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PETRIFIED PASSIONS
BODILY RHETORIC IN ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE, c.1100–c.1270

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Volume I: Text

ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the making and workings of the rhetoric of the body in architectural sculpture. An abundance of expressive examples remains from the period that can be considered as the most dynamic in the history of western sculpture. Their communicative power derives from the conceptual modes of rhetoric, adapted by the carvers into the sculpted contexts. Pathos, ethos and logos (the underlying verbal authority of scripture and commentary) are in sculpture conveyed via bodily scale and proportion, spatial dynamics, physiognomies, gestures, and expressions. The analysis of those building blocks of sculpted rhetoric allows us to understand the formal dynamics within the structure of the sculpted performance and provides an insight into the source of its success.

Chapter one aims to immerse the reader in the materiality of the sculpted body. The analysis considers the influence of the material and the processes of its manipulation on the form and rhetoric of the sculpted body, its communicative potential and general viewing experience. Chapter two looks at the aesthetic means of communication between the sculpted body and the beholder, as embedded in a network of physiognomic signs. This chapter shows the range of ways in which sculpted figures engaged with the viewer through the shapes and surfaces of their bodies. Chapter three discusses the use of the body language of the Fall, highlighting the range of invented expressions occurring at the various stages of the story, but particularly at the postlapsarian stage. These emotionally-laden depictions of events of crucial impact on the human condition related directly to every believer, implicating the audience alongside the protagonists. Chapter four deals with sculpted depictions of Job. The complexity of Job's story fed into the ambitions of the artists who embarked on an exploration of the physiognomic and pathognomic language of their figures. While the attendants offer a range of pathognomic reactions, the body of Job became a field for experimentation with bodily form, surface and movement.

The thesis aims to clarify how the language of the sculpted body is formed, and how it works to reach the audiences. Contrasting attitudes to the sculpted body not only demonstrate the breadth of its potential as a communicative tool, but offer a primary

insight into the genesis of the principles of corporeal rhetoric used to establish a link between the sculpture and its viewer. The thesis challenges the idea of a single trajectory of development of the physiognomic and pathognomic features in architectural sculpture. The refinement of physical mimesis was not intrinsically paired with the rhetorical sophistication of forms. The ubiquitous but complex artistic dialogues, evidenced in the petrified legacy of constant mediation, responding, updating and calibrating, testify to the volatile trajectories of the conception of the form and rhetoric of medieval bodies and medieval sculpture as a whole.

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INTRODUCTION

The body of the sinner on the capital in the north transept of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (fig. 1, 2) is subjected to a violent assault by a group of five devils. Their physicality, and indeed their entire corporal existence, is governed by opposition – physical and mechanical – to the body of the man they are charged to punish. Their physiognomies, movement and gestures are conceived as contradicting and antagonising every aspect of the body of the damned man. Equally, the whole figure of the man is conceived as if to facilitate the drastic confrontation of the bodies. The devils' bodies show exaggeration of form and surface in almost every possible way – their eyes bulge, huge mouths grin, orifices belch, bones and tendons project, and the skin ruffles or stretches according to the need of producing the most appropriate (ugly) image. The man, on the other hand, presents himself rather differently. He is plump, smooth and shapely; although suffering, his face is almost incongruously unruffled; although bound, his pose is no more broken up and contorted than the poses of the devils, and so his entire body faces theirs in a direct visual confrontation.

A thickly-woven rope tightens around the man's neck, pinning his body against the frame of the gallows. This pulling force, instigated by a demon bracing its leg against the scaffold, keeps the man's body suspended between the forms and means of torture: the strangling rope keeps him from dropping into the fire of hell, which ultimately consumes only the lower part of his body. His head is stabbed with a halberd and his ear bitten by a snake, applied to his body by two demonic torturers, while two more await on the opposite side, bearing more tools along with the incriminating object of the miser's sin.[1] The movement and gestures of the demons are steady, focused solely on the practical

1 For identification as a miser, see Durliat 1990, 316.

purpose of inflicting torture, and the apparent flickering chaos of the surface of the capital is caused by the physiognomic features of the demons' bodies, not their behaviour. On their faces, however, their grotesque physiognomy is reinforced with facial expressions that stretch the already oversized mouths and nostrils into horrific grins.

In the face of the grisly suffering inflicted by the fearsome creatures, the damned man appears completely resigned to his fate. His body showing no sign of rebellion, and the face but a faint sign of despair, struggle or pain; he seems to be but a blank canvas for punishment. The absence of emotions could be read simply as a sign of the utter subjection of the damned to a deserved punishment. But the visual rhetoric of the figure reveals its complexity when viewed in the wider context of eschatological representations. The image of the tortured man on the Santiago capital fulfils a similar purpose to that in displays of eternal damnation elsewhere. Here however, the somewhat ambiguous form is particularly demanding on the viewer, as the clarity of the narrative context is not followed by the clarity of the body language. In other words, the tortured body does not reflect its physical or mental state through a range of clear pathognomic signs that would further communicate the identity of the figure and thus strengthen the significance of the scene. Rather than being the focus of the performance, the man appears more like a sideshow participant – one not unlike the onlooker down below. By reflecting the initial anticipated passive countenance of the viewer, the sculpted body becomes a mirror in which the eventual response of the audience is generated and transformed. The simplicity and restraint in the treatment of the expressive human body keeps it looking recognisable, familiar to the viewer, so different from the grotesque animation of the devilish torturers. The damned man thus remains on the threshold between the perceptive and receptive space of the viewer and the domain of hell. The familiar human body, placed in an imaginary but – to medieval viewers – no less familiar narrative context, reinforces the impact of the scene on the sensibilities of its audience, whose effective response would

project their own emotion onto the scene, adding further to its meaning.

The image on the capital at Compostela is part of the architectural fabric of the transept aisle. Crowning a tall, engaged column and carrying the load of a transverse arch, it constitutes an aesthetic break in the solid masonry. The sculpture engages the eye with the density of forms carved on three sides of the capital. Packed between the necking and the abacus, the carved bodies tell a story and aim to affect, inform, remind, or persuade the viewer. The sculptor arranged the carved bodies as subjects in a rhetorical performance. The making of this rhetoric of the carved body in architecture is the core concern of this thesis.

Definition of bodily rhetoric and its components

The rhetoric of the sculpted body is an art of visual persuasion. It is here perceived as a derivative of the ancient discipline of rhetoric, viewed by Aristotle as a 'system of artifice, of construction or invention of the modes of persuasion'.[2] The process of making an image of the body in art is an analogical category to rhetoric – it is a departure from the raw truth, a construct, a stylization of form designed to transfer information, to impress, to influence the beholder.[3] In contrast to body language, primarily concerning bodily behaviour, bodily rhetoric encompasses all the perceptive characteristics and actions of a body engaged in communication.[4] These could be seen as analogies of linguistic rhetorical tools such as dyads, paradoxes and oppositions. The *Physiognom*y, attributed to Aristotle, lists the sources from which information about one's character can be drawn, thus defining these as tools of visual rhetoric: 'They are these: movements, gestures of the body, colour, characteristic facial expression, the growth of the hair, the smoothness of the skin, the

2 Copeland 1994, 144. I interpret the ways in which the carvers depicted bodies as comparable to verbal rhetoric, and do not suggest that the depiction of bodies was actually understood in this way in the twelfth century.

3 Bynum 2001, 116.

4 See, for example, Argyle 1988.

voice, condition of the flesh, the parts of the body, and the build of the body as a whole'.[5] The author appreciated the usefulness of bodily signs in communicating inner values as he believed in the unity of body and spirit: 'It is possible to infer character from features, if it is granted that the body and the soul are changed together by the natural affections: I say 'natural', for though perhaps by learning music a man has made some change in his soul, this is not one of those affections which are natural to us; rather I refer to passions and desires when I speak of natural emotions'.[6] The Aristotelian tradition distinguished between permanent physical signs such as the skin surface or size of ears, and transitory ones, such as gestures or facial expressions.[7] The latter, being reactive, can be misleading in judging permanent mental qualities, but useful in indicating current character. The tradition thus differentiated between physiognomy and pathognomy, without necessarily naming the latter.[8] The pathognomic analysis of the face was considered as a method or part of physiognomic enquiry, '[taking] as its basis the characteristic facial expressions which are observed to accompany different conditions of mind, such as anger, fear, erotic excitement, and all other passions'.[9] As a visual mode of rhetoric, the pathognomy of the body finds its analogy in the rhetorical mode of pathos, affecting the audience's emotions and evoking their empathy in the process. The more stable physiognomy, on the other hand, corresponds to the verbal mode of ethos (Greek for 'character') – the performance of a persona; thus physiognomy, as one of the bodily attributes, helps determine the identity and status of the figure.

As all kinds of bodily signs were used by the sculptors for communication, my

5 ps.-Aristotle, *Physiognomy*, in Swain and Boys-Stones 2007, 641.

6 See Aristotle, *Prior Analytics* 2.27, accessed on 20/09/2013 ohttp://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/a/aristotle/a8pra/complete.html.

7 ps.-Aristotle, *Physiognomy,* in Swain and Boys-Stones 2007, 639-61.

8 The term pathognomy is a complex one and often given as a synonym of the medical term 'pathognomonic', as 'relating to a group of signs and symbols that are indicative of a specific disorder'. See Colman 2009, 555. The analysis of the word ('pathos'=suffering, and 'gnomon'=index) agrees with the meaning of 'pathognomic' which refers to the external indicators of emotion.

9 Pseudo-Aristotle, *Physiognomy,* in Swain and Boys-Stones 2007, 638ff.

enquiry will be accordingly preoccupied with both the permanent and fleeting bodily states as represented in medieval sculpture. Physiognomic enquiry will assess the entire body, and its display of features not determined by particular internal feelings or concerns; pathognomic analysis will be concerned with the animation of the body and face independent from permanent physiognomic features, and caused by external stimuli or internal psychological feeling. The various components of the physiognomy and pathognomy of a sculpted body, like bodily proportion, scale, and distribution in space will also prominently figure in the discussion.

Why body

The focus of this thesis is the human body in architectural sculpture, with all its versions and derivatives. The communicative potential of a body is unmatched. Its familiarity and relatability are rooted in the profoundly physical experience involving the senses as much as the sensibilities. Images of bodies interact with their living counterparts, provoking comparisons and evoking sympathy.

In the Middle Ages, the centrality of the body with its various physical and symbolic connotations found its reflection in textual sources, and the visual arts, as well as in the increasingly somatised devotional practices.[10] Body was an important element of Christian devotion for many reasons, not least the concept of the Word becoming flesh. In Christian art the illiterate masses were thought to gain access to Christ both 'through the flesh of the image' and through the flesh in the image.[11] There was an enduring emphasis on the physical qualities of man – both in texts and in material practice – sometimes disguised but always present. The attitudes to the body in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were generally positive. For Bernard of Clairvaux it had the potential to reveal

10 For multi-sensory devotional experiences involving touch, see, for example, Frank 2000, 98-115.

11 Camille 1994, 77.

sanctity.[12] Later, Bonaventure wrote of souls almost enviously yearning for bodies, deeply desiring to return to their flesh.[13] The body was a person's only real tactile possession (as opposed to his or her immaterial soul) and had a potential to arouse jealousy in spiritual creatures which envied the only thing they could not have.[14] Visual art, and particularly sculpture, succeeded at embodying such spirits. The process of inscription into corporeal frames gave immaterial characters and concepts new status, meaning and weight.[15] The substance of the depicted body became literal in the case of three-dimensional representations. Embedded wholly in the physical space, the image of the body was thus most potent in sculpture.

Why sculpture

The recorded cases of ancient statues sparking the admiration and imagination of medieval audiences were in part symptoms of the ongoing fascination with the human body. The artistic exploration of the carved physical features, and the beauty of technically accomplished carving were admired by the likes of Hildebert of Lavardin, who praised the creative genius that beat nature itself.[16] Guibert of Nogent admired the proportioning of the limbs of ancient statues,[17] and Master Gregory marvelled at the naturalistic effects of the 'fluid craftsmanship' that moulded inorganic material into an image of organic body.[18] Alexander Neckham's compendium of mediaeval mythology *Mythographus tertius*, which aided the transmission of classical mythology into the medieval world, described Scipio

12 See, for example, his *Life of St Malachy*, Bernard of Clairvaux 1978, 99.
13 Bynum 1991, 257.
14 Bernard of Clairvaux wrote on the qualities of bodies that may make angels envious. Jaeger 2011, 270.
15 As bodies were being invented for rhetorical exercises. For this, see Copeland 1994, 141ff.
16 In Thomson and Winterbottom 1998, 367-8; Barret 1965, 32 and his note 43.
17 Schapiro 1977 (1947), 19.
18 See William of Malmesbury 1847, 367-68, quoting Hildebert of Lavardin. On Gregory and the analysis of the incentives and medieval contexts for his commentary, see Heslop 1998, 130-32. See also Noble 2013, 291-315.

admiring the statues of divinities in the African court of Syphax.[19] Such accounts echoed the appropriation of classical figural imagery to the rhetorical and artistic needs of medieval writers and artists.[20] Their appreciation of technically accomplished carving was evident in the physical features of the statues which they admired and considered beautiful.[21] Not surprisingly they strove to achieve similar results by either re-appropriating or copying the work of their predecessors. Carolingian carvers were instructed to copy antique models.[22] Frederick II was reported to have ordered one of his artists to use the sculptures from Roman ruins as his models.[23] Later still, Albrecht Dürer tried to justify such use of pagan models for Christian images.[24] Such examples show that medieval commentators, patrons and artists had a susceptibility to the physique of the antique body, even though their system of notions of beauty, outlined below, was quite different.

Redeployed in medieval contexts the 'pagan' body was incorporated into the new system that continued the artistic fascination with the physicality and passions of the body. In medieval art the signs of this ancient appreciation of corporal vitality and physical aesthetic remained clear; these notions well fitted the dominant messages communicated by medieval depictions of the body - the perfect humanity of Christ, and the continuation of the physical body in the afterlife, with all its positive and negative consequences! An interest in representing both vital emotions and vital beauty (and ugliness) survived from antiquity, and curiosity about and celebration of the body was put to very practical use.

My enquiry concentrates on sculpture as the most accommodating medium for physiognomic and pathognomic experimentation, one manifesting the rhetoric of the body in its fullest potential. As a three-dimensional medium, sculpture is unambiguously located

19 Panofsky and Saxl 1933, 255.
20 Panofsky and Saxl 1933; Oakeshott 1959; Long 2012, 47-58.
21 For their fixation on specific aspects of the sculptures, see Schapiro 1977 (1947), 19; Ambrose 2013, 61.
22 Mitchell 2008, 263–88.
23 Barret 1965, 30-31 and his note 37. For Frederick's patronage of classical inspired carved cameos, see Draper 2008, 17-19.
24 Panofsky and Saxl 1933, 275.

in the real physical space of its viewers. This presence in space allows and invites multiple viewpoints, and encourages particular movements and behaviours in the process of beholding. It will become clear that this spatial and visual relationship of sculpture and the beholder is the subject of my method of inquiry. The spatial and visual lucidity of sculpture calls upon the viewers' senses, enhancing their experience and inviting physical engagement with the representation. The tangible presence of sculpture is at its most eloquent when the viewer is faced with a human likeness; such an image compels the viewer to relate to it physically, intellectually and emotionally.[25] A great dramatization of this idea is the story of Pygmalion, whose engagement with his sculpted creation existed on all these levels. Such empirical charisma of the sculpted body, bolstered by the plastic character of its medium, made it a primary player in a period of artistic experimentation and creative reinvention.

The rhetorical potential of sculpture, and the human reliance on it in order to trigger memory and instil feeling and contemplation, was recognized and criticised in the twelfth century by Bernard of Clairvaux, who questioned the sense of making 'foolish' images based on curious bodily forms, as they were capable of hindering the spiritual concentration and meditative diligence of the monks.[26] Bernard's focus on the use of diverse and odd images of the human body shows how attractive and powerful a tool they were. Bernard was aware of the already established position of the image as a potent contributor to verbal rhetoric: a factor triggering imagination, challenging mental

25
See, for example, Dale 2007, 101–19.

26
Rudolph 1990, 283: "[I]n the cloisters, before the eyes of the brothers while they read – what is that ridiculous monstrosity doing, an amazing kind of deformed beauty and yet a beautiful deformity? What are the filthy apes doing there? The fierce lions? The monstrous centaurs? The creatures part man part beast?...You may see many bodies under one head, and conversely many heads on one body. On one side the tail of a serpent is seen on a quadruped, on the other side, the head of a quadruped is on the body of a fish. Over there an animal has a horse for the front half and a goat for the back; here a creature which is horned in front is equine behind. In short, everywhere so plentiful and astonishing a variety of contradictory forms is seen, that one would rather read in marble than in books, and spend the whole day wondering at every single one of them, than in meditating the law of God."

conventions, raising a dialogue, and therefore becoming a kind of visual sermon.[27] This visual rhetorical power gave sculpted figures a voice. And the VOX was provided by the sculptors, who equipped their creations with VULTUS and GESTUS.[28]

Chronological and geographic scope

There is a simple reasoning behind the chronological and geographic scope of this thesis. There was a need for a corpus of architectural sculptures that would provide enough variety of approaches so as to allow for productive comparisons. This comparative potential was achieved by reaching for a selection of well-executed, well-known and well-preserved monuments dated between 1100 and 1270, the most fruitful period of the Middle Ages in regards to sculpture. The turn of the twelfth century witnessed an outburst of new creative energy which resulted in new vocabularies being employed. The period witnessed a variety of approaches to the sculpted body, but was far from showing a steady, linear progress towards an aspired paradigm. The formal transformation of the sculpted body took many shapes along the way. Each decade and monument displayed a different take on body rhetoric, each with different attitude to past models, laws of proportion, and modes of verism, dynamism or drama. The investigation will reach the decade prior to 1270 – the time of the completion of the sculptural program at the Cathedral of Reims, a site demonstrating a fusion of approaches to physiognomies, and varied responses to preceding models.

The chronological distribution of the selected case studies across the period between 1100 and 1270 allows me to compare approaches and to formulate ideas about

27 Contemporary scholastic thought assigned rhetoric an educational role in society with preaching as a primary tool of persuasion of the public. See Murphy 1974, 269ff.

28 I see this relationship between *vox*, *vultus* and *gestus* as analogical to the relationship of *logos*, *ethos* and *pathos* – the latter two feeding into the former. Vox, vultus and gestus were primary modes of rhetorical delivery. In his new take on *Ars Poetica,* Geoffrey of Vinsauf wrote: 'Therefore, let a voice controlled by good taste, seasoned with the two spices of facial expression and gesture, be borne to the ears to feed the hearing', lines 2056-9, Nims 1967, 91.

the changing and recurring principles of the artists working across the period. The quality, level of finish, and state of preservation of the sculptures allows for more confident analysis of the technical processes and principles behind the language of the carved figures.

The majority of the case studies of this non-comprehensive review are located in France, where perhaps the greatest variety of approaches to sculpture executed in limestone can be found. The analysis of the corpus of French limestone sculpture was productively complicated by the addition of the sculptures from Santiago de Compostela. Located at the end of the pilgrimage route leading from the majority of the locations of the other case studies, executed in granite, and fascinatingly remaining on the cusp between Romanesque and Gothic 'styles' or sets of principles (if there are such things), the late twelfth-century Portico de la Gloria provides a good counter-study.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Bodily communication and medieval sculpture are topics frequently discussed in scholarly literature, but they only too rarely appear in a tango. When they do, the authors deal with specific case studies, themes or concepts, and the rhetoric of the sculpted body is discussed as a means of exploring other subjects of enquiry like functions or attributions. There has not yet been a study devoted solely to the production and development of bodily communication in sculpture.

Many prominent scholars have written insightful commentaries on the state of the body in the sculptural compositions of medieval architecture. Their writings show a range of different approaches to this big topic. The iconographic method of Emile Mâle led him to a celebration of the sacred symbolism and encyclopaedic character of medieval monuments and their sculpted content and he was somewhat impatient with some of the formal solutions and forms conceived by the artists. The elongated figures at Autun he

perceived as deformed by the odd treatment of space on the part of Gislebertus.[29] Others, such as George Zarnecki and Denis Grivot, saw the same expressive qualities of the Autun bodies as reflections of the figures' inward metaphysical states, as Meyer Schapiro proposed in relation to other Romanesque bodily forms.[30] Schapiro advocated a recognition of the intentionality and maturity of the Romanesque sculpted body, and, although sensitive to the formal principles of architectural sculpture, he rejected the diagrammatic approach represented by Henry Focillon and his pupil Baltrusaitis.[31] Focillon was interested in artists' techniques and imagination and, keeping away from the more abstract methods of the German art historians, he emphasized analysis of form and matter in space.[32] Focillon coined his *loi du cadre*, the theory explaining the 'deformation of actors' in Romanesque sculpture.[33] He attempted to solve the problem of the formal peculiarities of the figures by applying a view of the architecture as the frame constricting the sculpture within. This conformity to an architectural frame determined, according to Focillon, the invention of new proportions, poses and movements, as 'to enter the system of the stone, man was forced to bend forward or lean backward, to stretch or contract his limbs, to become a giant or a dwarf. He preserved his identity at the cost of unbalance and deformation; he remained man, but a man of plastic material, obedient – not to the caprice of an ironical idea – but to the exigencies of a system which comprehended the entire structure'.[34] The complex question of the sacrifice of proportional harmony and verisimilitude of the body in response to the framing context of each sculpture is addressed in chapter one and throughout.

The analysis of the body language of sculpted figures has in some cases become a

29 Mâle 1978, 416-17.
30 Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 27-30 and Schapiro 1977 (1931), 217-18.
31 Focillon 1963; Baltrušaitis 1986; Schapiro 1977 (1932), 265-84; Schapiro 2006, xxviff, 34-60 (and complicating the subject on pages 154-164). See also Cahn 2002, 129-36.
32 Focillon 1942.
33 Focillon 1963, 107.
34 Focillon 1963, 106.

foundation for arguments about the function and meaning of narrative programmes. Such is an engaging study by Otto Karl Werckmeister, who analysed the body of Eve from the northern doors of Autun, viewing the sculpture as synthesizing and communicating penitential significance of the whole portal.[35] For Jean-Claude Bonne, the complex functioning of the visual language and emotional potential of the figures was inseparable from the structural circumstance of monumental portals, and so in his detailed analyses of the tympana, he gave precedence to the syntactic articulation of bodies within compositions.[36]

This structural approach bears elements of that presented by Raymond Oursel, in his publication with *Zodiaque* in 1976. In volume two he presented a wealth of Romanesque case studies looked at from a primarily practical viewpoint, exploring the relationship of the figures and the block of stone processed by the mason, all as part of a larger composition. Oursel analysed the techniques, spatial solutions and the graphics employed in the design and extraction of the figures from matter; the use of line, curve, angle and depth of relief, and the viewing angles as involved in the dialogue of iconographic forms and stereotomic context.[37] Along the same lines as this careful analysis of form was the work of Edson Armi, who in *Masons and Sculptors of Romanesque Burgundy* used meticulous analysis of the microphotographed facial and bodily features of the figures to assist his argument about the development of the Cluniac style.[38]

The structural aspects of architectural sculpture and their impact on the body language of the figures were the subjects of Frans Carlsson's *Iconology of Tectonics.*[39] The author analysed figures and motifs, mainly from non-narrative contexts, from the perspective of the symbolism of tectonic strength. More obvious examples like atlantes

35 Werckmeister 1972.
36 Bonne 1984a; Bonne 1984b, 77–95.
37 Oursel 1973, esp, part 2, 187ff.
38 Armi 1983.
39 Carlsson 1976.

were analysed alongside wrestlers, riders and embracing lovers, all in the context of the attunement of their bodies to the physical context they are inserted within. Carlsson's justification for his study was similar to that of the present thesis; his hypothesis about sculptures symbolising tectonic strength had been 'touched upon by several scholars when the single motifs have been interpreted', while no general investigation appeared until his own.[40]

The uses and experiences of the body in sculpture have been fruitfully explored by a number of scholars. Michael Camille saw the communication of the carved body with the 'bodied observer' as more forceful in Romanesque sculpture than in later carvings, even if more complex to read in terms of the relationship of matter and spirit.[41] Camille imagined the verbal eloquence of some figurative carvings as having the power to cry out to the viewer, as in the case of some less rigorously narrated scenes at Souillac.[42]

The communicative potential of sculpted bodies were further recognised by Paul Binski, who argued that the metaphysical powers of the body are responsible for the expressivity of the figures smiling at the viewers from Gothic compositions, the connection being based on the attunement to mortality conveyed by the physicality of the images.[43] Stephen Jaeger explored the moral transparency of the gestures and expressions of Gothic statues, stating that the abstract signals of the earlier sculptures shifted to incarnations of moral worth or corruption in the thirteenth century. Jaeger also raised a supposed problem of a chronological gap between the twelfth-century writings on bodily discipline as reflecting moral discipline, seen in the writings of the likes of Hugh of St Victor or Bernard of Clairvaux, and the later development of the morally eloquent plasticity of the sculptures which, according to him, escalated only in the last quarter of the twelfth century.[44]

40 Ibid., 12.
41 Camille 1993, 43–54.
42 Ibid., 54.
43 Binski 1997, 350–74.
44 Jaeger 2011, 331-48; Jaeger 1997, esp. 124ff

A very significant contribution to the issues of the corporeality of medieval sculptures was made by Thomas Dale, who in his article on the capitals at St-Michel-de Cuxa elaborated on the role of bodily deformities as the visual manifestation of 'spiritual deformities, inner desires, and phantasms that perturbed the collective imagination of the monastic community', functioning as an aid to meditation and a tool reinforcing the spiritual strength of the monks.[45] Elsewhere Dale explored the complexities of the experience of the physiognomic and expressive articulation of the sculpted bodies by medieval viewers, as well as the methods of the construction of moral rhetoric with the use of bodily features.[46]

In some recent scholarship, voices have raised the necessity of reconsidering the relationship between the formal bodily features of the sculptures and their supposed meaning. Focusing on Gothic sculpture, Elina Gertsman advocated caution in the interpretation of the sculptures' expressivity, arguing that displayed emotion and gesture were not necessarily intended to correlate to the inner passions of the soul.[47] Kirk Ambrose, a scholar particularly interested in the communicative potential of gestures as 'bearers of meaning', has recently argued that the body language of Romanesque figures can be extremely misleading.[48] In his article on the peculiar visual language of the figures at Conques, Ambrose explored many ways to decipher their bodily attitudes. He arrived at some convincing conclusions related to various socio-cultural factors such as the psychological 'attunement' of the viewer to confronted emotion, collective and individual fear, and the impact of social context on the perception of emotionally charged images.[49] At the same time he somewhat echoed Gertsman by remarking that one needs to be aware of the impact of culture on the understanding of emotion, as modern interpretations may

45 Dale 2001, 402-36.
46 Dale 2007,101–119; Dale 2010, 61-76
47 Gertsman 2010. For scientific backing of such cautiousness, see, for example, Jack, Garrod, Caldara, and Schyns 2012.
48 Ambrose 2006, 17-37.
49 Ambrose 2011, 1-17.

attach artificial meanings to gestures. He also rightly noted that a voluminous scholarship on Romanesque compositions and selected fragments remains largely silent on most aspects of the bodily reactions of the figures. The various forms and novelties of body language in sculpture of this period have been repeatedly noted, but their nature and importance have not been thoroughly explored.

Aid in this task is provided by the work of literary and cultural historians, who have done an enormous amount of work on aspects of the human body in the cultural milieu, drawing multidisciplinary sketches of the body, its meaning, forms, connotations, and its use in various textual and visual contexts. Jean-Claude Schmitt drew attention to the complexity and turning points of a thousand years of making and understanding gestures and gesturing.[50] Others, like Mosche Barasch, Esther Cohen, Caroline Walker Bynum and Mary Carruthers have contributed to the topic of the verbal and visual use of bodily expressivity, with its interactive qualities and somatic and mental impact on the beholders.[51]

Despite the large number of insightful publications treating various aspects of the body in medieval sculpture, there is still a lack of a comprehensive study that would treat the subject as a whole, without limiting itself to the fragmentary treatment or specific aspects that serve a single argument. The artistic vocabulary making the sculpted human figure an effective rhetorical tool has been treated selectively; the role of plasticity, dynamism and verism of the body has been underplayed and even denied, so the problem calls for more focused attention.[52] With the use of a methodological lens adjusted towards the artistic practice of the making of sculpture, this thesis seeks to deliver a synthetic reassessment of rhetoric of the bodies carved between the early twelfth and mid-

50 Schmitt 1991; Schmitt 1989.

51 Barasch 1976; Barasch 1987, 21-36; Barasch 1987, 21-36, Bynum 1991; Bynum 1995; Bynum 2001; Carruthers 1990, esp. 46-79, 221–229; Carruthers 1998, 198–205.

52 Binski and Jaeger, for example, seemed to push for the superiority of the Gothic conception of the body, in my opinion unjustly diminishing the communicative achievements of Romanesque sculpture. Jaeger 2011, esp. 331ff; Binski 1997, 353.

thirteenth century, and in so doing to reappraise the materiality and physicality of the sculpted human body.

This approach is informed by the efforts of art historians such as Rudolf Wittkower and Michael Baxandall, who understood the importance of investigating the processes of making sculpture, as they become available from the perspective of the viewer. Wittkower considered style secondary to the working methods of sculptors, focusing more on the methods and stages of execution of the work, although without ignoring the important role of the techniques of viewing. For example, he considered how the intended viewing position and angles affected the practice, and vice-versa.[53] This thesis embraces such concerns and investigates them with the addition of further issues such as the impact of the architectural context on the working techniques, and the influence of subject matter (represented identities), or the level of drama to be conveyed, on the sculptor's approach to form.

The properties of materials and their working in pursuit of sculptural effects featured also in Michael Baxandall's study of limewood sculptors in Renaissance Germany. He discussed the 'personality' of limewood as a material and the different tools and techniques that the sculptors used to tame it in pursuit of their desired forms and effects. Baxandall highlighted the importance of the medium's form and texture as the source of qualities that can be found in sculpture.[54] Such considerations behind the manifested sculptural form are only too rare in the history of art. This thesis aims to contribute to this lacuna, and divert the attention that is too often given solely to the finished product towards the material and the process of execution.[55]

53 Wittkower 1977, esp. 11-32.

54 Baxandall 1980, 27-49.

55 A notable contribution towards the understanding of sculpture in the light of the materials and their working is by Vibeke Olson. See Olson 2003, 2011; For more approaches considering the impact of the properties of quarried stone on sculpture and architecture, as well as the methods and techniques of sculptors, see Stratford 1983; Seidel 2003; Turmel, Fronteau, Thomachot-Schneider, Moreau, Chalumeau and Barbin 2014.

THEMES AND METHODS

In 1188 Master Mateo inserted an inscription into his Portico de la Gloria, asking the viewer to acknowledge that his is a work of artifice.[56] Aware of the mimetic quality of his work, Mateo appears to have recognised the rhetorical potential of the carved bodies as equipped with trickster-like powers of suggestion. Mateo's perspective as maker was very different from that of the viewer unaware of the steps leading to the final form and its intended impressive effect. Such an impression on the part of the beholder is evocatively expressed by Master Gregory's enchantment in the face of an ancient statue of Venus, which, according to him, possessed 'some magical power of persuasion'.[57] Perhaps the attribution of similar supernatural powers caused the siblings Ida and Herman of Cologne to approve the incorporation of an antique head carved in lapis lazuli into the figure of the crucified Christ on their processional cross (fig.3).[58] The technical quality of the intricate detail carved in the precious material seems to have superseded any doubts about the appropriateness of reusing a pagan object as the face of the Saviour, had doubts ever existed, that is.[59] Thus the quality of material and craftsmanship in effect Christianized the head; the provenance of the object, and even the gender of the sitter seems irrelevant, as the elegant face was deemed worthy of standing (and speaking) for the countenance of Christ. Master Mateo, being well aware of the persuasive powers of good quality carving and its profound effects on the viewers, told his audiences, perhaps as a form of pious disclaimer, to keep in mind that the figures were devised by a (talented) sculptor, who strived for convincing semblance. This study follows his advice and consider rhetorical bodies as works of calculated artifice meant to express and impress.

56 'OPUS ARTIFICUM UNIVERSA'. See Castiñeiras 2015, 25. For some assessment of the status of Matteo as sculptor or architect, see Rückert and Staebel 2010, 353-66.

57 Master Gregory cited in Brown 2005, 580.

58 Swarzenski 1954, 16-17.

59 For medieval expressions of prejudice against the pagan statues as dangerous objects, see Brown 2005, esp. 580-81.

This thesis takes the *raison d'etre* of rhetoric – the conscious production of a persuasive performance – and applies it to the practical process of creating sculpture. The intellectual input of the patron and designer being verified (as in 'tested') at the carving bench, the final product came about through the filtering of the aesthetic and theoretical concepts through the processes of sculptural production. But while the conceptual and intellectual input has received substantial attention from scholars, the subject of production of rhetorical objects too often receives only a passing comment regarding materials and techniques, as if how it was made and why in this way was overshadowed by the final form captivating the attention of the commentator – admittedly, doing its job very convincingly. While the carving process appears merged into the organized whole of the final product, the marks of production that came into action with the body in the making are still discernible, and so the physical creative act continues to contribute to the rhetorical weight of the finished sculpture. Understanding the formal dynamics within the structure of the sculpted performance gives an insight into the source of its rhetorical success, allowing, for a moment at least, a different, disenchanting level of perception.

Here I am adapting the method of Marcel Mauss, who in his famous essay on human bodily techniques advocated an approach leading from object or phenomenon to concept, 'from concrete to the abstract and not the other way around'.[60] The body is, as Mauss asserted in his influential work *Les techniques du corps*, 'man's first and most natural instrument', its techniques lying in static and dynamic features such as movements and postures, as well as in the morphology of the body. These patho- and physiognomic features are closely connected and mutually influential in an organic body, and, as will be demonstrated throughout this study, also in its representation, particularly in sculpture. The emotive content of the perceived whole is contributed to by all physical features, real or artificial.

60 Mauss 1992, 455. See also Noland 2010, 18-54.

To explore the ways in which these features were manifested by the artists, I apply my own imaging method to highlight the techniques and processes of the employment of bodies as rhetorical entities. My aim is to use photography less as a conventional mediator of the reader's (viewer's) experience with sculpture, and a more as a productive one. I am aware of the problems of photographic recording – the fundamental flaw being the flattening of the three-dimensional form, the selectivity and singleness of captured views, and therefore the fragmentation of the image/form and the totality of its impact. By seeking a variety of detailed views and angles, the photographic mediation employed here aims not to limit but to aid the articulacy of sculpture, by revealing and focusing the viewer's attention on the details and views that are not often grasped, and thus engaging them in the grandeur of articulation and intensity of detail of medieval sculpted performances. In the pursuit of greater attention to the sculptural techniques of stone carving, my method of looking at and documenting sculpture at least partially allows the reader to share the perspective of the maker, by making fine surface details and forms accessible to the eye. With the aid of natural light wherever possible, the angles and close views bring to light the marks of production. The foreshortened views, oblique angles, and the use of zoom lens aim to visualise the perspective of the maker, who in order to carve the sculpture moved around it and perceived it from various different views. Close-ups and alternative angles are not designed to fracture the view but to show detail that would have been perceived in separation by the carver during the carving, but also to remind the reader (viewer) that these angles and views are a fundamental part of our experience of sculpture on site. A large tympanum, for example, is only superficially perceptible all at once; the experience of the sculpted forms comes when the eye grasps the lines, layers and details of forms arriving at the viewer at different angles. This heightened intensity of engagement with medieval sculpture brings one closer to the mechanics of medieval audiences' engagement with figurative sculpture.

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As the rhetorical impact of the sculpted body is a combination of its production and reception, the method of investigating the production process goes here in tandem with a consideration of the reception of sculpture. While the finished sculpture engaged in manifold strategies of engagement, the sculptural techniques affected the techniques of the bodies of the figures and the forms and effects of the carving in general. This in turn affected the techniques of viewing. The way the narrative is constructed and located, the way the bodies are articulated, details laid out, the way the bodies are proportioned and scaled, foreshortened, positioned; all these factors affect the way the viewer looks and moves about the sculpture. All the case studies were designed for public contexts of display, and their form and size invite the engagement of large audiences. While the rhetoric of the carved bodies is modeled on human behavior, the audience reproduces the movements and attitudes of the bodies depicted, in a way reflecting them or acting as receptacles for the emotion and attitude of the bodies carved.

