forced to marry King Edward, and the loveless marriage produced no heirs. It was this fact that lay at the heart of so many of the problems of 1066. Edith herself was a shrewd and astute woman, and a survivor, almost as clever, it was said, "as a man." She commissioned a book to be written about her husband, where the deathbed scene depicted in the Tapestry is described in detail.⁷ In

⁶ Carola Hicks, *Life Story*, 22-39. For a more complete historical background, see Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in the Eleventh Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997).

⁷ See Jennifer Brown's essay in this issue.

the book Edith made a virtue of her childlessness, portraying Edward as being a holy celibate, worthy of being canonized.⁸ She was an accomplished linguist, and she was also famous for her skill at embroidery. Edith ran a workshop staffed with nuns that produced textiles for churches as well as decorating fine robes for her husband. English aristocratic ladies were known for their skill with the needle, embroidering altar-cloths and decorated textiles for both sacred and secular purposes. Edith was the patroness of several nunneries, such as Wilton, where noble ladies embroidered cloths of varying kinds.⁹ Knowing the major players in the power struggle of 1066, Edith could have provided first-hand, indeed “insider” knowledge of events, information that might have been used in the Tapestry. It may well be because of Queen Edith’s influence that her brother Harold is presented in such a favorable light at the early portions of the Tapestry. After the Conquest, Edith adroitly made her peace with the new regime and retired to a convent while at the same time managing to retain most of her lands and properties.

However, it has long been the contention that William the Conqueror’s (1028-1087) half-brother, Odo (d. 1097), Bishop of Bayeux, may have been the patron. **(Figure 2)** Odo is shown

⁸ Frank Barlow, *The Life of Edward the Confessor Who Rests at Westminster* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

⁹ Carola Hicks, *Life Story*, 22-39.



Figure 2: Bishop Odo. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century
by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

seated on a lion throne, a head higher than his half-brother William seemingly ordering the construction of the fleet to begin. **(Figure 3)** Odo may have commissioned the Tapestry



Figure 3: Odo Orders the Fleet. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century
by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

in time for the consecration of the new Cathedral at Bayeux in the 1080s. He, like Edith, exemplifies the dual nature of the Tapestry. Odo was a cleric, a bishop, and a warrior. Indeed, it

is Odo rather than William who seemingly dominates events. He is seen again attending a council of war attended by his other half-brother, Robert of Mortain.¹⁰ **(Figure 4)** During the



Figure 4: *Council of War. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

actual battle of Hastings, Odo is seen at a pivotal moment, wielding a mace and rallying the young troops. **(Figure 5)** Several of Odo's tenants appear in the Tapestry, men who



Figure 5: *Odo Rallies the Troops. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

¹⁰ Considered by contemporaries as being “too dim” as a leader, Robert of Mortain, unlike Odo, proved to be loyal to William the Conqueror.

might well have been known to the congregation in the nave of Bayeux Cathedral. Names of figures such as Tuold and Ælfgýva, whose identities are lost to us, may have been familiar to the first viewers of the Tapestry.

There are signs that the Tapestry was finished in some haste: while the figures and animals in the center frieze are filled in, some of the images in the border, particularly towards the latter part, have been left in outline only. Odo was certainly wealthy enough to commission the Tapestry. He was second only to William in rank and wealth, taking over most of Harold's extensive lands and properties. Then, added to this came plunder from the North, especially the abbey at Durham, which all told made Odo one of the richest men in English history.¹¹ The image of Odo that is portrayed in the Tapestry is quite different from the Odo of historical reality.¹² Ruthless and ambitious, Odo antagonized the monks of St. Augustine's Canterbury, may have had aspirations to the papacy itself, and rebelled against his half-brother William. Venal, treacherous and corrupt, Odo was lucky to be released from prison on William's death. Odo joined the First Crusade only to die at Palermo, Sicily. Like Harold, Bishop Odo was an avid collector of relics, some of which may have been used in the dramatic scene where Harold swore to uphold William's candidacy for the throne of England.

Placing a tapestry, or embroidery, that celebrated military valor in a sacred space was not uncommon and would not seem at all out of place. We know of an embroidered narrative that was commissioned, or even sewn, by Ælflæd, widow of Earl Byrhtnoth who was killed by the Danes in 991. The hanging, which depicted Byhtnoth's heroic deeds and campaigns, was

¹¹ Andrew Bridgeford, *The Hidden History of the Bayeux Tapestry* (New York: Walker & Company, 2005), 209.

¹² David Bates, "The Character and Career of Odo of Bayeux," *Speculum* 50.1 (1975): 1-29; "Odo," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004-2005).

presented to the monastery at Ely.¹³ Among the unique features of the Bayeux Tapestry is that it is the only one to have survived, where other, more lavishly decorated with gold thread and jewels, have perished or been looted for their intrinsic treasures. While seemingly humble, the linen upon which the panels were embroidered was actually a luxurious and costly commodity. That the Tapestry was not embroidered with gold thread or covered with jewels might have actually saved it from being plundered for its valuable decorations.

Linen was also, from the era of the Egyptians, a cloth associated with the priestly rank. During Christian times it came to denote purity, and was used to make sacerdotal robes.¹⁴ So we can see how the Tapestry had a clerical background: its patron, or patroness, was a religious; it was embroidered on a cloth that had religious status, and it was embroidered by clerical fingers of aristocratic nuns. While the Tapestry celebrates military glory, its display within a Cathedral would not have been out of place or regarded as being overly secular in nature. As we shall see, some of the decorations and images, both sacred and secular, that are found in the Tapestry may also be found in the decoration of churches of the time.

Religious imagery is blended seamlessly with the secular at the opening scene of the Tapestry. King Edward the Confessor (c. 1003-1066) is depicted in a chamber of his palace dispatching Harold on the fateful mission, one that is not recorded in the English sources. Edward is depicted here in the manner of a bearded Old Testament king. **(Figure 6)** The king's hand and fingers are stretched out towards Harold in a manner that is suggestive of Michelangelo's Creation Scene in the Sistine Chapel.

¹³ Carola Hicks, *Life Story*, 39.

¹⁴ Carola Hicks, *Life Story*, 40.



Figure 6: *Edward Dispatches Harold. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

Soon after receiving his dispatch from King Edward, Harold is seen journeying, along with hawk and hounds, to the coast, to the manor and church of Bosham in Sussex. Harold, being a pious man, is seen genuflecting before he enters the church. **(Figure 7)** In appearance the church seems to be in the form of a reliquary.¹⁵

¹⁵ Bosham church is the oldest Christian site in Sussex, reputedly built on the remains of a Roman basilica. Most of the present day church dates from the reign of King Canute. The church is only a short distance away from the water, as can be seen in the Tapestry when Harold leaves the manor and embarks on his fateful journey.



Figure 7: *Harold enters Bosham Church. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

Harold is then seen feasting with his companions at the manor, in a scene that has echoes of the Upper Room of Christ's Last Supper. **(Figure 8)** Below the revelers we see a pair of wolves, licking their paws, possibly a sign to a Norman audience that Harold was devious, a man not to be trusted.



Figure 8: *Harold Feasts. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

While on campaign in Brittany with William, Duke of Normandy, Harold rescues a soldier from the treacherous sands along the ford of the River Couesnon. In the distance background stands the Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel, a building perched on a hilltop and already a major center for pilgrimage. The Tapestry designer gives a stylized impression of what the Romanesque church looked like.¹⁶ Already famous as a center of pilgrimage, Mont-Sainte-Michelle is also depicted in the form of reliquary, nestled on a hilltop. **(Figure 9).**

¹⁶ Lucien Musset, *The Bayeux Tapestry* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 130.



Figure 9: *Mont Saint-Michel. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

The largest, and most important, ecclesiastical structure, King Edward's foundation of Westminster Abbey, is depicted as it nears completion. A workman hastily races to attach a golden cock, a reference to St. Peter, as a weathervane. The hand of God appears in the heavens to bless the new church. **(Figure 10)** King Edward's abbey was consecrated on December 28th, 1065.¹⁷ The King died, probably as the result of a stroke, on the night of January 4th or 5th, 1066, and Harold was crowned, with seeming indecent haste on January 6th. It was news of Harold's coronation that provoked William of Normandy to plan his invasion and ultimate Conquest. If indeed Edward the Confessor had planned to secure the throne for his Norman relative, then his

¹⁷ Lucien Musset, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, 160-164. The Abbey was the first major Romanesque church built in England, and there are similarities in its design with the Abbey of Jumièges which was dedicated in 1067. Robert of Jumièges was a friend of King Edward's, and served as Archbishop of Canterbury until he was removed by the Godwins to be replaced by the controversial Stigand.

wish was made manifest. William was to be crowned in the Abbey on Christmas Day, 1066, a feast day that was reserved by the Byzantine Emperors for their own coronations. After a sequence of scenes depicting the events of January 1066 the theme of the Tapestry becomes much less religious and distinctly much more martial in its tone.



Figure 10: Westminster Abbey. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century
by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

Those who viewed the Tapestry as it was displayed in the nave of the Cathedral would have been able to identify many religious designs and motifs. Looking up from the Tapestry, worshippers would have seen many of the motifs either carved in stone or painted on the walls. The chevron pattern which divides the borders (**Figure 11**) can be seen, for example, in a censer cover from Canterbury,¹⁸ and also the designs on the massive piers from Durham Cathedral.¹⁹

(**Figure 12**)

¹⁸ For a photograph of the image see, David M. Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 210.