The artists carved bodies performing actions and displaying forms they themselves understood and which they expected the spectators to understand. This clarity of broadcasting was key to the communicative function. But even the supposed clarity left space for ambiguity, as the image of a human body was a work of artifice, and not a reflection of reality. The recognition of the artifice of artistic forms belonged to a higher level of viewership, as one had to break through the impression of the work. The initial stage of the experience was embedded in the visual rhetoric; when a real person encounters an image of a person a connection is established, a particular dynamic based on a familiarity of identities suggested by the physical forms, however abstracted. This dynamic is the foundation of empathy. Viewing an artificial image of a human body resembles viewing oneself through a skewed mirror, beholding the human form as 'through

the glass, darkly'.[61] Commenting on the Pauline passage from 1 Corinthians 1, Hugh of St Victor recognized the artifice of the image on the mirror, as even if a reflection of reality, it was not reality itself.[62] In this light, the metaphor of looking in a mirror for the process of reception of a sculpted figure works well, as in twelfth-century understanding, a mirror transformed the original. The skewed or soiled mirror would transform the original (model) body into an object reformed by this artifice, behind which a rhetorical agenda stood. Thus the sculpted bodies worked as such converters of reality, of real vices and virtues, real forms and emotions, delivering to the viewer an image for digestion.

The emotive displays of bodies in architectural sculpture are productive cases for exploring the psychological impact of the sculptures' rhetoric. I consider the mechanism of neurological attunement of the viewers to the sculpted image, as part of the process provoking empathetic responses.[63] It has been repeatedly argued that the neurological basis of empathy is that of the mirror neurons, firing when we perceive the actions and reactions of others.[64] Particularly striking and thus effective in the context of such processes were the meticulously choreographed visual displays of pain and suffering, either mental or physical, evidenced in the faces and bodies of the figures as well as implied by their physical circumstances (e.g. actions done to them). Such staging of trauma in art for the purpose of arousing powerful responses could be denominated as *traumaturgy*, a category of visual rhetoric relying on striking images of mental and physical challenges. The physicality embedded in sculpture calls upon the viewer's senses, alerting sensibilities, enhancing experiences and inviting physical engagement with the representation. Anatomical reality (if not realism) reinforced compathy and personal identification, thus enabling exemplarity and empathetic response. The viewing of the physical bodies

61 1Cor 1:12 (King James Version). All bible translations are according to Douai-Reims Bible, unless, as here, stated otherwise.

62 For more such interpretations of a mirror in pre-scholastic writing, Bedos-Rezak 2006, 50-51.

63 The useful term 'attunement' was used by Kirk Ambrose is his analysis of the body language of the damned figures on the tympanum of Conques. Ambrose 2011, 1-17.

64 Gallese 2001; Freedberg and Gallese 2007; Gallese, Eagle, and Migone 2007, 131–75.

experiencing torments and glories would have had a cleansing, redemptive effect, underpinned by the concepts of empathy and compathy – the audience would suffer, 'con passio' with the figures viewed.

The rhetoric of psychological and physical empathy was evident not only in artistic production but also in written accounts. In 1127, Galbert of Bruges referred to the famine that descended upon the Flemish lands immediately prior to the famous assassination of the count Charles the Good. In his brief but powerful description of the tragedy of the common people, the chronicler used an apt rhetorical device to heighten the drama of the account and thus pitch the emotional attunement of the reader.[65] He described responses occurring among the people whose everyday existence was suddenly inhabited by ubiquitous death and disease: 'It is a wonder to tell that no one in our land retained his or her natural colour but instead paleness like that and close to that of death invaded every face. Both those who were well and those who were sick were tired and weak since whoever was in good physical health grew sick when he or she saw the misery of the dying.'[66]

Galbert's dramatic interjection relies on his perhaps intuitive knowledge of basic human psychology. The narrative of the tragic experiences of the people affected by the famine plays on an ingrained fear of physical suffering. The reader is invited to participate in a human tragedy so intense, that it is in fact impossible to stay apart from. As the people of Bruges become ill at the very sight of the physical suffering of their fellow citizens, so the reader becomes empathetically involved in the narrative of their fate. This literary example is analogous to such techniques used in the visual arts, not least in monumental sculpture. Words and images exploited the fears and hopes of the beholders, intensifying their experience by creating mental or physical images that directly triggered their emotion.

65 On Galbert's rhetorical techniques aimed at increasing drama and evoking empathy, see Rider 2001, 112-34. See also translator's note and introduction in Galbert of Bruges 2013, xvii-lxxv.

66 Further, Galbert regrets that the villains of the story were not psychosomatically affected so, or as he calls it, 'reformed in even this way'. See Galbert of Bruges 2013, 8.

Whether through showing the ecstasy of the elect in heaven, the physical and mental pain of the damned in hell, the remorse and anticipation of physical hardship of Adam and Eve, or the moral and physical testing of God's faithful servant Job, the intensity of physical and mental experiences hit the audiences over the head, continuously if necessary, until the manipulation took its effect in affect.

THE AESTHETICS OF BODILY FORM IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL THEORY

The building blocks of bodily rhetoric which I identify above, namely bodily scale, bodily proportion, use of space, use of gestures, and, finally, physiognomies and expressions, were rooted in the intellectual discussions in centuries leading up to the thirteenth century. This section aims to briefly contextualize the process of making of the human form. Despite the fluidity of attitudes towards the concept of an 'ideal form' in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, theorists were continuously concerned with different aspects of its achievement in practice. Whether the theories were concerned with form in a metaphysical sense or theorised about the form of physical objects, the numerous and circulating sources on the topic were likely to have influenced the very material realisation of forms through artistic practice. What follows is an outline of the reflections of several ancient and medieval thinkers on the concepts serving as tools for this chapter. Although, for the sake of clarity, this review is divided into sections naming each concept separately, it must be remembered that these divisions prove artificial in many cases, as definitions and classifications of aesthetic tools for constructing and manipulating form fluctuated from one commentator to another. These overlapping sections will include reflections on physiognomy, form as an ideal shape, harmony and symmetry, scale (magnitude), proportion, diversity, and eurythmia. The context of the prevailing literary perceptions of key aesthetic issues should provide a good ground and a springboard for inquiry into the physical forms of sculpture in the case studies to follow – after all, as well as being topics of

aesthetic discussion, all of the above means of formatting were crucial considerations in the process of planning and making of sculpture.

Physiognomy

Since Antiquity, the marvel of the human body and the urge to explain its nature and the cause for its appearance has led to extended searches within the soul. Physiognomic reasoning involved morality, spirituality and concerns of a religious nature. Physical looks became a field for judgement and the means of assessment of one's worth. For Aristotle soul was form and body was matter. Form and matter came together creating a living organism.[67] Body was but lifeless matter without the soul. Drawing from this unity, ancient physiognomy (for example of pseudo-Aristotle) linked the features imprinted on the matter of the body with the inner man, thus judging and distinguishing types of humans based on their physique. Later ages continued to judge inner qualities by their supposed reflection on the outward bearing.[68] Physiognomy became at once a tool for the construction and judgement of identity.[69] Various kinds of twelfth-century narratives used physiognomic judgements in this way. While the evil person was seen as physically rotten, the countenance of the good was the embodiment of perfection. Thus the imagined forms-virtues of the good and saintly persons reflected their identity, as evidenced by St Bernard's description of St Malachy: *Totum in eo disciplinatum, totum insigne virtutis, perfectionis forma.*[70]

Such attitudes towards the aesthetics of the body, particularly when concerned with the polarity of the qualities of beauty and ugliness,[71] were in the Middle Ages laced

67 Aristotle 1907, 49ff; Kirkpatrick 1994, 243.
68 Dale 2001, 407.
69 For individualised descriptions in literature aiming to construct an individual, negative portrait of a person, See Dale 2007, esp. 107-9, and his note 7.
70 For translation, see Bernard of Clairvaux 1978, 57. See also Dale 2007, 106, Jaeger 2011, 273.
71 Panofsky and Saxl 1933, 268.

particularly thickly with theological and moral concerns.[72] This notwithstanding, qualities were often judged more on the basis of expectations taken from knowledge of an individual's identity, than their actual looks. For example, beauty was considered a deceit if pagan identity was involved.[73] In this light, the potential aesthetic overlap between sculpted figures from opposite sides of the moral spectrum (e.g. the beautiful elect vs the beautiful damned), or the potential aesthetic disparity between the figures of comparable moral worth (e.g. the ugly vs. beautiful damned or ugly elect vs beautiful elect) seems interesting, however unsystematic. It may be productive to approach the beautiful damned as reflections of the dangers, and the ugly damned as reflections of the outcome, of human weakness and sin. Particularly in the thirteenth century the coexistence of a beautiful body and beautiful soul was no longer so straightforward. Later authors appear more suspicious of the quality of a human soul within even a beautiful body. This could have been reflected in the sculpture of the time. As beauty became dubious, so the beautiful form of the body was treated like a misleading shell.[74] Now also the evil characters could sport harmonious features. A very vivid example is the depiction of the Deceiver in Strasbourg (fig.4), whose repulsive features are hidden to his victims (but not the viewer). This tendency could have contributed to the disappearance of particular motifs from the corpus of sculpture, such as that of Luxuria, discussed below.

The following chapters will test the idea that the soul was seen as a container for the body instead of the other way round. If physiognomy is seen as mass given form, then it can also be understood as a process in which the moral quality of the inner self becomes a mould for the material substance of the body.[75] G.G. Harpham proposed an idea of beauty as a stable (ever identical) form of a circle, while ugliness for him was represented

72 Kay and Rubin 1996, 1-9; and Colby 1965, 89-103.
73 For corrupt and corrupting beauty, see, for example Brown 2005, 571-88; Panofsky and Saxl 1933, 269.
74 Kay and Rubin 1996, 5.
75 Bynum 1991, 259.

by a shapeless mass of 'heterogeneous and conflicting attributes caught in a 'civil war of attraction/repulsion''.[76] On this idea a framework can be built for identifying the bodies of the 'good' in architectural sculpture as more uniform and sometimes even rounded, while the bodies of the 'bad' display odd features and conflicting members – a mass become mess. Thus the physiognomies of the bad are composed of bodily attributes gone wild, transformed into unfamiliar or repulsive forms that were meant to signify the figure's status and identity and thus affect the viewer's attitude towards them.

Ideal form

The theory and practice of the creation of ideal form concerned the earliest recorded Classical theoreticians. Both the Pythagoreans and Plato spoke of the appropriate arrangement of parts as necessary for achieving beauty. Speaking of order, measure, proportion, symmetry and harmony, they referred to values that were to become crucial components of artistic theory and practice, those necessary for the materialisation of form as an aesthetic object.[77] A lot of thought went into analysing the impact of a 'perfect' form, realised through artistic representation, on the viewer. Plato preferred didactic art, as, according to him, even images striving to depict good could do damage; they can be only an imitation of a perfect form, its deficient semblance.[78] While for Plato the ideal form transcended physical things, for Aristotle, whose writings influenced many medieval theories of beauty, the form was tied to the very physicality of the object. To Aristotle, art

76 Harpham 2006, 9.

77 Tatarkiewicz 1970a, Vol. I, 'Ancient aesthetics', 116, and pages with quotes from Pythagoreans (80-81) and Plato (112-138).

78 Plato, *Republic*, 598, translated in Tatarkiewicz 1970a, 136.

was also an imitation, but one that can lead to catharsis.[79] The imitation of form was therefore useful and even enlightening. But for the desired perception and impact, the artistic imitation needed order; in his Poetics Aristotle spoke of a certain magnitude and order as crucial compounds of beauty.[80]

Saint Augustine was influenced by Plato in saying that the beauty of natural forms was but a shadow of God's beauty.[81] God possessed perfect form and things could only strive to achieve more form and therefore get closer to being good and thus beautiful.[82] This hierarchical attitude to creation was expressed in *The City of God* where Augustine speaks of 'the order as a distribution which allots things equal and unequal, each to its own place'.[83] There was a need for things to be in the right place in order to form a beautiful whole.

The twelfth century brought more voices to the written tradition reflecting on achieving the perfect form. Hugh of Saint-Victor was particularly keen on making analogies between the beautiful physical forms and the 'formatting' of the inner life. He spoke of the 'formific' beauty which implied that man transformed himself (his form) into what (form) he admired. In other words, the contemplation of divine (also physical) beauty at the same time beautified the contemplator.[84] Hugh's focus on the strong relationship between physicality and the inner state makes it tempting and potentially productive to apply his

79 About tragedy arousing emotions and purifying the beholder: 'Tragedy, the, is an imitation of an action that is serious, compete, and of a certain magnitude; in language embellished with each kind of artistic ornament, the several kinds being found in separate parts of the play; in the form of action, not narrative; through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation of these emotions'. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449b25, in Tatarkiewicz 1970a, 160. For interpretations of this 'purging' of emotions, see Tatarkiewicz 1970a, 145-147.

80 Ibid. This referred to size and proportion in plays but can be translated into all imitative arts.

81 Augustine, *Confessiones* XII, 3, NPNF1, vol. 1, 176.

82 'For the more measure, shape and order there is in all things, the better they are; and the less measure , form and order they possess, the less they are good.' Augustine, *De natura boni*, PL42, c.554, Tatarkiewicz 1970b, 60. This is also reflected in the passage from Bonaventure: 'Omne quod est ens, habet aliquam formam, omne autem, quod habet aliquam formam, habet pulchritudinem' – 'Everything that is existence has some form, and what has form has beauty as well'. Tatarkiewicz 1970b, 237.

83 Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* XIII, 13, NPNF1, vol. 2, 409.

84 Hugh in *Super Hierarchiam Beati Dionisi* 3.2, lines 1020-5, cited in Poirel 2013, 261.

thoughts to considerations of sculpture. Hugh provides a theoretical justification for methods such as the comparison of the levels of similitude or contrast of the bodily surfaces between the groups standing on the different levels of the hierarchic ladder. In the case of a Last Judgement scene, for example, we could ask questions such as how do the bodies of the elect and the damned compare? And is the bodily image and proportion of the elect closer to that of Christ? Sin, according to Hugh, deformed the soul (and, by extension, the body), and only the sacraments could rehabilitate it. Hugh used physical references when talking about the well-being of the soul while describing how the sacraments restore the presentable plumpness in place of acquired gauntness.[85] Restoring plumpness and replacing the gauntness acquired through sin meant, in other words, the Eucharist can nourish one spiritually and by extension physically. Such language reflected Hugh's belief in the unity between spiritual and physical states.

Latin 'forma' can be translated as beauty.[86] Since God endowed man with proper form, bad use of one's body – bad physical conduct, like improper gait, posture, or movement – would lead to perversion through the process of deformation, de-beautifying. Re-forming the body would thus imply returning to the original form, one given by God in his image.[87] In *De Institutione Novitiorum,* Hugh turns to comparisons of human virtue with the artistic shape and image, writing of exemplary individuals as appearing as exquisite statues. He used artistic form as a metaphor for moral ideals, in accordance with his conviction that 'maintaining mode and measure' concerns what is outside and within, and

85 'Primum est fons baptismi hic positus, et lavacrum regenerationis, in quo sordes praeteritorum criminum abluis. Deinde chrisma et oleum, in cujus unctione Spiritu sancto liniris. Post haec delibuta et unctione laetitiae perlusa ab mensam venis, et percipis ibi alimentum corporis et sanguinis Christi, quo interius saginata atque refecta noxiam illam praeteritorum jejuniorum maciem depellis, et pristina plenitudine atque fortitudine reparata rursus quodammodo juvenescis.' *The Arrha Animae* PL 176, Col.0966B; Poirel 2013, 266.

86 Example can come from Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia*, where he uses 'deformis formositas, ac formosa deformitas' to speak of ugly beauty and beautiful ugliness. It appears than the term *deformitas* described ugliness more frequently than *formositas* was used for beauty. For translation, see Rudolph 1990, 10-12.

87 Poirel 2013, 267-268.

that the imitation of proper outer form may reflect positively on the inner form of an individual – and vice versa.[88]

It seems that there was no turning back from such a model of thinking. The idea of an embodied, tangible form, a shape expressing the inner life of an individual, the physiognomy and pathognomy representing the soul, was an attractive and very potent concept. Through the various modes of formatting, like dimension, proportion or colour, the form became something perceptible, seen, felt; it did not only condition the very existence of an object or a concept, but it also determined its nature and quality. Thomas Aquinas summarised this well in his *Summa Theologiae*, naming form as a determining factor of existence and the nature of things.[89] For Aquinas form was something tangible, something to be experienced, a kind of structure that informed material, whether it was a human body or inanimate object. It was determined by means of measure and number, the parameters giving the form not only a quality of goodness, as Augustine argued, but a physical identity in itself.[90]

Harmony and symmetry

In musical theory, theorists like Boethius advocated harmony, since harmony created agreeableness and 'sweetness' pleasant to the beholder.[91] Proportion came to be

88 'Why do you suppose we are commanded to imitate the life and habits of good men, unless it be that we are reformed through imitating them to the image of a new life? For in them the form of the image of God is engraved, and when through the process of imitation we are pressed against that carved surface, we too are moulded in the likeness of that same image... We long to be perfectly carved and sculpted in the image of good men, and when excellent and sublime qualities stand out in them, which arouse astonishment and admiration in men's minds, then they shine forth in them like the beauty in exquisite statues, and we strive to recreate these qualities in ourselves.' Hugh of Saint Victor, *De institutione novitiorum*, ch. 7, PL 176, Col.932D-933A, translation in Jaeger 2011, 137.

89 'Now what a thing is its form determines, and form presupposes certain things and has certain necessary consequences. So, to be good and perfect, a thing must possess form and the prerequisites and consequences of form.' *Summa Theologiae* I, 5,5c., quoted in Eco 1988, 242.

90 Aristotle defining beauty as goodness: 'That, then, is Morally Beautiful or Noble, which being desirable for its own sake, is also laudable or which being good, is pleasant because good'. *Rhetorica* 1366a 33. Tatarkiewicz 1970a, 163. On form becoming tangible, see Eco 1988, 64ff.

91 Quoted in Eco 2004, 62.

understood as a kind of rhythm that from music expanded onto all creative activities, including architecture and the arts. The rhythm of forms influenced the beholder, like the tones of music influenced the listener. Every form had its prescribed function and the functions dictated form.

Augustine followed Cicero in defining beauty as a 'harmony of parts with a certain pleasing colour'.[92] He believed that the beauty of form proceeded from perceptible order, unity and proportion, located in the relationship between the corresponding parts united in a harmonious whole that is pleasurable to the beholder.[93] The making process of the harmonious whole must rely on the number (or numerical ratio?) which is the underlying principle of order. Throughout his writings Augustine lists the methods of putting various (equal and unequal) parts together in such a way that they balance each other and gain symmetry and likeness and, therefore, make up a unified whole.[94] The well conducted act of synthesis can materialise into a beautiful thing, whether it is a metaphysical city, a piece of music played by King David, or something as material as a body. The eloquent treatment of a concept, a piece of music or an object depended on the application of proportion and thus symmetry, which pleased on the subconscious level, and the final application of an embellishment, with its more immediate, conscious impact on the beholder.[95] Such formulas would fit the description of many artworks created during the Middle Ages to aid

92 'And as in the body, a certain symmetrical shape of the limbs combined with a certain charm of colouring is described as beauty' in Tatarkiewicz 1970a, 206-207.

93 'If I ask a workman why, after constructing one arch, he builds another like it over against it, he will reply, I dare say, that in a building like parts must correspond to like. If I go further and ask him why he thinks so, he will say that it is fitting, or beautiful, or that it gives pleasure to those who behold it. But he will venture no further…But if I have to do with a man with inward eyes who can see the invisible, I shall not cease to press the query why these things give pleasure…He transcends it and escapes from its control in judging pleasure and not according to pleasure. First I shall ask him whether things are beautiful because they give pleasure, or give pleasure because they are beautiful. Then I shall ask him why they are beautiful, and if he is perplexed, I shall add the question whether it is because its parts correspond and are so joined together as to form one harmonious whole. Augustine, *De Vera Religione* xxxii, 59, cited in Beardsley 1975, 95.

94 Beardsley 1975, 94.

95 'All bodily (corporeal) beauty consists in the proportion of the parts, together with a certain agreeableness of colour', translated in Beardsley 1975, 93.

religious worship through the medium of the senses.[96] One can speculate on how practically applicable such advice from the Church Fathers would appear in the processes of planning and making of an object of worship or a monumental public composition.

This harmony, as a smooth coexistence of various parts within the totality of a contained form, was a concern of later writers much influenced by Augustine. Hugh of Saint Victor admired the unity of the human body, and this formal quality seems to have been embedded not only in aesthetic but also in pragmatic thinking. In *De Tribus Diebus* Hugh wrote of the practicality of the human form in harmony with nature. He asked: 'What to say of the structure of the human body? The articulation of all its members follows such a mutual accord that it is absolutely impossible to find a member which does not have for its function the assistance of another. Thus all of nature loves itself, and in an admirable fashion, the concord among several beings, different but reduced to unity, creates unique harmony of them all.'[97]

Diversity

When looking at twelfth-century figurative compositions it is hard to see how much they observe the often-quoted rule of harmony and measure. What immediately strikes one, rather, is the diversity of shapes and their treatment (i.e. distribution and composition) to the extent, perhaps, of confusing the eye. Diversity of forms, however, was no less advocated by medieval writers as a component of beautiful form or composition. Variety had particular weight for Saint Augustine, for whom diversity of shapes accrued to realise the experience of beauty.[98] Indeed, as he noted elsewhere, the world's beauty depended

96 Taylor 1901, 107-35.

97 Cited in Poirel 2013, 252.

98 'The eyes love beautiful and diverse shapes and splendid and pleasant colours…'Augustine *Confessiones* X, 34 Tatarkiewicz 1970b, 64. Interestingly, the same passage includes the criticism of excess in arts and everyday production of goods. Augustine refers here to the 'goods' made by God, but enjoyed by man.

on ‘the contrast of antitheses’.[99] It was the eloquent arrangement of these diverse forms, whether physical or linguistic, which facilitated the graceful union that turned the parts into a solid whole. Harmony and symmetry, therefore, depended not on the appearance of the single parts, but on the successful arrangement of forms within space, both in relation to each other, and in relation to the whole.[100]

Twelfth-century writers followed up on this idea both from a theoretical and a practical perspective. In the prologue to the third book of his manual for painters, glass- and metal-workers, Theophilus Presbyter confronted the reader with a list of rules or qualities that the willing apprentice of the arts should observe and nourish. One rule reads: ‘Through the spirit of understanding, you have received the capacity for skill – the order, variety, and measure with which to pursue your varied work'.[101] Theophilus placed the variety of design high on his list of technical priorities, alongside composition, proportioning and finish. For him, the complexity of design that fixed the attention of the viewer added to the process of appreciation of the beauty of the art work and, by extension, the marvel of the workmanship.[102]

Hugh of St Victor also had something to say about the importance of variety. As Dominique Poirel noted, Hugh’s notion of beauty was not like that of the Classics, pure, and sober; rather, he favoured profusion and diversity.[103] In his writings we can find understanding of and perhaps fascination in anomalous forms: ‘We admire other beings because they are in some sense monstrous and ridiculous. Yet the more distant from human reason the form is, the more easily they can move the human spirit to

99 Augustine *De Civitate Dei*, PL41 XVIII trans. Tatarkiewicz 1970b, 61. Augustine’s example is of the use of opposites in language, as a rhetorical tool enforced by a skilful composition of contrasting words.

100 My basis here is Hugh’s theories on ‘disposition’ and ‘composition’ as the components of ‘position’ (arrangement of things) which, in turn, became a source of beauty (formal and spiritual). See *Didascalicon* PL 176 c. 812 with translation in Tatarkiewicz 1970b, 191.

101 Theophilus Presbyter 1961, 62.

102 Ibid, 63. Moreover, the God’s grace endowing the artists with a skill enabled them to embellish the ‘house of God’.

103 Poirel 2013, 251.

admiration'.[104] Hugh rose here above mere appearances, finding meaning in all forms, regardless of shape, size and attractiveness to one's sensibility. Various were the ways to engage the interest of the beholder: 'The shapes of things arouse admiration in many ways: by their greatness or smallness, sometimes because they are rare, again because they are beautiful, on another occasion because they are suitably ugly, and occasionally because they are one shape in many or diverse shapes in one'.[105] One cannot help thinking about Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia* and his scorn of the forms that Hugh embraces as admirable. Although Hugh did not speak of artistic imitation but rather the forms found in the natural world, he did not hesitate to speak of giants or dragons, discussing their variety of forms (and their scale) and their potential for arousing wonder over the working of the divine wisdom. Hugh's curious eye keen on variety might well have enjoyed the artistic compositions such as discussed below, displaying a huge variety of shapes, sizes and juxtapositions.

Measure

In the process of applying concepts of dimensions to form, Aristotle already advocated what would later become an essential element of medieval aesthetics – maintaining moderation and applying physical boundaries to form though measure. Aristotle wrote: 'For beauty consists of magnitude and ordered arrangement. From which it follows that neither would a very small creature be beautiful – for our view of it is almost instantaneous and therefore confused – nor a very large one, since being unable to view it all at once, we lose the effect of a single whole; for instance, imagine a creature a thousand miles long. As then creatures and other organic structures must have a certain magnitude and yet be

104 *De Tribus Diebus* 24, 373-82, in Poirel 2013, 254. It is tempting to use here some modern theories about the attractiveness of an abstract and/or anomalous form to the human sensibility. See, for example, Ramachandran 2003, 46-69. For the role of anomaly and enigma in Romanesque art, see Bouché 2006, 306–335.

105 *Didascalicon* VII PL176 c.819, in Tatarkiewicz 1970b, 198.

easily taken in by the eye, so too with plots: they must have length but must easily be taken in by the memory.'[106] Such was the importance of the dimension of forms. Interestingly, here Aristotle did not refer to the impact of 'improper' size on the moral identity of forms. Instead, he focused on the very practical problem of the impact of the dimension of an object on perception and the viewing experience. Moderation of size was important in order to preserve the meaning and to facilitate the desired impact of the form on the beholder. The conditions of viewing were moderated by the scale of the form – it was neither too large, unattainable and therefore pointless, neither too relatable and therefore without weight. Both extremes would similarly cause the viewer to miss the point, the meaning of the representation. It will be interesting to see how such concerns can be applied to the sharply contrasting scales of figures within some medieval compositions. For example, how would Aristotle react to the forms within the tympanum at Autun? Would Christ appear to him as the thousand-mile-long creature in comparison with the meagre figures of the judged humans? Perhaps not, as elsewhere he wrote that 'superiority must rest in greatness, just as personal beauty requires that one should be tall; little people may have charm and elegance, but beauty – no.'[107]

It appears that dimension continued to be treated as a means of establishing worth and hierarchy into the Middle Ages. The importance of scale when describing admirable and superior forms is clearly shown in some extant descriptions of buildings and objects. The author of the *Liber de Miracoli Sanci Jacobi*, Aymeric Picaud, writing about the church at Compostela, did not spare the readers the minute details of the exact dimensions of the admirably built, large and spacious church of Santiago.[108] He even measured some of its 'large and admirable' treasures and fittings 'with his own hands'.[109]

Picaud realised the importance of number in artistic creation. If he was not aware

106 *Poetica* 1450b 38, in Tatarkiewicz 1970a, 164.
107 *Nicomach*. 1123B 6, in ibid.
108 Picaud 1993, 119-121.
109 Ibid, 127.

of this from practical observation, there were a number of texts to guide him. For Augustine number was a condition of all existence, including artistic production, as 'artists, who make material objects of all forms, use number in their works.' Number was the strength of the artist's hand.[110] Attention to physical measure helped the artists to create balanced and meaningful compositions in which the measure went beyond the practical meaning of dimension. Hugh of St Victor dealt with the physical aspect of dimensions in *De Archa Noe Morali*, where he builds his own mental picture of the Ark inspired by measurements given by God in the Book Of Genesis.[111] To draw the plan of the Ark, Hugh uses the mystical body of Christ as the unit of measure.[112] Divine models of measure would have provided a solid foundation of spiritual and moral integrity for projects conceived not only in one's imagination or memory, but also in the physical world, such as making a reliquary or designing a complex sculptural composition.

Restricting a form to within the planned dimensions was crucial for the achievement of a harmonious composition, where optimally scaled components were also appropriately disposed within a whole. This concept is related to the establishment of a strict compositional hierarchy of forms. After all, what use was a beautifully shaped and scaled form if it was to be inappropriately allocated within the scheme? In *Hierarcham celestem* Hugh suggested that 'every participant in a hierarchy must function in a manner beatifying his status, so that not to trespass its assigned mode, measure and proper order'.[113] Hierarchy was communicated by two sources of beauty: position, depending on arrangement, and order.[114] Arrangement meant the disposition of figures and their material (i.e. stone blocks in the case of architectural sculpture); order was ensured by

110 Augustine, *De libero arbitrio* II in Tatarkiewicz 1970b, 60.
111 *Genesis* 6:15,16.
112 *De Archa Noe Morali* PL176, c. 0631; Coolman 2013, 195. See also Carruthers 1998, 243-6.
113 PL 175:994C. Translation in Coolman 2013, 191.
114 *Didascalicon* VII, PL 176 c. 812; Tatarkiewicz 1970b, 197-198.

according proportioning, sizing and organising the forms within the composition.[115]

Proportion

Aristotle showed his concern with proportion as a necessary component of an ordered composition, be it an organic body, a piece of engineering or a gathering of performers: 'A painter would not let his animal have its foot of disproportionately large size, even though it was an exceptionally beautiful foot, nor would a ship-builder make the stern or some other part of a ship disproportionately big, nor yet will a trainer of choruses allow a man who sings louder and more beautifully than the whole band to be a member of it'.[116] Aristotle's last example particularly shows the importance of balance and agreement between various parts of the whole, in order to achieve a pleasing effect. The application of standards or rules was necessary in any creative endeavour. The visual arts very early produced sets of rules outlining such proportional relationships.

These relationships were alluded to in the surviving fragment from Polykleitos' treatise stating that 'perfection depends on many numerical relations, and small variants are decisive.'[117] Pliny and Galen helped to pass on the knowledge about Polykleitos' rules for organising proportions in a statue. In *Historia Naturalis* Pliny gave the sculptor credit for creating a 'sort of standard' that influenced the artistic practice of the sculptors who drew 'the artistic outlines' so as to match the canon.[118] Galen provided a more detailed explanation of the principles ruling the canon: 'Beauty does not consist in the elements but in the harmonious proportion of the parts, the proportion of one finger to the other, of all the fingers to the rest of the hand, of the rest of the hand to the wrist, of these to the forearm, of the forearm to the whole arm, in fine, of all parts to all others, as it is written in

115 For the spiritual dimension of Hugh's concept of disposition and composition see Tatarkiewicz 1970b, 191.
116 *Poetica* PL1284b 8; Tatarkiewicz 1970a, 158.
117 Ibid., 77.
118 See Eco 1988,74.

the canon of Polykleitos'.[119]

The strictly ordered relationship of the parts is vital to the making of a visually accomplished figure. The organic character of the parts of the figure makes them fluid and therefore unreliable and it is only within the organised structure of the whole body that the different parts work towards a unified whole. But this organisation of the organic elements was not the invention of the artists or architects. It was nature itself that provided them with a canon of proportion. Vitruvius, whose writings influenced the theorists and practitioners of the later ages, used the living human body as a schema for drawing proportions of buildings. His template, however, had to meet certain standards of quality. Vitruvius left us with a detailed description of the proportional rules of a 'well-formed human being', whose smallest body part responded in its dimensions to the other body parts, and to the body as a whole, in an orderly, schematised way, according to how nature had designed it.[120]

This 'anthropometric and organic' nature of the theory of proportions appealed to later theorists and practitioners.[121] Christian sources added to the volume of inspiration passed on from the ancient philosophers. Among the inspirations for contemplation and realisation of forms in this way were the passages in scripture, where God's creation was reported to be made according to number, weight and measure. [122] Elsewhere in scripture is described the artist's practice of measuring up their work 'according to the figure of a man, according to the beauty of a man', or to the perfection of its form.[123] It would appear that such physical grounding of aesthetic principles appealed to many, but while most

119 See Panofsky 1955, 92.
120 Vitruvius 2005, III, 47.
121 Panofsky 1955, 96.
122 'Omnia in mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti', *Book of Wisdom* XI, 21; Tatarkiewicz 1970b, 13.
123 Isaiah 44:13, translation according to KJV (King James Version). 'The carpenter stretcheth out his rule; he marketh it out with a line; he fitteth it with planes, and he marketh it out with the compass, and maketh it after the figure of a man, according to the beauty of a man; that it may remain in the house. See also Panofsky 1955, 98, note 20.

theorists dwelled upon the significance of the concepts of form within a larger context of aesthetic theory, discussing the ways in which the ideal form could or should materialise, the practitioners focused, of course, on the physical aspects. They did not focus on testing the detailed mathematical schemes of the likes of Vitruvius, instead they responded to such theories and advice in the act of diagramming the figure. [124] The small amount of written evidence, and the significantly larger body of material evidence passed down to us, testifies to the legitimacy of the claim the people of the Middle Ages swapped the theory of numerical ratios for the practical application of geometry.

In his thirteenth-century handbook of sketches, Villard de Honnecourt promises to give 'sound' information on the practices of masonry and carpentry, as well as to provide 'strong help in drawing figures according to the lessons of geometry.'[125] There is no need to read the author's instructions and captions in order to realise how much he relies on geometry. Interestingly, despite the abundance of schematic architectural drawings of buildings, elements and plans, the geometric figures are only superimposed on sketches of organic forms like human or animal figures. Geometry was introduced in order to 'facilitate working' and the reader is confronted with various methods of schematization of human and animal bodies. The geometric lines imposed onto the figures correspond with the proportions, pose and bodily movements of the figures (depicted or predicted).[126] As Panofsky noted, Villard's method shows an extremely schematic approach to the figure, one rejecting its organic character. A grid is applied to full length bodies, faces, or groups of figures in action. Although Villard does not provide the measurements or scale, the schemata in the sketches of the whole figures do provide some information on proportional ratio between body parts, even though in a clearly schematized and simplified, way. One may presume that such schematising could prove very useful for the

124 See Panofsky 1955, 120, note 64, for sources likely stating the availability of the writings on proportion in the Middle Ages.

125 Bowie 1962, plates 2-11, translation on page 7.

126 See Panofsky 1955, 113-117.

design of figures in sculpted compositions. Geometric forms would be quicker and easier to apply than a calculation of the proportional relations according to the anthropometric principle. In architectural design, both ease and effect were important. One could see how such schematizing could work to the mason's advantage, at least during the planning stage.

Eurythmia

Although we cannot be certain of Villard's identity, his knowledge of techniques of masonry and construction, as well as his skill in drawing, suggest that his was the position of an insider.[127] Thus his methods of schematizing the figures should be viewed as reflecting the methods and vision of his fellow professionals. I will now go back seventeen hundred years to Villard's antique counterpart Polykleitos, to introduce the final issue to be considered. Polykleitos commented on the decisiveness of the applied variation in the achievement of figural perfection. Although a creator and advocate of a rule of numerical relations of parts, as an artist Polykleitos was well aware of the need for flexibility when imitating an organic form. Eurhythmy is a product of such a flexible and pragmatic attitude. The practice draws on an apparent disruption of the objective proportion and symmetry of the figure in order to improve its appearance *in situ*. This did not only refer to the position of the statue in relation to the beholder. Variations of the formal relationships were also necessary in order to accommodate the movement of the figure. Alterations and foreshortening had to be applied to improve the appearance of the whole body and its parts separately, i.e. the limbs, a torso, a head, to convince the viewers of a fluid, accomplished image in front of them.

It did not take artistic training but merely a keen eye to realise the need for such tricks to gain a particular level of veracity. Plato understood very well the need for creating

127 The authorship of the drawings cannot be given singularly to Villard. Regardless of any doubts of his identity or skill, he was undoubtedly a curious and well informed witness at the very least.

illusion in order to add beauty to objects. He advocated the use of proportional adjustment according to the conditions of viewing. The onlooker's situation and his or her visual requirements created a bridge between the construction of proportional ratio and the role of vision. This is perfectly illustrated by the excerpt from Plato's *The Sophist*, where the author explains the complexity and impact of the viewpoint on the creation of a likeness of a particular kind:

> '*Stranger:* I see the likeness-making art as one part of imitation. This is met with, as a rule, whenever anyone produces imitation by following the proportions of the original in length, breath, and depth, and giving, besides, the appropriate colours to each part.
>
> *Theaetetus*: Yes, but do not all imitators try to do this?
>
> *Stranger:* Not those who produce some large work of sculpture or painting. For, if they reproduced the true proportions of beautiful forms, the upper parts, as you know, would seem smaller and the lower parts larger than they ought, because we see the former from a distance, the latter from near at hand. It is not the case, therefore, therefore, that makers do not care about truth and give their images not those proportions which actually exist but those which will seem beautiful'.[128]

In the passage, the size of the work of art, and thus the viewpoint from which it will be beheld, determines the treatment of forms during production. Manipulation of proportion occurs in order to improve the aesthetic experience of the viewer.[129] The goal of a meaningful viewing experience continued to be appreciated when creating art. Greek architects realised that our perception tends to deform things, so creating a deformed thing in a first place will allow it to be 'corrected' by the eye. They employed such techniques when designing buildings and their elements, the curvature of a column being a

128 Tatarkiewicz 1970a, 133-4.
129 Ibid.

perfect example of this.[130] Vitruvius included eurhythmy as an important concept in his aesthetic theory, regarding it as responsible for 'a pleasing appearance'.[131] In the fourth century Basil of Caesarea wrote about the necessity of the correct arrangement of the parts of a figure (he used an example of a human statue) in order to achieve a perceptible and effective image, at the same time acknowledging the value and purpose of individual parts on behalf of the artist.[132] The concerns with the aesthetic experience of the beholder of art have moved on, appearing in the Middle Ages in various theoretical disguises.[133]

Panofsky noted how classical Greek art, in comparison to Egyptian practice, for example, 'took into account the shifting of dimensions as a result of organic movement; the foreshortening resulting from the process of vision; and the necessity of correcting, in certain instances, the optical impression of the beholder by 'eurythmic' adjustments'.[134] Proportion was thus quite fluid and depended on the figure's movement, its pose and its position in relation to the viewer. How common a practice was this in the Middle Ages? Some of the sculptures on the west front of Reims, for example, seem to have almost excessively altered proportional ratios. This deliberate departure from the objective proportional ratio corrects for our foreshortened view of the statues only if we approach them from a point almost directly below. Does this suggest that here, it is not the viewpoint that enforces form, but rather the form that enforces a specific viewpoint? It is as if the forms were refusing a satisfactory experience until the viewer positioned him or herself in specific spot, in the case of Reims right under the statue, in the spot where he looks and feels the most subordinate. Does this imply a kind of putting the beholder in his or her place? Does our movement become responsible for our seeing? Or is it that the

130 Greek engineer Heron of Alexandria wrote: 'Because a cylindrical column would appear to the eye to be narrower towards the middle, [the architect] makes that part thicker.' See ibid., 78.
131 Panofsky 1955, 96, note 19; Vitruvius 2005, I, 2.
132 Tatarkiewicz 1970b, 22.
133 For example in discussions of the role of the senses as mediators between the soul and the material world, present in the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugh of St Victor, Aquinas and others.
134 Panofsky 1955, 90.

seeing enforces particular movement?

In Plato's *The Sophist* Theaetetus and Stranger go on discussing the status of imitative endeavour that, being seen from an 'unfavourable position', cannot hold a claim to be a likeness: 'Shall we not call it, since it appears, but is not like, an appearance?' Furthermore they agree that art which produces appearance, but not likeness, must be considered as 'fantastic'.[135] This passage throws an interesting light on the twelfth-century sculptural production which was not lucky enough to pass on its own literary advocates to our day. If eurhythmy was a measure enforced on the artistic process by the conditions of viewing, if it was employed to increase the 'likeness', or the veracity of the figure, then how can we approach the art of the twelfth century with such tools? Can we apply Greek artistic theory to works that do not appear to have cared much about truth to nature, or about classical aesthetic canon for that matter? Perhaps we should cease to judge and look again. Although it would be perhaps hard to prove that Romanesque sculptors used foreshortening, it will be seen that they did think carefully about the conditions of viewing of their works and therefore applied certain measures in order to improve their effect. The three-dimensional nature of their works and the specificity of location (with its constraints and possibilities) enforced some feats of technical ingenuity that enhanced the very material presence and communicative impact of the designs.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

The study approaches the carving benches of various distinctive and innovative sculptors active between the early years of the twelfth century and the middle of the thirteenth. The work of the masters at Conques and Moissac, Gislebertus at Autun, and Rotbertus at Clermont-Ferrand are the earliest case studies in the corpus, executed in the first half of the twelfth century, a time when preoccupations with issues of the body emerged with

135 Ibid.

increased force.[136] Principal worries revolved around the dualistic relationship between the soul and the body. These debates and insecurities were reflected by the increasingly somatic and experimental sculpture of the period, treating the human body as a plastic medium of motion, emotion, passion and expression. Later case studies include the work of Master Matteo at Compostela, and sculpture made in the thirteenth-century cathedral workshops, for which I examine the evidence of the attitudes to past models, past techniques and approaches. The changing approaches to physicality, bodily expression, proportioning, scale, and use of space in figural architectural sculpture of the discussed period were the outcome of a complex algorithm balancing material context and artistic concept. This thesis aims to approach some of the steps of the equation.

Chapter one takes the reader up and into eschatological narratives sculpted on a grand scale, analysing the physical context of the figures in the tympana at Conques and Autun, two case studies showing different approaches to the common theme of the Last Judgement. Having moved from manuscript pages and ivory panels into new locations, dimensions and medium, the narratives of the End of Time were the most potent field for imaginative large-scale experimentation with the human body. Between the divine ideal of Christ in Judgement and the monstrous degradation of Satan, there was a sea of opportunity to experiment with the execution of the human body in its most diverse, striking and most extreme forms. The investigation deals with the mechanics and logic of bodily articulation, the ways in which the body was deployed as material for persuasion and a credible body constructed through techniques of delivery (analogical to the preached content in classical and medieval rhetoric) and through personal display. The body is perceived not as allegory, not directly as a social or political construct, and not as text, but as an entity articulated through stone matter, shaped in various ways. Like any element in a rhetorical performance, body in sculpture is a construct, but the investigation focuses on

136 Bynum 1991, 254.

what kind of construct it is from the perspective of its workmanship. By comparing and contrasting details like the number, scale, shape and arrangement of the blocks of stone forming the tympana, as well as the depth of relief, the chapter emphasizes the relationship of the physical characteristics and treatment of materials as decisive in the conception of the sculpted figure in architectural figural compositions. The identified design principles of bodily rhetoric are then mapped onto later compositions of this kind, the ensembles at Compostela and Reims, with the aim of seeing what approaches persisted in the practice of the sculptors.

Chapter two deals with the aesthetics of the sculpted body, aiming to establish the patterns and principles of representation of the union of a perfect body and soul as contrasted with its opposite: the degenerate soul within a degenerated (indeed disintegrated) body. The physiognomy of the sculpted figure of Christ is discussed and compared to the opposing physiognomy of Satan. The female body is discussed through the comparison of the morally and physically corrupt figure of the woman with serpents with fully demonic bodies, and with holy ones. The bodies of Adam and Eve are more ambiguous cases, discussed as examples of disunity of the internal and external: while morally imperfect, their bodies retain a physiognomic perfection. The discussion focuses on details of morphological representation, as well as more general corporeal effects such as sensuous curves or ascetic angularity. The aim is to show the range of individual ways in which the sculpted bodies engaged with the viewer through their shapes and surfaces. Bodily signs of virtue and corruption are discussed in the light of theological and critical discussions of beauty, nature, artifice and the relationship of body and soul. As witnessed in the introductory example, the already complex contemporary analogies between physiognomic aesthetic and figures' identities are further complicated by the wealth of alterations and appropriations in individual works of art.

Chapter three analyses the body language of Adam and Eve in scenes of the Fall.

The figures are depicted at the crucial transformative moment that affects their physicality, as they are shown in the moment when the perfection of the human soul became deformed by sin. This loss of innocence was not reflected in art by the physiognomic corruption of the bodies of Adam and Eve, as in their physical forms they remained in God's image. The corruption was instead communicated by the body language of the figures – the loss of moral uprightness was depicted literally as the loss of uprightness of the body – the figures squat, bend, arch backs, twist necks, cross limbs etc. The range of extreme feelings resulting from Adam and Eve's enlightenment and their realisation of its consequences are communicated through the behaviour of the couple's bodies. These emotionally-laden depictions of events with crucial impact on the human condition related directly to audiences, implicating them alongside the protagonists. The chapter compares and contrasts the use of the body language in scenes from sculptural contexts and raises questions about the motivation for the patterns or changes which occur. Stone carving is compared to analogous scenes in other media like metalwork and stained glass – such comparisons illustrate the impact of the medium of stone carving on the conception of bodily rhetoric more generally.

The final chapter analyses two scenes depicting Job on a dunghill, reclining in the clasp of Satan in the presence of his wife and friends. The scenes on the tympana at Chartres and Reims are closely related, to the extent that one can presume either a common model or the direct influence of the earlier piece on the latter. The formal similarities and differences in the staging of the rhetoric of the scene are explored, including choices concerning the articulation of figures and their social relations, as well as those relating to their physiognomy and pathognomy. While the narratives of the Last Judgement and the Fall of Man relate to the state of humanity as a whole, the story of Job is a story of an individual. Its impact does not bear the same sign of totality and ultimacy; it is rather an indirect didactic reference, a kind of behavioural manual. It also offers a twist

on the conventional narrative of the relationship between man and God—as Job, although pious and obedient, supposedly without sin, receives a load of unearned physical and mental suffering. The uniqueness and complexity of Job's situation is imaginatively expressed in the artistic representations where the various figures surrounding the suffering Job appear to rack their brains while the suffering protagonist, and his physical state, remain at the mercy of supernatural forces. The complexity of Job's story fed well into the ambitions of the artists who embarked on an exploration of the powers of bodily rhetoric of their figures. While the attendants offer a range of pathognomic reactions, the body of Job becomes a field for formal experimentation with bodily form, surface, and a subtle but expressive movement. The chapter traces the details and changes in the execution of body rhetoric of the two scenes, and places them in the context of earlier two- and three-dimensional representations. As in the previous chapter, the comparative analysis provides insight into principles of the rhetorical display of the body, as applied to specific contexts, in this case, the monumental portal of a cathedral.

*

'So my investigation of marriage during this period is necessarily restricted to what was on the surface both of society and institutions; to facts and events. About the passions that moved body or spirit I can say nothing' – this is how Georges Duby once asserted his limitations as a historian of the Middle Ages.[137] The bodies long gone, expressions of the mind remaining in fragmentary, often elusive evidence, satisfactory knowledge of the thoughts and feelings of the past people may be indeed unattainable. But there is a domain where the passions of the perished bodies and spirits are preserved in a way more explicit than in written texts. While impossible to be seen face to face, the passions are mediated by the rhetoric of the bodies captured by ink and parchment, paint and plaster, stone and chisel. Their shadows remain in these stills from the past, and continues speaking to the

137 Duby 1984, 8.

viewer in a murmur or scream of artistic form. While limitations persist, the visual representations of bodily affections open up a new domain for investigation. Particularly in the case of sculpture, its surface is not a limit, but a gate to discovering the rhetoric that reflected the medieval spirit and moved the medieval body, the language once petrified in stone.

CHAPTER I
MEDIATED RHETORIC: THE SCULPTED BODY IN MATERIAL CONTEXT

This chapter analyses the construction of bodily rhetoric in two twelfth-century Last Judgement tympana, from the perspective of their materiality. The two examples were chosen for their contrasting approaches to the conception of the figures, their role within the narrative, and their relationship with their material context. This chapter argues that a crucial role in the differing approaches to the common theme was played by the physical circumstances of the figurative compositions. Many of the observations on this symbiotic relationship between material and bodily rhetoric will pave the way for further exploration of sculptural body language in the following chapters.

The tympanum at Conques (pl.1) is located above the western door, the only grand entrance to the church.[1] The densely carved ensemble condenses as many as 134 figures[2] on a surface of approximately 17.6m^2,[3] thus constituting the focal point of the abbey's rich sculpted decoration. The stylistic isolation of the sculpture has led to controversy over its date; in the absence of documents and with very few analogues, proposed dates range across the first half of the twelfth century.[4] I assent with recent tendency to date the tympanum to the early years of the twelfth century, viewing it in relation to the sculptures at Compostela, namely the capital of the punishment of Avarice, the flag-piece of this

1 For an argument about the relocation of the tympanum in the late Middle Ages, see Balsan and Surchamp 1990, 29-37. While the curious damage, restorations, and additions remain to be explained, I do not find convincing their theory that the tympanum was previously on the south side of the church. For one thing, the land on the south side would have made the display of the tympanum much less effective.

2 Here the elect reach the modest number of eighteen. Christ and the elect are at Conques attended by as many as twenty-five angels. It is a remarkable fact that the Conques master has given each sinner his or her demonic equivalent: thirty-one sinners are 'attended' by the equal number of demons, all supervised by number thirty-two – Satan himself. For a description of the tympanum, with a brief outline of the context of connections with other monuments, see Aubert 1939, 81-97.

3 6.73m by 3.64m. My calculations are based on the measurements given in Oursel 1973, 379.

4 For recent overview of argumentation regarding dating, see Huang 2014.

thesis, as well as the sculptures on the Puerta de las Platerias, perhaps even as their predecessor. [5]

The Last Judgement ensemble of Saint-Lazare of Autun (pl.2) is found in the narthex, decorating the central doorway of the west façade.[6] It was carved between 1125 and 1146, apparently by Gislebertus, a man who inscribed his name in the centre of the composition.[7] The narrative programme covers a surface comparable to that at Conques, of approximately 17^2m, and is populated with 92 carved bodies.[8] With the same subject matter and similar scale, but varying material and contrasting approaches, the conceptions of bodily rhetoric at Conques and Autun could not be more polarised.

MATERIALS

Autun

In order to understand the sculptural processes at Autun, the provenance of materials must be considered. While the architectural fabric of St-Lazare was built with local sandstone,[9] the sculpture required a better-quality stone, transported from locations over 40km from the site.[10] The light-coloured Chalonnais limestone used for the tympanum was also used for the capitals of the main apse, built between 1120 and 1125.[11] But a different type of stone, cut in much larger blocks, was used for the capitals in the nave. The capitals are taller than they are wide, on average 1.18m by 1.08m, while the choir capitals have a

5 For theories supporting the early dating, see, for example, Castiñeiras 2010, 78-9. Williams 2008; Kendall 1998.

6 North-West end in reality, as Saint-Lazare was built on more like N-E/S-W axis, but for the sake of clarity, I will be using the common way of navigating around the ecclesiastical building.

7 After the influential publication by Grivot and Zarnecki, several scholars doubted the authorship by Gislebertus. One such contribution was made by Seidel 1999. I will use his name for convenience, as the issues of authorship concern me less than the processes employed by the author. For more on the dating of the

8 Oursel 1973, 379.

9 The west façade was constructed with quite regular squared blocks of varying shades of grey, and approximately 50cm high (around the portal).

10 Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 25; see also Berry 2011, 134-5, and his note 8.

11 According to Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 25.

squarer form measuring about 0.75m by 0.73m.[12] The measurements of the choir capitals correspond to the height of the lintels of the western and northern entrance, and to the height of some of the blocks composing the tympanum.[13] The similarity of the blocks used for the choir capitals and western portal decoration implies that the same consignment of cut blocks was used. A supposed chronological gap between the campaigns at the east and west ends of the church prompts question of why the same stone was used. Was material left over from the eastern campaigns, possibly in pieces too small for nave capitals? Perhaps, when a new source of suitable stone was arranged for the nave decoration, the old stone was saved for future use. A more likely alternative, however, is that Gislebertus may have begun designing and planning the stereotomic arrangement of his tympanum before working on the nave capitals. Much careful planning and preparation presumably went into the cutting and assembling of the available stones so that they would snugly fit under the archivolts of the narthex (detailed measurements of the arch must have been provided as there is no evidence of, nor possible space for, trimming *in situ*). If working freshly-cut stone was preferred, it is possible that Gislebertus began and perhaps even finished the carving of the tympanum, before turning to the nave. According to Grivot and Zarnecki, one man would have needed about a year to carve the nave capitals.[14] That means that, in the case of delay in the execution of the tympanum, Gislebertus' material and design plans would not have to wait long, and meanwhile he would have benefited from the technical experience of carving the capitals. Some of the spatial-design solutions on the tympanum may be explained by such early planning, and perhaps, execution – note the differences between the seated Virgin or apostles on the tympanum and the

12 These are the measurements given by Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 3 for *The Flight into Egypt* from the choir, and the *Noah's Ark* from the nave.

13 The Eve fragment measures 72cm in height. The heights of other remaining fragments of the northern tympanum vary between 78cm and 90cm. For measurements and reconstruction, see Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 150-1.

14 Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 173, based their calculations on Salet's claim that a good medieval carver would have only needed six or seven days to carve a historiated capital; see Salet 1948, 143.

wonderfully foreshortened lower body of Daniel on the fourth northern pier of the nave – see fig. 5,6). A very close relationship, on the other hand, can be found between the treatment of Christ on the tympanum and the damaged depiction of Christ in the choir capital (fig.7).[15] The carver took the same approach to the figure regardless of the immense difference in scale and the stereotomic conditions. It seems plausible that Gislebertus began, and finished, the carving of the tympanum before he produced the capitals for the nave. Doing the carving in stages would explain the stylistic differences between the figures in the central and flanking sections of the tympanum. But the nature of the material used – assorted small stone blocks – would have influenced the sculpted figures more than the sequence of their execution.

Conques

The quarries that supplied the yellow limestone used for most of the sculpture of the abbey of Conques (including the tympanum), were near Lunel, about 10km south-east of the village.[16] The abundance and quality of local limestone, and the circumstances of its extraction from a plateau, allowed the carvers to be picky. It is likely that they made trips to the quarries and participated in the extraction and shaping of their blocks. The stereotomic design of the tympanum testifies to the carvers' confidence in the availability of stone of various dimensions.

The structural strength of the ensemble was ensured by the flexible distribution of blocks of varying size and shape (see Diagram 1).[17] In the middle register seven wide and two narrow blocks form a row of compartments of equal height. There are many correspondences of measurement between the blocks across the tympanum. The height of the lintel nears the distance from the bottom of the middle register to the bottom of the

15 Link made by Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 172-173.

16 See, Durliat 1990, 58. For a brief discussion on identification of materials, dressing of stone, joints, and mortar in different parts of the church, see Aubert 1939, 26-28.

17 See Bonne 1990, 185–202.

inscription above, it also equals the width of Christ's mandorla. The height of the blocks on the middle register corresponds to the length of the horizontal block in the middle of the top register. This measurement doubled gives the length of each of the lintel blocks. These correspondences suggest that the masons appreciated working with rectangular blocks of corresponding dimensions, which would have facilitated efficient planning and structural harmony. The reduced scale of Christ could be explained in these terms, as a choice to contain the figure within a monolithic block of a height equal to the lateral blocks.[18]

One might question the flexibility of the quarry supply by considering the need for the narrow vertical slabs inserted between the scenes. However, I would suggest that it is the iconographical integrity of the blocks that made the vertical infills necessary. It was as if the designers did not want to 'dilute' their figure-packed scenes with any non-narrative elements, so for example they carved stars and clouds on separate insertions. In this way, two primary rules were preserved – that of the integrity of scenes within blocks, and that of symmetry, no block being enlarged to accommodate additional imagery.[19]

Just as the parameters of the blocks used elsewhere at Autun show the changing supply of stone, the interior carvings at Conques confirm the flexible access to materials. The scene of the Annunciation (fig.8), serving as a lavish corbel for the arches supporting the gallery across the north transept, displays the carvers' familiarity with using large monolithic blocks for figure-carving, and demonstrates that at Conques the physical location the driving force of form.[20]

18 For argument on uniformity of scale and volumes on Conques tympanum, see Bonne 1984a, esp. chapters one and six.

19 The symmetry principle works here for the middle register only, as extending to the field of the blocks in the upper register would not have upset the symmetry.

20 The angle of viewing testifies to this as the original location of the group. The carving becomes more complicated as the eye travels up the block and figure.

STEREOTOMY AND ICONOGRAPHY

Autun

The stereotomic composition of the Last Judgement programme at Autun is relatively fragmented, reflecting the material circumstances discussed above. The fragmentation is only absent on the lintel, the requirement for tectonic strength forcing the masons to use a monolithic slab. The uneven split in the middle of the lintel (see Diagram 2) is curious.[21] When deliberate fragmentation occurred elsewhere, masons would split stones along straight lines, either vertically, or, as on the lintel at Moissac, with joggled patterns allowing the slabs to interlock.[22] The irregularity of the 'joint' at Autun casts doubt upon its intentionality.[23] I propose that the lintel was originally extracted in one, 6.40m-long, piece, and the split occurred later, perhaps during the installation of the carved block, or when the trumeau was removed in 1766.[24]

The figure affected by the uneven joint, the angel separating the good from the bad (fig.9), supports the theory that the split was secondary and unintentional. The split cuts through a wing and an arm, and runs through the leg towards the centre of the trumeau. That Gislebertus had no issue with adapting his figures to the demands of fragmented stones is evident; many figures in the tympanum stretch across several slabs of stone, their visual integrity little affected by the material divisions. There, however, he was dealing with straight-cut joints, which would have eased the planning of detailed designs. Moreover, nowhere else on the tympanum did he sculpt a figure in the round directly on

21 For photographs before the gaps were filled in, see, for example, Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 55 or their cover photo.

22 For stereotomy of Moissac, see Oursel 1973, 365-6.

23 Authors who provide stereotomic diagrams of the tympanum mark the split as an intended joint, not as a fracture. See Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 30; Oursel 1973, 367; Bonne 1990, 202 (diagram based on Oursel).

24 Two cracks on the lintel flanking that very section could serve as evidence of this probability. For removal of trumeau, see Seidel 1999, 26. For the model of plastered over tympanum without the trumeau, see Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 22.

the line of a joint. Presumably therefore he would have altered the figure's position and gestures, had the split been there prior to the execution of the carving.

Twenty-nine stone blocks were assembled to construct the tympanum. It is structurally divided into three sections of equal width, divided by the vertical joints of aligned blocks of stone. The blocks within the three sections are organised in more-or-less regular off-set bonding. The overall stereotomic impression is of an improvised assembly of blocks of various heights, widths and, likely, grain orientations.[25] A closer analysis of the relationship of material and iconography reveals the extent to which each figure's design was affected by the shape, size and arrangement of the blocks.

The figure of Christ (fig.10 and diagram 2) is ruled by a different set of principles from the smaller figures. He is composed of 13 blocks of stone arranged on 5 levels, alternating between 2 and 3 blocks per level. The apex of the tympanum is formed of three blocks, the widest middle one accommodating Christ's head and halo, and the flanking slabs the sun, moon and lower bodies of the upside-down angels. These three blocks are supported by two wider and shallower slabs carved with Christ's shoulders and the angels' upper bodies. The angels' extended wings and arms continue onto the slabs below. The two shallow slabs are not of equal width, breaking the rule of symmetry displayed by the figure of Christ and the overall composition of the tympanum. The level below is composed of three blocks displaying Christ's solar plexus and outstretched hands. These blocks vary in width, resulting in a haphazard relationship between the joints and the figure, whereas on the fourth level, which contains Christ's knees and the upper bodies of the standing angels, two low slabs of equal width were chosen, joining exactly on the vertical axis of Christ's body at the centre of the tympanum. In the lowest level three slabs of equal width accommodate Christ's feet and the bent legs of the flanking angels. Here again symmetry

25 For example, the neat vertical crack in the top right block, one including two apostles and the angel, could indicate the positioning *en délit*, with the grain vertical.

was observed, and the centre of the middle block falls exactly on the vertical axis.[26] It is important to note that the sculpted design of Christ's lower body does not observe the perfect symmetry of the blocks in this section. The legs are slightly off-axis and this becomes particularly visible at the level of Christ's feet. The toes of his left foot mark the exact centre of their block, and the centre of the tympanum.[27] It was clearly not requirements of material that demanded such an off-centre execution. This further testifies to the relative divorce of design and material relations in the planning of the section.

The basic stereotomic principle observed in the central section is that of structural stability. By alternating the number of blocks, Gislebertus created an off-set pattern avoiding the alignment of joints. The symmetry and the dimensional balance of the material were of secondary importance. The monumental sculpted figure of Christ affected this stereotomic scheme on a crucial but limited level. For the sake of accommodating the face on one middle block of stone a third block was placed at the top of the tympanum. Here the dictate of the content ends, however, and the arrangement of the lower blocks does not significantly respect the posture of the body. Thanks to such fragmentation of the large figure, the sculptor had the freedom to decide the design regardless of material, as long as the figure fitted within the borders of the section.

The structural arrangement of the flanking sections is also complicated and irregular. The left side (fig.11 and Diagram 2) has four levels with two blocks on each. The top two slabs differ in shape and scale. The inner and larger block is the only vertical slab of the composition, and it frames an entire scene composed of Virgin and an angel, minus one angelic wing-tip. This block also includes part of the upper storey of the Heavenly Jerusalem. The city continues onto a neighbouring triangular block, and fills the entirety of the block immediately below it. The right slab of the second level is almost as wide as its

26 This symmetry was also observed by nature when the slab cracked in the middle, however, due to the *en lit* positioning of the block, the crack is not perfectly vertical.

27 As well as the exact place where the crack appeared. See the above discussion about the fracturing.

pair, and their joint aligns with that of the two slabs above. This is a unique case of such an alignment of four blocks within this tympanum. The bottom-right block of the four includes the head and arms of St Peter, the upper bodies of four apostles adoring Christ, and the heads of a further three. This block is perhaps the best example of a limited surface displaying a condensed richness of varied bodily scales and proportions as influenced by the requirement of the composition. For the sake of legibility and the practicality of fitting the desired number of heads onto one block, Gislebertus played with the proportional ratios of heads in relation to bodies, absolute heights, and proportional relationships between figures. One head did not fit and the last apostle was sculpted onto the block below, thus much reduced in scale, reaching no higher than the tallest apostle's waist, and overlapping the bodies and clothing of his larger companions. Only the bent pose allowed Gislebertus to fit this figure within the block without further reducing the scale.

St Peter's radically different scale and set of bodily proportions are perhaps due to his particular location on the junction of four stone slabs. This makes him the most fragmented figure after Christ. Both cases testify to the sculptor's flexibility when faced with the limits of his material, as he abandoned the rule of inscribing the figure within a defined space – a single block of stone, or a pair – that he followed in the majority of cases. The joint of the two slabs on the second level from bottom runs straight through Peter's body (fig.12). His left hand and right sleeve continue onto the longer slab on the left, which also includes the upper bodies of two angels and two saved souls. The bottom two blocks of equal width include the legs and the flowing draperies of the standing figures, and two figures of the elect whose small scale or reclining pose were manipulated to allow them to fit within the height of the block.

The right side of the tympanum (fig.13 and diagram 2) features a similar but more regular off-set method of laying stone. Here again eight blocks are distributed over four levels, but in a different sequence. The top level is a single wide slab, too low to fit the

entire height of the two seated figures and the angel, so the figures and their decorated platform continue onto the two blocks below. These slabs of equal width are supported by three almost square blocks. In turn these are supported by two slabs of almost identical dimensions, matching the bottom blocks on the opposite side of the tympanum.

The divide between heaven and hell is made by bodies, rather than joints between blocks. The judged souls are kept from the sacred sphere in which St John dwells by St Michael's up-stretched wings (fig.14). St John emerges from behind the upper body of St Michael, whose figure from the head to knees, including his hands supporting the bowl of the scales, fills the entirety of the square block. The adjoining block echoes this one in size, shape and content. Here Michael's devilish adversary bends his body around the bowl of the scales, itself occupied by a small devil. The large demon is supported from behind by the body of his counterpart, just as the Archangel's body is physically reinforced by St John. The rectangular block below this scene, on the lowest level, includes the lower legs of St Michael and the two large devils, and two small souls clinging to Michael, perhaps in fear of a three-headed snake, contorted in order to fit within the height of the block. The two blocks set on top of each other on the extreme right show another small devil reaching from the upper block to grab figures of the damned on the one below, and a fourth angel with an olifant.

The above overview shows the stereotomic complexity of the Autun tympanum. While all the blocks were carefully shaped and assembled to neatly fill the space between the lintel and the arch, demonstrating careful planning, the fragmentation of the tympanum certainly posed multiple challenges to the sculptor. The limitations of the available material were met with an incredibly high level of creativity that turned the fragmentation into an advantage. Gislebertus used the format of his blocks as an organising principle for his assemblage of scenes; like a draughtsman he used a grid to organise his design. The scale, proportions, poses and gestures of the figures all respond to the physical

characteristics of the material. The maker embraced the physical limitations imposed by the slabs of stone as a liberating factor, adapting form to material to create diverse but unified compositions from seemingly haphazard assemblies of blocks.

Conques

The structure of the Conques tympanum is strikingly different from other large scale twelfth-century tympana, where the structure of the masonry did not normally observe the divisions in composition. At Conques the tripartite thematic composition strictly corresponds to the tripartite division of the masonry, as the blocks align with the horizontal bands dividing the space into three registers.[28] Moreover, the distribution of the narrative scenes corresponds to the distribution of the blocks in such a way that each element of the narrative belongs to a separate block. The two lintels with the largest scenes of heaven and hell are divided by a vertical block resting on the wide, plain trumeau.[29] An architectonic logic lies behind the triangular slopes of the lintels, sculpted *en bâtière*.[30] The strictly tectonic function of this solution is diluted, however, by some additional compositional perks – an evidently attractive (although challenging) narrative space was gained with the introduction of the triangular blocks.

The thematic zones on the tympanum and the rows of blocks (which correspond with each other) are clearly defined, and stay within their blocks. The three registers of the tympanum differ in height, and are divided from each other by wide and prominent bands bearing inscriptions. The bands are continuous except where one disappears above the

28 A similar correspondence of the tripartite composition to the stereotomy of the tympanum can be found at Espalion near Conques. Cahors is another example not only of similar relations between design and masonry, but also of the iconography observing the borders of the blocks. The characteristics of the Cahors tympanum, however, like the fluid movement of the figures, the microarchitecture over arches and filigree stonework, point to metalwork as the source of influence. Both the above examples are of much smaller scale than Conques. Diagrams of both are illustrated in Oursel 1973, 363, 365.

29 At Conques the width of the trumeau (139.5cm excluding the flanking columns) aligns with the edges of the top middle block, and with the outer edges of vertical slabs flanking Christ.

30 See Bousquet 1973, 128; Oursel 1973, 352; Bonne 1990, 191.

figure of Christ. The top register is occupied by two angels of the Apocalypse flanking the Sun and the Moon, and two descending angels carrying the Cross and other instruments of the Passion. Christ occupies the rectangular monolithic slab located in the centre of the middle register. Despite being the largest figure in the composition, Christ is contained within the block, and thus within one register. Seated firmly on a throne (in contrast to the ambiguous half-seated Christ at Autun) and encircled by his mandorla, he shares the space with four demi-angels, who carry inscribed scrolls and candelabra.[31] To the left of the judging Christ stand Mary and Peter, followed by a procession of the elect. Five angels hover over the figures, four displaying banners naming virtues and the fifth holding a crown. On the right-hand side four angels hold the Book of Life, a censer, a banner on a spear and a sword with the shield. They stand guard, separating Christ and the elect from the scenes of hell. Beyond this forceful bastion the register divides, displaying various tortures and torments of the damned on two levels.

The bottom register comprises two sturdy lintels housing the structures of the heavenly Jerusalem on the viewer's left, mirrored by the depths of hell on the right. The two domains are presided over by Abraham and Satan, each with their appropriate entourage – the elect souls in heaven and the damned and their demonic tormentors in hell. The space above the wide trumeau is occupied by a relatively small scene of the weighing of souls, while below it the judged are divided. The four trapezoidal narrative insertions above the lintels display gruesome tortures on the infernal side, opposite the raising of the dead and a scene of St Foy, the patron of the church, prostrating herself before the hand of God.

The stereotomy of the tympanum is characterised by the observance of symmetry. The blocks appear carefully chosen, scaled and shaped in order to correspond to their counterparts on the opposite side of the vertical axis running through the Cross, the

31 'And in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, one like to the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the feet, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle'. Revelation 1:13.

figure of Christ, and the centre of the scene of the weighing of souls (see Diagram 1). There are a few exceptions where the widths of the blocks do not match across the axis, and only one non-matching pair includes figures. All blocks, except that depicting Christ, are the same height as their neighbours within the same register. The following analysis demonstrates that this symmetrical rigour was demanded by the ambition to balance structural and aesthetic concerns, and that the unity of form and content was facilitated by the varying dimensions of the blocks used.

The most prominent characteristic of the stereotomic structure of the Conques tympanum is the particularly close relationship of material and design. The sculpted scenes are contained within the boundaries set by the blocks of stone on which they are carved. The direction of this mutual dependence is unclear: either the blocks of stone respect the iconography, or the iconography observes the limitations of its material. Regardless, the relationship places the Conques ensemble in striking contrast with Autun, where the figurative content is not limited by the physical parameters of the blocks. The Conques structure is formed of twenty-five blocks of stone, only four fewer than the apparently fragmented Autun ensemble. But while at Autun the narrative content seems to spread freely, at Conques figures generally do not extend across multiple blocks.[32] Moreover, eight blocks at Conques act as space fillers, without figurative content. Their reduced scale leaves more space for the seventeen larger blocks, contributing to the monumentality of the scenes contained within them.

The symmetry is enlivened by variety. On the top register (fig.15), the two flying angels with olifants occupy wedge-shaped blocks of comparable width and height. Their wings spread comfortably between the diagonally opposing ends of the blocks. They are divided from the central panel of this register by two narrow slabs containing a continuation of the cloud motif at the feet of both flanking angels. The slabs have almost

32 There are only two exceptions to this rule. See Diagram 1.

the same width, and curved profiles. The cloud design is more compressed on the right-hand side, more likely due to different workmanship than the lack of space (note also the stylistic differences between the two flanking angels). Between the vertical insertions sits the large central block whose centre falls exactly on the vertical axis running through the trunk of the Cross. The block has suffered considerable damage and now large parts of it, particularly at the top, have been replaced with stone or wooden insertions (fig.16). Two cracks in the block seem associated with the positioning of the monolithic figure of Christ below. The cracks run almost directly from the two top corners of the block.[33] The scene is symmetrical and self-contained; Sun and Moon flank the carrying angels, their discs propped against the edges of their block of stone. The angels are positioned between them, with near-symmetrical poses and gestures. The only departure from perfect symmetry is a slight difference in the distance of their halos from the Cross. *Varietas* was also introduced in the angels' wings, positioned at slightly different angles, and in details of clothing. Nonetheless the angels are stylistically coherent, and are probably the work of the same carver.

The low horizontal blocks along the top of the middle register focus attention on the central slab depicting Christ, and may also have provided structural stability (fig.17). The slabs protrude from their surroundings, and the top edge is cut back in a slight curve, subtly expanding the surface of the insertions. In the centre the two insertions curve elegantly inwards, visually pushing the central block with Christ on outwards. The recessed bands also perform a unifying function; while Christ is taller than any other figure, the bands preserve the harmony of horizontal lines in this section. While Christ sits within the middle register, physically present among those awaiting his judgement, he simultaneously

33 The cracking probably occurred due to insufficient stability in the two sections flanking the area adjacent to the central axis, which itself is supported by a solid wide trumeau. Although the trumeau supports the vertical core of the tympanum on each side from the axis – its width almost aligns with the outer edges of the two vertical insertions of the top register – only the area of the block above the central slab of the middle register remained supported.

resides within the heavenly sphere to which only he has access. The heavens open above his head, revealing hovering angels holding symbols of his victory over death. Just as the figure of Christ at Autun hovers between the two worlds thanks to Gislebertus' technical and compositional principles, the Conques Saviour, though firmly seated in his throne, is pushed heavenwards by an effective compositional manipulation.[34] The arrangement of the inscribed band cleverly disguises the fact that Christ is contained within one block, and focuses attention on him.

The Conques master used diagonals as means of uniting the figures carved on separate blocks. The figure of Christ fills much of the available space within the rectangular frame of the block, his mandorla stretching to its four edges. While Christ and the mandorla are encased within the rectangular space, the figure does not appear constrained, due to its extension beyond the boundaries of the mandorla. The legs rest on a suppedaneum that seems to hover in front of the mandorla, although the section is on the same level of relief as its surroundings. A set of diagonal lines connecting the central block with different parts of the tympanum contribute to the focal status of the area. The figure of Christ links the left and right as well as upper and lower sections of the tympanum with set of diagonals (see Diagram 1). The angels in the four corners of the block provide further links with the surrounding sections. The two upper angels are positioned in opposition to the lines of the mandorla – while their wings neatly align with the edges of the block, their heads are perpendicular to the lines set by the mandorla and their scrolls, creating visual links with the upper sections. The two lower angels fit tightly within the triangular space defined by the corners of the block and the edges of the mandorla. They are not, however, entirely encased – their wings break out of the triangular space and overlap the space of the footstool, providing an appropriate frame for Christ's feet. While their candelabra closely align with the edges of the block, their intense sideways gaze provides a further visual link

34 Christ's body language – position, pose, gestures – also enforces and highlights his dual being and, indeed, presence.

with neighbouring sections. The central block is flanked by two vertical insertions of equal height. The slabs include the continuation of the cloud motif encasing Christ's mandorla, and stars, providing a transitional space between the ultra-divine domain of Christ and the flanking scenes.

The structure of the middle register communicates the principle of symmetry through the approximately even dimensions of the blocks either side of the central axis, and through the design and distribution of the figures within two-tiered layouts in each block. Depending on whether the iconography belongs to the heavenly or the infernal domain, the divide is formed by gently undulating lines of clouds, or sharply cut shelves that become aids to torture.