Figure 11: *Chevron Pattern in the Border. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*



Figure 12: *Durham Cathedral.*

¹⁹ Durham is the site of St. Cuthbert's tomb which contained ecclesiastical robes, such as the stole, whose workmanship is a supreme example of English embroidery. Today, the tradition of needlework is being carried on by a group known as the Durham Cathedral Broderers. Photo courtesy of *Peregrinations* Photo Bank.

Animals, domestic and fantastical, were a common element in Anglo-Saxon and Romanesque art and their presence in the Tapestry is therefore unsurprising.

There is, however, one scene in the Tapestry that would seem completely out of place within a sacred building. And that is the mysterious scene involving a rare figure in the Tapestry: a female with a name. This is Ælfgýva, a heavily robed figure whose face is apparently being stroked by a man, who from his tonsure, appears to be a cleric of some kind.

(Figure 13) Was she a nun? All four of the women depicted in the Tapestry are shown heavily veiled. The designer may have borrowed a Byzantine convention where ladies of high rank wore veils in public to protect them from the gaze of the masses. Below them is a well-endowed male nude figure.

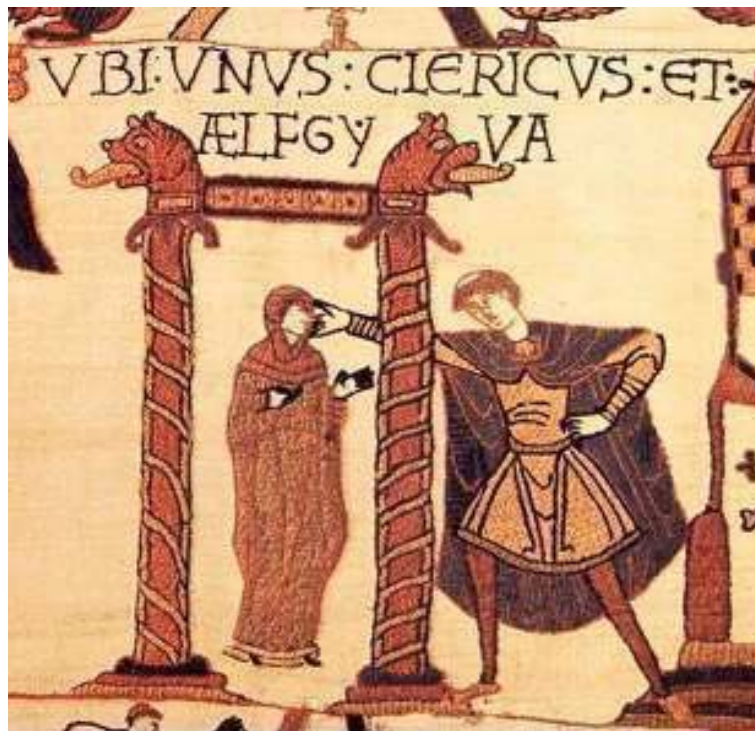


Figure 13: *Ælfgýva and a Cleric. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

Controversy has raged over who the lady might be and what the scene represents. The naked man, or “megaphallic” figure, is also interesting because carvings, almost identical to this one, have been found both in Northern France and in Ireland.²⁰ There is another nude male figure in the border in the scene just before this one. This one seems to be busy chopping wood. Naked couples may be found in the upper border where the narrative depicts the Norman cavalry preparing to move forward into battle at Hastings. It is possible that the pair of nude figures depict Adam and Eve. **(Figure 14)**



Figure 14: *Adam and Eve?*



Figure 15: *Female Centaur*

We can also see a pair of lusty female centaurs with the heads and hair of mermaids. **(Figure 15)** A similar mermaid-centaur may be found carved over the west door of the church of St. Botolph, at Stow Longa in Huntingdonshire.

In all likelihood the designer of the Tapestry was either a clerical figure or had close contacts with a cloister and monastic scriptorium. He would have been conversant with

²⁰ Karen Rose Matthews, “Nudity in the Margins: The Bayeux Tapestry and its Relationship to Marginal Architectural Sculpture,” in *Naked Before God: Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England*, eds. Benjamin C. Withers and Jonathan Wilcox (Charleston: West Virginia University Press, 2003), 138-161. In the Reading Bayeux Tapestry, created in the late 19th century, the naked figures were given underwear. See <http://www.bayeuxtapestry.org.uk/>

decorative styles both in architecture and in manuscript illumination, drawing his inspiration from both. One of the most profound influences on the artistic world from 1000 to 1300 was Byzantium, with its hieratic forms and austere, boneless figures. Added to this inspiration, transmuted in the form of precious silks and fabrics, was a Northern flair for decorative arts incorporating the wonders of nature and the giddy excess of fantastical animals and shapes. This Eastern influence was seen as long ago as the 1950s and reinterpreted once more in R. Howard Bloch's recent study of the Tapestry.²¹

Ecclesiastical decoration, both in illuminated manuscripts and in decorative sculpture, also provided models for the military figures to be found in the Tapestry. Musset, in his introductory chapter, provides an illustration of an early eleventh-century frieze from Winchester which shows a sword and chain mail that is very similar to that depicted in the Tapestry.²² Some of the finest examples of carvings of knights in chain mail may be found at the Church of Notre-Dame-Du-Port at Clermont-Ferrand, dating from around 1150. Line drawings of knights in armor similar to those depicted in the Tapestry may also be seen in manuscripts such as the Old English Hexateuch and scenes from "The Massacre of the Innocents."²³ There are also some fine carvings of knights to be found at the cathedral and cloister of Monreale, Sicily. The roots of such secular, military, depictions derive, in no small part, from religious sources, which include both manuscripts and sculpture.

²¹ Allan Glynne-Jones, *Portrait Painters: European Portraits to the End of the Nineteenth Century and English Twentieth-Century Portraits* (London: Phoenix House, 1950); R. Howard Bloch, *A Needle*.

²² For a photograph of the image, see Lucien Musset, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, chap. 3, fig. 6.

²³ BL MS Cotton Claudius B IV, fol. 24v; BL MS Cotton Nero C 4 f.14, and BL Add MS 14789 f.10. For a detailed description of the Norman military, see Christopher Gravett, *The Norman Knight AD 950-1204* (New York: Osprey Books, 1993).

Among the glories of early medieval art are illuminated manuscripts, the psalters and testaments, where vivid line drawings and colored illustrations give life to the text. The designer of the Tapestry must have access to several of such works, part of the “Winchester School” of manuscript illumination, a tradition that was carried on the cloisters of Christ Church and Saint Augustine’s, Canterbury. This artistic tradition of illuminated sacred texts influenced the work of the designer. One important manuscript was the Utrecht Psalter, made in Rheims *c.* 820-835, with its lively line drawings, and brought to Christ Church, Canterbury in the year 1000.²⁴ Some of the other important manuscripts include the Old English Hexateuch which was made at St. Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury around 1030-1050. Images, such as that of the “hand of God” above Westminster Abbey, along with birds and other creatures, also derive from manuscript sources.²⁵

Animals almost outnumber the humans in the Tapestry, whether in the main narrative or more especially in the upper and lower borders.²⁶ The presence of animals served two major purposes. They are, of course, decorative. But animals were also endowed with allegorical and moral traits: their presence was to teach a lesson, a moral, to the observer. Once again, illuminated manuscripts provided an important source of inspiration for the designer. Exotic, winged creatures such as the Samnurv and the winged lion have their origins in Persia. The placement of paired birds and creatures is copied from the woven silk fabrics from Persia and

²⁴ Utrecht UB Cat. MS 32. Two digital copies of this manuscript are available: one from the Vitrine Library, <http://psalter.library.uu.nl> and also www.library.arizona.edu.

²⁵ Elżbieta Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (London: Harvey Millar, 1976). Another important source for exotic animal designs appears to be the so-called “Marvels of the East,” BL Cotton Vitellius A. XV.

²⁶ Carola Hicks, *Animals in Early Medieval Art* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993); “The Borders of the Bayeux Tapestry,” in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1992).

Byzantium. There are also barnyard animals to be found in the Tapestry, creatures associated with the hunt, and of course the thundering steeds of the Norman cavalry. Decorative as all these birds and animals might seem, they were placed in the Tapestry for another reason – to demonstrate a moral. The eleventh century saw the beginnings of the bestiaries, those encyclopedias of animal knowledge, replete with improving morals along with often dubious information.²⁷ Mythical creatures such as the dragon and the wyvern, along with lions and other beasts, entered the emerging world of chivalry.

Some of the symbols to be found in the Tapestry have their roots in the classical world. The phallus, for example, was seen a sign of good fortune. The centaur, and the Tapestry is unusual in having male and female centaurs, was a hybrid creature, part horse and part man. So too the centaur has a double nature, representing reason and also passion, vengeance and also heresy. A pair of peacocks sit together perched above Duke William's palace. **(Figure 16)**



Figure 16: *Peacocks. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

These birds evoke an image of luxury, but they also have an allegorical meaning to them. They are depicted on Roman sarcophagi as representing eternal life, their flesh being imperishable.