The first two figural blocks flanking the central slab belong to the sacred sphere. On the right (fig.18), four angels' upper bodies appear out of wide layers of clouds. Each figure presses towards the edge of the block, their wings overlapping with those of their neighbour to create a vertical division of the space. The positioning and inclination of the figures creates an illusion that the block is unevenly divided, that the two angels on the right receive less space. They are indeed directed more firmly towards the edge of the block, so that they provide a distinct boundary between the illusionistic divine space and the harsh fragmentation of the scenes of hell beyond. The pronounced edge is further emphasized by the technique of carving the figures with a curve that 'digs' into the picture plane. At Conques, the compositional choices within blocks thus highlighted the separation between the two domains.

In contrast to the illusionistic space of the block with the four guarding angels, the corresponding block on the opposite side depicts both divine and earthly space (fig.19). The domains are distinguished by undulating clouds disappearing behind the three leaders of the elect. In this way, the heads and haloes of the figures become embedded within the sacred space, while their feet stand firmly on the carved ground. The band of clouds does

not continue to the edges of the block and a frame is provided by the down-stretched wings of the two angels hovering above. The angels mirror each other's location, pose and activity, and although small details of style and drapery display variety, they introduce the order of symmetry to the entire sculpted design of the block.

The block containing the continuation of the saintly procession (fig.20) shares this general principle of layout, with two symmetrically positioned angels in the upper register and a row of figures below, divided by undulating clouds. The clouds are again divided from the edge of the block by the wings of the angels, and the abbot's crozier extending along the right edge provides a further framing device.

The bipartite division of space continues on the triangular stone at the edge of the heavenly side (fig.21). Stylistically distinct, and one of three examples of a scene intruding from another block, this is perhaps the most puzzling in the whole design.[35] The figures stand on a raised inscribed band, beneath which are the arches belonging to the scene below. Above this intrusion the design retains a spatial division into heavenly and earthly zones. Although the wings and body of the angel fill the heavenly space, the four figures in the earthly half are spaced out, not leaning against the edges of the block as they are elsewhere on the tympanum. This may be partly due to their much-reduced scale, but also suggests a different approach on the part of the sculptor.

The infernal scenes on the two blocks opposite swarm with figures crowded on two levels, tightly filling the space provided. The contrast with the even ordering of space on the block with the four guarding angels is striking. Sub-sections within blocks are filled with bodies bending and stretching in every direction, but despite the apparent commotion of forms, the design is not random. The scenes are further divided by the arrangement of the figures (for example in rows) or by particular bodily positions; for example, figures stretched along the edges of the blocks function as frames. The inscribed bands curve at

35 For this, see Bonne 1984a, 252-5.

each end, echoing those flanking the figure of Christ. One demon (fig.22) manages to break through the dividing border and stretch from one compartment to another – but not from one block to another; this, at Conques, is rarely allowed.

In the bottom register the stereotomic combination of compositional integrity and tectonic strength is most visually pronounced, particularly in the two large lintels *en bâtière*.[36] The fundamental attitude of the carver to the relationship between material and content – that the sculpture observed the limits of the block – had to change here. The reason for this change is the stricter observance of two other rules, which, although important throughout the tympanum, are clearest upon the lintels.

The first rule is that of symmetry. Not only is the stereotomy of the entire tympanum symmetrical (i.e. elements correspond to their counterparts on the opposite side of the vertical axis), but the designs within individual blocks of stone are also symmetrical. The two sections of the lintel (fig.23,24) are a perfect illustration of this twofold correspondence. On the one hand, they are of corresponding height and width, with the apex of the blocks falling approximately on the central axis of each. Both blocks are positioned at the same distance from the centre of the tympanum, separated from each other by a rectangular block. The shape of the lintels and their perfect symmetry, both relative to each other and in relation to the stereotomy of the entire tympanum, is further facilitated by the insertion of the smaller blocks. Some of these, like the two narrow insertions in the bottom corners of the tympanum, have the purely practical function of buttressing the blocks between them, at the same time taking the shape of the frame so that the blocks carrying the narrative can be freed from the diktat of architectural framing. The four insertions on the four sloping sides of the lintels were used to carry important, though necessarily marginal narrative.

36 For the characteristics and advantages of the *en bâtière* design, as well as examples from other tympana, see Oursel 1973, 352-5.

On the other hand, a second level of symmetrical correspondence governs the sculpted design inside each block. The lintels remain integral in terms of narrative – the two trapezoidal frames include mirrored scenes of heaven and hell, while the scenes from the antechambers of the two domains were located on a separate block, and thus in a separate domain, a no-man's land.[37] On the left lintel the space is organised around the central arch housing Abraham and two saved souls, flanked by arcades sheltering more of the elect. Instead of a third arch on the right there are two smaller arched shapes formed by a door frame and the corresponding leaf –marking the important liminal space of the gates of paradise. The analogous space on the opposite side – the gates of hell – take the shape of a squared, less decorated door leaf from which the Leviathan emerges. Beyond this the narrative space is organised around the enthroned Satan. The scenes of infernal torture flanking the central figure form separate sections loosely corresponding to the orderly arches of the heavenly side.[38] But here, here, the space is organised in an architecture of punishment, combining organic and inorganic structures to construct the display of suffering. This compositional mode may be seen in other infernal scenes, where bodies take the forms of gables and arches – bending and twisting to preserve the absolute symmetry of the design of the tympanum.

The integrity of scene and block was abandoned only once – in the depiction of St Foy receiving the blessing of God. In order to depict the arched space of sanctuary, the carvers sacrificed the symmetrical coherence of the entire tympanum by transferring part of the scene onto the block above. This resulted in a disruption of the form of the inscribed band, which had to bend twice at ninety degrees. The raising of the floor level in the scene above significantly affected the scale and bodily proportions of the figures. The bold decision to sacrifice symmetry testifies to the importance of the scene on the wedge-

37 Term used by Harmel 1998, 14.

38 Baltrušaitis 1986, 16-17. Schapiro 1977 (1932), 272; Bonne 1984a, 184-86. More productive than drawing a symmetrical mirror image of the heavenly arches in hell, is to focus on what the bodily structures aim to communicate.

shaped block. As elsewhere on the tympanum, every available space was adapted for sculpted representation.

Structural symmetry and the integrity of material and content were primary concerns, but they were nevertheless optional. On the central block inserted between the lintels the carvers abandoned yet another of their principles (fig.25). The primary division of the narrative plane is achieved by the inscribed band which runs horizontally across, continuing at the height of the upper edge of the lintels. The top register of this block is taken up primarily by two figures performing the weighing of souls. With the scales in the middle, the space on the left is filled by the figure and the outstretched wings of St Michael. On the opposite side, the wingless and hunched demon is balanced with a soul inserted behind, falling headlong towards the mouth of hell below. The plain vertical band divides the lower register in half, creating what may be seen as 'waiting rooms' for heaven and hell. These spaces are tightly packed with figures, to the extent that the physical integrity of figures had to be abandoned; here, on both sides of the block, the figures stretch across onto the flanking blocks, unifying the antechambers with the gateways of heaven and hell. Although only the extremities of the figures were affected, such as their hands or the tops of their heads, the occurrence is still notable for its uniqueness in the composition of the tympanum.

The above overview of the relationship between the stereotomy and figurative content of the Conques tympanum demonstrated several compositional ground rules. The genesis and adaptation of those principles, based on the observance of symmetry and the material integrity of scenes and figures, are directly connected to the nature of the material available to the carvers. The flexibility of the stone supply at Conques meant that the final sizing and shaping of the blocks could have followed the initial bold design, allowing the carvers to execute a stereotomically symmetrical composition. With the overall principles of symmetry and narrative balance in mind, the carvers gave each block a different

treatment. Each became an intimate physical space for seemingly independent figurative forms. The figures are contained within their material space but not imprisoned; they are physically separated from the rest of the composition but remain in touch, thanks to the multilevelled formal and compositional correspondences. The composition of the tympanum is a gathering of sovereign scenes skilfully synthesized into a bold sculptural statement.

In sum, while at Conques the blocks were selected and prepared for a pre-designed composition, at Autun, it is the image which followed the material. This is to say that Gislebertus must have fitted his planned composition to the blocks shaped and arranged to fit the arch. The application of design onto the already stereotomic composition resulted in the figures not observing the joins of the blocks, not the symmetry of their arrangement. As was demonstrated above, the monumental figure of Christ, for example, is rather haphazardly fragmented and unsymmetrical in places. With structural stability appearing as the immediate driving factor of the arrangement of the uneven blocks, the fragmentation and lack of stereotomic symmetry of the unaligned blocks liberated the figures from the source, as the carver executed the composition. He moved his figures across the blocks as he pleased, free from the diktat of the pre-designed material components. The scale of the figures affects their fragmentation, and larger figures run across several blocks, while only the heads are confined to single blocks, this achieved by Gislebertus altering the scale and pose of some figures to avoid carving the head across a joint. This flexibility of Gislebertus in switching between methods of carving confirms his creative approach to the ensemble as a whole.

BODILY SCALE, PROPORTION, POSTURE AND GESTURE IN RELATION TO STEREOTOMY

Autun

The perceived unity of sculpted forms at Autun arises from a complex set of compositional relationships. The programme displays a creative arrangement of forms enlivened by the sculptor's responses to the circumstances created by a demanding material. Each block of stone contains an element playing a particular role within the composition, be it a group of figures, a single figure, or a partial figure. It becomes clear at a glance that decisions concerning the shapes and sizes of the figures were the outcome of careful planning in response to material.

Figure scale and proportion were affected by multiple factors. Firstly, a figure's identity affected its location within the composition. Secondly, requirements of both identity and location conditioned its scale. But it was the parameters of the available material that had the strongest impact on the final scale and bodily proportion. The stereotomic circumstances of such a fragmented compositional plane demanded similarly varied responses from the sculptor towards the bodies of his protagonists.

The figure of Christ is affected less by this fragmentation, than by the initial plan to divide the tympanum into three main sections of almost equal width. Such partitioning was a logical move corresponding to the design of the portal, in which the trumeau was planned to support the weight of the central section. The figure of Christ was extended across its entire height and almost entire width; the angels fill the spaces around his cruciform pose. The fragmentation of the figure has not affected the bodily proportions or pose. The figure was planned within the given space without regard to the shape, size or correspondence of the stone blocks. As shown above, the joints run through the body of Christ in various ways, without symmetry. The scale of the angels was determined by the decision to include two on each side, but again the joints run through their bodies without particular regard for the integrity of the separate body parts.

The case changes in the flanking sections, where figures interact within a more limited space. The two sides display contrasting distributions of figures, both on individual blocks and within the overall composition. The distribution on the heavenly left side gives the impression of unity, of a smooth transition of sculpted surfaces. Everything is in a dialogue here: the location of protagonists' bodies, their poses and gestures, even the form and location of attributes and architecture.

The shape and size of the block of the Virgin may have dictated the parameters for the layout of the whole section, and, by extension, of the corresponding section opposite. She is singled out, grander than any other figure with the exception of Christ. She is curiously inclined away from Christ, separated from him by the blank surface of the right-hand edge of the stone, leaning instead towards the angel of the Apocalypse on the left, elegantly twisted beneath the curve of the arch. The Virgin's inclination mirrors the bodies of the saved sheltering under the arches of the Heavenly Jerusalem, and the shape and scale of her halo corresponds with the heavenly arcade. Through this visually repetitive play of scale, shape and inclination of forms, the elect are drawn towards the Virgin, the foremost intercessor. The repeated curved forms are in turn aligned along the larger curve of the architectural frame.

The architectonic forms of the Heavenly Jerusalem correspond also with the figure of another important intercessor – St Peter. The circumference of his halo, although smaller than that of the Virgin, corresponds to the inner circumference of the heavenly arches located beside his head. The scale and shape of the six small blind arches along the wall of the heavenly structure recall the heads of the apostles on the neighbouring block. The right-hand edges of both blocks culminate in a figure overlooking the neighbouring scene.

The level below indicates further how much attention the sculptor paid to the distribution of details so as to maintain visual balance, not only within one block, but

between several. The smallest apostle could have been squeezed on the block on the right out of necessity, for his head would not fit amongst the heads on the block above, but his presence there, with his body stretching across two, not three blocks, corresponds to the other bodies on this level. Variety is ensured mainly by alterations of scale and bodily proportion (as in the case of the smallest apostle) as well as a range of actions and poses, and varying heights of apostles' heads. In this way, compositional unity and clarity of content is ensured between blocks related to each other either horizontally or vertically.

The three blocks accommodating St Peter and the eight apostles condense a diverse collection of differently proportioned bodies affected by concerns of space, coherence and visibility. This group is clear evidence that the size of the slab did not affect the number of figures planned for the space; instead, it affected their bodily proportions. The heads of apostles are distributed in an inverted triangle, the head of the smallest marking the tip. Such a composition affected the treatment of the other seven apostles, their head to body-length ratio changing depending on which row the figure belongs to. The smallest apostle, somewhat swamped by the mass of draperies carved on same block, provides an elegant space-filler between Peter and the other flanking apostle, presumably Paul, who stand on each side like pulled-back stage curtains.

The bodies of the two flanking apostles received clearly contrasting treatment. Paul stands erect with his knees only slightly bent and his body stretching the height of three blocks of stone – producing the most remarkable set of proportions of the whole composition, with his head comprising only an eleventh part of the whole body length. St Peter on the opposite side of the group, whose erect body would have shared the same proportional ratio, is so bent by the activity of rescuing a soul that his head reaches only half-way up the top block. It is important to highlight the difference between the absolute height (height the body would achieve if stretched out) and the relative (affected by movement, pose, and physical context). In many cases, what a figure loses in height, it

gains in heightened bodily expression by horizontal movement. Peter's enormous double key counterbalances his reduced height by piercing the border of the stone block, echoing the diagonal angularity of the bent limbs. Such attempts to balance the composition by introducing a distinctive detail to each block are commonplace in this section.

The overall impression of the section is of a harmonious *horror vacui* organised by the undulating body movements of the figures, stretching over the boundaries of the blocks of stone and across compositional registers. Gentle curves predominate, drawn by softly inclined bodies and flowing draperies. The bodies create no sharp horizontal lines, with two exceptions: a reclining soul hanging from the angel in the left-hand corner, and the figure of St Peter, whose attributes, gestures and sharply delineated movement allows a more angularity. It is worth noting that this angularity was decided without regard for, or influence from, the three block joints running through St Peter's body. Perhaps because of the ambiguous positioning of Peter, central but at the same time on a junction of material units, the figure functioned as a physical link, like a staple pin bonding the sculpted sections together.

The strigilated rhythm of sculpted bodies continues from the figures standing on the heavenly side, through the undulating forms of the four angels holding Christ's mandorla, to reach St John and the archangel Michael – the last figures to echo the soft lines of the draperies of Peter and his company. Beyond Michael, with the exception of the two angels of the Apocalypse, all figures draw on a different visual vocabulary. The scenes of devilish torment and the display of the grief, fear and frustration of the damned, strike the eye with sharp angles, straight lines and spaces between broken or zig-zag linear forms. The desire to achieve such visuals affected the bodily rhetoric of the sculpted protagonists. Angular poses, emphatic gestures and sharp bodily surfaces, like the deep fluted furrows carved on the bodies of the devils, or the wrinkles on the faces of the damned, reinforce

the sharpness and angularity of the bodies themselves, and comply with the overall pattern of lines within the section.

The right section of the tympanum, spatially dominated by a scene balancing good and evil, displays a very different interplay of forms from the left. The distribution of the figures on the side of hell is marked by oppositions. The figures stand apart from each other, their poses conflicting, counteracting, even physically mocking each other. Michael's body language is mocked by the pose and features of his adversary – his activity is mirrored but distorted. Their bodies are equal in height, with similar inclinations of bent legs and back. But Gislebertus manipulated the bodily proportions to grotesque effect. The head of the devil is enlarged, his limbs much longer in proportion to his body length. And while the lengths of the trunk and thighs of Michael and the devil are almost identical, the devil's lower legs were drastically elongated in order to create a sharp angle - a bold rhythm of sharp lines that continues over the sections to the right and below. The altered bodily proportions and sharp angles worked in conjunction; the long, exaggerated limbs had to be sharply bent in order to fit in the given space.

Another pair of adversaries frame the scene of the weighing of souls. St John and the tallest devil not only support the figures directly engaged in weighing, they also function in a similar way to SS Peter and Paul by providing a curtain-like frame. Just as St Paul was given the most exaggerated set of bodily proportions on the heavenly side, so too his devilish adversary displays his remarkably constructed body. Here it is not so much the head-to-body ratio that makes the devil stand out (a little less than 9:1 - a ratio common throughout the tympanum), rather it is the varying length of limbs that creates the unbalanced effect. The legs take up two-thirds of the body length, a ratio similar to that seen in the body of St Paul, but the sharp angles created by the bent neck, elbows and thighs of the devil, and the lack of draperies that would soften the strong linearity of its body, make the two similarly proportioned figures appear strikingly different. St Paul

stretches across three blocks and the devil two and a half, but the absolute height of the figures remains identical, as is their vertical position. But the devil appears larger and more imposing, distorted and thus terrifying due to the manipulation of its bodily proportions and forms. He is a bodily mockery not only of St Paul, but also of the modestly sized figure of St John, and, by extension of all other benevolent figures whose bodies, although subjected to similar making processes, do not 'scream' at the viewer with the violent exaggeration of forms.

The 'hysteria' of forms on the infernal side combines the manipulation of bodily ratios with a dramatic shaping and bending of bodies. The most radical example is seen in the figure of the devil thrusting two terrified souls into hell. Its legs cut through the space at a sharp, diagonal angle, along the back of the devil with a toad. Then, at the border between the infernal section and the zone of the saints above, the demon's body curves dramatically, as if forced downward and away from the angel of apocalypse and the two apostles.[39] The devil's body is further affected by the frame of the whole composition – its neck bent at ninety degrees under the implied architectonic force of the archivolt. In this way, both metaphysical and physical forces shaped the body of the devil – creating a drastic display of a body broken up to extremes.

The human figures of the Autun composition are the most telling examples of the symbiotic relation of bodily forms and material. On the tympanum this is visible in the forms of the damned standing at the bottom right-hand edge. Their proportional ratio is similar to the human figure saved by St Peter on the opposite side. However, their bodies are squashed within the height of a single block of stone, and their limbs are forced into sharp angles not unlike those of the devil weighing souls. Their bent heads, arms, backs and

39 Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 26 identified the seated apostles as Ejijah and Enoch, the witnesses of the End of Time, bringing in a comparison with the composition at Chartres (lintel of the western central doorway, which, according to A. Priest includes the two). I, however, find the identification as apostles more convincing. For a start, the male saints make up the number twelve. One of the seated apostles could be Matthew.

knees create a repetitive zig-zag forcing the eye to make sense of haphazard, sharp shapes. The visual processing of these harsh forms contrasts with the effect of the soft, undulating shapes on the opposite side of the tympanum. Modern scientific research into the influence of shapes on human brain has shown that viewing soft, undulating shapes would have had a diametrically opposite effect to the visual intake of the sharp angles, reinforced by their repetition. Rounded shapes and curved edges bring to mind different associations, and, by extension, sensory experiences, than jagged and sharp forms. A certain effort and unease of viewing of the angular forms would have unconsciously primed the viewers' attitude towards them, long before the conscious process of discerning the content occurred.[40]

The subliminal information communicated to the viewer via sculpted forms is nowhere clearer than on the lintel (fig.26-27). The human form dominates the elaborately framed space. One could compare it to a pathognomic catwalk – where the body's physical and emotional whole is put on display – viewable almost in the round. Here, the viewer receives a spectrum of human emotion and its bodily expression. Running from left to right, from heavenly to infernal, the eye encounters states ranging from blissful ecstasy and hopeful reverence to utter psychological despair and almost physical agony. This clarity of communication is achieved primarily by the dedication of the entire space to the human figures. Little visual distraction is added, attributes remain reduced to the minimum, particularly on the side of the damned, focusing the viewer's attention on the forms and expressions of the bodies. Further visual enforcement is provided by the frame of

40 See, for example, Ramachandran 2003, 70ff.

decorated coffins at the bottom and the inscription commenting on the figures' blissful or horrific states respectively.[41]

The height of all forty figures, and therefore their proportion and pose, is directly determined by the height of the block of stone. The same principle applies to only eight human souls on the tympanum but, although their bodily proportions and poses are similarly affected by the scale and shape of the material, this direct relationship is hidden; the eye cannot make a direct link between body and block, as it can on the lintel. Gislebertus allowed for only slight variations of scale and bodily proportions of the lintel figures, nowhere near as flexible as in the case of his heavenly or demonic protagonists.

Having to create a strong visual contrast between two easily comparable groups (the elect and the damned), Gislebertus manipulated scale and proportion enough to convey the distinction. The figures of the elect bishops and nobles display a head-to-body ratio of 6:1, while the damned souls have significantly larger heads, at 5:1. The heads of the elect are smaller, and bodies less stocky – the latter despite the addition of the robes; the thighs, shins and backs of the damned figures tend to be longer, contributing to an increased absolute height overall. The damned bodies thus appear broken up, uncomfortable, struggling. Their adaptation to the space available resulted in elongated limbs, while enlarged heads provided a spacious canvas for expressions of emotion. The elongated and enlarged body parts bend, bow and sharply twist – communicating the physical and psychological states of protagonists crushed physically by sin and remorse.[42]

41 Inscription above the elect: QUISQUE RESURGET ITA QUEM NON TRAHIT IMPIA VITA ET LUCEBIT EI SINE FINE LUCERNA DIEI - Thus shall rise again everyone who does not lead an impious life, and endless light of day shall shine for him; trans. Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 26. Above the damned: TERREAT HIC TERROR QUOS TERREUS ALLIGAT ERROR NAM FORE SIC VERUM NOTAT HIC HORROR SPECIERUM - May this terror frighten those whom earthly error binds. For their fate is truly marked by the horror of these figures; my translation. For inscriptions on Romanesque portals see, for example, Kendall 1998. For inscriptions at Autun, see Favreau and Michaud 1997, 56-58; for Conques, Favreau and Michaud 1984, 17-25.

42 See Werckmeister 1972, 9-12. See also chapter three.

Gislebertus implied the forces of gravity in the vocabulary of bodily rhetoric adapted at Autun, much like the contemporary sculptors of the atlantes did elsewhere (fig.28).

The decision to reduce the bodily proportions of the elect may have been influenced by the presence of clothing. Where clothing appears on the side of the damned, it fits the figure tightly, follow the shape of the body (fig. 29), so no alterations of bodily proportions had to be introduced to accommodate the increased mass of the figure. The absence of clothing in other damned figures reveals their bodies broken at angles at the borderline of physical capacity, such as necks bent at forty-five degrees (fig.30). The sharp angles create an overall jagged pattern, easily discernible from afar. The patterning is particularly striking when the lintel is examined in its entirety – it changes gradually as the eye moves beyond the figure of the angel in the centre, towards the standing elect. While the first two figures on the right, identified as Adam and Eve (fig.31), bend their legs in a manner similar to the damned, implying something of their own mental states,[43] the sharp lines of the two pilgrims beyond them convey movement, rather than any sense of distress. Further to the left, the lines of the figures begin to soften, until they resemble the undulations of the apostles above. Such pronounced use of forms to create patterning may well have a deeper significance and function. The way in which Gislebertus manipulated the visual rhetoric of his sculpted forms implies that he was well aware of the communicative potential of form.

Gislebertus used the same method to depict suffering in the historiated capitals inside and outside the church. Figures ranging from pathetic sinners to martyred saints share the same bodily model and poses. In one of the ambulatory capitals, a heretic is crushed beneath a horse mounted by a crowned figure (fig.32). The victim's arched back and gaping mouth resemble the hunched devil on the tympanum, while their limbs bend at

43 See *Le Mystère d'Adam*, for a description of the postures of Adam and Eve: '(…) sed ob verecondiam sui peccati aliquantulum curvati et multum tristes...', in Grass 2015, 24. For discussion of poses of Adam and Eve (when expelled or hiding), see chapter three.

every possible joint to accentuate their physical defeat. A capital inside the west doors shows a sinner being tormented by a demon holding huge pincers (fig.33), the sinner's elongated body folding and contorting in pain and despair. The story of Simon Magus is told in two capitals on the south side of the nave (fig.34). Simon's arms and legs are thrust out in every direction, folding and bending to visually break up his body as he falls to his death. Even saintly protagonists share this broken body language when depicted in moments of suffering or death, for example in the Martyrdom of St Stephen (fig.35). On the outside portals one encounters more figures whose sin or misery forces their bodies to the ground. On the west side Ishmael reacts to his expulsion by crouching with both arms diagonally across his body (fig.36), on the north portal the crouching beggar receives the mantle from St Martin (fig.37), while Dives is shown protesting against his miserable fate, his body not only bending and crouching, but also structurally broken, being sculpted on two perpendicular faces of one capital. It is worth noting that the body of Lazarus in the accompanying scene, although tarnished by poverty and disease, is not shown in as lowly a pose. This shows that it was sin and wayward living that had the strongest bearing on the physical appearance of the characters. Sharp linearity is present even in the horizontal body of Eve, on the lintel of the northern portal (fig.38). The figure leans on her knees and elbows, her body at once limited by space, and anatomically broken to show her in a frontal and a profile view at the same time. As Werckmeister has suggested, the formal procedure of breaking the body in such a pose may articulate multiple messages about sin, self-reflection, mortification, and the fragmentation of the soul and body.[44]

Grivot and Zarnecki attributed the extraordinary proportions of the figures at Autun to Gislebertus' capacity for manipulating bodies to achieve 'the unique impression of the supernatural'.[45] Indeed, Gislebertus used the bodies of his protagonists to construct the

44 For analysis of aspects and meaning of, as well as the sources for, Eve's posture, see Werckmeister 1972, esp. 23-25.

45 Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 28.

unique visual rhetoric of his compositions, but it cannot be overstressed that the plasticity of the figures, and the potential for experimentation, were facilitated by his attentiveness and responsiveness to, and readiness for experimentation with, the assorted limestone at his disposal.

Conques

At Conques, as at Autun, the physical parameters of the material strongly impacted the figural forms. The fundamental difference between the two tympana is that at Autun figural relationships were planned across groups of blocks, while at Conques, these remain generally within one slab. In other words, at Conques, structural 'locality' replaces the structural 'totality' of Autun. While the identity of the figure played a role at Conques, it was predominantly its location within a section, and its relationships with other figures, that affected its final form, scale and movement.

Thus at Conques the layout of the selected blocks of stone determined the treatment of the figural imagery. While the general symmetry of the composition and iconographic correspondences are preserved, each block of stone seems to govern itself; the principles of scale and bodily proportion are subjected to this imposed organisation of space, and to the planning of relationships between the figures. So while decisions concerning the form and scale of the figures at both Conques and Autun responded to the material, the approach at Conques produced an entirely different vision of the Last Judgement. The analysis below highlights the array of choices and principles that underlined the final forms of the figures.

The figure of Christ, conceptually and physically central to the composition, is at the top of the proportional scale. Christ is the most physically disciplined figure, with the most classical proportions (his head being about one seventh of his estimated upright body height). The seated pose allowed for the illusionistic three-dimensional development of the

figure, affecting scale and bodily proportions. While Christ's upper and lower body were about the same height, the impact of the lower body depended on the depth of the block, while the rhetoric of the upper body was based on the proportions and movement of the hands, slightly enlarged for clarity of gesture.

The rhetoric of Christ's gesture directly responded to structures of organising space. His hands disregard the boundaries of the mandorla, but neatly adapt to the limits of the block. The right hand is raised and bent at every joint, forming a pattern of *varietas,* attracting attention to the gesture. In addition to gesturing in blessing or condemnation,[46] the hands function as indicators, directing the eye along a series of lines running through Christ's upper body towards the flanking sections (see Diagram 1).[47] The right arm also appears larger and longer than the left when viewed from below (fig.39). Instead of shortening the right arm to form a ninety degree angle, in order to accommodate the three sections of the arm in the given space, the artist lowered the elbow, creating a visual passage from the body of Christ towards the neighbouring sections. One line leads towards the procession of saints. Another leads the eye towards the Cross and then the Heavenly sphere beyond. The left arm slopes sharply downwards towards Satan and hell. The decision to angle the arm towards the centre of hell meant that the left hand had to be sharply bent at the wrist to fit on the block. In sum, the poses of both arms, while affected by the boundaries of the block, guide the eye of the viewer beyond them. This function is repeated by Christ's lower body; the knees open up towards heaven and the feet resting on a slanted footstool tilt downwards towards hell. The strategically positioned figure of Christ performs an important role linking form and function – he acts as a signpost at the cross-roads, indicating the options open to the beholder.

46 See Bonne 1984a, 67ff. For gestures more generally, see Burrow 2002, 11-68; Garnier 1982b; Schmitt 1991.

47 Which also refer to blessing and condemnation, but indirectly through directional movement, in reference to other parts of the composition. For a more extensive analysis of the meanings of lines on the tympanum, see Bonne 1984a and Oursel 1973, 363-4.

The two fundamental principles held by the Conques carver – of symmetry and of the iconographic integrity of the blocks – affected the proportional and 'editorial' choices regarding the bodies. While altered proportion could mark the status of the figure, 'edited-out' body parts allowed its adaptation into demanding spaces. The angels on the two upper registers (particularly the horn-blowers) are the closest in scale to Christ. Whereas at Autun the angels share the proportions of the demons, here they aspire to the dimensions and proportions of the Saviour. And while at Autun they stand firmly on the ground, at Conques parts of the angelic bodies are concealed by the clouds. On the block to the right of Christ, this became a bolder statement, as on two levels the angelic bodies disappear beyond the attainable sphere, as if twice within one block of stone a portal to the world beyond was opened. The exclusion of their lower bodies provided space for their large-scale attributes and allowed the artist to increase the scale of the visible upper bodies.

The explanation for such design choices can be extended further. The block with the four angels and that with the figure of Christ share a boldness of design rare for the Conques tympanum, facilitated by the small number of figures represented. In the latter the space is dominated by a large centralised figure, with four small demi-angels pressed against the corners of the composition. The other slab inverts this design with four demi-angels enlarged to fill a quarter of the block each, leaving the centre devoid of significant detail. Their limbs (wings included) form a rhombus around the empty space – echoing Christ's mandorla. The Book of Life and the banner on a spear disrupt the outline of the 'empty' space, analogous with Christ's right and left hands breaking out of the mandorla. The bold and symmetrical designs of the two scenes, facilitated by the regular blocks at the artist's disposal, led to similarly bold treatment of the figures' physical features. The angels' heads are enlarged in relation to their bodies, close to the scale of the head of Christ. On the other hand they are attached to bodies nearer in scale to the bodies of the saints. Such a combination created a wholly new proportional ratio, appropriate for the hierarchical and

spatial identity of the angels, ambiguously located on a threshold of the divine and earthly domains.

The scale of the angels above the saints also vividly responds to their material contexts. Their scale becomes gradually reduced in line with the changing scale of the saints below, depending on the availability of space determined by the number of figures depicted, and the size and shape of the block. Each separate block-scene presents similar figure-block relations. While a figure's identity influenced their location within the composition as a whole and their location within a single block, it is their location on the block that directly influenced their bodily scale and proportion. The procession opens with the Virgin and St Peter, who share their scale and proportional ratio (6:1) with Dadon on the left. The saints are shorter than the hermit, but their large halos create a gentle diagonal that aligns with the sloping arm of Christ. The sloping tendency continues on the next block, where the same proportional ratio is preserved, but with a gradual reduction of scale. The slope continues on the last block on the left, where the figures are much reduced in scale, perhaps precisely in order to comply with the diagonal.

All the infernal scenes contain densely populated and highly organised spaces (fig.40). In heaven, only the lower scenes are condensed and compartmented by arches, columns and sarcophagi, while the upper space is articulated by fluid elements: clouds, wings or undulating ground (fig.41). The partitions on the side of the inferno form an architecture of punishment: sturdy floors and platforms to which torture machines are attached, along with sticks, tightened ropes, weapons and stretched, chevroned nets. The only curves are provided by twisting ropes and the hell-fire which, just as the heavenly clouds, provides a visual gateway to another dimension. All these formal elements organise the space and push the figures into their narrative slots, allocated according to their identity and importance. For instance, on the right-hand lintel, the central figure of Satan is flanked by the damned punished for the most disgraceful vices of avarice, adultery and

pride.[48] Though these figures receive primary status among the vices, their bodily scale and proportion are still subjected to the organisation of space within the block.

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In the Conques artist's vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem it is the architecture that governs and contains the figures, even though that meant a certain overcrowding and variations of scale and proportion to retain the dialogue with architectural surroundings (see Diagram 1). The formal correspondences between the microarchitecture on the tympanum and the architecture on the portal and inside the church support the argument that the behaviour of the sculpted body within its context was analogous to that of the human beings entering the twelfth-century church. That is, the formal relationships between the sculpted body and its physical space reflected the formal relationships of the organic body of the visitor with the built environment. Just as the scale and posture of the figures on the Conques tympanum depended on the parameters of the material and the arrangement of other forms, so human movements and posture underwent alteration within the space of the church. But the particular surroundings have the power to influence more than human behaviour, and, theoretically speaking at least, the aspects of human scale were affected in specific contexts. The viewer may not only feel small in a huge church or before the image of God; particular bodily behaviour may follow – that of making oneself smaller when faced with something overwhelming and lofty.[49]

Not only spaces, real or imagined, but also other bodies may affect bodily form and behaviour, and this principle is at Conques most forcefully illustrated by the scenes of hell. The organising principle of the Conques hell are the tectonic forces of the crowded bodies inscribed into the spaces of the blocks. While the heavenly and infernal blocks correspond in terms of size and shape, the rigorous architectural framing of the heavenly

48 On the hierarchy of vices, see Little 1971.

49 For ductus, see, for example Carruthers 2010, 190-213; Crossley 2010, 214-49. Aspects of such bodily behaviour are discussed in the case of Adam and Eve in chapter III.

scene is re-enacted in hell by the organic fluidity of united efforts of bodies and the technology of torture. Hell's architecture appears as a makeshift structure of bodies and tools, frozen in the circumstances of a moment. Nine demons and nine damned souls are joined in pairs and groups to enact the rituals of punishment. These groupings, along with their props, articulate the irregular compartmentalisation of hell, divided by the voids between them.

The Conques Satan (fig.42) is conceptually and formally a true anti-Christ, an inverted, carnivalesque analogue of the Saviour.[50] Just as Christ is the central compass rose from which compositional lines project, so Satan is the compositional focus of his own dominion. But while Christ's restriction to his block of stone is disguised by the inscribed bands appearing to bend around him, beyond the mandorla, Satan is presented as an atlas. The roof of hell is propped on his head, casting him as a great trumeau holding up the slanting vaults.

Of all figures on the tympanum, Satan's bodily scale is the closest to that of Christ. His proportional ratio, however, is not. Seated, Satan is almost as tall as the major saints are standing. Although differing in scale, and despite his grotesquely enlarged head, the relationship of Satan's head to the estimated height of his standing body equals 6:1, a ratio the same as that of the Virgin and her companions. In this way Satan remains close to both the supernatural and human, while not quite being either.

There are other formal analogies with Christ. Satan's extended left arm reinforces the gesture of Christ's left hand towards hell. This rather nonchalant gesture is made more forceful by Satan's finger pointing at specific punishments immediately below. Unlike

50 For 'other' order, the idea of distorted mirror and carnivalesque in the Conques depiction of hell, see Bonne 1984a, 257-259.

Christ, Satan obviously does not present a second option, and both his limbs join in the gesture, reinforcing the directional message.[51]

Another formal analogy points to the crucial concept underlying the scenes of punishment at Conques. A recumbent soul beneath Satan's feet is positioned so as to resemble the slanting foot-stool under the feet of Christ. This comparison makes the dehumanising character of the punishments more pronounced. In the depiction of hell at Conques, organic bodies become infernal furniture. Their bodies are subjected less to the frame of the block than to the internal constraints of the devils' bodies and tools.

The scenes of punishment are constructed via the intimate struggles of bodies applying or receiving physical force: trampling, crushing, bashing, hanging or pushing each other. The forces are most evident in the punishment of Pride (fig.43), where three bodies struggle – demon, animal and human. The horse has just thrown the rider, who is now being trampled by a demon, the latter braced against the 'roof' of hell to aid him in the application of force on the knight. A pitchfork is thrust into the sinner's back, and he is further assailed by another devil pulling his arm. The knight's head is not quite touching the ground – he is forever suspended in the terrifying moment of the fall.

Gravitational forces also aid the punishment of Avarice (fig.44), whose suspended body suffers from its own weight, additionally burdened by the attributes of his earthly sin. His scaffold has adjustable ropes, operated by a demon who uses his own body as a counterweight, bracing himself against the pole to increase the strength of the clasp. More inter-corporal force is applied in other scenes of punishment. One demon props his foot against a man's chest, achieving the counter-force to pull out his tongue. The demon's arched back and bent neck facilitate face-to-face contact between the figures, increasing the psychological exchange. In the triple-levelled composition nearby, a demon propped

51 More methods of communication between the bodies of Christ and Satan are explored in chapter two. Similarly to Christ, Satan is looking into the distance – not addressing anyone in particular – the options are kept open.

against the roof of the scene presses down on the head of a woman, who sits in turn on the shoulders of a man. His neck is bound and his body is being consumed by fire – flames, like clouds, were used at Conques as an icono-spatial technique to legitimise the disappearance of part of the body, allowing the carver to manage limited space without compromising the bodily proportions, scale or gestures.

The shape of the blocks constrained the bodies, turning them into frames as well as subjects. In the scene of the punishment of a fraudulent monier (fig.45), the man reclines in flames, his beard pulled by a demon who strives to make him swallow molten metal.[52] Both figures align with the shape of the block – the seated man marking the ninety-degree corner, the devil's curved posture responding to the outer line of the block. A man suspended upside-down to the right dramatically bends his neck at an angle of ninety degrees to his legs. The line of the rope continuing along the body of the sinner provides an inner frame to this scene. The seated man on the left, propping the hanged man with his feet, is another example of representation of bodily struggle that helps form the outer frame of the block containing the scene.

The flexibility of demonic bodies allowed the carver to adjust their forms as the scene required. While the human bodies were modified on the spot by physical force, the bodies of demons were customised to the needs of a particular space. In the upper section of the block (fig.46) a sinner and a demon stand facing each other, facilitating the comparison of contrasting proportions (3:1 in case of the sinner, and >5:1 of the demon). The corporal flexibility of the demons aids the communication of the force-and-impact relationships between the bodies. The oversized foot of the standing demon tramples the chest of a recumbent sinner. The pressure of the foot is countered by the knife stabbing the back of the sinner from below. The alignment of the body responds to the pressure

52 Identifiable by the bowl of coins and the inscription CUNEUS – see Bonne 1984a, 291-2; Harmel 1998, 19.

from beneath and as the head of the sinner is pulled backwards and bitten by the demon with the knife, one can almost hear the cracking of bones.

More depicted impact of one body on another can be found on the block below (fig.47). While the proportional ratios differ only slightly between the figures of a demon and its victim, the physiognomy and movement of the beast were altered in order to facilitate the torture. The demon grabs the back of the head of his victim, pushing it down to impale it on an instrument (now gone) that enters the mouth. In place of a third hand needed to hold the victim still, the carver twisted the knee of the demon and put the clawed foot to practical use, immobilising both hands of the sinner and pulling him forward towards the blade.[53]

As in this case of a twisted knee, the artist had the freedom to manipulate not only the scale and proportion of the undisciplined bodies of the devils, but also their physiognomy. Adding or removing bodily parts also occurred. Thanks to the diversity of bodily dimensions in hell, the artist was able to carve whatever details he wanted, despite the radical constraints of framing that did not allow anything to pass beyond its assigned borders. Wings were treated at Conques as optional tools for aesthetic or practical space-filling. The control of space with such flexible forms affected the relationships between the figures: for example the wings of demons in the 'parade' are so embedded in the backs of the sinners behind them that they can easily be mistaken as cloaks covering naked bodies. The bodies conceal each other, almost merging into each other, allowing the artist the freedom to execute detail while still treating the limit of the block as the limit of the scene.

53 This interpretation goes against the reading of the twisted knee as a reference to a story recorded in the book of St Foy about a ravaging Lord Hugues who dislocated his knee trying to rob the treasury of the abbey. See Harmel 1998, 20; the legend translated in Sheingorn 1995, 60-63. While it is tempting to see the forms of the tympanum in the context of particular narratives, especially given that the tympanum's conception and message were embedded in the social and political upheavals at Conques, details such as these were likely born from the artist's imaginative attitude to the bodies of his figures, and his concern to make the most of the material and space.

While strictly observing the limits of the frames of the blocks, the infernal compositions required additional means of organising space. The Conques master used internal platforms as divisions only occasionally, it was primarily the bodies of the protagonists that provided these functions. The scale and proportion of the figures played an important compositional role in communicating the narrative, but not in as straightforward a manner as on the heavenly side. In hell it is difficult to compare scale and proportions, when one witnesses bodies partially concealed or broken up. The struggle of the bodies, and the forces applied to bend and break them, simultaneously build and collapse the corporal communication. The bodies, frozen at the zenith of inter-corporal exchanges of force, reach out to the spectator. The broken up forms of the sinners, impacted by the even more disturbed physiognomies and poses of the demons, become embodiments of the viewers' fears of bodily pain – of the twisted mass of flesh pulled, trampled, squeezed, pressed, pierced, and violated in many other ways – all involving the application of physical force.

While the overall size and shape of the blocks disciplined the bodies by imposing the ultimate boundaries within which they could develop, the scale, proportion and movement of the heavenly bodies were in more immediate dialogue with the physical parameters of the material. As was shown above, the structure of the heavenly bodies depended on several variants: the shape and size of the block of stone, the internal design and compartmentalisation provided by clouds or microarchitecture, and the number of accompanying figures. No interaction between the heavenly bodies directly affects any of the figures, and this is what distinguishes these scenes from those of the inferno.

The infernal body, although perpetually constrained, broken and bound, was formally more liberated than the bodies on the heavenly side, at least, more independent from the material frame. It is less easily readable - the twisted and bent poses make it difficult to gauge the ratio of bodily proportions. The bodily parameters are less dependent

on the physical context and the organisational structures than they were on the heavenly side. The bodies in the infernal compositions are structured by physical relationships determined by the reciprocal application of forces affecting their movement, scale and bodily proportions. So while the heavenly body is disciplined by the frame and material, the infernal body is directly subjected to figure-to-figure impact.

RELIEF AND ITS IMPACT ON RHETORIC

Autun

Grivot and Zarnecki agreed with Focillon that the physical characteristics of sculpted figures on tympana emerged from the artists' handling of materials in the service of the desire for harmony between sculpture and architecture.[54] An important element in this creative process is the control of depth of carving, determined by three factors: the required thickness of the tympanum depending on the structure of the arch, the thickness of the blocks of stone, and the technical and aesthetic choices of the sculptor. Focillon and others saw a direct link between the scale of the figure and the depth of carving required in order to retain a balance of architectural and sculpted members.[55] According to this theory, in order to preserve the planar unity of the composition, the sculptors had to flatten large-scale figures, avoiding the projection of body parts like feet or knees. While smaller figures are fitted behind the front surface of the block[56] by improvised twists and turns of their lower bodies, the large figures of Christ on the Last Judgement tympana, often spanning the entire height of the tympanum, complied with different rules of composition.

At Autun Christ's knees project sideways and his feet are flattened over the decorated footstool, making the figure appear to hover in an ambiguous, half-seated, half-

54 Focillon 1963, 105-112. Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 27-8, draw attention to Gislebertus' flexibility and ability to surpass the limitations of the frame and material. See also Schapiro 1977 (1932), 265-284.

55 Focillon 1964246; Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 162.

56 By planar frame I mean the front surface of the block of stone, the point of maximum projection of sculpture.

standing position.[57] The possible reasons for this articulation must begin with practical considerations. The design of a huge frontally-seated figure had to be accommodated to the parameters of the material and the wish to preserve a planar balance across the tympanum by avoiding strongly protruding elements. The monumental scale would also have made any foreshortening a drastic measure. There are not many examples on a grand scale that share the Autun carver's approach to this design-material-frame relationship. Moissac (fig.48) is the most notable example of a comparable scale. The Christ at Vézelay (fig.49) is an example of an alternative approach to this problem. Among the smaller-scale examples sharing Autun's approach to the format of Christ is the Burgundian abbey of Saint-Eptade de Cervon (fig.50), where while Christ's flattened body conforms to the planar requirements of the material frame, his splayed knees and limited foreshortening elegantly conform to the shape of the mandorla.

To realise the impact of the material frame on design one need only look at a similar formula in other media. Examples of twelfth-century wall paintings of Christ in Majesty show that foreshortening was a standard technique, since the artists operated in virtual space, not needing to balance line with depth of material.[58] While being less significant in two-dimensional media, scale certainly plays a decisive role in relief carving, where the issue of applying a design to a specific depth of material is crucial– the ease with which foreshortening was applied to figures in ivory carvings testifies to this.[59]

The carving on the tympanum of Autun is subject to the very limited depth of the assemblage. The tympanum is 35cm deep and rests on a lintel 40cm deep. Gislebertus

57 For the meaning and implications of the ambivalent pose of Christ, see Bonne 1984b, 77–95; See also Conant 1976, 127-34; Nichols 1980, 538-40. For the analysis of the iconography of the composition, its sources and analogues, see Sauerländer 1966, 261–294.; Denny 1982, 532-47.

58 See, for example, Christ in Majesty from the apse of St. Clement de Tahüll (now at the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya), where the artist dramatically foreshortened the legs of Christ while giving almost two thirds of the height of the figure to the upper body.

59 For example of ivory see the reliquary of St Millan, in Lasko 1972, 157.

carved deeply into the blocks, and the average projection of the sculpture is 25cm.[60] The figure of Christ is carved to an even depth throughout, only his head protruding significantly.[61] The carving is deeper around the figure and grows shallower towards the edges of the mandorla, creating a concave enclosure. His hands are carved over the mandorla and the lower edges of the sleeves are heavily under-cut, creating a deep horizontal division on either side. This shadowy recess contrasts with the protruding architectural elements of the throne. The inscribed edges of the mandorla project diagonally outwards, forming an elegant frame for the figure, and separating the space from the surrounding mass. From there the carving recedes deeply, creating a shadow which isolates and elevates the figure from its surroundings.

The compositional and technical decisions evident in the central section show that variety was a priority. Perfect symmetry would have been extremely easy to achieve, but instead, variation was sought around the central Christological axis. Christ's lower body is not perfectly symmetrical; he sits at a slight angle, evident from the architectural structure of his throne with an unequal number of arches visible on each side. The four flanking angels received equal amounts of horizontal space, but each relates to its background and the mandorla in a different way. A close look at the removal of stone around the figures and the amount of undercutting unmasks this contrasting treatment. Gislebertus clearly wanted as much stone removed from around the mandorla as possible. The bodily contact of the angels with the mandorla has been reduced to a minimum, with the exception of the bottom-left angel, whose back is propped against it, its head bent low. While elegant, this angel displays the least dynamic pose and gestures, appropriate to its function as an atlas. The angel on the right displays a swifter attitude, swaying under the weight of the mandorla, its hands almost entirely carved in the round and thus touching

60 Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 25, provide measurements of the thickness of the tympanum and projection of the sculpture.

61 The projecting head of Christ led to its removal before the tympanum was covered in plaster in 1766. For a description of the tympanum after the discovery, see Devocoux 1845.

the object with the fingertips only. So while its pose confirms its function as an atlas, the carving denies the nature of the task. A deep groove was carved along the back of the angel to emphasize the divide of the figure from the mandorla, accentuating the three-dimensionality of the undercut hands. However, the two bottom angels are largely in contact with the block from which they are carved, giving them an appearance of solidity in accordance with their function. This contrasts with their counterparts in flight above, whose contact with the background is reduced. Their lower wings are deeply undercut, and the legs and draperies of the right-hand angel are carved in the round. The figures appear in high relief due to the sharp edges cut around them.

The depth of relief of the flanking sections relates closely to the sculpted content. Darker, deeper recesses and flat, empty background belong to the infernal side, as if the chisel's force responded to the forms being carved. The abundance of flat, smooth background visible in the infernal section may emulate the physical and psychological isolation of the protagonists. The rhythmic isolation of the figures on the lintel serves as the most immediate example. The lintel had to remain strong, so a maximum of only 12cm was carved out from the total depth of 40cm.[62] But each figure has a significant blank background space carved around it and the rhythmic pattern of the use of space employed in the tympanum is condensed. On the infernal side the eighteen damned figures are isolated in a void of flat space carved out around them. The carefully cut bodies aim to mask the presence of the supporting buttresses. The two- and three-dimensional patterns created by spacing and cutting, blank and busy surfaces, and light and shade constitute a rhythmic, and dramatic prelude to the upper sections.

The depth of carving at Autun also added variety to the visual effect of the tympanum. On the infernal side a great deal of undercutting and free elements were employed in the profane figures and the machinery of torture. One of the boldest sections

62 Grivot and Zarnecki 1961, 25.

is the mechanism of the scales weighing the souls (fig.51), of which arms and ropes were carved in the round, the fragile ropes receiving support on one side from the thin and sinewy arm of demon, which, cutting across the three strands provided extra support to fragile elements. More connected elements supported those undercut, providing visual variety. The freed elements allow the light to penetrate through the busy composition, increasing its complexity and apparent depth. The linear character of the scene is accentuated by the angular carving and by features in low relief, such as the straight incisions on the surface of ropes and bodies. The incised lines delineating sinews, bony fingers, ribs and sinewy necks add to the dazzling play of chevroned shapes. The incisions imitating the herringbone pleating of the ropes (fig.52) are particularly remarkable, and demonstrate the carver's concern for minute decorative detail.

The choices around the carving of limbs and other elements in this scene illustrate brilliantly the carver's ability to introduce perspective. The sharp cuts freeing the legs of the leaning demon allow the dramatic play of light and shade to push the figure's lower body forward, visually out of the picture plane. The lower legs of the demon behind have the same scale and form, but as they are attached to the surface of the tympanum they remain physically and visually in the background, acting as supporting elements for the body of the more dynamic and independent demon. The difference in depth between the two is most visible at the level of the feet (fig.53), where the foot of one demon is carved in front of the foot of the other.

The sharp rhythms of the sinister scenes on the side of hell are abruptly confronted by the soft, elegant curves shown on the side of heaven. This dramatic confrontation of contrasting shapes associated with opposing powers supports the argument that Gislebertus wanted the patterning on the tympanum to carry meaning. On the heavenly side, most of the shadow-generating undercutting was employed in representations of human souls or architecture, all on the edges of the composition. The

small human figures are carved in the round wherever possible, thus adding drama of the shadowy spaces around the figures. With the clothed figures such carving was not possible, so in order to convey dynamism and variety, Gislebertus made the robes swirl and flow, employing deeper cavities in the folds. These large, clothed, holy figures, located nearest to Christ, are the elements that strike the greatest contrast with the sharpness of relief of hell and the peripheral sections. The bodies of the adoring apostles are fully connected with the background, as are the body and draperies of SS Michael and John on the other side. This gives them a relatively flat appearance, despite the dynamic carving of the flowing draperies. Even small protruding elements were backed with the mass of stone, for example the outstretched hand of St Peter, which the sculptor did not want to risk carving in the round, perhaps due to its location on the joint of two slabs. In these heavenly sections Gislebertus abandoned the deep, vertical relief to employ less determined relief creating undulating surfaces, matching well the implied harmony and communal character of heaven.

Conques

On both tympana, the carving techniques match the visual and psychological messages – while Autun is all about communal harmony in heaven and solitude in hell, at Conques no figure remains physically or psychologically separated. Even highly individualized figure of the Virgin, who, although standing close to Peter, does not physically relate to anyone on the tympanum, reaches out beyond the composition and connects with the spectator; she is seemingly the only character on the tympanum who stares directly into the eyes of the viewer (if positioned by the ancient water source on the south-west angle of the church – fig.54).

When wanting to produce drama and dynamism, Gislebertus cut deep into his material, freeing his figures from their matrix, often leaving only a narrow umbilical cord of

stone in the form of a hidden buttress, thus achieving the effect of a carved openwork. The Conques master, one the other hand, in his determination to preserve the integrity of block and figures, employed a dichotomous approach to his carving, depending on the effect he wanted to achieve. Blocks representing large clusters of figures on various levels were deeply-cut throughout, while some figures were sharply cut out of the background, with some members freed. The sculptor was cautious about removing matter from inner areas, particularly of convex compositions. The most decisive taking-away processes occurred on the edges of blocks, scenes or groups (which, at Conques, were generally the same). No figure is extensively freed from its background, but many blocks are treated so that they appear to bulge out of their frames. Carving in the round is thus envisaged in relation to protuberant communal clusters, not single figures, as was the case at Autun.

Thus, while Gislebertus expressed lightness in the bodily forms of his slender figures, and their flexible relationship with their flat backgrounds, the Conques master worked with mass. Despite the varied depth of relief conveying the narrative, each block retains its volume. Each figure retain their heaviness and a firm connection with the background. The planar uniformity at Conques was strictly observed. The view from under the lintel (fig.55) shows no protruding elements; the blocks were aligned so that no figure stood out from the plane. Instead, in order to achieve three-dimensionality, the carvers cut into the blocks, removing only enough matter to achieve the desired balance of light and shade. This resulted in a multi-levelled surface, in contrast to Gislebertus' binary approach (foreground vs. background) where the stone between figures and objects was removed entirely. The Conques master alternated his depth of carving so that various elements received distinct heights on the surface landscape.

This 'gradating' technique contributed to the unique achievement of the Conques figure of Christ. As Bonne observed, this image stands half-way between the grounded figure of the Romanesque Christ in Majesty, and the thirteenth-century type of the figure,

pushed outwards into the foreground.[63] Unusually for early twelfth-century examples, Christ is seated, with his legs carved in perspective to observe the planar uniformity, instead of being splayed and flattened. Carving in perspective was common for smaller-scale seated figures, like the Virgin on the Autun tympanum. Large-scale seated Christs tended to receive a separate slab for the lower body, for example at Chartres (1140s), Laon (1160s), and Compostela (1180s). The figure at Conques is an early large-scale example where the carver achieved perspective without exploiting the material property of a deeper block that would allow physical extension of limbs. The method employed by the Conques master is extraordinarily effective. The reduction of scale of the figure (in comparison to flattened Christ of Autun type) was reinforced by some clever manipulation of planes. While the Conques Christ shares his pose with Christs of Laon, Chartres, Compostela and others, the planar uniformity of the blocks brings the figure closer to those on early monumental Last Judgement tympana at Autun, Beaulieu or Moissac. Despite its multidimensional appearance, the figure was not given the additional space of a deeper block. But the sculptor did not need to alter Christ's pose or bodily proportions to flatten him within the boundaries of the block. A mixture of foreshortening, masking and manipulating the depth of the figure creates the perspectival appearance of Christ's lower body in a shallow space. The carver not only angled the knees to gain space, but cut into the block around the figure, locating Christ's pelvis within the illusory depths of the mandorla. Only a side view shows (fig.56) the foreshortening and the figure's integrity with the block. Christ's draped lap appears to protrude, masking the surrounding flattened space and creating the illusion of depth. Additional apparent depth was added by the throne and cushion which offer a gradual transition between planes (and at the same time

63 Bonne 1984a, 138. He draws comparison with later twelfth-century examples from Chartres and Laon, as well as thirteenth-century figures of Christ at Chartres (south transept), Amiens and Paris, where Christ is made to physically stand out, project, with the accompanying figures being pushed to the second plane.

mask the foreshortened thighs). Visually if not spatially, the Conques Christ commands his surroundings, while maintaining his engagement with the background.

The concave form of the mandorla facilitates deeper relief in strategic places. The carving is deepest around Christ's torso and becomes gradually shallower towards the edges of the mandorla. Mid-range elements like the throne, draperies and nimbus aid the transition between more and less deeply-cut planes, adding to the figure's three-dimensional appearance. The Saviour's right arm overlaps the edges of the mandorla and reaches the surface level on a par with the most protruding parts, this includes the faces of the four angels providing the effective framing of the multi-layered space around the figure of Christ.

The radiating clouds continue the illusionistic representation of space around Christ.[64] Although the depth of carving remains constant, the bolder treatment of the inner billows overlapping the more delicate outer design gives the surface a sloping appearance, providing leverage to Christ's concave mandorla. The varying levels of relief of the large descending angels, clouds, sun and moon and cross create an undulating surface on the upper part of the tympanum.

Not only the central section with Christ but also the remaining heavenly scenes show a surface rich in levels, layers and textures. In the heavenly procession on the slab immediately to the left of Christ, for example, the relief appears hierarchic; higher around the principal elect at the centre of the tympanum, then receding as the figures proceed towards the edge of the register. The front face of the block is indicated by the two inscribed bands above and below. A view from below (fig.57) shows how the carver controlled the depth of relief across the block to create undulating, alternating surfaces. This alternation works horizontally and vertically. The eye moving from the right to left

64 The radiating direction of the clouds is a direct result of the shape of the mandorla but is also related to the bond between this supporting motif and the narrative composition. On the role of the clouds in the topographic organisation of the tympanum, see Bonne 1984a, 151ff.

meets first the protruding face, robe and clasped hands of the Virgin, then the jutting-out head of the haloed angel in between the Virgin and Peter. Then the eye is caught by the high relief in the face of Peter, then, again, in the angel above and finally in the bearded hermit. Scanning the block from top to bottom, the two angelic heads contrast with the shadowy recess under the inscribed band. Then the relief becomes shallower around the scrolls and the patch of clouds, rising again to model the heads and bodies of the three elect. The slabs representing the heavenly side display alternately raised and depressed sections organized according to the physical parameters of the blocks of stone and the iconography of figures and architecture.

In the infernal scenes, similar iconographic and formal concerns led to a different effect: a relief characterised by a density of miniscule, flattened forms, interrupted with irregular but frequent drops in surface-level. The change in overall effect was largely due to an increased number of figures of flexible and expressive bodily characteristics, adaptable to various locations and positions. With the exception of Satan, the standardised forms of the figures in hell suggest the equal status of devils and damned. The blocks thus swarm with bodies whose equality distributed them over the given space without awarding any special formal treatment.

In comparison with the variety of levels in the heavenly sections, the surface of the infernal blocks resembles lace punched into stone, with only two primary levels – the figures pushed against the flat front face of the block, and the deep recesses at the level of the flat background between them. The block with the four angels shows a transition between these approaches to surface. The layering of space on the side of the militant angels is interrupted by the deeper cutting of the strongly delineated weapons. Viewed from below (fig.58), differences in the landscape of relief are evident. While on the left side the attributes of the angels are brought close to their bodies, providing a relatively uniform curved edge to the block, on the other side the attributes extend from the bodies,

disrupting the curve. This section prefigures the active use of tools in the infernal scenes, where they affected the sculpted bodies as much as the uniformity of relief. The diagonal orientation and angularity of these introduced forms are key – whether body parts (limbs akimbo), beasts (a diagonally-stretched snake), or counterpoised weapons and tools for torture – these elements provided the carvers with the opportunity to introduce varied depth to an otherwise uniform mass of bodies. Angular bodies, awkwardly positioned limbs or raised tools were carved in careful relief to accentuate their importance, often sharply undercut or carved in the round against a blank background.

In this relatively even two-levelled layering of the mass of bodies and objects in the infernal scenes, shadowy, deep recesses interrupt the surface to delineate the important forms, gestures and activities. As in the upper sections (fig.59), explicit depictions of humiliation or suffering are freed from background or undercut, for example the head of the fraudulent monier is set against deep shadowy recesses, literally bringing to light the imminent torment. In the scene below, the hanging man and the devil tormenting him are elegantly silhouetted against a flat background, while heavy undercutting enhances the pulsing rhythms of the diagonal bodies and objects.

The lintel displays the same principle (fig.60); deeper relief distinguishes forms, delineates gestures and enhance interactions, but here the surface changes as the narrative progresses. The extended spacing of the relief not only highlights the flashiest punishments of the most abominable vices, it also helps to direct the eye along the sinuous narrative of the block. The heavier undercutting at the top of the block echoes the shadowy arches of the Heavenly Jerusalem, but here the recesses accentuate the weight of the roofs, rather than the geometrical elegance of architectural forms. Here again, important gestures and movements are granted freer carving – whether they are the sharply undercut silhouettes of the torturing devils, or the bound limbs of the sinners carved in the round.

The treatment of surface on the Conques tympanum, in terms of depth of carving and the engagement of figure and background, was ruled to a large extent by the same principles of design discussed above: symmetry, and the internal coherence of blocks. The principle of symmetry was maintained in that the opposing sections of the tympanum display similar build-ups of shadow-generating relief when viewed head on. But upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that different sections of the tympanum show different methods of achieving depth. The dramatic drops in the surface level present in the infernal sections were avoided in the centre of the tympanum and in most of the holy sections, where instead the harmonious transition of levels was employed to aid multidimensionality. As at Autun, microarchitecture provided an opportunity for deeper carving and the creation of extended illusionistic spaces. Throughout the tympanum, inscribed bands also provided 'roofing' over sections characterised by deeper undercutting. The deeper carving under the bands also reinforced the tectonic functions of the heavenly arches or the arched infernal bodies underneath them, which stand out in high relief as sturdy but flattened forms against the dark void behind them.

The Conques master's respect for the integrity of the block resulted in a thorough engagement of the figures with their background; even the most undercut figures retained their connection with the matrix. The mass of the figures embedded within stone was embraced and allowed to emerge from the background at various levels throughout. This strikes a contrast with Autun, where the carver focused on the linear rhythms of forms that he seemingly 'planted' onto the flat background. And while the carving techniques employed at Autun make it difficult to analyse the landscape of relief, the very methods of working the surface at Conques created detectable patterns of 'behaviour' of the massive forms. This technique of shaping mass resulted in the wavering landscape of relief of the tympanum, a profile of variably protruding sections, arranged according to the structural stability of the blocks.

The surface of the heavenly sections undulates due to greater variety of levels of carving. The blocks containing the four angels and the parade of the elect are convex, preserving their integrity at the centre and achieving a rounded trim on the edges. The carving on the bottom register produced the opposite effect – the landscape of relief caves in as the scenes are framed by architectonic bands being at the same time part of the block. The sections within the framing resemble a massive wall punched with holes to such an extent that they began to take form of bodies, objects and architecture. The forms are pressed against what was once the front face of the block, then irregularly and at angles dug into it, creating canyons separating the forms from each other. This method of relief in the infernal sections enforces, again, the tectonic implications, as the figures become trapped not only between the boundaries of their frame but also between the background and the front face of the composition – thus receiving the ultimate three-dimensional encasing.

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The chapter has highlighted the fundamental importance of the responses of artists to materials in the construction of bodily rhetoric. Access to different materials gave origin to different principles and approaches. One of the most striking contrasts is between the breaking and unifying of scenes. Gislebertus disregarded joints and distributed his figures and scenes over several blocks. The Conques carver did the opposite: he organised the design around the concepts of unified scenes and figures. The adaptation of design to material sparked creativity, experimentation, and even improvisation. The very details of the bodies, their arrangement, scale, proportions and poses, directly responded to the blocks on which they were carved.

At Conques the carvers could choose whatever size and shape blocks they want. The enjoyed flexibility within a set range of dimensions of blocks, selected and arranged according to symmetry and structural stability. The scenes were on the whole confined to

single blocks of comparable size, and the blocks worked around the edges to add multidimensionality, and infills rather than edges of large blocks served for framing motifs. The autonomous scenes were pre-planned with a view of the entire composition, probably on paper or parchment, and then the specific blocks ordered from the nearby quarry. At Autun, the material was possibly pre-cut at the quarry and then transported to site at the time of raising the choir. I argued for the possibility of the execution of the tympanum before the decoration of the nave. With the stone available from the earlier supply, Gislebertus stacked up the uneven rectangles over a lintel, thus composing the lunette of the tympanum, and drew his figures onto stone. This material context determined his flexible approach to design, and particular carving technique, where the edges of the blocks were left sharp and aligned, rather than carved in the round and exposed as at Conques.

The overall disregard of joints at Autun allowed for a certain fluidity of linear forms that turned into patterning affecting the eye. While the undulating lines of the elect lead to the even softer curves of the bodies of the apostles, the broken bodies of the damned correspond to the jagged lines of the demons. Both systems of patterning lead the eye towards Christ, whose body is built of both sharp and curvilinear lines, highlighting his ambivalence towards the judged, and also perhaps signifying his double nature—his lordship of both domains. The patterning at Conques is closely associated with the levels of relief; the sinuous versus the angular are embedded primarily in the three-dimensional landscape of the composition. These varying patterns of relief affected the relationships between figures and background and therefore their communication with the viewers. The Autun figures, sharply detached from their background, more directly occupy the viewers' space. The tympanum at Conques, with its multi-layering of relief, produces illusionistic layers as if on a stage, even making attempts at perspective. As a result, the Conques figures remain in a less defined space that uses fluid compositional devices as an alternative to modifying forms and proportions.

The sustained attention to materials can reveal how the two early experimental approaches fed into later developments. The route towards the thirteenth century was paved with extraordinary endeavours such as the Portico de la Gloria at Santiago de Compostela (fig.61), completed in 1188 – a daring venture of Master Mateo, a vast sculptural assembly in granite.[65] Having access to local stone Mateo was able to source blocks of dimensions fitting his pre-planned design of the ensemble. The tympanum was constructed of seventeen blocks each sized and shaped to respond to the needs of the figure destined for it. Each of the blocks was treated individually, and the larger blocks carrying larger figures received a deeper cut – to such an extent that the large figures significantly and perilously overhang the lintel. The blocks are sculpted from five sides in bold, high relief that raises the figures far out of their backgrounds, The large figure of Christ unifies the stage-like space composed of two registers, with a row of angels on each side as foreground and two 'audiences' of small figures above. The heads carved in high relief create an even stronger sense of depth. Mateo used technical tricks to emphasize and push forward the figures who, due to their size, may have appeared flatter in comparison to their surroundings. For example, Christ's upper part, less protruding in comparison to his lower body, is pushed forward by a sudden drop of level around his head and shoulders. The sharp break of planes imitates the use of a separate block, further emphasizing the central figure.

As the carvers at Conques, Mateo could completely subject his materials to the demands and two- and three-dimensional parameters of his complex composition. There appears to be no common unit of measurement, rather, each block was scaled and shaped to the needs of the figure it meant to contain. This subordination of numerical aspects, like measurement, scale, and proportion, to iconography may have resulted in the effect of overwhelming abundance of sculpted mass, an effect that the Conques tympanum also

65 For the Portico, see for example Moralejo 1985, 92-116, and, more recently, Prado-Vilar 2014, 181-204, and Castiñeiras 2015, 1-33. For the structure of the ensemble, see Planas 2007.

offers. As the carvers of Conques, Mateo was able to plan and manage the detail of the composition on paper, in order to establish the number and parameters of the blocks he needed. Looking at the bold scale and relief, as well as flexible proportional relations, it seems that nothing, and certainly not the material and its employment, stood in the way of the realisation of Mateo's idea.

It appears that it was the Autunesque approach to sculpture drawn on and carved into the frames of a pre-planned material composition that survived into the thirteenth century, despite the abundance of stone of various types of quality and dimensions, as was the case at Reims.[66] The Last Judgement tympanum Reims (fig.62), installed around 1230 on the lateral portal of the north transept of the cathedral,[67] is a composition where the figures are strictly organised into registers, their number, scale and proportional relations with each other determined by the scale of the blocks used for the tympanum not only in this one but also in the central porch, containing the scene of Job on a dunghill, which will be discussed in chapter four. The height of the blocks providing registers of both tympana of this façade averages 1.3 m. The Last Judgement tympanum is composed of five single-block levels, the first measuring 1.3m, the second and third (divided into two registers) 1.4m, with the fourth and fifth levels, each measuring 1.26m, joined to form the top register containing Christ and the adoring saints. This split of the body of Christ into two equal parts is not unlike the solution at Compostela, but here is where the similarities end.

While Gislebertus dealt with very heterogeneous blocks in his composition, thirteenth-century carvers had at their disposal large and evenly-sized blocks. This standardisation of the blocks and the continued flexibility of bodily scale and proportion allowed carvers to retain clarity of composition, despite the multitude of figures. The two bottom registers are particularly complex in their social and proportional hierarchies, both

66 Turmel et al. 2014, 17-30; for stone availability and uses in the regions of France, see, for example, Lorenz 1996.

67 For dating, see Sauerländer 1972, 483-88.

containing human, divine, and supernatural figures belonging to different social strata. The figures stretch across almost the entire height of the register, but the carvers preferred to leave plenty of free space at the top of each scene. The scale of the figures indicates the hierarchy most clearly on the upper register, while on the lintel, the most humble or anonymous elect share their scale with damned kings, monks and nobility, much in the twelfth-century tradition. The angels and devils are only slightly larger, perhaps to indicate their identity more clearly. A more pronounced difference in scale sets Abraham apart from the others, with the aid of a cleared space around the figure. A similar measure was taken on the second register where an archbishop sits among other illustrious elect. The space around the figure is empty, so that he stands out despite sharing the scale of his companions. These figures are enlarged by about 50% of the body length of the smallest human figures. On the opposite side of the register, the identity of the figures and their tragic fate is accentuated less by significantly altered scale than by their bodily contortions, gestures and pathognomic expression, in the fashion of Autun.[68] The reduction of scale of most of the figures allowed easy containment of the figurative groups within blocks, there was no necessity, therefore, to carry figures across joints. The reduction of scale also allowed carvers to carry on the approach taken a hundred years earlier by Gislebertus, who singled out many of his figures against a cleared-up, smooth background. While this allowed the Romanesque carver to achieve striking chiaroscuro effects and sharpness of detail, for the later sculptors this approach seems to have given the advantage of clarity, which suited their busy, multi-levelled, large scale compositions. None of the approaches of Romanesque sculptors could be considered as absolute successes or failures, as many elements of the earlier experimental approaches continued. Examples are evident in Reims tympanum's Conquesque individual treatment of blocks, paired with the Autunesque extraction of the figure resulting with its positioning against flat background. It was the

68 The scene was chiselled off in the nineteenth century.

individual circumstances that in each case determined the final effect, whether it was of the busy block containing an elongated or twisted twelfth-century body, or a uniform row of rectangles containing groups of physiognomically 'updated' thirteenth century figures. Material stands at the outset of the circumstance. At the start of the circumstance stands material. The process of planning and carving can be regarded as a conversation between the image in the artist's head and the materialisation of that mental image. Attention to materials can help unlock at least parts of this conversation. We may understand some choices better if we consider the aspects of bodily rhetoric in the context of all affecting factors, starting with that primary, physical factor of handling materials, which this chapter aimed to do.

CHAPTER II
SURFACE RIDDLES: STRUCTURING BODILY AESTHETICS

'I cannot bear the interior horror of my face.'[1]

There are two lords on the Conques tympanum. Similarly scaled, they are seated amongst their companions, frozen in emphatic gesture, staring into the distance. Both are overlords, in charge of souls, but far from equal. Their locations mark the hierarchy, with Christ centralised and Satan seated down below, in the midst of hell. Their identity is, however, most forcefully communicated by their physical appearance. The proportions and surfaces of their bodies are polarised in order to show that these two share no qualities. One is your friend, though a fierce one, because he makes the ultimate decision. The other is your worst enemy. One is a force of life, salvation, and eternal happiness, the other of death, damnation, and eternal suffering. Those identities, qualities and intentions are so conspicuous on their bodies that it takes no time to realise which is which. The contrasting features arouse feelings from a polarised spectrum of emotions.

The previous chapter discussed the role of diagonal lines in the Conques tympanum, and their organisation of the space as a canvas for the narrative, instructing the viewer. This principle is matched in the design of the central figure of Christ (fig.63). His face is structured over a set of diagonals that organise proportions but do not subdue the soft modelling of the face. In this way, the carver achieved perfect symmetry without reducing the parts of the face to an infill of a grid. The first pair of lines leads from the tip of the nose via high cheekbones and the side hairline to the upper tip of the ears. The second, running from the same spot down along the inner borders of Christ's moustache, is flanked

1 Anselm confessing his sinfulness in the 'Prayer to St John the Baptist', in Ward 1973, 130, line 115. See also Morrison 2013, esp. 1-58.

by another pair, meeting at the bridge of the nose and running down to delineate the outer extremities of the moustache and aligning with the neck. More lines organise Christ's beard and the hairline over the forehead. The hairstyle is a good example of the employment of flowing lines within the frames of organising lines. The strands, though still following the imposed direction, sway from side to side in a controlled manner. Similarly, the gentle curves of the eyebrows stand out as inscribed into the frame. The double curve of the lips is of the same width as the eyes, and is balanced by the double curve of two gentle creases placed centrally on Christ's forehead.

It could be suggested that the head of Christ was in some respects modelled on the abbey's treasure, the venerated statue of St Foy (fig.64). The face of St Foy, executed in repoussé gold, is not ruled by diagonals.[2] Symmetry is achieved by the prominent nose ridge which provides a vertical axis for the face, and around which less strongly defined features are organised. There are no prominent cheekbones, and the large almond-shaped eyes mirror each other positioned at an angle from the axis. The horizontal curve of the nasal alae emphasizes the nose but also echoes the double curve of the lips. While the making technique of hammered malleable metal affected the organisation of space on Foy's face and the modelling of her less rigidly defined features, both faces retain strict symmetry and structural harmony and similarities in proportioning. Features such as Christ's highly arched brows, sharply defined lips and the upper curve of the chin could have been directly copied from the statue. Features like the soft facial curves devoid of prominent skeletal definition were employed elsewhere, in the face of the Virgin (fig.65), whose low cheeks and rounded chin (with a dimple) resemble those of the holy statue.