²⁷ Jenneta Rebold Benton, *The Medieval Menagerie: Animals in the Art of the Middle Ages* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1992).

They also represent vanity and jealousy. Another exotic, if less glamorous, Eastern creature is the camel. **(Figure 17)** The camel is a symbol of endurance and prudence, conserving its food so it can travel for days. Because it could kneel, the camel was also a symbol of humility. Somehow, in the medieval imagination the camel also represented lust.



***Figure 17:** Camel. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century
by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

There are many lions depicted in the Tapestry, some with tails curling over their hind quarters while others have wings. Lions were associated with royalty from the era of the Assyrians and regarded as creatures of nobility and courage. Also, the lion was the device associated with St. Mark. Lions were seen as being sleepless guardians of the Church. However, they had another nature as well, that of being ferocious beasts. Yet another Eastern hybrid creature was the Griffin, part eagle, part lion, combining the qualities and virtues of both beasts: one the lord of the skies, the other reigning as king of the animals. **(Figure 18)**



Figure 18: *Griffin. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century
by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

Griffins were associated with Christ as well as being guardian spirits. In a scene in the Tapestry, where the Normans are despoiling the English countryside, we can see griffins in the border and a rather tipsy looking bull, the traditional symbol of the St. Luke the Evangelist.

Wolves abound in the borders of the Tapestry, either singly or as part of the various Fables. They were known, and feared, for their rapacity, greed and deviousness. St. Wulfstan, “Lupus” (d.1023) published a diatribe, a “Sermon of the Wolf to the English” in 1014.²⁸ This Sermon has a certain relevance to the events depicted in the Tapestry. England was overrun by Scandinavian invaders, and the fault, according to Wulfstan, lay with the English who had earned Divine wrath because of their sins. Eadmer of Canterbury was to make the same judgment of the Conquest: the English were being punished by God for their iniquities.²⁹

Animals appear in another form in the Tapestry: they populate the Fables that are to be found in the borders.³⁰ Aesop’s tales were already widely known in the eleventh century. Marie de France, the great French medieval poet who worked at the court of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, claimed that she had translated Aesop’s fables from the English original written by King Alfred the Great. R. Howard Bloch believes that the designer of the Tapestry and Marie de France were working from a common source.³¹ There are at least nine fables in the Tapestry,

²⁸ “Sermon of the Wolves to the English,” BL Cotton Nero A f.110.

²⁹ Cited in David M. Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, 9.

³⁰ Joyce E. Salisbury, “Human Animals of Medieval Fables,” in *Animals in the Middle Ages*, ed. Nora C. Flores (New York: Routledge, 2000), 49-65; Kenneth Clark, *Animals and Men: Their Relationship as Reflected in Western Art* (New York: William Morrow, 1977).

³¹ R. Howard Bloch, *A Needle*, 123.

and they are mainly grouped around the earlier scenes where Harold is embarking on his voyage and engaged with William in the Brittany campaign. The tales include the Fox, Crow and the Cheese. In this fable, trickery was used to capture the tasty morsel, while in the story of Mouse, Frog and the Hawk, greed leads to destruction. Duplicity is the theme of the Wolf and the Crane. Whatever the title of the tale, the moral was always the same: beware of folly, betrayal, ingratitude and injustice. From the Norman perspective, Harold was the usurper, betrayer and oath-breaker. And the clear moral of this embroidered epic is that divine retribution awaits those who transgress. The animals and fables in the borders serve as a commentary, reflection and a warning on the epic narrative as it unfolds in the central frieze of the Tapestry.

Why would the Tapestry be kept and displayed on an annual basis in the nave of the Cathedral at Bayeux? There is, of course, the local interest: with Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, as possible patron, and with so much of historical interest laid out within the narrative. It was here, after all, where Harold took the oath which determined the future of the Duchy and the Kingdom of England. The purpose of the Tapestry, it may be postulated, is a moral and religious one: oaths were broken, and the consequence of sin was made manifest. From the Norman perspective, Harold had arrived in Normandy, and was rescued by William who also befriended him. Together, Normandy's ruler and England's most powerful Earl, had gone hunting and fought in campaigns. William bestowed the gift of arms on Harold. Harold had come to Normandy as an ambassador bearing costly gifts such as a hawk, for a purpose.³² That mission, from a Norman perspective, was to help secure the crown of England for Duke William,

³² Hawks were more expensive than horses and very much a symbol of aristocratic rank. Harold was a keen huntsman, and kept a book on falconry in his library. This book then passed on to William the Conqueror.

according to King Edward's wishes. Harold's failure to meet his promises and oaths was a double crime: a breach of chivalry and the breaking of a solemn oath.

Central to the narrative is the oath-taking scene. **(Figure 19)** Set in the open air, as in pre-Christian days when it was felt that evil spirits would not influence such outdoor events, William is seated upon a cushioned chair. Harold swears, something: the Tapestry despite the Latin titles, is silent as to what exactly is promised. But the assumption is that Harold is promising, on oath, to help William succeed Edward as king of England. There are two reliquaries. One has a gem-stone or perhaps even the Eucharist, the other seems to be a portable reliquary. It is possible that this portable reliquary, or one like it, was later carried in procession along the ranks of Norman soldiers before the Battle of Hastings. It must be remembered that the English sources are entirely silent as to this event, although there were whispers that Harold was overly fond of taking oaths, "more's the pity."³³ The remaining section of the Tapestry demonstrates the consequences of Harold's action.



Figure 19: *Harold takes the Oath. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century*

³³ Frank Barlow, *The Life of Edward the Confessor*, 62.

by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

In reality, Harold was William's prisoner. He had no choice but to comply with the demands imposed upon him. An English observer of the Tapestry might see a somewhat hesitant Harold, his arms outstretched in a cruciform position. For the English, such an oath would have no value, having been given under duress. Of course, the Normans had their own view of events. From now on, as the narrative unfolds to its terrible climax, the image of Harold changes. Where he was a sympathetic figure in the earlier panels, he now becomes weighed down with guilt. The Harold who returns to King Edward to give an account of his expedition is not the confident, proud nobleman that we see at the beginning of the narrative. Both Harold and Edward have changed. Harold is now bent over with embarrassment and guilt as a visibly aged king seems to ask, "What have you done?" Indeed, Edward has not long to live. The Tapestry provides us with King Edward's deathbed scene. Around the king are his Queen, Edith, her brother Harold, and a cleric, presumably Archbishop Stigand. Wordlessly, Edward extends his finger to Harold, as he had done in the opening scene of the Tapestry. This time Edward appears to be signaling that Harold, even though he was not of the Royal House of Wessex, should be the next monarch. **(Figure 20)** King Edward the Confessor was to be the only English monarch to undergo the



Figure 20: King Edward on his deathbed. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century
by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

process of canonization, and he became one of the England's patron saints.³⁴ The scene depicting Edward's funeral procession is of some interest. We see bell ringers, which was a Norman funerary custom, along with clerics dressed in lay garments. Orderic Vitalis, a Norman chronicler, speaks of the English clergy as being "rough, barely literate, gluttonous, lustful and effeminate." And, more than that, they wore secular garments as well.³⁵ Lanfranc (1010-1089), who became the first Norman Archbishop of Canterbury, denounced the lax, independent ways of the English Church and persuaded Pope Alexander II (r.1061-1073) of the necessity of bringing the Church into line with the new reformist principles.

William and his clerical supporters, such as the future Archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc, couched the Conquest of England in religious terms: it was to be a crusade. Harold,

³⁴ Henry III (r. 1216-1272) promoted the cult of 'Saint Edward' and the Confessor's tomb in Westminster Abbey was a major object of pilgrimage, especially among those who sought healing. Edward is shown giving a ring to a beggar in the famous Wilton Diptych. Bernard W. Scholz, "The Canonization of Edward the Confessor," *Speculum* 36.1 (1961): 38-60.

³⁵ Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 7.

the oath-breaker, was a usurper who had to be punished: England's Church was to be brought in line with Continental practices. The focus of the Norman religious attack on England was focused on one man, Stigand (990-1072), the controversial Archbishop of Canterbury. He is depicted standing next to a crowned King Harold, with arms raised in blessing, in the style of a Byzantine cleric. **(Figure 21)** Stigand had a lengthy career in the service of the English kings



***Figure 21:** King Harold & Stigand. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

and was particularly close to the Godwin family.³⁶ Robert of Jumièges, Edward's Norman Archbishop, had been forced out of office by the Godwins and the pallium that Stigand wears in the Tapestry belonged to his predecessor. Stigand had never received a proper Papal blessing for his high office. Added to that, he was a pluralist, holding the important and wealthy Sees of Winchester and Canterbury together. His wealth was so great that it was said to almost equal

³⁶ Mary Francis Smith, "Archbishop Stigand and the Eye of the Needle," *Anglo-Norman Studies* XVI (1999): 199-219; H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Stigand," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004-2005).

that of Harold himself. It was this “Devil, who lusted after wealth and worldly glory,” that had to be removed. William was to be the sword of God in this reformation of the English Church.