The linear grid and an aesthetically 'certified' model were of use to the carver also in the execution of the face of Satan (fig.66). Here, however, he made sure to steer away from balanced curves and symmetrical lines. Features are elongated or widened; lines are

2 On the statue, the provenance of parts and the techniques of making, see, for example, Taralon and Taralon-Carlini 1997, esp. 23-26 (the head, its dating, models etc.).

multiplied and made to oppose each other rather than to correspond. The face is complicated into a medley of haphazard incisions creating a chaotic surface around the enlarged facial organs. The large eyes placed at an angle have prominent eyelids that have been deeply cut around, increasing the shadow and creating a sickly appearance. From there, the wide, skewed nose leads to a mouth with fleshy lips, stretched in a grin. The smooth skin softly stretched over the high cheekbones of Christ is here replaced by the effect of a sagging mass of wrinkles, created by grooves running all over Satan's face. More wrinkles feature on the forehead, but here they are formed by series of deep diagonal cuts rather than the gently undulating shallow grooves featuring on the forehead of Christ. The solid structure of Christ's face is in Satan replaced by a crude mass.

The rest of the body was a further field for the contrast of identities through physiognomy (fig.67). Satan's sinewy stump of a neck contrasts with the columnar, smooth neck of Christ. The square frame, sinewy arms, and abstracted pattern of incisions cut across the trunk of Satan make his body resemble a flayed carcass rather than a normal naked body, particularly when compared with the suggested firmness and softness of modelling of the body of Christ. The abnormalities of the Satanic body continue into the limbs where the knobbly knees lead the eye on to clawed feet. Instead of smooth skin stretched over muscles and bones, as in the figure of Christ, Satan's ill-defined features resemble the inside of the body rather than the outer surface. The body appears as morphologically turned inside-out, echoing the inversion of the identity and the morals of the fallen angel.

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The title of this chapter refers to the ambiguity of the image of the human body. The ambiguity of an image was sometimes associated with a mirror-like reflection. Commenting on the Pauline passage,[3] Hugh of St Victor stated that seeing through a mirror

3 'We see now through a glass in a dark manner; but then face to face.' 1 Corinthians 13.12

was to see an image, not the reality of face-to-face viewing.[4] Therefore a mirror-image of a human body was a copy of the real thing, but a copy transformed, mediated, a semblance removed from reality. Artistic representations of human bodies are examples of such ectypal existence, in which a model is altered to become a rhetorical object. In the context of this chapter, 'darkly' (*in enigmate*) may refer to degrees of alteration pushing the image towards the unknown territories of interpretation. The model body becomes transformed, as in a dim, warped mirror that changes form and disrupts the perception of reality. Christ's was the image of a model body, while Satan's was distorted as in a warped mirror. The wrinkled, crumpled, heavily-tool-marked body of Satan was through its corruption further removed from the physical ideal, and from the human domain.

This corruption of ideal form was transferred further, from the bodies of the devils, to the bodies of the damned souls. The south porch at the abbey of Moissac contains a series of pairs of figures of corresponding bodily aesthetic.[5] The scene of the torment of the woman with serpents (pl.3) is such a case where the body of the sinner takes on the corrupt morphology of the facing demon – a reflection not through a broken mirror, but through the sharpest and clearest of all.[6] The scene is positioned at the viewer's eye level on the left wall of the porch (fig.68). The figures are carved on separate large vertical slabs of the same dimensions, and are given the same scale and space. The articulation of the poses supports the striking physiognomy of the figures in creating a powerful scene. The body of the demon is completely turned towards the sinner, its bent legs suggesting movement towards her. The three-quarter view of the trunk displays at once the deeply ribbed chest and a large pouched belly. The demon is looking towards the woman, grabbing her by her wrist. The gesture implies struggle; the woman's body is

4 See De Sacramentis I, 10, in Hugh of Saint-Victor 1951, 180-81. See also Bedos-Rezak 2006, 50-51 and her note 28.

5 On Moissac see Schapiro 1931; Klein 1990, Luyster 2001; Dale 2010; Forsyth 2002, 2010.

6 I follow Amanda Luyster in using the descriptive rather than interpretative term for the figure. See Luyster 2001. Various scholars used other names such as Unchastity (Schapiro 1977 (1939), 36ff) or Lust (Dale 2010, 61-76).

prevented from turning, so her belly and her chest remain face-on while her legs are shown as if in motion away from the demon. This dramatic half-turn of the body can be compared with that of the figure of Eve carved on the lintel at Autun (fig.38), where she is shown in a soft twist, suspended between the original state of innocence, towards which she turns her face, and the act of sin. But while Gislebertus' Eve is frozen in a state between innocence and sin, the woman with serpents is way beyond that fine line. She has sinned and she was judged and punished. She now turns back, with bowed head, and sees the consequence of her sin. Her loose hair clumped into triangular strands splays over her shoulders, resembling the sinews of the demon's neck and the fringe of his cloak. Both faces (fig.69) are severely damaged but it is still clear how the carver created a common ugly aesthetic, applying the same carving technique to the faces of woman and demon. Her eyes are sunken and surrounded by deeper grooves forming ridges over the eye-holes, and exposing the protruding cheekbones further. The cheeks and the damaged noses form a heavy mass in the middle of the faces, and the flesh sinks again in the area of the mouth. The demon's face has now a single gaping hole, while her mouth recedes, sunken as if toothless, and twisted into a grin with clenched teeth, terminated on both sides with carved out holes. The skin is stretched over her bony chest (fig.70) suspended between square raised shoulders, and her sagging breasts are pulled by the two serpents supported by her tensed, sinewy forearms.

All structural elements of the body, if shown at all, are shown as abnormal, degenerated in some way. If bones are shown, they are not there to provide structure but to protrude and disturb. The sinews show struggle, the muscles are withered, as if dried up. The skin is either extremely stretched or sagging. Everything is exaggerated, abnormal, disintegrated. The corrupted soul of the woman is seeping through the skin and appearing on the surface of her body. The morphology of evil is fully displayed, here in the porch of Moissac, within the viewer's reach, tangible and real.

The power of the image is strengthened by the dramatic comparison on the other side of the porch, where another woman is faced by a supernatural being (fig.71).[7] As Satan was at Conques, the demon of Moissac became the antithesis of the body of the holy, here represented by the announcing Gabriel, as the fiery strands of demonic hair appear as a distorted form of the angelic curls, and the demon's gesture of grabbing the 'whore' mirrors Gabriel's carrying of the lily. The integrity of the angelic face, with features modelled by moderate undercutting, is replaced with the canyons carved into the demonic face. The face of the Virgin is now lost but the very worn features of the Virgin of the Visitation nearby (fig.72) suggest that the depth of carving was also moderate. This even treatment of the face was on the other side made into a mesh of protruding and sunken surfaces.

The carvers of Moissac working primarily in terms of such surface detail, they retained the same general form for all their figures. The pose and the form of the legs of the Annunciate Virgin would not have been much different to those of the woman with serpents, were they not covered with the thick and flowing garments, whose dynamic creases replaced the curving snakes and bulging sinews and, in the demon's case, the curling leg-hair. The carvers' treatment of bodily surfaces was at Moissac the primary tool for communicating identities and moral worth.

The shared corruption of the bodies of the demon and the sinner becomes a symbol of the evil powers' victory over the human soul, when the bodily corruption tamed the corporal envy of demons.[8] The ugly aesthetic of two- and three-dimensional bodily surfaces were emblematic of inferior identity and corrupt morals. What was theoretically in the souls of the figures seen at Conques and Moissac came out to the surface, so the viewer could watch the filth of their souls inscribed on their bodies as tool marks, grooves,

7 The panel had been restored. For the formal and conceptual dynamics between the figures on the opposing sides of the porch, see Schapiro 1977 (1931), 230ff.and Forsyth 2002, 75-76.

8 This concept was discussed briefly in the introduction.

breaks, holes, bumps and swellings. In the pursuit of this common goal, different artists applied a range of methods to achieve their effects.

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This chapter will continue to explore how sculptors went about depicting the conversations of the body and the spirit. In agreement with the ancient theory of physiognomy, according to which the nature of the material substance of the body results from the moral qualities of the inner self, the efforts of the artists went towards the construction of physicalities that communicated character, thus becoming rhetorical agents.[9] The final physical form was meant to represent the inner qualities that influenced the outer, moulding the mass of flesh. The approach pursued in this chapter goes against the accepted theory of steady development, if not improvement, from the experimental and unruly Romanesque body to the orderly and codified body of the thirteenth century. The overarching trends or styles were, more often than is usually admitted, tempered by individual circumstances of carving and display. As this chapter, and indeed other parts of this thesis show, there are surprises awaiting those who are ready to look at the materiality of the sculptures without pre-judging them. One learns that the methods of carving and composition, or the morphological detail, can be as accomplished in the early twelfth century as a hundred-and-fifty years later, or that the later face can be as standardized as the early. There was no steady progression of the form of the rhetorical body in architecture. By seeing the sculptures in terms of a steady development from the abstract to the veristic body, we simplify, typecasting the works instead of seeing them as the individual expressions of artists, sometimes starkly contrasting with each other despite being created in similar intellectual and social circumstances.

9 For physiognomy in the Middle Ages, see Introduction with notes. On pathognomic texts circulated in the period, typecasting the good and the bad in terms of looks and behaviour see Dale 2007, 107. For disciplining of the body in terms of physical appearance and manners, see Jaeger 2011, esp. 106-117.

One of the aims here is to test and complicate the supposedly straightforward attribution of identities to physical types, and the methods of depicting them to a chronological sequence. The case studies show that the categories of beauty and ugliness in relation to morality cross over between compositions and across time. Not all sinners are always as ugly as sin, not all agents of evil show their corruption in a similar way, and the figure of Christ can show the union of body and soul in many different ways. In this mosaic of approaches, the attention to the methods of carving details remains crucial for understanding the workings of sculpted bodily performance. Along with the appropriation of various forms as fit for narrative and the space, the surface tooling and the construction of chiaroscuro also played a fundamental role in the process of creating contrasting morphologies.

Despite the arguments about stereotyped physiognomies in medieval sculpture,[10] the case studies reveal little reference to any consolidated physiognomic types. The faces of the figures only loosely respond to the contemporary standards of beauty and ugliness.[11] Rather, the artists seemed more preoccupied with displaying quite nuanced physiognomies, bearing signs of sin or bliss in their stable features as much as in their fleeting expression. The facial physiognomy of the figures appears more responsive to their physical and narrative context, to the personal preferences of the artist, and to the technical qualities of the sculpted material, than to lofty ideas about ideal beauty and ugliness present in contemporary writings. The analysis below reveals that this was the case particularly, but not only, in the earlier sculptures, before the more sharply polarised physiognomies emerged in the later compositions such as the portals of thirteenth-century cathedrals.

10 See for example Dale 2007, 101–19.

11 See Introduction for summary of standards of beauty, and Colby 1965, 23-88, for a summary of what was considered most beautiful and most ugly in the twelfth century.

The above is not to say that twelfth-century artists took particular care to show the individualistic features of their protagonists. Typecasting features to evoke an idea of an individual, to evoke presence and character, was a convention of portraiture prior to the thirteenth century.[12] If we define portraiture as a 'system of signs inscribed on the face' corresponding to the expectations and functions of the likeness, we may find parallels in the depiction of figures partaking in the Last Judgement.[13] There, the physical and emotional features were devised and revised by the carver to conform to expectations of appearance in the specific context (scene, position, identity). But although clarity was a necessity, the viewer was also to be engaged with variants of features and expressions, perhaps even to allow an element of surprise. I would suggest that a relaxed approach to physiognomic stereotyping had its roots in such a wish for variety on the part of the artists, particularly in the earlier period. We may take it further to claim that the embrace of *varietas* was causal to the perceived abstraction of the body that appears to have lessened in the further decades.

SATAN AND THE SAVIOUR, OR HOW TO LOOK PERFECT OR PERFECTLY UGLY IN A STROKE OF A CHISEL

The following provides further examples of the polarisation of corporal aesthetics in the service of rhetoric. Remaining in the supernatural department of holy and unholy figures, the discussion of various approaches to the bodies of the Saviour and Satan will reflect the diversity of aesthetics employed for the sake of clarity. In the case of depictions of the world's greatest opponents, the messages were always clear, but achieved by a range of means and approaches to bodies and their actions.

12 Dale 2007, 101.
13 Nodelman in Dale 2007, 101-102.

Christ at Conques, like many of his sculpted successors, communicates the power and prestige of the victor and the judge. His location, his posture and physical features show his importance, strength, and charisma.[14] Christ was the best that could be, on all levels. No figure could surpass him. The artist aimed for the most imposing effect – whether in terms of physiognomic refinery, as at Conques, scale, as on the Portico de la Gloria (fig.73), or forcefulness of facial expression, as at Bourges or Amiens (fig.74,75). This supposedly stable figure in terms of movement and formation of features still displays a range of facial and bodily types, all necessarily standing for the ideal. The tracing of the different ideas of this ideal reflects the localized, or personalized perceptions of beauty.

The charismatic sculpted figures of Christ had their illustrious ancestors, upon the remains of which medieval artists constructed their own ideas of the bodily display of power. Conques Christ, due to his posture and physical development on display, matches the inhibiting power of the ancient representations of seated Jupiter (fig.76).[15] But the ancient methods of displaying power and prestige were selectively applied by medieval artists. The compositional rather than the aesthetic principles of antique statuary were retained. So while poses and gestures may have remained relevant, the methods of displaying power, prestige and wisdom remained in but a few details like beards or wrinkled foreheads, and certainly not in the proportioning and the musculature of the body.

The opening section of this chapter contrasted the most ideal body of Christ with its opposite, the corrupt body of Satan. And while the following focuses primarily on the changes in rendering of the bodily features of Christ, the body furthest from that ideal serves constantly not only as an aesthetic counterbalance, but also to highlight the subtle physiognomic changes. This abundance of the ugly bodies is one of the greatest visual legacies of the period, one that Antiquity, for various reasons, has surely denied us.

14 For charismatic bodies, see Jaeger 1997, 117ff.
15 See Mathews 1999, chapter four, esp. 107-109.

So while the section will not overly dwell on the demonic body, certain contrasts between good and bad bodies within the same contexts will be highlighted in order to show the various visual means of elevating the high and bringing down the evil. In considering depictions of Christ, the choices of rendering bodily proportions and facial and bodily features are assessed in relation to local anti-models. The forms of Christ's body are embedded in the network of creative process propelled by the desire to attain and affirm the corporal ideal. And both the ideal of beauty and the ideal of ugliness, if they ever existed, played an equal part in the dynamic creative exchange; the imagined Satan is as responsible for Christ's beauty as the most eloquent antique or human model.

The sculpted face as communicator

The face is the primary point of reference in any human (and many non-human) encounters.[16] An image of the face loses none of the rhetorical potency of the real face and can be an even more forceful communicator, since it can be fully objectified and scrutinised through a point-blank assessment of the form.[17] Information is encoded in and transmitted by the static and dynamic features of the face, the signs composing a peculiar information pack that the receiver analyses on a conscious or subconscious level in order to assess the encounter and prepare a response to it. The components of this package of signifiers include the size and shape of the facial features, structure and layout of the face, facial surface, the superimposed expression, as well as the framing hairstyle. The effects achieved are dependent as much on the decisions regarding form as on the techniques employed to model it.

The Christ of the trumeau of the north transept of Reims (fig.77,78) has been named Beau Dieu due to the features of his face that strike the viewer with their aura of

16 Argyle 1988, 121-38.

17 This is partially due to its potential for exaggeration. The neurological theory of peak-shift effect is relevant in this context. For this, see, for example, Ramachandran 2003, 46ff. See also Kinch 2012.

organic perfection, a quality that was shared with antique statuary.[18] The symmetry of other images of Christ, including the Judging Christ discussed above, is replaced with a dynamism enforced by the subtle asymmetries of the body and the face. The subtle contrapposto and slight turn of the body is reflected in the face, with one cheek carved slightly larger and its high point at a slightly different angle, so that the play of lights on the sides of the face and the nose render it as if in movement. The shading of the lips and the lower nose and the creases of the nasolabial folds add softness to the centre of the face. Against this subtle modelling of the nose, mouth and cheeks, the sharp ridges of eyelids and the two forehead lines appear somewhat severe, accentuated by their clash with the heavy mass of striated undulating hair. This soft modelling of the central part of the face produces the effect of slight asymmetry and dynamic intensity that captivates the eye. Such methods and effects are observable in some antique countenances (fig.79). Meanwhile, the faces of the nearest devils also rely on chiaroscuro, their over-prominent pointy cheekbones and large lips producing starker shadows which break up the demonic faces.

Some carvers employed the alteration of facial proportions to assure the solemnity of Christ's countenance. When such a method was applied on large scale blocks, the result would be surely one of a high contrast with other figures. On the Portico de la Gloria the features of Christ's face (fig.80) are made smaller in relation to a large head. Master Mateo carved his Christ without prominent or very expressive features, with shallowly-cut small eyes, with inconspicuous eye-lids, a narrow, slightly bowed nose and small gently curved lips. The features are clustered in the centre of the figure's head, with the large surrounding surfaces of the forehead, cheeks, and beard. This proportional restraint is particularly visible through comparison with the proportional relation of the head and facial features of St James (fig.81,82), whose eyes, nose and mouth are comparable to Christ's

18 For organic perfection, see, for example, Benjafield and Davis 1978, 123-27, Hemenway 2008, 91-121.

but carved on a much smaller head. By altering the proportional balance of the face of Christ, Mateo avoided the potential excessiveness of the countenance. Such excess became the property of the devils, whose eyes, noses and mouths are carved so large that they twist and curve, deforming the entire head. The proportional polarisation of facial features on the Portico became a method of differentiating the best and worst looks. While the composition of the face thus expresses the goodness of Christ, its smooth surface sets Christ apart from the human company of the apostles and prophets, who occasionally sport wrinkles and expression lines. The Portico de la Gloria Christ is beyond the human scale, proportion, and bodily affliction of emotion.

The earlier Christ at Chartres (fig.83) similarly had his features reduced in scale and the head displays small, crinkled eyes, and a relatively narrow nose widening into a prominent moustache, that influenced the shape and width of the mouth. The high forehead, and cheeks built upon high cheekbones, provide large smooth areas that the smaller figures cannot display due to the altered proportion of facial features in relation to small heads. The damaged surface of the faces of apostles makes it difficult to assess the amount of facial expression, but at least one forehead shows some creases (fig.84).

There are also contemporary cases of intensified facial expressions applied to the face of Christ. The artist of the Judgement portal at Bourges added deep frown lines in between the brows (fig.74), thus adding severity to the solemnity of other examples.[19] The lines on the forehead of Abraham (fig.85), the raised smiling cheeks of the elect (fig.86), and the grimaces of the damned (fig.87) complement the symphony of bodily reactions to the event. In the case of the latter, the damned in the line to the cauldron of hell, the extreme emotion has sunk into a petrified countenance, so that their faces recall the physiognomic inferiority of the demons tormenting them.

19 Sauerländer 1972, 504-5, dates the portal to 1255-60 and ties it with the Reims workshop.

At Bourges, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the artists used the same method that carvers at Conques and Autun applied early in the previous century, displaying damned figures whose faces are scarred with suffering.[20] Their brows are drawn, cheeks raised in grimaces, with heavy nasolabial creases, the faces appear as if crushed by their fate (fig.88,89).[21] The only purely physiognomic change seems to be the occurrence of so called 'saddle noses' that appear quite prominently on many of the damned figures, particularly at Conques.[22] The faces of the damned also appear swollen, and it is possible that the carver replaced intense pathognomic expression with the alterations of physiognomy (i.e. by depicting pathological physical states). The master of Conques certainly observed the structure and working of the facial muscles more carefully than, for example, Gislebertus, whose figures also blur the boundaries between physiognomy and expression, but whose attention to physiognomic detail was most demonstrable on the lintel (fig.90,91; note particularly the alteration of the length and shape of the lines of facial expression in relation to the way the mouths are stretched). The blurring of the boundary between the stable and fleeting features of the face increased the drama and clarity of

20 Leonardo da Vinci, who rejected physiognomic theories, believed that fleeting emotions could leave a permanent mark on human physiognomy: 'Those who have deep and noticeable lines between the eyebrows are irascible'. See Chastel 1961, 144–45. The creases visible on the faces of the damned could be such marks.

21 This argues against the argument of 'attunement' proposed by Ambrose 2011.

22 This 'saddle' type of nose – very short, upturned, is worlds removed from the long, thin and straight noses that can be observed in the faces of Christ, the saints, the angels, and even some of the elect. It is possible that in some cases the artists may have experimented with facial mutilation. The state of preservation of this fragile part of the sculpted face has to be taken into account but the preserved features of the bridges of the noses and the areas surrounding them indicate that the artists may have developed a particular way of depicting a nose deformed by its partial removal. Removal of the nose was a documented method of punishment in the Middle Ages and an effective method of disfiguring a person, making them unrecognisable, ugly, and even grotesque, as 'nothing renders individuals uglier than the removal of their nose' (Groebner 2004, 67). As private vendetta or official punishment, removal of the nose left the individual disfigured, dishonored. For this, see Groebner 2004, chapter three; Bynum 2001, 170-3. The nose was a curious part of the face and could tell a lot about its owner. In Michael Scotus' *Liber physiognomiae*, the nose was telling of one's sexual activities (Groebner 2004, 73). Perhaps this could be linked to the saddle noses of the adulterous couple on the tympanum of Conques. The upper lip area of the faces of the two figures, marked by an arch running from one corner of the lips to the other, reaches so high, that although there is clear evidence of accidental loss of material, the complete noses would have been extremely short and upturned, much like those of the devils.

communication of the physical and emotional states most important to the narrative. Clarity and drama facilitated successful rhetorical performance, delivered in other art forms by theatrical masks, whose blurring of the facial physiognomy and emotion aided communication of content and aims of the play.[23]

Form and surface of the body

The rhetoric of the rest of the body was moderated by the use of draperies, concealing, enhancing or revealing the body. Christ's nudity served as a memorial to his physical, earthly body and a reference to his humanity. The display of it had a potential, particularly in sculpture, to bring the figure psychologically closer to the body of the viewer. The naked body was unmediated. Nakedness could amplify the connection that the figure of the embodied Christ had with the physical body of the faithful. Christ's naked body was a confirmation of his presence in the scene – the nature of the body was made visible and by extension accessible and potentially tactile.

The extent to which the body of Christ was revealed in monumental sculpture was not dependent so much on overarching trends or dogmas, but was rather connected with the local decisions of the artists. Those decisions involved the use of drapery in the design of the scene, and the way in which it complemented a particular approach to the body. For Gislebertus of Autun (fig.92) clothing provided a method of indicating spiritual status, adding substance and dynamism to the bodies of Christ, angels and the saints, whose bodily forms suggested under the draperies resemble the forms of the naked human souls. Gislebertus' physiognomic default for his figures required additional details to complement the scalar and proportional differentiation. The folds and patterns encasing the body of Christ speak of dynamism and organic vibrancy in the body's stead, at the same time buttressing the more protruding parts of the body. Thus the encased, strengthened

23 For the relationship of facial performance and masks, and how these were understood in the Middle Ages, see Otter 2010, 159-165.

limbs of Christ and his blessed companions imply solidity, and a strength that is denied to the naked, undercut figures of demons and the damned. The polyphony of patterns and rhythms of the clothing is echoed by the tooling of the naked bodies, particularly those of the demons, whose busy surface further weakens their slim forms, evoking physical corruption or fragmentation in the form of emaciated or flayed appearance.

The tympanum at Vézelay (fig.49) shows the same use of draperies for reinforcing, and complementing the slender limbs and trunk of Christ and his companions; the flamboyant, dynamic forms are here made more strongly pronounced by the draperies swirling and flowing off the angular forms of figures of various identity.

A similar connection between the role of the draperies and the artist's treatment of the bodies is seen at Moissac, where figures on both sides of the moral spectrum often share their scale, general form, bodily posture, gesture and inclination. Christ at Moissac (fig.48) is encased in the folds and swirls of heavy and complex draperies, as are all the other accompanying figures. At Moissac cloth is even used to highlight particular body parts of the demons; the protruding belly of the tormentor of the woman with serpents is a case in point (fig.93). There are grounds to argue, given the counterbalanced imagery of the porch accompanied by mirroring postures and inclinations of the opposing bodies, that the bodily forms of the figures in the scene of the Visitation (fig.94) were affected by the bodies of the sinners and demons opposite (fig.95). Facing the demon with a huge belly and a curvaceous fallen woman in the scene placed opposite at an angle, and a staggering avaricious man in the scene directly opposite, the holy women, though pregnant, have their curves subtly encased within the multiple linear folds of their tunics. Discreet forms and gestures hinting at their femininity and their state, like a slightly raised drapery fold to

reveal the breast, contrast with the emphatic forms and gestures of the sinners; the contrast highlights the sanctity of the holy as well as the meanness of the damned.[24]

The artists who introduced more physiognomic variety early on in the twelfth century used draperies differently. The master of Conques avoided (or did not care for) suggesting the physique under the clothes. Mary of Annunciation from the north transept (fig.96), for example, has no breasts suggested under her clothing. When the Conques carver wanted to show corporeal detail, he made the body or part of it naked. The uncovering of the area of the five wounds of Christ allowed the sculptor to attempt anatomical realism on a larger scale (fig.97). From there, the state of dress of the attendants varies as much as their physiognomies. While the cloak of Mary on the tympanum (fig.98) encases her female body without allowing for any suggestion of a hip or a breast, the nude damned (fig.99,100) show a high level of anatomical detailing, with protruding ribs and hanging breasts. Demons wear the ubiquitous wild skirts.

Nakedness allows for the display of a variety of morphological detailing, and the opposition of identities is, as at Moissac, reflected in bodily form. The smooth surfaces of the bodies of the elect are opposed by the creased surfaces of the bodies of the damned (fig.101, 102), who are suspended in a state where they still resemble humans, particularly through the rounded forms shared by all human figures, at the same time shadowing the physiognomies of the demons, as if caught in the process of wasting away, decomposition.

On the upper parts of the Portico de la Gloria the less varied physiognomy of the celestial and human figures is complemented by the use of drapery. The figures of the saints and the angels are cosily enveloped in thick, flowing garments (fig.103). Souls being saved have their nudity covered by the gentle embrace of the angels - the angels hold them through cloth like sacred objects (fig.104). This contrasts with the restraining hold of the naked demons (fig.105), whose bumpy and complex bodily surfaces reflect the anatomical

24 Schapiro discussed the theme of oppositions on the both sides of the porch. See Schapiro 1977 (1931), 230ff. For degrading of the lowly, see Dale 2007, 103.

detail of the struggling souls. It seems that for Master Mateo, morphological detailing belonged to the domain of the less morally pristine bodies. The features of Mateo's Christ (fig.106) testify to this. While the limbs of the demons are tensed and muscular, Christ's muscles are not even hinted at, and the anatomical detail of the bared parts of his body is limited to collarbones and wounds, the morphological restraint echoing the treatment of the features of Christ's face. His body is smooth, at rest, in contrast to the struggling and twisted bodies of his physiognomic opponents. The large, uninterrupted surface of Christ's exposed body increases the air of substance and strength – Christ's triumphant seat in Heaven is as secure as the two massive blocks of granite on which he is represented.

The Compostela Christ came closest to displaying the one stable characteristic of later figures of the Saviour. At Bourges and Amiens (fig.74,75), among other places, Christ bares most or all of his upper body, which appears as a solid, smooth mass of stone with the entire arms carved in the round and raised high to display the wounds. At Amiens and Bourges the tunic is shown on the lap, the broad chest displays gently delineated pectoral and side muscles. The body of Christ was allowed to speak for itself, without the aesthetic and structural aid of patterned draperies, the mass and form of his body communicating his strength and charisma.

The formal individuality of the Judging Christ at Amiens, Bourges and Reims is opposed by the more ambiguous bodies of demons, whose shapes and surfaces resemble the humans, often with only their heads sporting extreme carnivalesque exaggeration (fig.107, 108, 109). Their small but solid bodies are no longer those withered, emaciated and flayed monsters. Instead they are now muscular thugs and bullies, no longer part of the whole multi-storied apparatus of torture and damnation displayed at Autun, Conques and Compostela. The demons on the narrow lintels of the great cathedral portals are physically and thus also conceptually reduced to the role of beaters in the procession into the mouth of hell. Not much more than a memory of their role in the eschatological

punishments is preserved, a memory of strangulation and the overwhelming presence of evil. They are mere labourers, without a leader among them, and they are themselves but shadows of what they used to be a hundred or even fifty years earlier elsewhere. The monstrous teeth and deformations are no longer scary; in fact, they have become carnivalesque.[25] And this is best shown in the increased use of the offensive, excessive, and misplaced bodily parts, such as faces in place of genitals etc. This relates to the increased polarisation of physiognomies in the thirteenth century, a greater gap, or no man's (no-body's) land, between the ideal, pristine bodies and those deemed inferior and doomed to ugliness or ridicule.

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In the twelfth-century *Vision of Tundale*, the poet inserted a description of Satan lying 'depe in Helle pytte' and making a hideous noise.[26] He envisioned him as having broad, glowing and staring eyes, black, long and sharp teeth, a body of a dragon equipped with bat's wings and a scorpion's tail. The twelfth-century body of Satan is a collection of body parts of terrifying animals, parts dangerous or ugly, or strange, like a bat's wings; parts categorised as anomalous, unfinished, or decomposing.[27] In a similar way, the Satan and the demons imagined and imaged by the sculptors across the period were assemblages of things unpleasant to the senses. And just as in the context of the Last Judgement, the most terrifying visions were centred around the torment of the body (or, later, the suggestion of impending torment), so were the demons made to resemble the bodies of their mortal companions. The essentially human-based bodies underwent a transition towards anomaly, as if the body had lost its internal scaffold (i.e. the skeleton), allowing limbs and surfaces to relocate and change their shape.

25 On grotesque bodily image, see Bakhtin 1984, chapter five, 303-67.
26 Foster 2004, 224.
27 More descriptions of demonic physique – part human part animal with some interesting details, see Herbert of Clairvaux – see Dale 2001, 426 and his note 161.

There are almost as many different demonic bodies as there are many ways to deform the body, by stretching, bending and exaggerating. There are also as many images of Christ as there are ways to improve the forms and tidy up surfaces. We have seen that while certain rules were preserved, each artist invented his own image of the ideal body, his material and design permitting. Direct or indirect models must have been present, whether in front of the artist, in the drawings, or memory, it is impossible to know. But local artefacts, like the statue of St Foy with her simple but striking face that stands for fierceness and might,[28] would have served well as models for the physiognomy communicating Christ's charismatic presence and power.

We have learned that the plasticity of Christ's body was variously exercised, or harnessed. Whether encased in a splendid combination of folds, or carved out of the block in the solid form of muscles and tendons,[29] the body of the Saviour always retained the uprightness, strength and stability denied to the body of his opponent. The sculpting technique contributed to this narration of opposition; the body of Christ, whether naked or clothed, does not display a significant differentiation of relief levels, and not much tooling is visible, all this in the service of producing an image of wholeness and radiance. Smooth surfaces prevented shadows and facilitated lightness, while wrinkles and grooves increased darkness by producing shady surfaces.[30] The smooth body of Christ could thus become a source of celestial brightness, painted or imagined.[31]

28 On the lack of concern for physiognomic precision, see Dale 2007, 114 and his note 106.

29 For controlling body through training of muscles and nerves, see Boureau and Semple 1994, 5. For muscular spirituality, physical vs. spiritual beings, see Heslop 1990, 145.

30 'The righteous will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father', John 5.29; Matt. 25.46. A reference to eternal day (PERPETUUS DIES) is included in the inscription of the Conques tympanum.

31 Bernard of Clairvaux himself 'radiated celestial brightness' (Dale 2007, 107). A strong emphasis on whiteness and brightness is evidenced by medieval descriptions such as that of Aymery Picaud's, emphasizing the luminosity of the angels on the portal at Compostela. See Picaud 1993, 124. Whiteness and brightness meant goodness; in contrast the malevolent and ugly were of dark complexion. There are remains of the colour black on the figures of the devils at Conques.

Christ's individuality was ensured partly by this outstanding formal combination of physiognomy and expression. No one else was made to look like him in any single composition. So in this way, the contrasting appearance of all the others, and especially the being from the opposite side of the moral spectrum – the Adversary - are the reason why he looks so pristine, so far transcending his own body. As there is no steady order of corporal degradation from the 'ideal' image of Christ to its antithesis in Satan, whose degeneration denies the perfect form of Christ, even the damned come quite close to beauty, as in the case of the beautiful damned serving as a suppedaneum of Satan at Conques. But they are let nowhere near the level of refinement that belongs to Christ as the perfect being. In the wealth of individual approaches to the ideal body of Christ, in various media, the refinement lies in the idea of him as the perfect body image, and on those grounds the artists begin to explore their own versions of the ideal beauty (as well the opposing ideals of ugliness).[32]

The concepts, presuppositions, and rules relating to the body, often torn out of context, are all we have to access the sources influencing the forms of sculpted bodies. We have no manuals, and few commentaries justifying the way the medieval bodies in art look. As we may have lost crucial texts, we cannot be sure to what extent the bodily rhetoric corresponded with written rhetoric on physiognomy, or whether the developing literary tropes featured interpretations of physiognomic signs. What if we allow the artworks to speak for themselves and not for the absent volumes of rules? Jaś Elsner has presented cases where ancient physiognomic theories are likely to have had little input into actual works of art, for example in the case of emperors' portraits, but remarked that the physiognomic implications (i.e. features as indicating specific characteristics of the inner

32 The wealth of approaches to ideal and non-ideal types is visible in the manuscript illumination, where the artists placed bodies within the devised and meaningful compositions and frames. See, for example, Heslop 1987, 111-18. In this context, the term 'inscribed physiognomies' instead of stylized, or schematized, seems appropriate.

man) could have been found if the viewer was inclined to see them.[33] For example, the reputation of Alexander the Great could have influenced the interpretation of the features of his statues. Those interpretations of the art work would in turn have formed new theories about the ideal body. The implied identity of the figure 'shouted' the character out to the viewers before they noticed all the subtle details allowing them to judge it for themselves. The statues of Christ and Mary influenced the judgement of their features based on their pre-assumed character. This is to suggest the two-way dynamic between the status of a figure and the portrayed features. The reception of the features would be influenced by the identity of the figure as much as the figure's identity influenced the choice of the features. Since it cannot be proven whether and what ideas about bodily conduct directly influenced the physiognomy of the statues, we must give priority to the artist's own inventive and aesthetic judgement and allow the possibility that accomplished artworks could have influenced the standards present in the writings on bodily aesthetics.[34] After all, these high-quality works were being produced alongside, not after, the writings on bodily conduct. The faces of Christ were made symmetrical or dynamic because such designs fitted the artist's idea, not because an aesthete stood by, dictating the width of the nose and spacing of the eyes. The implied strength and charisma of the Saviour could have been as much, or more, a product of his monumental context and material, as the particular vision of the artist for his figure.

THE SINNER AND THE SERPENT: THE MORNING AFTER THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT

The discussion of the sculpted physiognomies now enters more ambiguous territory, discussing the bodies that stand somewhere in between the sacred and profane, the

33 Elsner 2007, 208-9, 218: '…one wonders whether the taxonomy of parts of the body adduced most susceptible to physiognomic interpretation does not owe something to the taxonomy of parts selected for sculptural display by Roman portraiture.'

34 See Introduction for an overview of the important texts and rules of aesthetics.

spiritual and the physical, good and evil – those tragic figures called humans, imaged in their earthly or eternal struggle. The details of their carved bodies hint at or shout about their current state, reminding the viewer of the deeds that led them to it. The three-dimensional form entering the space of the viewer interacts and challenges, acting like a mirror in which the living body can find pieces of itself incorporated into the petrified countenances and morphologies.

The woman with serpents

The image of a sinful woman, the abomination of femininity, being punished in the most demeaning way possible by having her genitals attacked by serpents and toads was a rather short-lived, if intense premonitory image.[35] Originating iconographically from the antique image of Terra, and already sexualized in the fourth-century text of the *Vision of St Paul*, she did not gain prominence in architectural sculpture before the twelfth century.[36] The image had virtually disappeared by the following century when, I will suggest, the *femme-aux-serpents* transformed into Satan himself.

While the meaning of the woman with serpents remains open to question, it is evident the image played on the fear of the violation of the body.[37] The various takes on the figure played on bodily corruption as a result of torture, sometimes aided by natural processes of decomposition, as in the early and striking example at Moissac, where the tortured body also displays signs of post-mortem corruption. Although twelfth-century theologians had no coherent doctrine about what happened to the body after death,[38] the body was decidedly a cherished possession, in physical and theological terms. The body

35 See Mâle 1978, 375-6; Katzenellenbogen 1964a, 58-59; Fishhof 2013, 99-108; Casagrande and Vecchio 2000, 149-80. For Moissac carvings, see Schapiro 1977 (1931), 200-264, Forsyth 2002 (with bibliography) and, most recently, Dale 2010, 65-76. For the date of the porch, see Forsyth 2010.