Such then was the Norman view of Stigand and the condition of the Church. However, Stigand appears to have been a dutiful administrator, with his greatest flaw being his close association with the Godwins. It was Stigand who came out from London to Wallingford to offer submission to William. He was allowed to remain in office for a while, although he had to go with William back to Normandy as a kind of hostage. Stigand was deposed and spent his last days in isolation. It is said that Edith came to remonstrate with him, asking for the keys to his alleged treasures. Stigand refused to hand over the keys and later died of starvation.

Harold II, meanwhile, had little joy in his crown. We see him bending down to listen to a messenger who brings news of an ill-omen, the “hairy star.” (**Figure 22**) A Latin rhyme



Figure 22: *The “Hairy Star.” Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

circulated in Europe saying that in 1066 “the English felt the lash of the comet’s tail.”³⁷ While the English saw the “star” as portending doom, the Normans saw it as a sign of divine favor. We are not told of events that took place in the north of England, with the threat of invasion by Harold’s disgruntled brother Tostig and his powerful ally, Harald Hardrada. It is possible that

³⁷ Lucien Musset, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, 176 -178.

the small fleet of ghostly ships beneath Harold's feet might be a reference of the impending landing in the north. Or the fleet could be another portent of doom, along with the doleful birds with drooping wings that sit in the palace roof.

The final section of the Tapestry belongs more to the realm of military history rather than for any other interpretation. This is not to say that religious elements, symbols, or images are entirely absent. Odo is seen in a prominent position for it is he, the warrior-bishop, who orders the fleet to be built and provisions assembled. It was Odo who, reputedly, supplied forty ships toward the invasion armada.³⁸ And it is Odo who presides over the feast, the iconography of which is seemingly derived from the Last Supper.³⁹ Several equivalents to this scene may be found in manuscripts such as the *Floreffe Bible* from the Meuse Valley, or the carving of the Wedding Feast at Cana, a carving from the narthex of the church of Saint-Fortunat at Charlieu. The Tapestry designer may well have used an image of the Last Supper from an illustrated Gospel that is still to be found in the library at Canterbury. And the cup in Odo's hand is very similar to that of a chalice held by one of the statues in Bayeux Cathedral.⁴⁰ One more overtly religious symbol may be found on William's flagship, the "Mora," which has on its masthead a Byzantine double cross. **(Figure 23)**

³⁸ Robert Wace, *The Roman de Rou* (Société Jersaise, 2002), 233.

³⁹ L. H. Loomis, "The Table of the Last Supper in Religious and Secular Iconography," *Art Studies* 5 (1927): 71-90.

⁴⁰ Eric Maclagan, *The Bayeux Tapestry* (New York: Penguin, 1949), 107



Figure 23: The “Mora” with its Double Cross. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.

Clergymen played a role in the Battle of Hastings itself. English abbots, priests and monks came to do battle with chain mail over their robes. According to Norman sources, the English spent the night before battle carousing and singing, while the Normans resorted to prayer and fasting in preparation for the next day. Odo and Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, were there to offer prayers and blessings.⁴¹ Then Normans were emboldened by the thought that the Pope had sent a flag, along with a ring said to contain a strand of St. Peter’s hair: it was after all, a crusade. As we have seen, Odo is given a prominence in the actual Battle of Hastings that is not supported in the chronicle sources, swinging his huge mace and rallying the young men at a time when the Norman cavalry was ready to retreat.

The wages of sin are shown in all their horror: the borders of the Tapestry open up to reveal dead, mutilated and stripped corpses. Cavalry charges pound the shield wall until Harold

⁴¹ Robert Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, 257.

finally falls, perhaps because of an arrow in the eye. **(Figure 24)** This death scene has a moral point: to be blinded meant that he was no longer king-worthy.⁴² Harold's body was cut to pieces,



Figure 24: *Death of Harold. Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry – 11th Century by special permission of the City of Bayeux.*

and it was so mutilated that his common-law (or “Danish”) wife, Edith Swan-neck had to identify the remains. Legend refused to let Harold die: it was said that either he was cured by an Arab woman or that he recovered from his wounds and wandered as a hermit on the Continent. What he could not recover was the ancient Anglo-Saxon kingdom which now had to bow to what later English historians, such as E. A. Freeman (1823-1892) were to describe as the “Norman Yoke.”

At this point the Tapestry closes, with images of broken bodies on the ground and English soldiers fleeing into the distance. The general consensus is that there was a final panel depicting William's coronation.⁴³ Musset is of the opinion that there was no evidence for a final

⁴² Lucien Musset, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, 256-258.

⁴³ Martin K. Foyes reproduces images of Jan Messent's rendering of the ceremony in his *The Bayeux Tapestry: Scholarly Digital Edition*, CD-ROM (Leicester: Scholarly Digital Editions, 2003).

panel, nor is there a need for one. The epic tale of betrayal, usurpation and Divine Wrath had been fully played out in an almost apocalyptic manner.⁴⁴ Having looked at the themes and images in the Tapestry, we can now more fully understand why the nave of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Bayeux was a fitting place for its display. The religious background is part of the Tapestry's historical context. Today's pilgrims and visitors may have another, more secular, outlook.

⁴⁴ Lucien Musset, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, 266.



The Bayeux Tapestry and the *Vitae* of Edward the Confessor in Dialogue

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One of the mysteries of The Bayeux Tapestry is its bias: was this depiction of the events of 1066 meant to be from the point of view of the conqueror or the conquered? Seen from one angle, it seems profoundly Norman, vilifying Harold with his hunched supplicant stance in front of William when in Normandy, his scowl when enthroned as the king, and his ignoble end with an arrow through his eye. On the other hand, scholars have long pointed to Edward's death scene as showing a tendency towards the Anglo-Saxon; here, Edward and William touch hands in seeming mutual understanding about what is to happen next, despite Edward's earlier promise to William of the kingdom, and possibly represents Edward's sanctioning Harold's reign. The power the tapestry has held over scholars and visitors over the past several centuries is partly due to this ambiguity. This, of course, has led to one of the other great debates surrounding the tapestry: which side of the channel was in charge of its production? More than one scholar has concluded that the Tapestry leads the viewer to see one version of events, usually the Norman one, while another is encoded more surreptitiously throughout the images.¹

¹ See, for example, Gail Ivy Berlin's article "The Fables of the Bayeux Tapestry: An Anglo-Saxon Perspective," in *Unlocking the Wordhord: Anglo-Saxon Studies in Memory of Edward B. Irving, Jr.*, eds. Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe and Mark Amodio (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 191-216. Berlin argues that the use of fable imagery in the Tapestry serve "as a counterpoint to the images of the main narrative, and in doing so they produced a covert Anglo-Saxon commentary upon the events leading to their subjugation" (191). Similarly, Andrew Bridgeford's "Who's Tapestry is it Anyway?" argues in *History Today* 24, no. 4 (2004): 5-7, that the Tapestry "subtly undermines Norman propaganda at almost every turn" (5).

I am sorry to say that I am not writing to resolve any of these grand questions. However, I do want to explore some of the ways in which medieval English viewers – both soon after the conquest (when the Tapestry was made) to centuries later – may have “read” the Tapestry. Held against the many widely-disseminated *vitae* of Edward the Confessor, the chameleon-like nature of the Bayeux Tapestry’s bias is even more starkly felt. The *vitae* – which run temporally from mid-eleventh century to the late Middle Ages and linguistically from Latin to Anglo-Norman to English – can be interpreted as a kind of mirror to the changing public view of the events of 1066. In dialogue with the Tapestry, they can show how neither the events themselves or their meanings were ever fixed, on paper or by thread. In this essay, I explore how readers of the *vitae* may have read the tapestry, and how what is depicted there would have molded to each bias and perspective presented in the *vitae*. This is most easily exemplified in the images of Edward’s death and burial in the Tapestry and how these events are interpreted and altered in the various *vitae*.

The first *vita* of Edward was written under the instruction of Queen Edith, and most of it was written while he was still alive and is attributed to an anonymous monk of Saint-Bertin, *Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit*.² This *vita* is in two parts – the first extolling the virtues of Edith and her family more than anything else, and the second part a re-formulation of Edward’s life into that of a saint. The next *vita* was an officially sanctioned one by Osbert of Clare from 1138,³ *Vita beati Eadwardi Regis*. Osbert wrote in an attempt to get

² Frank Barlow, ed. and trans., *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster* (1962; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). Barlow’s edition is a facing-page translation of the Latin and Modern English. The Latin *vita* can also be found in the earlier Henry Richards Luard, ed., *Lives of Edward the Confessor: I. La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei. II. Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris. III. Vita Æduuardi Regis qui Apud Westmonasterium Requiescit*. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858).

³ Marc Bloch, ed., “La Vie de S. Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare,” *Annelecta Bollandiana* 41 (1923): 5-131.

Edward canonized, unsuccessfully, but as a result Edward is truly re-written as saintly as well as the patron of Westminster Abbey. In 1163, two years after Edward was canonized, Aelred of Rievaulx wrote the commissioned *Vita S. Edwardi Regis et Confessoris*,⁴ for the translation of Edward's relics. Later, two Anglo-Norman *vitae* are written: the first by an anonymous nun of Barking Abbey dated somewhere between 1163 and 1189, *La Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur*⁵ and the second by Matthew Paris, dated to around 1230, *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*.⁶ There are also a few Middle English versions spanning from 1300 to the first half of the fifteenth century, both in prose and verse.⁷ The medieval tradition of Edward's life culminates in a 1483 version printed by Caxton in his *Golden Legend*.⁸ In this paper, I am focusing primarily on what I consider the two pivotal *vitae* of Edward: that by Anonymous (upon which Osbert is largely based, and Aelred to a lesser extent), and Aelred's (the basis for all of the *vitae* which follow).

⁴ Aelredus Rievallensis, "Vita S. Edward Regis," in *Patrologia Latina Database*. There are two Modern English translations of this *vita*: Jerome Bertram, FSA, trans., *Life of St. Edward the Confessor by St. Aelred of Rievaulx* (Southampton: Saint Austin Press, 1990) and Jane Patricia Freeland, trans., "The Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor," in *Aelred of Rievaulx: The Historical Works*, ed. Marsha L. Dutton (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2005), 123-243.

⁵ Östen Södergård, *La Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur: Poème Anglo-Norman du XIIe siècle* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1948). William MacBain argues that the *vie* must have been written before 1170, the date of Thomas à Becket's murder because Becket's sister is the abbess of Barking and the life is apparently dedicated to Henry II. Dominica Legge in *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963) places the life at 1163, which is the date of Aelred's composition – the basis for the nun's translation (246-247). Jocelyn Wogan-Browne extends the late date that MacBain proposes to 1189 (the death of Henry II) in "Clerc u Lai" 83 n. 39, and writes in *Saints' Lives & Women's Literary Culture c. 1150-1300: Virginity and its Authorizations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) that the date may be after Becket's murder because that may be "exactly when a reworking of the Aelred *vita* would be most wanted by the king" (251 n.84). See also Emily Mitchell. "Patrons and Politics at Twelfth Century Barking Abbey," *Revue Bénédictine* 113 (2003): 347-64, who argues that the life was written after 1177.

⁶ Kathryn Young Wallace, ed, *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei: attributed to Matthew Paris*. (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1983). The earlier edition is accompanied by an English translation: Henry Richards Luard, ed, *Lives of Edward the Confessor*.

⁷ Grace Edna Moore, ed, *The Middle English Verse Life of Edward the Confessor* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1942).

⁸ Richard Hamer and Vida Russell, eds., *Supplementary Lives in Some Manuscripts of the Gilte Legende*, Early English Text Society, Original Series 315 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Finally, I will look at the two Anglo-Norman versions of the *vita* and see how the citizens of a thoroughly Anglo-Norman society reconstruct the events of 1066.

Most scholars who have looked at the Bayeux Tapestry in conjunction with any of the *vitae* of Edward have focused, understandably, on its earliest incarnation. Indeed, many have argued that the artist of the tapestry must have had the Anonymous life as one of the source texts for the depiction of Edward's death scene because the two mirror each other so exactly. Even the odd chronology of Edward's burial followed by the deathbed scene (left to right in the tapestry) is somewhat confirmed by the *vita* itself. Because of the *vita*'s two-book structure, book one ends with Edward's death, while Book II begins with his deathbed scene.

If there is any question how Anonymous feels about the ensuing events of 1066 after Edward's death, he abolishes them before even describing the scene in detail. Personifying England as an imagined reader of his text, Anonymous outlines the terrible burdens that have come to pass since Edward's death:

And what shall I say about England? What shall I tell generations to come? Woe is to you England, you who once shone bright with holy, angelic progeny, but now with anxious expectation groan exceedingly for your sins. You have lost your native king and suffered defeat, with much spilling of the blood of many of your men, in a war against the foreigner.⁹

Already, the reader of the Anonymous *vita* is viewing the events of the Tapestry, and particularly the deathbed scene, with an Anglo-Saxon point of view. The "native king" is lost and England is in the hands of William, the foreigner. While England is blamed for its own "sins," it is evident that Anonymous sees the conquest as unlawful and the Norman invasion as both a moral and physical defeat.

⁹ Barlow, 110.

Edward's death scene begins with his recitation of a dream vision – known as the vision of the Green Tree – which describes a tree cut off from its roots (perhaps reflected in the vine-like imagery in the bottom borders of the deathbed scene in the Tapestry). This pivotal moment gets interpreted variously throughout the *vitae*, but the central gist remains the same: the tree is the royal line, and it will be violently cut off from its roots after Edward's death. After describing the vision, Anonymous explains who is present:

[T]he queen...was sitting on the floor warming his feet in her lap, her full brother, Earl Harold, and Rodbert, the steward of the royal palace and a kinsman of the king [were there], also Archbishop Stigand and a few more whom the blessed king when roused from sleep had ordered to be summoned.¹⁰

In the Tapestry, Queen Edith is indeed sitting at Edward's feet, a cleric – probably Stigand – seems to be offering the last rites to Edward, an unknown figure stands behind Edward – but through the Anonymous *vita* would be identified as Robert fitz Wimarch – and finally, Harold reaches out and touches Edward's hand. Edward is leaning forward, presumably uttering his last words. Underneath this image, three men are shrouding the now deceased Edward, and Edith is gone (panels 29-32).¹¹

That, of course, is the central dilemma of the death scene in the Tapestry. What, exactly, is transpiring between Harold and Edward? The Tapestry makes it clear that there is some sort of conversation and promise taking place, but whether Harold is promising to take over the kingdom or to cede it to William is unclear, and one of the primary reasons that the allegiances of the Tapestry's makers is so ambiguous. The inscription above the scene is unhelpful, merely

¹⁰ Barlow, 119.

¹¹ For images of the Bayeux Tapestry, I am referencing them by panel in accordance with David M. Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004).

pointing to Edward's illness and death without reference to the words spoken. But a reader of the Anonymous *vita* would have no qualms about what is taking place. With the imagery of the scene described in the *vita* so clearly depicted in the Tapestry – almost to exactness – certainly that reader would see the substance of it translated onto the cloth as well.

Harold is not really an ambiguous character for Anonymous, nor is his right to the throne questioned. The only place where Harold is really “scolded,” by the hagiographer, is in his feud with Tostig (who is vilified throughout the *vita*). Even the contested oath scene in the Tapestry, where Harold seemingly pledges allegiance to William over some holy relics, can be explained away by Anonymous, who laments that he was “rather too generous with oaths (alas!),”¹² while never explicitly mentioning Harold's encounter with William in Normandy. In the *vita*'s deathbed scene, Harold is clearly the inheritor of Edward's crown:

Then [Edward] addressed his last words to the queen, who was sitting at his feet, in this wise: And stretching forth his hand to his governor, [Edith's] brother, Harold, [Edward] said, ‘I commend this woman and all the kingdom to your protection. Serve and honour her with faithful obedience as your lady and sister, which she is, and do not despoil her, as long as she lives, of any due honour got from me.’¹³

While many have argued that Edward's bequest to Harold was temporary and provisional, there is no such implication here. Harold is consistently described throughout the *vita* as a forthright and honest man, even “endowed with mildness of temper and a more ready understanding. He could bear contradiction well, not readily revealing or retaliating – never, I think, on a fellow

¹² Barlow, 81.

¹³ Barlow, 123.

citizen or compatriot.”¹⁴ Harold is described as selfless, acting for the good of his country, not personal glory.

When the readers of the anonymous *vita* arrive at the scene of Harold’s coronation, they read it as a legitimate rulership. The “REX” inscription above him in the Tapestry is accurate; he was a king rightfully installed and the correct heir to the throne. And although the Tapestry does not clearly confirm this reading of events, it never contradicts it, either. The description of the deathbed scene is a near illustration of the imagery in the two *vitae*, and the words from Edward’s mouth as his outstretched hand meets Harold’s are easy to imagine in place.

But a reader of Aelred’s officially sanctioned *vita*, after Edward’s canonization, may see the Tapestry and its scenes and details in a different light altogether. Where the readers of Anonymous are treated to the many qualities of the Godwin line, from which come both Queen Edith and Harold, Aelred makes clear that the line is rotten, and Edith is its only anomalous good fruit. In recounting the death of the Earl Godwin, Edith and Harold’s father, Aelred writes about how divine judgment decided his fate. When faced with Edward’s accusation that Godwin was responsible for the king’s brother’s death, the following ensues:

Godwin was afraid when he heard this, and showed a sad enough face. “I know, my king, I know that you still accuse me of your brother’s death, and you do not yet disbelieve those who call me a traitor to him and to you; but god knows all secrets and will judge. Let him make this morsel which I hold in my hand pass down my throat and leave me unharmed if I am innocent, responsible neither for betraying you nor for your brother’s murder.”

¹⁴ Barlow, 49.

He said this, placed the morsel in his mouth, and swallowed it half way down his throat. He tried to swallow it further, and was unable: he tried to reject it, but it stuck firm. Soon the passage to his lungs was blocked, his eyes turned up, his limbs stiffened. The king watched him die in misery, and realising that divine judgment had come upon him, called to the bystanders: "Take this dog out," he said. Godwin's sons ran in, removed him from under the table and brought him to a bedroom, where soon afterwards he made an end fitting for such a traitor.¹⁵

Whereas for Anonymous, Harold's line is noble and worthy of the crown, for Aelred and his readers, Godwin is a murderer, a traitor, and one whose death was divinely directed. Aelred consistently links the evil Godwin to his sons, Tostig and Harold, as he does here, leaving no doubt that they are all similarly tainted and unworthy.