36 Jerman and Weir 2013, 63; Fishhof 2013, 103; Luyster 2001, 174ff.

37 Jerman and Weir 2013, 58-79; See Luyster 2001 for alternative or additional interpretations linked with fertility and motherhood.

38 For this see Le Goff 1984, 130. For overview, see Bradley 2008, esp. chapters two and three.

was necessary for the preservation of identity after death, and thus necessary to achieve salvation. For Bernard of Clairvaux the flesh was in conversation with the spirit.[39] The body could aid the spirit in achieving salvation or help it earn damnation – the responsibility was shared as both were rewarded or punished together at the end of time.[40]

While in some depictions of the Last Judgement, particularly those under Byzantine influence, the body remains fragmented or is shown in the process of physical reassembling, artistic visions of the Apocalypse in the period under scrutiny presented a state of victory over physical fragmentation.[41] Bodies were shown complete, even if decayed. And so the sculptor at Moissac carved his sinful woman in one piece, but in the never-to-be completed process of mechanical and natural decomposition. She has regained her physicality at the Last Judgement, when 'God the artificer', to use the words of Hugh of St Victor, reassembled bodies like statues of malleable material.[42] In a contemporary metaphor, Peter Lombard compared the resurrected body to a statue going through a process of recasting, ridding it of corporeal deformities.[43] Centuries before that Augustine had claimed that the newly risen will regain their youth.[44] The woman of Moissac, newly risen at the time of Judgement, therefore having just regained her body in its perfection and its youth, is now shown withered away again, this time for eternity. The chisel chipped away at her body, made grooves on her chest, cut into her cheeks, until the sad effigy of sin remained at the mercy of the beholder's eye.

39 Bynum 2001, 129.
40 Because body and soul are guilty together so they must be judged together. See Gragnolati 2000, 86.
41 For context, see Bynum 1991, 280.
42 See Hugh of St Victor, De Sacramentis, II, 17 in Hugh of Saint-Victor 1951, 459-60.
43 Dale 2001, note 56.
44 See Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* XXII, 15, NPNF1, vol. 2, 495.

At Moissac, Luxuria is stark naked.[45] The lack of clothing allowed the surface of the body to communicate the figure's identity and state more directly. Nudity unmasks her corruption, the lack of material (and thus moral) substance; it reinforces clarity when it is most needed, in the case of the damned, who are standing bare as if in the spotlight exposed to scrutiny of the audiences.

Her physical corruption isolated her from and counterposed her to not only a holy body but any feminine body. The introduction to this thesis presented some evidence of contemporary enthusiastic appreciation of images of female nudes. In poems and writings, imagined or imaged in statuary, goddesses were praised for their flawless flesh and balanced forms.[46] The Moissac woman with serpents, and indeed her later counterparts, pervert and even mock the Floras and Venuses so admired by Master Gregorius and his fellow aesthetes. The twelfth-century relief (fig.110) can be seen as a perverted idea of Venus Pudica (fig.111). The gentle contrapposto stoop has changed into an agonized squat. The elaborate coiffured hairdo appears transformed into clumped free-flowing striated streaks of hair, themselves resembling snakes overtaking the body.[47] The rounded relaxed shoulders become tensed and thin, the smooth chest starts showing every imagined bone underneath, and the subtle curvature of the stomach and hips is simplified into vulgar

45 In contrast to her local counterpart drawn in the scriptorium about a century before. See BnF. lat.2077, fol.173. Illustrated in Dale 2001, 412. She is there shown as a stylish, seductive lady. However, several folios earlier (f.163v) the label Luxuria sits over two half-naked lovers. The representations were fluid already in the eleventh century. The seductive lady-Luxuria was sometimes shown with mirrors – see for example the stained glass window at Chartres, bar 30b, with the temptation of St Anthony.

46 See, for example Peter of Blois' poem about Flora, *Carmina Burana* 83, in Long 2012, 53-4. See ibid. for reception of antique Venus in the Middle Ages and the argument about the appreciation of eroticism of Venus. See also Schapiro 1977 (1947), 1-27.

47 In this form the uncovered, loose, sensuous hair is evidently demonic. Examples close to that but more ambiguous can be found in figures of Eve, like the Eve of Autun, discussed in chapter III. Hairstyles are variously interpreted by the artists in various media. There is no predominating preference for a hair type as denomination of moral character. In one sculpted composition, both good and evil figures may have striated hair. In manuscript illumination, striated spokes of hair embellished the devils in the Utrecht Psalter, while in the Winchester Psalter such a hairdo indicates goodness, while curls or forked hair are sported by less distinguished individuals. In the Carolingian Vivien bible, all, including God, sport long and sumptuous hair. On hairstyles in Winchester psalter, see Heslop 1990, 144.

swelling from the lines of joints. Finally, the elegant hands gesturing towards the round breasts and genitals are replaced with beasts, now taking care of those most strategic parts of the feminine body. The power over her physicality, so manifest in the goddess, was taken quite literally out of the hands of the sinner. Gentleness is replaced with violence, smoothness with harsh surfaces, roundness with angularity or exaggeration. The Moissac anti-Venus is an image of her newly acquired demonic aesthetic.

The breasts attacked by the snakes are the most important element of the narrative here, this is made very clear by the pose, exposing the chest frontally to the viewer. This action in the upper body represents the total loss of control of the woman's soul over her corporal vessel. This even takes on self-destructive connotations as she supports the serpents with her elbows. The same concept was repeated elsewhere more literally, as in the archivolts of the Portico de la Gloria where the woman holds the snakes to her breasts. More self-harming can be seen in the figure from Vézelay (fig.112), where the woman pulls on her stretched-down breast, or in the breast-stabbing figure painted at Tavant (fig.113). The harm or destruction of breasts may have been linked with the misuse of the female body for worldly pleasures, instead of rearing legitimate offspring.[48] With the exception of the rare scenes of breast-feeding (by Terra or Eve, or the mothers of St Nicholas and St Remi, or the Virgin), any action involving bared breasts was linked with sin and punishment.[49] Breasts pulled by oneself or a demonic agent become a burden on the body and soul of the woman; like the sacks of the miser often accompanying her, the tormented breasts of the woman symbolize the burden of sin.[50]

48 See Luyster 2001 for the argument about Luxuria as bad mother.

49 See Oakeshott 1959, plate 143, for examples of breastfeeding, and the influence of suckling Juno. Bernward's door depicts breastfeeding Eve with her breast quite stretched. The tympanum of the Calixtus portal at Reims shows the breastfeeding of the baby St Remi, the scene is also shown on earlier stained glass from Chartres. The medium affected the rendering of Celine's breast, which was concealed in the sculpted version.

50 They are paired, for example, at Beaulieu.

The woman with serpents looks down and sees what she has become, a decomposing, disintegrating mass of flesh, an embodiment of macabre ugliness, a fearful image in demonic guise. The demon is turned sideways, preoccupied with the victim. But the woman faces the viewer, in a dramatically stiffened pose pushing the tormented breasts forwards, displaying the body lapsed into disfigurement at the doing of the unruly soul. Her proximity to the viewer, her almost life-size scale, and the accessibility of her three-dimensional forms, projecting body parts and tangible surfaces, all enforce comparison with the living body of the viewer. A beholder of average height, when standing in front of the woman, has their face directly in front of the exposed chest, and the bowed head of the woman looks down at them. The viewer sees an option for themselves, their features copied into stone and updated accordingly. The relatable object – the human body – was used as an example.[51] The indents and grooves on the surface show degeneration as if the body was collapsing inwards, about to expose the rotting core. The rotting of the body is not shown, but it is implied and taken further by the mind's eye of the viewer, which 'dresses' the negative protagonists with the layers of rotting flesh. Aymery Picaud seeing, or rather imagining, the rot on the skull in the lap of the woman at Santiago de Compostela is an excellent example of how viewers were able to build on the hints from the images.[52]

The damage to the body, both the intentional wounds applied by the sculptor and the damage inflicted by vandalism (especially the vandalism done to her breasts), denies, and at the same time affirms, her sexuality. Later, eroticism of the human body would be mocked by demons, who, displaying the offending body parts, deformed breasts, and genitals, hijack the human body by acquiring its ugly or putrefied characteristics.[53] The

51 The Introduction discusses the body as an object relatable to viewers.

52 See Picaud 1993, 124-25. On the woman with the skull, see Rückert 2012, 129-46.

53 In sculpture this trait became ubiquitous in thirteenth-century compositions on portals. On the anti-eroticism of demons, see Ambrose 2013, 56. On eroticism of the body of Christ, see Bynum 1986, where she argues for the addition of female attributes to the body of Christ.

infernal embodiments of the devils had to do with their lacking their own corporal form. The physical substance of the human body and demonic bodies made of hot air were contrasted early by Augustine.[54] In order to enliven the vision of hell, the evil spirits were materialised by the artists, given bodies and planted in the midst of hell to perform tasks. While the angels remained suspended between the worlds, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the corporeality given to the demons made them into labourers. But their bodies are not wholesome or sturdy, they are marked by the chisel to show details exposing the weakness and provisionality of their bodies that were there purely to fulfil tasks of punishment. The transitory bodies of demons and sinners reminded the viewers of the impermanence of their own living bodies.

The introduction to this thesis briefly discussed the concept of envy of supernatural beings, their envy of the human body. Bernard of Clairvaux spoke of the jealousy of both good and bad spirits over human bodies, and the desire of the spirits to possess corporal life and bodily senses.[55] As the corruption of the body of the fallen woman is a sign of demonic possession, it can be argued that such images represent the fulfilment of the envy the spirits held for the physical body of humans – the body becomes possessed, conquered, or at least destroyed, so there is nothing to envy any more. In the images of punishments, the physiognomies of sinners and demons gradually merge into one. As we will see in more detail in the following chapters, other occurrences of depicted interaction between the human body and Satan prompted more formal relationships. The next chapter will show how in early depictions of the Fall Eve's body echoes the sinuous movement of the serpent. The established connections between the female body and the beast prompted further artistic explorations of the demonic body. In the thirteenth century the sinful female and the demon merged and employed a hybrid body for the satanic act of temptation. On the trumeau of Notre-Dame, Paris (fig.114), the serpent has turned into an

54 Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XXI, 10, NPNF1, vol. 2, 461-62.
55 Dale 2001, 427 and his note 175; Jaeger 2011, 270.

alluring woman, with a round, smooth face and neck, flowing hair and shapely breasts. The serpent's tail is hidden amongst the trees, the beastly corruption deceivingly affecting only the hidden part of the body. This merging of the woman and the serpent had its ancestor in the images of the ancient hybrids of a woman and a bird, a fish, or a serpent.[56] Gislebertus carved such a siren at Autun, and the variously conceived hybrids were very common in monumental sculpture prior to the thirteenth century.[57] Their upper bodies have strikingly agreeable features, but these are attached to a beastly tail. [58]

Could the iconographic merging of the physiognomies of these two morally problematic and ambiguous entities – the woman and the devil – be the reason for the disappearance of the woman with the serpents from the thirteenth century onwards? Perhaps the audiences now received the woman and the serpent merged together, 'upgraded' from an exposed victim to a deceitful adversary.[59] Being likely the continuation of Roman Voluptas, the woman with the serpents could have been a transitional form that later merged into a form of the Deceiver, later examples of which include the Frau Welt or, in the male version, the Strasbourg tempter (fig.4). Again, the demonic envy for the body could have been partially fulfilled in such images, where Satan temporarily possessed a human body, all the better to lead other bodies towards his own corruption.

UPDATING THE GODS OF OLD – THE CASE OF ADAM AND THE VIRGIN

In the case of demonic agents, like the Strasbourg tempter, the rotten core always surfaced on the outside. This is not, however, the case with all sinners. The bodies of the first people and first sinners, Adam and Eve, are never represented as corrupt. Sins weigh them down,

56 On the overview of the corporal metamorphoses of female hybrids and a lady-faced serpent in literature, drama and art, see Kelly 1972.
57 Travis 2002.
58 Dale 2001, 419-420.
59 There may be links with Gen 3:15 'I will put enmities between thee and the woman, and thy seed and her seed: she shall crush thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for her heel'.

sometimes apparently literally, as the following chapter shows. The state is reversible, however, unlike that of the woman with serpents or the miser, who have been tried and sentenced at the Last Judgement.

God made Adam in his image and a thing so close to godliness must be beautiful. God's expectations towards moral conduct can be found in the Bible and were repeatedly discussed by various writers, sermons and manuals.[60] Late twelfth-century manuals instructed writers to follow conventions in devising, structuring and describing the outward appearance of the protagonists, to evoke more effectively their inner qualities.[61] The unity of soul and body discussed in the twelfth century continued The writings of Aristotle, who treated the psyche as a unifying principle of the body, like a mortar or outer form keeping things together,[62] were in the thirteenth century reasserted by Aquinas, who saw a man as a composite of form and matter, form being the soul and matter being the body.[63] However, according to Aquinas, the natural variations of the body did not have to affect, or indeed come from the essence.[64] And any error or sin, whether of mind or flesh, originated from the weakness of the operating system, the weakness planted in humans by God himself. This was free will.[65]

So what kind of moral vessel held the matter of the body of Adam, the first rebel and sinner? A mid-thirteenth-century free-standing statue (pl.4) will serve as a case study.[66] He is life-size, highly finished and detailed, and carved in the round from a fine block of Charenton limestone – in sum, not unlike many other sculptures of the Île-de-France of the period. But the default condition of Adam – his nudity, is what makes the formula of the

60 For the commentary of Bernard of Claivaux, see Jaeger 2011, 110-11.
61 Dale 2007, 105 and his notes 37, 38.
62 *De Anima*, see Boureau and Semple 1994, 13.
63 Boureau and Semple 1994, 13-14; Eco 1988, 64-121, esp. 83.
64 Boureau and Semple 1994, 10.
65 Ibid., 13. On free will see also Anselm 2008, 175-92.
66 For Adam, see Erlande-Brandenburg 1975, 81–90; Erlande-Brandenburg and Kimpel, 1978, 239. After their publications the statue became associated with the inner niche of the South transept (Little 2006, 56).

figure exceptional at such a scale.[67] His nakedness allows a glimpse of the kinds of bodies the sculptors imagined under the various draperies carved on the surface of their jamb statues.

Adam stands in contrapposto, with his head gently bowed at an angle parallel to the line of his legs. His shoulders are sloped, in the fashion of the contemporary Parisian statuary.[68] He is supported by branches reaching up, the leaves of which he presses to his groin. The elegant pose aside, what really strikes one about Adam is the detail of the surface of his body. The sculptor made Adam very lean so as to be able to subtly draw out bones, muscles and tendons over which the skin is stretched (fig.115,116). Bones are not exaggerated, or muscles much developed, but much morphology is inventoried, poking through the taut skin articulated by the smooth surface of stone. Thorax and ribcage dominate the rhythm of the chest, only slightly interrupted by gently rounded pectoral muscles and nipples. The surface drops at the line of the transition from ribs to slightly suggested abdominal muscles which continue down to a crease over the navel, to drop again into the crease leading from groin to hip. The back is similarly detailed as the spine is flanked with the horizontal delineation of ribs (fig.117). Along with the subtly outlined muscles of the limbs, the treatment of the morphology of Adam's body is detailed very gently, appearing almost fragile.

This approach to Adam's body accords with one that surfaced in the thirteenth century, in which the form and surface detail of the body were more purposefully chosen, instead of relying on a selection of the bumps and grooves to mark the features of the nude body. Example of such rustic treatment can be found at Clermont-Ferrand. The capital depicting the Fall (fig.118), discussed in terms of the bodily behaviour of the protagonists in the following chapter, displays a treatment of bodily surface that was quite emblematic of

67 For the implications of Adam and Eve’s nudity, see Seidel 2012.

68 See, for example the 'melancholic Apostle' from St Chapelle, Paris. Sloping shoulders occur also at Reims and elsewhere.

the twelfth century.[69] The naked body shows the curves of the form, while the body's surface displays scratched-on morphological features. In a way the chest of the Romanesque Adam is articulated similarly to that of his later counterpart, with visible ribs, extremities of ribcage, thorax and drawn abdominal folds, but these features are inscribed on the surface, rather than subtly worked into the substance. The scale of the figure plays its role of course, the figure measuring 65cm and located on a capital, as opposed to the nearly-two-metre Adam of Notre-Dame.[70] The features had to be inscribed to be visible on a capital placed high up. But this points towards the twelfth-century preference for summarising the bodily features, or simplifying them, rather than applying a selection as later sculptors more often did. Such selection was done on a life-size jamb statue Adam from Bamberg (fig.119) where the sculptor had the space to apply any and every detail he might desire, but, rather, went with simplicity of form and surface. The sculptor of Adam of Notre-Dame shared this approach evident on other nude figures on the portals of the first half of the century, one that cut down on the surface detailing and tool-marks, in order to allow the volume to speak for itself. The sculptor selected the features and their forms to preserve the uniformity of the surface; nothing stands out of balance among the subtle detailing.

Early signs of such an approach can be found on the Portico de la Gloria, where, as we have seen in the previous section, Master Mateo preferred a selection of subtle details in all human and divine bodies regardless of the scale. The human souls, elect or damned, are like miniature and nude versions of the angels, with only the heads enlarged for the better display of the physiognomy of the face, a trait that would continue into the thirteenth century. The details of anatomy are selected and worked in form rather than surface (that is they are shaped rather than inscribed). Larger figures were given still selective but finer physiognomic features.

69 Świechowski 1973, plates 102-107.
70 Dimensions from Salvini 1970, 327.

To list one more example, one closer in date to Notre-Dame Adam, the Reims portals display nudes parading with selective anatomical detail. On the Judgement portal of the north transept, there is a bold scene (fig.120) of nudes grouped above the queue of the damned: two nude women and a man displaying himself – among others. They have lost their graves and lost their clothes – the emptiness of the scene is striking – the eye has full access to the displayed, pathetic bodies whose naked angularity contrasts with the clothed 'wholesomeness' of the elect figures opposite. The damaged scene still allows us to assess the level of anatomical detail and this varied from figure to figure; genitals, pectoral muscles, pot-bellies and breasts were shown in some and omitted in others. This sculptor made a different selection from the sculptors of the Amiens Last Judgement, where some physiologically rather detailed nudes display genitals and sagging breasts (fig.121).

The physiognomic catwalk of the thirteenth century varied depending on the preference of the sculptor, not so much on the material. That the block did not limit the sculptor does not mean it was unimportant. The carver of Notre-Dame made a choice to treat the large, fine block of limestone with caution to extract the features in a way that would let the quality of the stone speak for itself. And the large nude surface of the body, for once not covered with complex drapery, was an opportunity not to be missed. He did to the entire surface of Adam's body what the Reims carver did to the face of the Beau Dieu some decades earlier – softly modelled the forms into smooth rounded surfaces to allow the play of light. The forms served his purpose of depicting a body neither weak nor strong, but ambivalent, one matching the identity of Adam – the first among many. He is no hero of old, and does not compare well with the strong bodies commemorating gods and heroes of antiquity. Comparing Adam to a typical example of antique statuary, the Apollo Belvedere (fig.122), strikes with a symphony of morphological, proportional, and behavioural differences. While the head to body ratio in both statues varies around 1:7, other ratios diverge – notably the short trunk of Adam perched on tall legs, as opposed to a

more offset composition on the part of Apollo. The maker of Adam rejected also the firmness and smoothness of the skin stretched over developed and flexed muscles, the erect stance with square shoulders, the raised head, and the arms employed in action. All that Adam shares with the ancient hero is the contrapposto stance, but the stance in this case serves not as a display of charismatic strength and beauty, but instead aids the public display of an ordinary human body.

While the figure of Christ could be made to flex muscles in a display and performance of almightiness, Adam as only the first among the humans had a rather different role to play. He was there to act as a receptacle for the beholder's identity, much like the body of the tortured sinner in the example that introduced this thesis. Adam stood there as every man, every male viewer that is, to remind them that his body is their body, that they all share one fate. The body of a hero would have been useless for the anticipated rhetorical function of Adam. Who could relate to such a body? No townsman, merchant, no wealthy burgess, not even a labourer could sport the athletic body and heroic bearing of Apollo. Hero's features were irrelevant to medieval Parisian church audiences. Adam was an average man – thin, slightly bowed, even casual – his body, bearing and mien spoke to those looking at him, resonated with their sensibilities and sensitivities. They spoke of the miracle and complexity of creation, the grace of the body created in the image of God, at the same time reminding the beholder of the fragility of human existence and happiness. The substance and surface of Adam's body were made by the sculptor to relay the corporate message, but enabled to speak for themselves, and his reverence for them and empowerment of them is the key to the hypnotic appeal of Adam. It is not the antique musculature or proportion that makes him special. It is the carver's attention to the subtleties of the outer shell of his body that had the power to reveal what is inside. With this subtle reverence for the workmanship, Adam may compete with even the best antique marbles.

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In the poetry manual written in early thirteenth century, Geoffrey of Vinsauf used a rhetorical description of female beauty as an exercise in amplification of poetic form.[71] He described his imagined model's beauty as the making of 'Nature, so potent a sculptor'.[72] While his poetic elucidation leans toward the common general affirmation of beauty as being generally pleasing, with things shapely and of moderate size, he does provide some more specific detail that can be used for practical comparison with medieval statuary.[73] One of the most striking sculpted female forms of the thirteenth century is the Virgin of the Visitation at Reims (fig.123). She is one of the works of a sculptor whose aesthetic choices for the features of his statues earned him the name of the 'Antique Master'.[74] Some of the statue's features may indeed bring to mind the countenances and forms of Greek goddesses.[75] The complex, broken-up folds of draperies highlighting the pregnant curves while revealing the slight suggestion of movement may also be inspired by Antique examples. As features reminiscent of those of ancient goddesses are revealed from the cocoon of heavy draperies; one begins to wonder what kind of body the statue would be given, if she was allowed, as Eve, to be shown in the nude. Indeed, the elegant contrapposto, her upright but relaxed bearing, her square shoulders and full, strong body suggested under the drapery bring her closer to Venus than a lean medieval maiden. The skinny Adam is worlds apart. While he sports curls and facial features fashionable in the statuary of contemporary workshops,[76] the Virgin was given features more reminiscent of antique busts. These are the massive, coiffured wavy hair and some parts of the face, particularly the lower half, with the full but horizontally narrow lips and the rounded chin.

71 Nims 1967, 36-38.
72 Lines 579-80.
73 The generalisations of beautiful features was commonly practised in rhetorical descriptions. See Introduction. See also Colby 1965, 25-72.
74 Sauerländer 2003, 19-37.
75 For comparisons, see Oakeshott 1959, plate 139; Panofsky and Saxl, 1933, 270-271; See also Kurmann 1987, 161ff.
76 Erlande-Brandenburg and Kimpel 1978, 81–90.

But the Virgin nevertheless remains a product of her time, and not a copy of an antique Venus (fig.124).[77] The proportioning of the face, with the higher forehead and shorter chin is medieval, and other details conform to thirteenth-century standards. The statue of the Virgin would be a potential inspiration for Geoffrey and his poetical exercises. Had he a chance, he would describe her rounded head as a sphere fashioned by Nature's compass.[78] This description does not find a reflection in surviving antique Venuses, and neither do the twin arches of the Virgin's high brows so applauded by Geoffrey.[79] Looking at the statue from his time he would admire the straight nose 'of moderate length', and the 'precious column' of her neck (this time the feature indeed inspired by Venuses and the likes).[80] What Geoffrey would not find is the waist 'so slim that a hand may encircle it' and certainly not the other parts that Geoffrey asks his readers to imagine for themselves.[81] The Virgin was given a body more heroic than that of a maiden, because she was no ordinary maiden. The statue's rhetorical function was the primary reason for the treatment so different to that of Adam. While he spoke to the masses of being like them, she was to embody female perfection and holiness. She was made beautiful as a contemporary woman should be, but also as strong and charismatic as a goddess – and this strength and beauty fused to represent her virtue and 'supernature'.

The intention to suggest the supernatural qualities of the Virgin may be confirmed by her resemblance to the angels on the chevet (fig.125), carved about two decades earlier. The analogy of facial proportions and features is striking. Aimed by the sculptor to be the most agreeable female countenance of Christian iconography, the face of the Virgin ends up a combination of lay and holy ideals, and to some extent pagan ones

77 It has been suggested that more contemporary images had an impact on the original features of the Virgin. Willibald Sauerländer has claimed that the Greek beauty of the Virgin derives from the Greek goddesses only indirectly, with influence taken from intermediary Christian works like the metalwork of upper Lotharingia. See Sauerländer 2003, 20ff.

78 Nims 1967, 36 line 563.

79 Ibid., lines 565-7.

80 Ibid., lines 567-9 and 580-1.

81 Ibid., lines 592-6.

too. But in this multi-faceted search for a desired ideal, it seems that it was less the individual sources, and more the overall results that were important to the sculptors, whether it was the sweet face of the Virgin, an ambivalent miracle of creation in the form of the naked Adam, or the rotting carcass of a sinful woman.

CONCLUSION: RHETORIC BEFORE AESTHETIC

As we have seen in the introduction to this thesis, as well as in the above example of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's description of beautiful woman, maintaining measure was one of the principal concerns of the theorists of aesthetics in the period. Physical descriptions of worthy people tended often to be limited to general praise of their looks that were 'neither . . . nor', and communicating a general relish with their beauty or grandeur. The unworthy were accused of having too much here, too little there. Accordingly, the praise of the works of art also focused on broad impressions. What writers dwelt on were not the details of the locks of hair, or the size of the pupils or chin, or even the correctness of proportion, but the appeal of the shapes, surfaces, colour, and the effects of light and shade.[82] The impressions of the features communicated to the reader were an interpretation of the forms resulting from the unmentioned and perhaps even unconscious process of visual analysis. The process of reaching conclusions about the quality of the features was skipped, and the ideas about the character of the figures brought forward. The nuances of the making of rhetoric remained elusive in the face of the outcome of the mission to make visible what is invisible. This task of making form speak stood at the core of experimentation with ideal beauty and ideal ugliness, and this, evidently, meant something a little different for each chisel at work.

82 Recall, for example, Hildebert of Lavardin praising the general shapes of the statues of the gods, Aymery Picaud stricken by the brightness of the countenances of the portal sculptures, or, in poetry, Peter of Blois, Carmina Burana 83, in Long 2012, 53-4.

The above discussion of the making of the aesthetics of the sculpted body revolved around the notions of familiarity and distancing in the service of rhetoric. The discussion was opened by an assessment of the aesthetics of opposition between the divine and demonic bodies. We have seen the dynamic relationship between the bodies of Christ and demons as their physiognomies were based primarily on contrast relaying information to the viewer. Where Christ is athletic, as at Conques, Satan is withered and sinewy; where demons are muscular, as at Compostela, Christ shows only hints of muscles. If the bodily structures are similar, as at Autun, the sculptor made sure to envelop Christ in heavy, flowing draperies, functioning to provide a substance that the figure would otherwise lack. The aim of the contrasting of physiognomies was to signify the good and the bad, to instruct the viewer about the desired moral (and corporeal) models.

A more nuanced corporal relationship was shown in the case study of the woman with serpents and the demon. The aesthetically intimate relationship of the two bodies, with the sinner identifiable as human but displaying characteristics associated with the agents of evil, opens up a vortex of ambiguity to which the viewers are sucked in, as they ponder about the moral and corporal associations of the bodies in front of them as meanings (or consequences) for themselves. The unsettling narrative element, the '*Laocoön* effect' of the body struggling against physical violation, is outstretched before viewers of the tormented sinners at Moissac, the Portico de la Gloria, and elsewhere, adding pathognomic twist to physiognomy.

A less ambiguous connection was established between the viewer and the body of the Parisian statue of Adam – the most attractive of sinners. The appeal was partly amassed through the bared undamaged and unmarked body, and the close to ordinary physique. Displaying the body of an average creature in God's image, albeit one who has lost his way, he resonated with other living creatures – the viewers – who wanted to appear godly, and who had perhaps similarly lost their way. The social dimension was

enforced by the rejection of the heroic physiques of ancient statuary, or the clothed upright bearing of contemporary saints, as the sculptors kept Adam within the bounds of an attainable model. And a model Adam was – sinful as his viewers, but nevertheless hopeful (in our eyes, at least) for salvation.

While Adam remained in the realm of the relatable and attainable, another human, the Virgin at Reims, was somewhat sanctified through her physical features. The strong body of an ancient goddess enveloped in the mass of rich draperies was mounted with a head that ticked the items on the lists of medieval aesthetes. In this supernatural aura of perfection, the expression of an otherworldly ideal comes before her pretty face. Expression in figurative sculpture was a factor that came before beauty and ugliness.

The fluidity of approaches to bodily aesthetic in the narrative compositions from across the period testifies to the prevalence of rhetoric over aesthetic. The petrified rhetoric of the combat of good with evil and sin dominated the aesthetic of architectural sculpture. Ruling over beauty and ugliness, bodily expression alienated the bad and familiarised the good; it made ordinary human bodies relatable and socially relevant or, in contrast, distanced the bodies of the holy. Expression is in symbiosis with empathy: the variously shaped, sized and positioned bodies played the role of cogs in the machinery of sculpted rhetoric – and empathy was the lubricator adding dynamism to its performance.

CHAPTER III

AND GOD SAW THAT THEY WERE NOT SO GOOD: BODY LANGUAGE IN THE SCULPTED SCENES OF THE FALL

'Then they shall both get up and stand before God, not, however, completely upright, but stooping a little because of the shame of their sin, and very sorrowful.'[1]

He was made first. Moulded from the slime of the earth, but in the image of God, he had the spirit of life, his soul that is, breathed into his face. He was then made a keeper of the paradise where he was given the freedom to eat from any tree but the tree of knowledge of good and evil. He was warned that he shall die if he disobeys. Then God decided to make a companion for him, so he put him into deep sleep and from a rib taken from his side, God created her. When the two were reunited He recognized the common origin and the union of their naked flesh (*et erunt duo in carne una; erant autem uterque nudi Adam scilicet et uxor eius et non erubescebant*; Gen 2:24-25).

This innate unity was soon to be demonstrated when the serpent then asked the woman why is it that they are not allowed to eat of every tree in paradise (Vulgate refers to both – *vobis*, Gen 3:1). She answered for both of them, and she communicated the consequences of eating of the Tree of Knowledge. She understood they were not to touch it, nor eat from it, at the punishment of death (*praecepit nobis Deus ne comederemus et ne tangeremus illud ne forte moriamur*; Gen 3:3). She was then assured by the serpent that they shall not die, but instead their eyes will be opened, and, like God, they will know good and evil. When she looked at the tree and found the sight of its fruits delightful, she plucked the fruit and ate. She then gave it to the man, and he ate too.

They immediately realised their nakedness and made clothes from leaves to cover their loins. Upon hearing the voice of God, they hid among the trees. Adam soon answered the

1 Didascalia to the scene of hiding in *Le Jeu d'Adam.* Axton and Stevens 1971, 27.

call and explained that he hid because he was ashamed of his nakedness. The union of their bodies was by then broken as each was questioned separately, and each answered God for themselves, Adam blaming Eve, Eve blaming the serpent. Each received separate punishment; for Eve it was her body to bring her suffering in childbirth. She was also to submit to Adam, who, having listened to his wife ate the forbidden fruit. As his punishment, all Adam's meals from then on were to be earned with physical hardship. God then clothed them with skins and sent them on their way out of paradise, placing cherubim with a flaming sword at the gates, to guard the tree of life.

The above narrative, coming after the first, brief mention of the creation of man and woman (Gen 1:26-28) is focused around the bodies of Adam and Eve – their nakedness as well as their sensory experiences, which play a crucial part in the act of sin. Hearing, sight, touch and taste – the physical acts lead to sin, while there is no mention of any internal struggle. The corporally focused narrative communicates only the feelings of shame and fear. This proved enough to spark endless interpretations and reinterpretations on the part of writers and artists, who in their written or imaged essays represented their own take on the story. Texts or images not only related the sense of the story but added details forming characters, indicating guilt.

The varied attribution of guilt seems to have predominated in the writings; the two human protagonists, as well as the serpent, were interchangeably blamed. In Romans 5:14 St Paul wrote that 'death reigned from Adam unto Moses, even over them also who have not sinned after the similitude of the transgression of Adam, who is a figure of him who was to come'. By making Adam the focal sinner Paul highlighted his importance in the narrative of the ultimate salvation.

Choice was a noted component in the process. In his response to Manichaeans, St Augustine indicated that ill will is the source of sin and the rational beings who disobey God willingly risk losing beauty and bringing corruption on themselves, 'firstly by sin and then by

punishment.'[2] Augustine did not comment on how the loss of beauty and the double corruption related to the union of the spirit and the body. The flesh was, according to the writings of Methodius, the agent placing men between good and evil. But this intermediary state gives the power to moderate one's behaviour, to choose or not to do evil.[3]

It was Eve who first made the bad decision and her act received the lion's share of the attention of the commentators. Ambrose argued that Eve redeemed herself through her confession, because 'That fault is pardonable which is followed by an admission of guilt.' By choosing to admit her disobedience Eve managed to retain virtue and proved herself worthy of pardon.[4] Ambrose took this sympathetic attitude further by considering Eve but a victim of Satan, who disguised himself to deceive: 'The serpent urged me,' she said. This seemed to God to be pardonable, inasmuch as He knew that the serpent found numerous ways to deceive people.'[5] The role of the senses in original sin was also acknowledged and made a female attribute, as 'the woman stands for our senses and the man, for our minds. Pleasure stirs the senses, which, in turn, have their effect on the mind. Pleasure, therefore, is the primary source of sin. For this reason, do not wonder at the fact that by God's judgement the serpent was first condemned, then the woman, and finally the man.[6] So pleasure (Satan) perceived by body (Eve) led mind (Adam) to sin.

Twelfth-century commentators continued to consider the participation of the protagonists in the narrative of original sin. In *De Sacramentis*, Hugh of St Victor asked himself directly: 'Which sinned more, Adam, or Eve?'[7] Citing the Book of Timothy, 2:14, 'But the Apostle says: The woman was seduced, not man', Hugh defends Adam, for he 'was not seduced; but the woman being seduced, was in the transgression.' He stated that Eve's desire and pride led her to sin. Meanwhile, Adam's fault lay not in pride and wish to equate with God, but simply in yielding to the woman, out of fear he may offend her. Adam, in Hugh's eyes,

2 Augustine, *De natura boni, contra manicheos* 7 and 28; NPNF1, vol.4, 352 and 357.
3 Methodius cited in Marina 1995, 10.
4 Saint Ambrose 1961, 349.
5 Ibid., 351.
6 Ibid., 351-2.
7 Book I, part 7, chapter 10, in Hugh of Saint-Victor 1951, 124-25.

appears to have sinned out of love. Finally though, Hugh saw the sin as reflecting on both, for different reasons and in different measure, but to a similar result.[8]

St Anselm, in chapter nine of 'On Virgin conception and original sin', addressed the issue of the blame that Adam gets even though Eve sinned first and then Adam sinned through her.[9] He explained that the frequent mentioning of Adam's sin is due to him being named as the principal part of the whole that the two were. Anselm himself admitted to doing this for practical reasons, and when a distinction was not necessary, conflating the two figures under the name of Adam (sin of Adam, ills of Adam etc.)[10] As Anselm discussed in his essay on free will, all parties of the narrative sinned 'willingly and without necessity'.[11]

The pendulum of blame swayed in the writings between the protagonists of the story, Adam, Eve and the serpent. This reflected the weight and complexity of the narrative for the understanding of the condition of humanity and its path to salvation. The subtle nuances were variously treated also in the artistic representations of the story, common as they were, being the effective and influential communicators of its messages. Through the composition of the bodies of protagonists the agency was variously indicated, the roles subtly or less subtly assigned. Postures of bodies, gestures and facial expressions were used to indicate activity or passivity, motivation, cause and effect, acts and feelings inscribed in the imaged human bodies. As in the writings, the artistic interpretation of the story led to the invention of psychological and physical behavioural themes, an addition of extra-biblical elements. Tracing these elements will help to establish the body language of the event and the changes to it applied through time.

In the following case studies, the story placed on a lintel is compared to the stories told on capitals and voussoirs, the various contexts disclosing the attitudes of the carvers to the monumental body as communicator. In the scenes discussed the common denominator is the use of a body as the still physiognomically perfect but pathognomically altered

8 Ibid.
9 Anselm, *Virgin Conception and Original Sin,* 2008, 368-9.
10 Ibid.
11 Anselm, *On free will,* 2008, 177.

communicator. Just as the articulation of such physical perfection and emotional tension varies from artists to artist, also the varying spatial context for this rhetorical exercise results in varying types of narration, in which some elements and aspects of the story are highlighted, while others are merged into each other or omitted altogether. Monoscenic narratives show a selected episode from the story, sometimes bringing in elements from other episodes. In this way, the monoscenic narrative may turn into a conflated one, where different parts of the story are merged into one image. The components of a synoptic narration remain within one scene, which uses the repetition of the same figure, engaged in different actions from the story. When space permitted, the artist choose to tell the story sequentially, presenting a selection of chronologically ordered scenes, for example from creation to expulsion or labours of Adam and Eve.