The deathbed scene for Aelred has the same players as Anonymous, and thus as depicted in the Tapestry, but their words and motivations are vastly different. Any reader of Aelred's *vita* (and most of the ensuing vernacular ones, which take Aelred as their base), would certainly see the death scene in an entirely different light. Here, the description of his attendants' reaction to Edward's prophecy of the Green Tree clearly vilifies the Archbishop Stigand, changing his role in the events of 1066 completely:

While he was telling his vision, the queen sat by him, and also Robert, guardian of the sacred palace, Earl Harold, the queen's brother, and Stigand who had invaded his father's chamber and defiled his bed (for while Archbishop Robert was still alive, he usurped the see of Canterbury – suspended for this by the Supreme Pontiff, a little later he burst open and his bowels all poured out). He was hardened when he heard the king's story, and

¹⁵ Bertram, 75.

was neither afraid of the revelation nor believed in the prophecy, but instead, muttering that the king was senile and raving, he preferred laughter to compunction.¹⁶

Here, Stigand's attendance is menacing. His raised arms in the Tapestry are a mockery of the king's visionary experience rather than a blessing at his death. Of course, this also changes how Stigand is viewed when in the next tapestry scene he is at Harold's left hand, arms outstretched. He becomes an evil enabler of an illegitimate king through Aelred's lens, and it is easy to read his face as scowling as he stands next to Harold's throne.

Aelred is not at all ambiguous about what Harold's responsibilities were. Glossing over the "last words" outlined in Anonymous, where Edward explicitly grants Harold protection over both Edith and the kingdom, here the king is not quoted at all. Instead, Aelred writes that "he...entrusted the queen to her brother and the nobility, and commended her devoted service."¹⁷ In this version of events, the kingdom is not even mentioned, and Edward's outstretched gesture reaching for Harold's hand in the tapestry can be read as his confirmation that Edith will now be protected. Indeed, this scene can seemingly be confirmed with Edith, at the king's feet, weeping. Again, nothing in the Tapestry confirms nor contradicts this version of events, where Edward's last words concern only his wife, not his country.

Aelred continues to make it clear that Harold was acting on his own by taking the crown, writing that Edward's prophecy of a deracinated tree was "no mere imagination of the saintly king when Earl Harold seized the kingdom, breaking the oath which he had made to Duke William. When he was conquered by him in battle he brought the freedom of England to an end and began her captivity."¹⁸ England's post-conquest state is unequivocally due to the actions of

¹⁶ Bertram, 89.

¹⁷ Bertram, 93.

¹⁸ Bertram, 89-90.

Harold, for Aelred, and the Tapestry can bear out this interpretation. Harold's enthronement, which immediately follows Edward's death, is in turn followed by images of William's preparation for war.

There is one pro-Anglo-Saxon element, however, that Aelred does allow concerning the Battle of Stamford Bridge. He begins by re-asserting that Harold should not have succeeded Edward in a passage that is unequivocally pro-William:

Harold ... the son of Godwin, had impiously usurped the kingdom, although he had promised on oath that he would preserve it for William, the cousin-german of King Edward. He had neither legal nor natural right to this, and by breaking faith and ignoring his promise he hastened on the woes which the king had prophesied the Lord was preparing for England.¹⁹

Harold is again linked to his father, Godwin, and for the first time Aelred brings up the fact of the oath which Harold had taken (again, an image clearly supported by the Tapestry's depiction of events). But then Aelred recounts a post-mortem miracle of Edward's where, during the Battle of Stamford Bridge, he aids Harold from heaven in order to insure a victory:

Then one night Saint Edward appeared in a dream to a certain holy abbot, who governed the monastery of Ramsey.... The man was wise enough to be overawed by his majesty, but the king mildly reassured him: "Go," he said, "and tell Harold that he may confidently attack these men who have invaded the territory of this kingdom against all legal right. I myself shall be leader and guardian of the army, for I cannot in justice desert my people, through whose help he will return in triumph over this enemy."²⁰

¹⁹ Bertram, 100.

²⁰ Bertram, 100.

Of course, Edward offers no such help against William. It is only Harold's battle against Tostig and Harald Hardrada where Edward intervenes. But this does shift Harold into a slightly more favorable light than the *vita* had allowed thus far. Here, Harold is worthy of Edward's intervention, and he is postulated as a kind of protector of the land. The key here, for Aelred, is that the Tostig and Hardrada attack are unlawful; William's claim to the throne, though, is uncontested.

This scene is the last we see of Harold in the *vita* and, indeed, of the battles leading up to the conquest. Later, Aelred merely gestures to them; in the beginning of a passage describing other miracles attributed to Edward after his death, Aelred writes that the events took place "when William had subdued the whole island, and all who resisted him had been either driven overseas, secured in prison or bound in slavery."²¹ William's victory is a *fait accompli*, and the events that transpired concerning Harold are not even worth mentioning. Aelred sticks to the formula of a *vita*, and after Edward's death only focuses himself with post-conquest England as far as it concerns miracles attributed to Edward.

Some of the most interesting *vitae* of Edward are the two Anglo-Norman versions, by an anonymous nun of Barking Abbey in the late 12th century and Matthew Paris in the early 13th century. Here, the language confirms the reach and cultural understanding of a Norman England, but the subject matter – the life of Edward the Confessor – reaches back to an Anglo-Saxon past. In many ways these may be the *vitae* in which the Tapestry can be seen in most prominent dialogue. Although later than the Tapestry, they represent the hybridity that the Tapestry has also come to stand for. In addition, they are vernacular lives, meant for audiences beyond an elite clerical minority. Both are dedicated to their English kings – Henry II and

²¹ Bertram, 103.

Henry III, respectively – and although both are based on Aelred, both writers greatly expand and alter the original *vita* into their own.

In the Nun's life, she shifts her focus to Edith more than the other *vitae*. She acknowledges, like Aelred, that her Godwin line is tainted, but upholds Edith as a paragon of chastity and righteousness. At Edward's death scene in the nun's version, he addresses not only Harold, but all of the loyal nobles surrounding his deathbed. His few lines of indirect speech in Aelred, turn into nearly 100 lines of monologue here, and he commits his queen into everyone's keeping, concerned with her welfare most of all.²² Like for Aelred, the keeping of the kingdom is not mentioned – understood, it would seem, that it should go to William. For the nun, the measure of Edward's sanctity is his relationship with his wife, not his relationship to the crown. She is writing in a fully Anglo-Norman world, even in its language, but only a century after William came to its shores.

The Nun also adds more of a postscript than Aelred does, further explaining what happens after Edward's death and the decisive battle that makes William king. The missing end of the Tapestry has been the source of much speculation, with scholars usually arguing it must end with the coronation of William (a neat symmetry with its opening of Edward on his throne). But the Nun's *vita* may offer another alternative to this reading. Here, the *vita* ends with William at Westminster, the abbey and place most closely associated with Edward's reign. The image further underscores a kind of continuity between the Anglo-Saxon king and his Norman successor – a symmetry that the Nun would want to emphasize given her patron, Henry II, also wants that link made in the popular imagination.

Matthew Paris also gives a slightly different spin on the events of 1066 and an idea how these may have been read and understood in early 13th century England. Paris also puts a

²² Södergård, 266-7.

conversation into Edward's deathbed scene, one that goes further than any of the previous *vitae*. Here, Harold makes a clear promise to Edward to give the kingdom over to William:

Then [Edward] sent for Duke Harold,
 He says, "Friend, so my God save you,
 What is thy intention respecting the kingdom?"
 "Sire," said he, "I dare to swear to you
 By the holy Trinity,
 By my lineage and Christianity,
 It has never come into my thoughts
 To possess your heritage;
 Duke William of Normandy,
 Who to it has right and trusts in me,
 Shall have it, so as it pleases you;
 I have sworn it, and he is sure of it;
 I shall keep the covenant and my loyalty,
 Against you I shall not trespass;
 To the kingdom I have no claim nor right,
 Unless with his daughter he give it to me.
 I will not do treason or guile;
 This I swear to you upon the Gospel."²³

Although this speech takes place before Edward is on his deathbed, a similar one will ensue at that moment, and the reader of the Tapestry is given words here to incorporate into the deathbed

²³ Luard, 281.

conversation. Not only is Edward *not* granting the kingdom to Harold's protection, he is eliciting an additional oath from Harold that he will not interfere with William's right to the throne. If Harold's guile is in question, that is abolished with his consistent swearing on the trinity and the Gospel. Harold may violate his word to William and Edward, but here he is violating his word to God.

Tellingly, Edward does not even commit Edith to her brother's keeping in Paris' version of events. Here, Edith is given to the care of the people of England, "be they English, be they Normans."²⁴ Harold here is an oath-breaker and a liar, and should not be the one to take care of the queen after Edward's death. Instead, Paris postulates an England of two nations, but both working together to honor Edith. As it was with the Nun, a vision of a harmonious Anglo-Norman world is in Paris' best interest here as it is also the vision of Henry III, his patron.

Stigand similarly gets an interesting treatment in Paris' *vie*. At Edward's deathbed, Harold again swears allegiance to William's right to the crown:

"No man through me shall attack
The right of the throne which belongs
To you, sire, naturally,
Who have no issue of yourself,
And have held the kingdom;
You have granted it to Duke William:
I will not have in it sin or blame."²⁵

Then Stigand, present at the deathbed as he is in all versions of the *vitae*, speaks:

"Duke Harold, well you know it,

²⁴ Luard, 288.

²⁵ Luard, 289.

That if you violate this covenant,
 I say it for myself, to whom belongs
 To perform this holy sacrament,
 There will be no prelate in the land
 Who will give you unction;
 There will be no man of our commons,
 Who will put the crown on your head.”²⁶

This course of events drastically alters the reading of Harold’s coronation in the Tapestry. Here, Stigand stands next to him obviously complicit in the crowning that seemingly has just taken place. In dialogue with Paris’ *vita*, Harold and Stigand are false traitors, whose words moments before at Edward’s deathbed were completely lies. Their similar facial expressions link them together in their deception.

Paris’ depiction of Harold continues to get worse as the *vita* discusses the events following Edward’s death. He is described as “so haughty, so fierce and bold, / so violent and covetous, / that before him there was none such, / nor did he anything of what he had promised.”²⁷ This is a far cry from the upstanding and justice-loving Harold of Anonymous’ *vita*. To the 13th-century English viewers of the Tapestry, Harold was an unjust man and a terror of a king, and William, a savior for the English people and the rightfully chosen heir to the throne. Indeed, Paris’ depiction of the Battle of Hastings gives Harold the bloody end he has in the Tapestry while further exemplifying William’s courage and prowess:

Whence the English with King Harold
 Are so haughty and bold in consequence,

²⁶ Luard, 289.

²⁷ Luard, 300.

That they are scattered in the plain;
The duke thinks that he can surround them;
So did he as if they were partridges.
Then begins the fight hand to hand,
And the battle was cruel and fierce,
Many wounded and dead
Are there now on both sides.
The king struck in the eye with a dart
Falls and soon is in evil case,
Perished, slain and mangled.
And his standard is beaten down,
And the English host conquered;
....
The English host takes to flight,
And eagerly the Normans pursue.
The duke in all the battle
Lost not a drop of blood:
Three horses that day slain
Were under him in the battle.”²⁸

Harold’s death, along with the English supporting him, is a just one. For Paris, he deserves that arrow in the eye, made so famous by the Tapestry’s depiction. By contrast, William is a warrior who succeeds despite the attacks of the English directed at him. The English host is conquered by William, but Paris sketches this as a kind of mercy for the English who otherwise would have

²⁸ Luard, 308-309.

been ruled by Harold and his haughty compatriots. This moment, for Paris, is the end of Edward's *vie*, and he – like the Nun – ends it with an image of Westminster.

One thing that all of the *vitae* agree on, obviously, is that Edward was a great king and leader of the English. Whom he sanctions as successor is the key to understanding the bias of each hagiographer and how Harold and William are ultimately portrayed. And this, of course, brings us back to the death scene in the Tapestry. The men's hands reach out across the bed, their fingers touched. Harold's and Stigand's left hands are raised in mirror images, confirming that they are in agreement. The king leans forward, imparting his crucial final wishes. But what those words actually are depends on who is seeing the image, and, perhaps, on what that viewer has read.



A Roman Pilgrim

By Mark Hall, Perth Museum and Art Gallery

On a recent trip to Rome (on the University College Cork ‘Early Medieval Rome’ tour led by Éamonn Ó Carragain) Mark Hall spotted this splendid incised effigy-slab, in pale-cream marble. It is set between two pillars in the nave floor of the basilica of St. Prassede, a small church close to St Maria Maggiore, initially built in the late 5th century AD.



The slab commemorates one John of Montopolo, Bryan Ward-Perkins (pers. comm.) suggests that he either comes from the Sabina, near Farfa or perhaps from Montopolo in the

Arno valley. Stylistically the tomb can be dated to circa 1320 and Giovanni's effigy is depicted wearing the pilgrim's cape (in Italy known as the *sanrocchino*, the *schivina* or the *pellegrina*), the pilgrim's hat (or *petaso*), the pilgrim's bag or knapsack (the *capsella* or *pera*) and carrying an iron-tipped walking stave (variously known as a *bordone*, *burdo*, *baculus* or *fustis*). The cloak, from its style of carving appears to be a rough woollen type (its hairiness perhaps meant to suggest St John the Baptist). He wears two scallop shells, one attached to his bag, the other to his hat. There are no other souvenirs indicated. The four upper edges of the slab carry a continuous inscription with the ends of lines one and three running round onto the succeeding line:

+ : ISTVD : EST : S&P&CR
 V : IOHIS : MORTIS : OPVLI : SP&CIARII : 7 : VOS : ESTIS : EGO :
 FVI : OZ : SV : VOS : ERIT
 IS : OR&TIS : PRO : ME : P&CCATOR& : AGITE : PENIT&NTIAM :

The inscription has been published in volume 13 of the Medieval Latin Inscriptions of Rome: Garms, J, Juffinger, R and Ward-Perkins, B 1981 *Die mittelalterlichen Grabmaeler in Rom und Latium vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert, Band 1: die Grabplatten und Tafeln*, Austrian Academy of Science Press, LII,3, p.264 and Abb. 58.

The inscription translates as: 'This Is The Tomb Of Giovanni of Montopolo, Spice Merchant, What You Are I Was, What I Am You Will Be, Pray For Me A Sinner, And Do Penance'. He clearly wants to be remembered as a penitent pilgrim atoning for his sins. His wearing of two scallop shells and no other souvenirs may indicate that his penance required him to undertake a particular pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella. Did he die soon afterwards or even on route? Equally we could ask if he ever undertook any pilgrimage in person: did he fulfil his penance through someone going on his behalf or did he simply want to be remembered as and seen by God as a penitent pilgrim.

I am grateful to several colleagues who responded to my short-notice requests re the inscription's translation, particularly David Ganz and Bryan Ward-Perkins.



The Visualization of Urban Landscape in the Southern Netherlands during the Late Medieval and Early Modern Period

by Katrien Lichtert (University of Ghent and University of Antwerp)

This article is a short review of an interdisciplinary collaboration between the University of Ghent and the University of Antwerp entitled *The Visualisation of Urban Landscape in the Southern Netherlands during the Late Medieval and Early Modern Period*. The project investigates the different forms of visual urban representations in different media that were produced during the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. Because of the large scope of such a subject we (my colleague, Jelle de Rock (M.A. History) and myself (M.A. Art History)) restricted our investigation to the four largest cities in Flanders and Brabant at the time: Bruges and Ghent (in the county of Flanders) and Brussels and Antwerp (in the Duchy of Brabant). The aim of the project is to follow the changes in physical space and spatial perception through the study of visual representations of these cities.

The following summarizes the research approach to the project. Through studying visual representations of a city we can identify the changing urban spatial structures as well as the changing perception of the space that physically represents the city. This concerns the actual urban spatial reality, the way in which different social groups perceived urban reality, the way they used this urban reality to construct their own identity, and the interaction between these features—all issues of great importance. Our hope is to trace how people, living in the city from different social classes, occupied different parts of the actual urban reality and experienced different aspects of urban identity. More specifically, we're exploring ways in which the citizens experienced the spatial reality of the city, and how they profiled themselves within the city (e.g. through explicit forms of civil architecture, ornamentation, etc.). How did they use the city and its urban identity to create, establish and confirm their own social positions, or, more precisely, the positions they wanted to communicate to the outside world? How did these ideas interact with the physical urban

reality? The late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period were eras of profound change, as reflected in the urban structures of the Southern Netherlands. These changes were spurred by a range of factors, including the late medieval crisis, and its subsequent redefinition of the positions of different leading groups in the city. These changes in attitude are crucial to understanding the phenomenon of urban identity. It is clear that along with the changes in the perception of the city in general, so too did the attitude against urban life change. Through our study we will focus on determining how these changes affected the different processes of identification. Urban space played an important role in the visualisation and consolidation of the relations between different social groups. It also offered possibilities that could lead us to formulate certain claims in the struggle for power between individuals and between certain groups within the city, as well the competition between different cities or between the city and its sovereign.

Representations of the city appear in a variety of sources, both literary and iconographical, both of which played pivotal roles in establishing urban identity of this period. Our research project focuses on the visual sources. It is not by accident that in the period in question visual culture boomed and visual representations of cities are present in large numbers of objects created in different media. The visual focus offers certain advantages compared to written sources. Far more than written sources, visual images allow scholars to study and identify the spatial changes in the city over the course of time. Visual culture also allows one to approach different strategies of representation found in the different urban social groups in varied ways. Another advantage of iconographic sources are their suitability for investigation of mental attitudes over the long term. They offer the possibility of comparing periods and revealing certain information that is difficult to find in traditional written sources.

Considering the significant place of visual culture in Late Medieval and Early Modern towns it is strange that, until now, almost no sources grapple with the image of the city in terms of the place of the city in the perception of society and its different social categories. Therefore, this project, by its focus on this particular source material, should be a helpful addition to the general discourse of urban history.

Obviously this matter is complex. The target is to create a representative corpus of visual sources that allow certain patterns to unfold in the strategies of representation of those different urban groups. So we divided the iconographic material into different typological clusters according to different social groups. As mentioned before, our attention is focused on those social groups who were present in the urban reality. In general these were the sovereign and the court; the city council; the different crafts and guilds; fraternities; merchants and the clergy.

This broad range is reflected in the broad spectrum of different media used to depict the city. Although we've started with the investigation of early Netherlandish painting, the visual material is found in objects such as tapestries, prints, stained glass, town seals, and more. To obtain optimum results it is important that every source is treated with the utmost accuracy and that each source is investigated through the same precise, standardized method. Therefore we have created a questionnaire in which different aspects are consecutively examined. The purpose is to determine the different traditions in visual representation and the changes that occurred in these traditions during the period. Afterwards we will analyze this information with diverse material collected about the social positions of the urban social groups together with considerations about urban identity in general (e.g. originating from contemporary sources).

Ultimately, this compiled information will allow us to answer specific questions about the different strategies of representation that were applied by those specific social groups. Once we have identified these structural elements, we can link them with the general mental framework. In this way we can transform the whole in questions about the production of urban space and the significance of urban group identity.



François Dubois. *Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day* (Paris, 24 August, 1572). C.1572. o/wd 94 X 154 cm Musée Cantonal Des Beaux-Arts, Lausanne Switzerland



Full-Size Replica of the Bayeux Tapestry

By Rita Tekippe, University of West Georgia

At the University of West Georgia, in Carrollton, where I am a faculty member, is a full-size replica of the Bayeux Tapestry—one of a handful of such copies in existence. Wrought in different media (painted canvas), and hung at greater height (unreachable ∴ untouchable) it nonetheless offers an opportunity for students/scholars to examine the imagery in somewhat similar fashion to what would be possible in the home of the original. This work is mined frequently and effectively from a variety of disciplinary approaches here at the university and it is explored by local schoolchildren as well. There are even annual group pilgrimages made by young Atlantan academics to study and sketch, as part of history and social study courses. Whether its replication here influenced Medieval English scholar Micheal Crafton's pursuit of the fabulous textile as a research topic is unknown to me; that it was instrumental in the meeting of medievalist minds for Micheal and me is certain. Further it has led to the happy occasion of our being able to present this special group of articles on this phenomenal medieval work.

The replica was created by Atlanta artist Margaret ReVille. Dr. E.D. Wheeler, former judge and former dean at Oglethorpe University, commissioned the work and donated it to UWG in 1997.



Signs in the Stones

Masons' marks were graphic symbols inscribed in the stones of a church. Their exact usage is a matter of scholarly debate, but the current consensus is that a mason, upon completing a portion of their work, cut their symbol into the block in order to tally up their labor and receive payment (sometimes the marks were referred to as a "banker's mark") for their work. How the symbol was connected to a particular mason is not known, but it is assumed that they would choose or be assigned one on obtaining journeyman status. The mason may have also adapted a symbol used by their father or uncle. Both stone carvers and cutters marked blocks. Scholars following a particular set of symbols have been able to establish chronological sequence of building blocks. Originally covered by polychrome, most of these marks were meant to be hidden, but now, with the passage of time and the wearing away of their original painted surface, more masons' marks have been discovered. Silvia Nilsen, freelance writer and editor of travel guides (and officer of the Confraternity of St. James, South Africa), during her research on the pilgrimage roads to Santiago de Compostela photographed some of the more striking masons' marks. For further reading on marks, signs, and symbols in stones see **Firmado en la Piedra por los Maestros Canteros Medievales by Juan Luis Puente Lopez.**

Photographer: Silvia Nilsen

Click images for a larger version.



Astorga, Spain is found at the crossroads of the French road to Santiago de Compostela and the Ruta de la Plata (Silver Road). The Cathedral was begun in the Romanesque period, substantially enlarged in the 15th century, and completed in the 18th century. Mark in the shape of a Patriarchal cross with an upside down triangle at the base

Astorga, Spain. Mark in the shape of a shepherd's crook.





Astorga, Spain. Mark in the shape of capital initials JF, perhaps pilgrim graffiti?

Astorga, Spain. Mason's mark in the shape of a backwards, curvilinear h.



Eunate, Church of St. Mary, mason's mark, Romanesque, 12th century, Navarre, Spain. Mark in the shape of shackles(?)

Eunate, Church of St. Mary, mason's mark, Romanesque, 12th century, Navarre, Spain. Mark in the shape of shackles. Note how the mark crosses over two stone blocks.



Eunate, Church of St. Mary, mason's mark, Romanesque, 12th century, Navarre, Spain. Mark in the shape of shackles near column.

Fromista, Church of St. Martin, Romanesque, 11th century, Palencia, Spain. On the road to Santiago de Compostela. Mark in the shape of a capital M.





Leôn Cathedral, Church of Santa Marôn a, Leôn, Spain. Mark in the shape of a backwards shepherd's crook with a spiral handle.

Leôn Cathedral, Church of Santa Marôn a, Leôn, Spain. Mark in the shape of a backwards shepherd's crook with a spiral handle, same as above, but on a different block.



Leôn Cathedral, Church of Santa Marôn a, Leôn, Spain. Mark in the shape of a bird.

León Cathedral, Church of Santa Marôna, León, Spain. Mark in the shape of an arrow or tripod placed horizontally.



León Cathedral, Church of Santa María, León, Spain. Mark in the form of a bow and arrow pointing downwards.

León Cathedral, Church of Santa Marôna, León, Spain. Mark in the shape of a column with a simple base and capital.





Lugo, Galicia, Spain, Cathedral of St. Froilán, built about 1129.
Mark in the shape of a vertically-connected P and E.

Lugo, Galicia, Spain, Cathedral of St. Froilán, built about 1129.
Mark in the shape of a capital A with serifs.



Pamplona, Navarre, Spain. Pamplona Cathedral. Mark in the
shape of a Greek cross within a circle. Pilgrim graffiti?

Pamplona, Navarre, Spain. Pamplona Cathedral. Mark in the shape of the Patriarchal Cross (note double arms) surmounting the Christ's monogram HIS in capital letters with serifs. Pilgrim graffiti?



Roncesvalles, Navarre, Spain. Collegiate Church along the road to Santiago de Compostela. Romanesque. Mark in the shape of a Greek cross.

Roncesvalles, Navarre, Spain. Collegiate Church. Romanesque. Mark in the shape of a cross with circles extending from two arms.





Roncesvalles, Navarre, Spain. Collegiate Church. Romanesque. Mark in the shape of a footprint of a traveler wearing a fashionably pointy shoe.

Roncesvalles, Navarre, Spain. Collegiate Church. Romanesque. Mark in the shape of elaborate window tracery; a Jewish star (star of David) with interlocking trefoils forming a large sexfoil.



Real Monasterio de San Zoilo, Palencia, Spain. On the road to Santiago de Compostela. Mark in the shape of a left pointing arrow.

Real Monasterio de San Zoilo, Palencia, Spain. On the road to Santiago de Compostela. Marks in the shape of sideways triangles meeting in the center.



Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain. Romanesque Cathedral. Mark on column in the shape of a sideways capital B with serifs.

Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain. Romanesque Cathedral. Mark on column in the shape of four sideways half moon shapes.





Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain. Romanesque Cathedral. Mark on column in the shape of a backwards shepherd's crook.

Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain. Romanesque Cathedral. Mark on stone block in the shape of initials I and I placed in the shape of a decorative square. Pilgrim graffiti?



Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain. Romanesque Cathedral. Mark on stone block in the shape of the initial capital V, a Latin cross, and an indented circle surmounted by a backwards 5 (looking vaguely like a zodiac sign). Pilgrim graffiti?

Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain. Romanesque Cathedral.
Mark on stone block in the shape of the initial capitals X, V, and
I (= 16?) with serifs and the X and V connected. Pilgrim graffiti?



Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain. Romanesque Cathedral.
Mark on stone block in the shape of a Greek cross. Note
discoloration as evidence of many pilgrims touching the image.
Pilgrim graffiti?

Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain. Romanesque Cathedral,
cloister. Mark on stone block in the shape of a triangle (without a
bottom) and a half moon.





Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain. Romanesque Cathedral, cloister. Mark on stone block in the shape of a capital A or an upside down V.

Real Monasterio de San Zoilo, Palencia, Spain. On the road to Santiago de Compostela. Mark in the shape of a capital N.



Real Monasterio de San Zoilo, Palencia, Spain. On the road to Santiago de Compostela. Mark in the shape of a simple cross.

Santo Domingo de Silos Abbey (Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos), Burgos, Spain. 11th century, Romanesque. Mark in the shape of a crude cross. Pilgrim graffiti?



Santo Domingo de Silos Abbey (Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos), Burgos, Spain. 11th century, Romanesque. Mark in the shape of a St. Andrews cross composed of four propeller-shapes in a circle. Reminiscent of window tracery.

Torres del Rio, Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Sepulcher), 12th century, Romanesque, Navarre, Spain. Modeled on the church in Jerusalem by the Knights Templar. Mark in the shape of a Coptic anhk cross surmounted by a smaller Latin cross.