The selected case studies demonstrate a range of approaches to the rhetoric of the sculpted body, as affected by the choice of the type of narration, the space for and location of the narrative, and the application of specially articulated forms. The modelling of the scenes and figures within them impacted the readings and responses of the viewers. The various takes on the story executed in stone are striking for their inventive variety, especially when they are compared with the same subject executed in other sculptural medium, like the sequential narrative of human origins on the bronze doors from Hildesheim. The comparison of the same figures executed using different sculptural techniques casts light on the processes of conception of the language of the sculpted body.

THE FALL ON A TYMPANUM AND LINTEL

Two scenes from the story of the Fall were selected for the tympanum at Anzy-le-Duc (fig.126), and carved into the inferior, right side of the tympanum. The imagery of the Fall was contrasted with the scene of the Adoration of the Magi in the left half, the two sides being divided by the Virgin's high architectural throne. The right side (fig.127) shows two consecutive

events, read from left to right, the sin and the immediate aftermath – the hiding. It was not the supposed limitation of space caused by the sloping sides of the half-lunette that affected the choice of the second scene. The particular choreography of the body language – the extreme proximity of the contracted bodies – is enforced mainly by the decision to add expanded foliage around them. The versatile and plastic foliate motif, instead of being a space-filler or a reduced symbol, at Anzy plays an important role in the communication of the story, organising space and influencing the articulation of the bodies of Adam and Eve. The elaborate architectural members of the neighbouring scene are replaced by the sumptuous articulation of a garden setting; the decorated canopy over the Virgin is opposed by the foliate forms in the upper parts of the right half-lunette; the columns of the Virgin's space mirrored by trunks of the trees of paradise. The dialogue between the two parts only begins on the formal level and soon reaches the deeper layers of meaning. The conversing columns and tree trunks highlight the relationship of Eve and the Virgin, Adam accepting the apple is put in conversation with the Christ child accepting gift from the king.

The figure of Adam aligns with the back of Mary's throne, the back is straight, neck slightly bent and the right leg thrust forward. He is not bending or stooping (yet), only just caught in the moment of realising his sin, which is indicated by his gesture of clutching his throat. While the right hand grabs the throat, his left is shown accepting the fruit from Eve – the two gestures referring to two moments in the narrative that the sculptor decided to combine in one figure. The articulation of Eve's body is affected by her multitasking. Her legs are shown in profile in a straddle position, her right leg by the serpent's tree and the left (now broken off) taking a long step forward towards Adam. Her pelvis still in profile, she is twisted at her middle, and shown turning back towards the serpent. The upper body is thus shown face on, with the head twisting back to follow the movement of the left hand obtaining the fruit, while the right hand already presents it to Adam.

The positioning and articulation of Eve's body makes her an active agent of sin, and the channel of communication between the forces of nature (the tree and the animal) and her

human companion. Adam is shown in a passive guise, more like a victim who is already shown in a state of anguish. Meanwhile, Eve is still twisting and turning, busy with her multitasking. The lines of movement of her body more closely resembling the twisting foliage or the serpent than the posture of Adam, she represents the metaphysical and formal transition from proud to humiliated humanity, that is then expanded upon in the later events of the narrative of the Fall.

The bodies of the hiding Adam and Eve do not simply echo natural forms, they seem to become the foliage that hides their bodies (also in a practical sense, as the body parts under the foliage are never executed, the foliage literally replaces the body). And yet, as the viewer discerns the two faces clutched in expressions of horror, there appears to be enough human agency to arouse familiar feelings with the use of familiar signs in the service of, as the twelfth-century play based on the story of the Fall has it, the simulation 'of the greatest possible grief'.[12] While in the earlier scene Eve was the active agent, in grief they are united as the mirrored poses and gestures show them equally distraught, looking at each other, united physically and psychologically through the feelings of fear and shame. The rhetoric of the bodies of the figures in the scenes of the Fall takes the viewer through important moments of the story, communicating not only the acts and facts, but also the feelings accompanying the figures at different stages of the story, and then leaving the viewers in this expressive suspense.

On the lintel of the nearby Neuilly-en-Donjon (fig.128), the story of the Fall received a more succinct treatment, as a single scene was shown, as at Anzy-le-Duc, to contribute to the larger programme of the portal.[13] The Adoration of the Magi and Mary Magdalen washing Christ's feet were contrasted with the key moment of the story of the Fall, the exchange and consumption of the forbidden fruit. Adam and Eve (fig.129) are shown standing in close proximity between two trees of paradise. As at Anzy, Adam is shown as the more passive character, his legs close together and his back straight and even leaning slightly to the right

12 Axton and Stevens 1971, 24.
13 Cook 1978, 333-45.

away from Eve. He repeats the gestures of one hand on his throat and the other still reaching for the fruit. Eve is this time fully turned towards Adam, striding and leaning towards him while she lays the apple in his palm. Her right hand is shown picking the fruit under the supervision of the serpent entwined in the Tree of Knowledge. The serpent's head is placed near Eve's and the open mouth of the serpent could show either a demonic grin or imply communication between the two.

The composition of two trees and three figures is enriched by the details of the body language, so that one supposedly simple image can relate several moments from the story - the temptation, the consumption, the realisation of sin - at the same time retaining clarity of communication. Eve is again shown as the main perpetrator. This time, however, her body does not echo the natural forms around her in such a clear way. The winding trees stand out from the background and provide a decorative frame but the undercutting also serves to highlight the lushness of the numerous fruit hanging off the branches. The full forms of the apples remind the viewer why Eve committed the sin in the first place – as she was struck by the pleasant sight of the forbidden fruit. The viewers realise what feelings could have been associated with the first sin, as they look on the desirable rounded forms carved. The protagonist's desire for the forbidden fruit, for wanting to touch and taste it, could have been linked with the sin of gluttony, or greed more generally. The possible punishment of gluttony, as well as pride, in the capital adjacent to this end of the lintel could be a direct comment on the scene of the Fall.[14]

The architectural context of the scenes at Anzy-le-Duc and Neuilly-en-Donjon did not affect the articulation of the bodies in any significant way. The figures there are puppets suspended in the theatre of foliage. The space on the flat surfaces allocated to the scenes was distributed between the figures and plants, and the plasticity of one element responded to plasticity of the other. The artists kept the simplicity of design of the body language; the postures and gestures are clear and emphatic, with each body part used to communicate part

14 For commentaries about vices leading Adam to sin, see Casagrande and Vecchio 2000, 125-148; Miller 1997, 94.

of the story. Eve's corporal initiative places her at the forefront of the event and makes her into the one responsible. She is still shown sinning and conversing with the demon, while Adam, although still reaching for the fruit, is as if a conceptual step ahead of her, showing the gesture of grief much sooner.

THE FALL ON A CAPITAL

Other physical contexts for sculpture provided the artists with more opportunities and issues to consider when constructing narration. For some decades, particularly in the early twelfth century, carved capitals remained a stronghold of monumental figurative sculpture. As the heads of columns exploded with the wealth of organic forms, the bodies of the figures were formed according to the requirements of the format. The narrative was applied on a square or rectangular block that would have carried the load above (or participated in the mass of masonry in the case of engaged capitals), and its contents would have been usually viewed from below. The space was challenging, particularly for sustaining a narrative, and various forms of capitals provided diverse conditions for storytelling. The following discusses several capitals narrating the story of the Fall, assessing how the context of a capital affected the organisation of the narrative and the rhetoric of the bodies.

The three case studies provide us with some insight into the practical focus and motivation of the makers charged with the execution of a rhetorical image. As in the majority of this thesis, the following strives to remain within the pragmatic field of enquiry, concerned with the appropriation of material to context and rhetorical function. Depending on the amount and type of space available, the treatment of the same story on capitals varied greatly. The four sides of a detached capital, as the examples from St Pere de Rodes and Clermont-Ferrand show, provided more surface for the narrative but also imposed more interruptions, necessitating the division of the story into several episodes, impossible to see all at once. An engaged capital, as at Cluny, provided much less space, but depending on its depth and

desired shape (generally related to the profile of the pillar underneath), it proved effective in carrying visually compact scenes. The number of figures, and their activities, poses and gestures, were dependent on the planning within the space of a capital. As scenes were fused according to the dynamics of the story and space, the figures become rhetorical compendia, containing many meanings in the subtle details of their bodies. The viewers' perception of narrative amalgams differed from their perception of bodies in a flat narrative sequence. In sum, the material context affected not only the rhetorical clarity of the narrative, but also its evocative power built on the psychological weight of the figures.

Cluny

One of early examples showing quite a dramatic transformation of the bodies of Adam and Eve before and after the Sin is on a capital from Cluny (fig.130). It is carved with a continuous narrative of two scenes, the Original Sin and the hiding, located on the lateral faces of the engaged capital, so that the figures of Adam and Eve frame the narrative space. The middle face is occupied by God and the Serpent, distributed asymmetrically so that the figure of God is more central, while the tree of knowledge with the serpent twisting round it is expansively carved on the corner of the capital. The constraints of horizontal space may have had an impact on the figures on the right face; they are slender and tall and stand with their legs aligned and arms clasped to their bodies. The lack of physiognomic detail may have been influenced by the body language, as for example the breasts of Eve were perhaps omitted due to the particular positioning of her arms, carved attached to her chest, while the absence of genitals allowed a frontal pose. The twist of Adam's body not only hides his pelvic area but also contributes to the expressive display of the moment of his realisation of sin, when he begins to bend his knees and lean, as if caught in a panic reflex of cringing and cowering. This profile articulation of the legs adds dynamism to the lower body of Adam and contrasts him with the puppet-like, static lower body of Eve.

The hand gestures further contribute to the psychosomatic performance. While Adam and Eve's right hands still hold the forbidden fruit to their mouths, the left hands perform gestures expressing the realisation of their deed. Eve holds her (now partially damaged) hand to her cheek, her elbow bent at a sharp angle and drawn to her body - a gesture of helpless despair later to be viewed in the figures of damned women.[15] The extended thumb of Adam's hand placed on his chest indicates his aim for the throat, as in the reflex of expectoration.[16] Adam's psychological trauma leads to bodily reactions familiar to the viewer, and such references to physiological processes would have strengthened the impact of the scene.

The application of non-permanent changes to the bodies of Adam and Eve, instead of permanent physiognomic alterations, was in tune with the narrative of Genesis, in which God made man in his own image. As chapter two has shown, the artists carving the God-like bodies of Adam and Eve could not alter their beauty to communicate sin, as they did with other sinners. But bending and twisting of the bodies could communicate not only physiological trauma but also create a visually effective image. The bodies of Adam and Eve in the scene of hiding on the opposite face of the capital at Cluny are extremely entangled in the branches of a curling tree. To hide themselves from their approaching God, they clutch the branches and leaves, while the smooth surface of the trunks corresponds to the smooth surfaces of their limbs. This uniformity of surfaces is enforced by limited undercutting so that the bodies of Adam and Eve quite literally merge with the vegetation, with only their large evocative heads peering out to communicate the identity and state of the fallen humans.

The carver at Cluny used the three sides of the block available for carving to depict two scenes, and thus created two viewpoints, located at the corners of the three faces. The treatment of the pre- and postlapsarian bodies of Adam and Eve is strikingly different, with

15 See chapter two.

16 This goes against some other interpretations of the gesture, seen by some scholars as the hand firmly on the chest, in reference to the sign language of medieval monks. See Ambrose 2000, 112ff. For elaboration on that, linking the gesture with sin of gluttony, as well as with the sign language, see Ambrose 2006, 20-28.

more agency given to the nude bodies on display in the first scene. Eve's proximity to the serpent suggests her initiative in the face of evil but unlike the previous Eves, here she is shown fully aware of her deed. Adam also shows more initiative in the face of God, though hiding, he is facing forward towards the viewer, squatting in front of the squatting Eve. So just as the location of Eve in the right hand scene recalled her conversation with the serpent, so does Adam's peering posture look forward to his subsequent conversation with God. The spatial design and the distribution of bodies thus affect the desired interpretation of the narrative, as the carvers used the angles of the capital to indicate the temporal transitions between the consecutive events of the story. Elements of this style of storytelling are visible elsewhere in the corpus of capitals narrating the Fall.

Sant Pere de Rodes

The corners of the capital now at the Musee de Cluny, but possibly coming from the Catalonian monastery of Sant Pere de Rodes (fig.131), may have been used for a more subtle transition of meanings. The four sides of the free-standing capital allowed the artist to present the whole story in a sequence of independent scenes. The faces of the bell, carved out of a small square block of limestone, provide relatively little space for the scenes, especially given that the artist opted for large and bulky figures leaving no space for any decorative background or spatial divisions. There is, therefore, much physical contact between the figures, to the extent that figures from separate scenes stand closely back-to-back (fig.132). Despite the cramped space, the sculptor managed to include many details apparently unnecessary for this style of sequential narrative, as there was no need to conflate the scenes and meanings.

It is possible that the combination of the artist's approach to carving his figures and the constraints of space resulted in the intimate physical contact seen on the capital. For example in the scene of creation of Eve (fig.133), God pulls her out from the side of the sleeping Adam while tenderly touching her cheek. The choice of the scene of the creation of Eve to stand for the creation of both is in tune with the treatment of the next scene,

dominated by Eve. The figure of the sleeping Adam is connected with the next scene as his head and shoulder snugly fit under the curve of the buttocks and thigh of the figure of Eve from the scene of Temptation, perhaps signalling his submission to his wife in the latter episode. The newly-born Eve underwent a transformation in the scene of the original sin (fig.134), where her scale, physiognomy and body language make her into an authoritative figure. Standing on the opposite side of the tree to Adam, she is taller and more robust than him. But her agency and initiative are most remarkably marked by the couple's gestures. Eve's right hand extends a finger in a gesture of speech, as if she was ordering Adam to eat the fruit. The image perfectly illustrates Eve's words from the *Jeu d'Adam*: 'Come on, then! Bite![17] Meanwhile, Adam is shown with the fruit raised to his mouth, because he listened and did what she ordered ('I'll trust in you, you are my wife')[18]. But she may not only be shown as an agitator but also as a master of the evil that caused her to sin.[19] This could be suggested by Eve's strong grasp of the head of the serpent. In the face of his strong-willed wife, the already cowering Adam is busy eating the fruit with a baffled expression on his face. Adam's back is propped against the back of God in the next scene, of accusation and expulsion (fig.135). Here, the carver made his human figures shorter than God, keeping their body proportions unaltered. God's heavy cloak contrasts with the couple's naked bodies, flexed and huddled together. The exchange of blame takes place; as God's accusatory gesture points at Adam, the latter points over his shoulder at Eve, now clinging to his back with her hand against his shoulder. The forms lead the eye directly to the following scene, as on the corner of the capital the curve of Eve's hair, dropping to her shoulders, is opposed by the blade of the scythe of the labouring Adam in the final scene, where the couple stand facing each other with the tokens of their labour (fig.136). Here, the lack of a third party is made up for with the use of heavy clothing and the exchange of gestures, as the couple appear to hold on or point to each other's tools for labour. The body of Eve, clad in a long tunic as opposed to Adam's mid-calf length

17 Axton and Stevens 1971, 23.

18 Ibid., 24.

19 In this way, Eve becomes the temptress – the mistress of the reptilian beasts. See chapter two for argument about the transformation of the woman with serpents.

costume, occupies the corner against the body of God in the scene of Creation. The circle is closed.

The formal relationships of the figures meeting at the corners of the capital function differently from the fluidity-inducing use of corners at Cluny. The bulky figures from separate scenes crowd against each other, forced into proximity through distribution as well as their bulkiness which was not necessary on a relatively low-positioned cloister capital (see fig.131). Thinner figure would have been just as visible but they would need a higher degree of undercutting, which the carver may have wanted to avoid. With the present bodily parameters of the figures, their liminal relationships may have been intended or not, but nevertheless may have invited interpretations from beyond the strict narrative of the Bible, as when the viewers of the accessible capital attempted to read meaning into the proximity, gestures, and oppositions of the figures, making judgements of characters and intentions that the narrative did not present. Perhaps such potential readings were predicted by the artist and the possibility played upon. Note, for example, that the carver was not consistent about the sides on which Adam and Eve appear. On the face with the Sin Adam is on the right, his back to the back of God in the next scene. In the final scene of the labours, it is Eve who is on the right, propped against the back of God in the scene of Creation. Her coarsely-clad bulky and static body bears no comparison to the finely clad, softly delineated body of God. It is possible that these pairings were intentional attempts to highlight the contrast of Adam's upright body, on a par with that of God, and Eve's failure to retain physical godliness. Such readings, though conjectural, nevertheless show that the power of the sobriety of design paired with the imagination of the artist designing the bodies and their context, may account for limitless excursions into the higher level of interpretation. In this way, the bodies not only tell the story but perform a rich sign language, not only decipherable but flourishing upon closer looking and in(tro)spection.

Clermont-Ferrand

The final example of capital carving shows yet another way to design the narrative of the Fall. The carver of the chancel capitals at Notre-Dame-du-Port in Clermont-Ferrand had been much influenced by the carving at Conques.[20] Rotbertus, as he introduced himself on one of the capitals, successfully copied and even developed the Conques carver's approach to the distribution of figures on his historiated capitals. The method involved making use of the angles of the capitals to maximise the space and depth for the dynamic action of the important figures, who could be made larger without sacrificing the space on the flat faces. Placing important figures on the corners also ensured their visibility from various different angles. This is perhaps the closest the capital figure ever got to multidimensionality. Notable examples at Conques include the scenes of Annunciation (fig.137), with Mary and Gabriel positioned prominently on the corners of the double capital of the nave's tribunes; or, in a less conspicuous example, the famous capital on the pilaster of the nave, depicting the arrest of St Foy (fig.138), where two important figures, Foy and Dacian, are placed on the opposing corners of the engaged bell, projecting from its surface.

Among the narratives chosen for the Notre-Dame-du-Port chancel capitals is the story of the Fall. The narrative runs anti-clockwise from the northern face with the scene of the Original Sin, through to the eastern face, occupied by a cherub guarding the tree of life (fig.139). Rotbertus employed elements of panoptic narrative, where a single character serves the telling of multiple events. The sculptor made each of the two figures of Adam, prominently and expansively carved at the joints of the three faces, take part in two scenes: Adam on north-west corner in the scenes of sin and hiding (fig.140), Adam on south-west corner in the scenes of accusation and expulsion (fig.141,142). This adds qualities of immediacy, dynamism and fluidity of movement to the narrative, as Adam leads the eye of the viewer from scene to scene, so they may engage with multiple scenes and meanings at once. The north face displays the serpent in the sumptuous Tree and Eve standing with two plucked branches of what

20 See, for example, Porter 1966, Vol. I, 234-37. See also Baschet, Bonne, and Dittmar 2012, 88-89.

resembles a grapevine in both her hands. One hand feeds the serpent and the other, with an extremely elegant and expressive gesture, feeds Adam. As at Sant Pere de Rodes, Eve is given all the initiative and indeed power over the beast and her husband. Being placed on the corner, Adam, as if responding to the proximity of God in the centre of west face, grabs onto the branches to take cover. His right hand holds on to the shoulder of Eve, visually pulling her into the next scene, apparently to involve her in the hiding. The simultaneity of two events in one scene is also marked by the hidden genitals of the couple, although this could also be the result of the sculptor's departure from the narrative (i.e. altering the naked state of the still innocent couple) to suit his preferences for frontal figure representation.

The west side is dominated by the figure of God clad in sumptuous draperies. Holding Adam by the shoulder, God condemns him and places him into the custody of an angel on the next face. The following scene was masterfully designed to convey the drama of expulsion. The dynamic poses and gestures communicate the escalation of violence showing the angel dragging Adam out of paradise by his beard, while Adam drags Eve with him by her hair. From an active seductress Eve has fallen into submission, losing her status as Adam's equal and her upright stature, as she is now fallen and trampled by her husband. Her loss of seductive power is also communicated by the loss of the aggressive and bold detailing of Eve's bodily features and surfaces which were employed in the scene of temptation to sin. Her body became simplified and unengaging, as it is the violence of gestures that the viewers are intended to focus on.

Rotbertus used various methods of narration to involve the viewer. The physiognomy of the half-naked protagonists highlights their corporeal, human identity, at the same time identifying their characters. Eve's heavy breasts, large nipples and rounded belly, and the thrust of a round hip, prioritise her feminine flesh over her human soul, and thus represent her as the source of sin. Adam in the expulsion scene displays incised muscles and ribs, his human flesh and bone exposing his corporeal state and future physical hardship (also evoked by the violent gestures of the angel and Adam himself). The physiognomic realism involves the

viewer, who recognises the references to his or her own sinful corporeality. Physical contact, violence and tactile display are ways to interconnect the pathognomy and physiognomy of the figures, as well as to engage the viewer with an active display of bodies. The dynamic causal relationships and dialogues between the scenes further physically and mentally engage the viewers who move their eyes back and forth to discover and follow all the details of the story. Finally, the literate viewer is involved on yet another level. The sentencing God holds a book with an inscription inspired by Genesis 3:22 (et ait ecce Adam factus est quasi unus ex nobis sciens bonum et malum). The inscription reads: ECCE ADAM CASI UNUS EX VOBIS FAC, which can be translated as 'Behold, Adam has become as one of you'. On the west side of the capital, the one facing the congregation, the original 'nobis' was turned to 'vobis' to directly involve the audience, commenting on the changed status of Adam as a sinner like every one of them. Such details only contributed to the highly interactive style of narration adapted by Rotbertus, one that only partially relied on the imaginative treatment of physiognomy and expressiveness of the body. It was primarily Robertus' flexible use of the body within the space and form of a capital that allowed him to effectively use the limited space for narration. The plasticity of the human body, in this period on a level with the plasticity of the demonic body, was made use of, and indeed highly exploited, particularly within demanding spaces like capitals or corbels.

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Evidently the human body, like other organic forms, was at home on twelfth-century buildings. Demanding contexts like capitals were no exception. The examples analysed above show that the surfaces and shapes provided by the capital were approached imaginatively and flexibly by the carvers, making them a no less hospitable space for narration than any other. On the contrary, as the example of the Clermont-Ferrand capital shows, the nature of viewing of the different faces of the capital provided additional benefits and encouraged experimentation with the viewer's engagement. With the viewers in mind, formal devices for figurate narration were employed in consideration of the overall location (e.g. the height of the capital above the viewer) and the scale and conditions provided by the capital. The large figures of the

Annunciation from the tribunes at Conques were most probably devised in such a way as to be easily discernible from a distance. The angles of capitals were used in various ways, sometimes to make the figure more visible and/or to hover in the physical space of the viewers, sometimes to unite the scenes with a figure who would carry meanings with them on to the next face and scene, as at Clermont, and sometimes simply as a division between scenes, as at Sant Pere de Rodes.

Perhaps surprisingly, the above has shown that the scale of the figures is not much affected by the overall dimension of the bell's face – the relation fluctuates depending on personal preference of the artist regarding the number of figures, the amount of foliage and other elements to be included.

The physiognomy of the figures on historiated capitals was also primarily subjected to the narrative model and the artist's preferences and skills. The non-narrative capitals, with subjects such as allegories or monsters, provided more space for experimentation with physiognomy. A case in point are the double-bodied monsters, a perfect example of an ingenious use of the form of the capital to devise a space-fitting body.

Finally, the body language of the figures was in most cases the outcome of the scale of the figure in relation to the capital, and the layout of the figures, as well as the personal preferences and alterations resulting from improvised responses to material at the time of carving (what I call bench-perspective).[21] So the bending, squatting, arching and twisting had more to do with the requirements of the story and an aesthetic consideration of rhythm and lines, than with any lack of space. Some problems related to the need to represent a particular condition, like a squatting or horizontal position, were solved thanks to the almost limitless plasticity and versatility of bodies as tools for narration.

The above shows that the body in narration found a cosy dwelling on a capital. This allows one to rule out the possibility that it was any formal inconveniences of depicting the human body in such contexts that led to the death of historiated capital. The polygonal form of

21 This involves the immediate responses to the grain, faults in material etc.

narration of the capital sculpture was replaced in the second half of the twelfth century by long storytelling sweeps stretching across façades; perhaps to sustain the viewers' attention and comprehension in the expanding world of monumental imagery, the need developed for continuity, solidarity of scenes, a one-long-glance, or perspectival delivery of content. In any case, it was the changing preferences for viewing, not the shortcomings of the making process, which removed the figures from capitals, as many highly eloquent bodies, such as those discussed above, will testify. The polygonal block was not hostile to sculpted bodily rhetoric. In some ways, the legacy of the historiated capital was carried into the thirteenth century in the form of a narrative voussoir. Those ways circle around the sculpted body.

THE FALL ON A VOUSSOIR – THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The story of the Fall continued to be a staple narrative depicted in different spatial contexts in thirteenth-century churches. As the previous section focused on the narrative space provided by the historiated capital, ubiquitous in the twelfth century, the following engages with the narrative space that developed on a monumental scale in the following century, when the intricate stories began to spill out of the space of the tympanum. The nested archivolts, whose scale and shape demanded a multiplicity of blocks that each could be carved with single figures or entire scenes, became a versatile canvas for an ambitious, serial narration. The sheer size and number of archivolts provided plenty of space for narrative sculpture, and rectangular blocks carved vertically with the figures allowed for many stories to be told alongside each other. The linear order imposed on the scenes within the archivolt facilitated a continuation, a connection and smooth visual transition from scene to scene, body to body, and so on.

These new expanded rhetorical spaces gradually took over the role of the historiated capitals, to the point that by the thirteenth century the figurate capital vanished, to be replaced with more or less intricate foliate designs. The reasons for the transfer of narratives from the capitals to other monumental locations like voussoirs had little to do with the

supposed limitations placed upon the human figure in the context of a capital, as the previous section has shown that the sculptors managed perfectly well the dynamic interaction of the figure, the space and the demands of the narrative. As we will see below, the storytelling and the figural conception on the voussoirs faced no fewer issues related to the form and dimension of the blocks and the figures' allocation in space. It was perhaps more likely to have been a shifting of the scale of figurative and decorative sculpture that played a role in this disappearance of the human body from capitals. The example of the Royal Portal of Chartres shows a stage in the process, displaying a row of capitals partaking in a continuous narrative leading across the portals (fig.143).[22] The figures on the small bells have to share the space with the architectural elements serving as their canopies, and the entire design of the capitals seem to make way, in scalar terms at least, for the imposing imposts carved with intricate foliate designs of the kind which, with time, would displace the human figure entirely. Such foliage, especially when viewed at a height, gave an effect of filigree, fashionable in the late twelfth century, when miniscule detail increasingly flourished in illuminated manuscripts and metalwork. Thus, as with the dawn of ever larger portals new extensive spaces for narrative figuration appeared, spaces themselves conforming to filigree fashions due to their great density and variety of detail, the enlarged capital space was freed from the figure to the benefit of highly decorative foliate designs of the intertwining vines and acanthus branches and leaves.

The transfer of narratives from capitals had little to do with the issue of visibility either, as the significant heights of the new narrative spaces confirm. With the great heights of the portals came great capacity for sculpture. The new canvas for the narrative sculpture, due to its scale and the potential of the archivolt for the concentration of many stories in one visual field, drastically changed the conditions for viewing. In comparison to capital carving, the viewing of archivolt sculpture became less physically engaging, less somatic, as the viewers did not have to move their bodies around a pillar any more. To follow the dense portal narratives

22 For the Royal Portal, see, for example, Stoddard 1987.

required instead intense looking in order to follow the linear vertical directional patterns. The viewer was thus anchored in space by the wealth of diffused rhetoric, coming at him or her with less direct force than was often the case with twelfth-century portal sculpture. The large complex portals overwhelmed with the size and density of their rhetoric, not their piercing, 'flash' effects.

The stories, upon careful looking, were communicated via the bodies of the figures in the voussoirs. Although physiognomies had changed since the previous century and, as we have seen in chapter two, physiognomic polarisation emerged between the bodies on an opposite moral spectrum, the behaviour of the bodies did not display many innovations. If anything, just as physiognomies were, the pathognomies were given sharper, if more subtle, detail, but this had more to do with the general approach to form rather than any new rhetorical tools and methods. In the scenes of highest drama, the same ways of visual disruption of bodily forms through alteration of the lines of the figure continued throughout. In the process of conception of these pathognomic states, thirteenth-century artists remained as medium-reflexive as any before. Perhaps even, materials and body language were in a closer dialogue on a voussoir than they had been on a capital. The dynamics of the size and shape of the block, and the designed pathognomy of the body generally affected other aspects of the figures, like bodily proportion and scale.

Due to its particular shape, resulting from its submission to the demands of the overall form of the archivolt, the voussoir may constitute a more demanding space for narrative sculpture. However, with the increased scale and complexity of the thirteenth-century church portals, the variety of scale and form of voussoir blocks escalated. The great Gothic arches allowed for, and indeed necessitated, the use of large, elongated blocks of stone shaped to a minimal curve, quite distant from the wedge-shaped stones in the arches of the twelfth-century doorways. The sheer variety of forms and approaches to narrative series of voussoirs will be epitomised by the two case studies narrating the story of the Fall.

The first cycle comes from the archivolts in the central portal of the northern transept of Chartres cathedral (fig.144). The two outermost figured orders, prominently positioned and the largest on the whole transept, tell the story of Creation and the Fall. Each scene from the book of Genesis is distributed over two neighbouring voussoirs and the Fall occupies the area of the lower right archivolt. The second cycle comes from the soffit around the rose window of the north transept of Reims cathedral (fig.145). The original blocks of the left archivolt, now replaced by copies, are displayed at the former episcopal palace and thus can be examined in detail. Not distant chronologically nor geographically, the two renderings of the same story differ in many respects.[23] The different physical circumstances for the same narrative resulted in different approaches to the process of relieving the figures from the solid. In both cases, the blocks shaped to the exact form and dimension to conform to the archivolt structure had to accommodate dynamic rhetorical bodies. At Chartres foliage plays the formal role of supporting the figures within their space, so that more matter could be freed from the block. Some of the figures appear to be almost carved in the round, as do those at Reims, where particularly the upper parts of figures, like head and shoulders are freed from the block and buttressed with stone connectors.

At Chartres, the proximity of two orders of archivolts allowed the scenes to be split between two neighbouring blocks. The joints of the blocks of the inner and outer orders align, and, being on a smaller circumference, the inner blocks are slightly shorter. The inner order is perpendicular to the soffit of the arch, so the blocks could be worked on all three faces, allowing more space for development of the figures. The outer archivolt being nested, the square blocks were worked on two faces only. This resulted in different treatment of the figurative and decorative content of the two orders. As the inner voussoirs project in three directions, their busier imagery is distributed around the internal 'core' of the block, making the background appear convex, and only half of the depth of the block is carved into. As half of the diagonal depth of the outer voussoirs is wedged into the masonry, the sculptor had to

23 1220-30 for Chartres; 1235-40 for Reims. Sauerländer 1972, 435-6, 481-2; Branner 1961, 23–37; Katzenellenbogen 1964b, 54.

relieve the space with a deep cut that left the large figures projecting out of the concave background. At Reims also, the voussoirs are nested in at a diagonal, so the rectangular blocks were carved into likewise. The figures rise from the regular concave curve of the background (fig.146). The integral scenes (one per block) are oriented interchangeably either outwards or inwards, distributed around the diagonal dictated by the line of the projecting angle of the block, cut to accommodate the most projecting parts of the scene (fig.147).

The scene of the Original Sin is diametrically different in the two case studies. At Chartres, the voussoir housing Eve, the tree, and Satan in form of a dragon (fig.148), is shared between two scenes extended onto two outer voussoirs. The one above holds the figure of Adam pointing downwards at Eve. Adam's gesture turns the scene into the scene of discovery of his wife, the scene of a tragic union, the tragedy of which is hinted at by the gesture of Adam in the voussoir below. There, he displays the familiar gesture of clutching his throat, while his right hand, sadly broken off, may have held an apple, passed to him from Eve on the neighbouring voussoir. She is shown standing with her back to the tree and the Beast, not directly facing Adam, but instead looking out from the portal. She is carved as leaning on the moulding behind her, her body smaller than that of Adam nearby. The reduced scale of Eve has to do not only with the busyness of the block, but also with the reduced height of the narrative space in the inner voussoirs in general. The bases for the figures that double as the canopies over the scenes below are larger and more elaborate in the inner order of the voussoirs, which, in the remainder of the story, houses the sorry figures of Adam and Eve. Such is one of the ways the parameters of assisting (architectural or decorative) detail corresponds with, and affects, the body language depicted.

The scene of the Fall at Reims (fig.149) conflates several moments of the story. It shows Adam and Eve seated around the tree trunk positioned at the outer angle of the rectangular block. The figures are in close contact but do not exchange gazes. Eve is being tempted by the dragon sitting in the tree and holding an apple in its mouth. She copies this gesture, biting into the apple held in her right hand. With the other, now lost, she would have

been handing another piece to Adam. Not only the gestures but also the remaining body language shows that the act is still in process, and the protagonists have not yet realised the meaning of their deed. The limbs are still relaxed, backs straight, heads raised. The figures' seated pose allowed the sculptor to retain the desired relaxation of the body while increasing its scale for clarity. The block of large figures huddled together about a tree, with the Beast in between, creates a powerful and tense formal composition, detached from the curved background.

In the scene of hiding at Reims (fig.150) the pathognomy of the bodies in distress allowed the sculptor to make them even bigger. Adam and Eve are shown crouching behind a tree, their knees protruding as far as the block allows, their bodies clinging to each other not only due to the constraints of their physical space, but also in expression of their unity in shame and fear. Their backs remain straight, but their necks are bent. But the tension is most visible in the extremely bent limbs, as they appear to have given in to some physical force (the weight of sin?) deprecating the body. The reduction of the lower body in such a way allowed the enlargement of other features that communicated their sorry state; the heads are much larger in proportion to other parts of the body than was the case in the previous scene. The large heads sport dishevelled hair as a sign of distress, and mouth open in horror.

The same design solutions had been employed in the scene of hiding at Chartres (fig.151). Approached by the large, upright God carved on the outer voussoir, Adam and Eve squat together among some symbolically sparse tree branches, in front of a foliate background that fills the void left by the crouching poses. Eve stays in the shadow, dominated by Adam who appears graceful in the practicality of his pose: his head propped by the forearm resting in turn on a protruding knee – the design of the pose allowing the sculptor to undercut protruding body parts without a danger of breakage. As at Reims, the upper bodies and heads in particular are enlarged for clear display of expression.

The Chartres scenes belong to the area of the portal with elongated voussoirs, so the figures could be shown standing up without alteration of bodily proportion. The voussoirs

showing figures standing are also lower down, so the smaller heads would not here prevent viewers from seeing their facial expressions. The inclination of the bent heads of the figures, carved mostly in the round, helps further to facilitate clear communication of facial signs – an evidence of concern with the viewers and their ability to look upon the faces of protagonists, and to read and interpret their expressions. In the scene of condemnation (fig.152), the imposing figure of God takes over the outer voussoir, the block becoming an honorary niche, while Adam and Eve stand as tall as the block allows them to be. Adam faces God with half-upturned face, frowning and pursing his lips as he points at Eve standing behind him. Eve's head is dropped down to her chest as she exchanges gazes with the dragon, passing the blame onto it with her pointing finger (now lost). In the scene below, the two are being expelled by the angel with flaming sword, shown in the same manner as God above, the figure dominating the voussoir of the outer archivolt. The distribution and relationship of the bodies of Adam and Eve to each other and to the block are similar in the voussoir above, but the possibly different sculptor added some appropriate dynamism to the scene. The necks are bent as if following the direction of the legs, shown walking away from the angel. Eve stares ahead, as she does in the scene of Original Sin, while Adam looks back twisting his bent neck sideways. His dishevelled hair lines up with the top of the block he is carved on.

The relationship of scale and pose with the height of the block appears to have been much dictated by the amount of space left by the base-canopy carved at the bottom of every voussoir. The varying scale and form of the canopy, unconnected and unresponsive to the content of the voussoir in a figurative or formal sense, make one suppose that these elements could have been carved in advance of the narrative scene. The carving of the final voussoir in the cycle (fig.153), where a longer block was used, testifies to this order of execution. The decorative base of the squared fillet took up the extra length of the block, leaving as much space for the narrative scene as the total length of the other voussoirs, in which the narrative shared the space with the canopy. The sculptor thus extended the base of his narrative scene, conveniently the scene of the labours, so that the base resembles a layer of soil. Above that,

the sculptor had more space than he needed for the figures he wanted to show in a state far from upright. The alteration of scale adapted in other voussoirs would not have been suitable here, as an enlarged Adam and Eve, although filling up their vertical space, would have to be crammed together for the lack of horizontal space, thus restraining the dynamic pose of Adam. The sculptor thus chose to allow for the free space at the top of the block and left it blank in order to achieve a balanced and dynamic composition.

A simpler form of the Reims voussoirs, with equal size and no non-narrative additions, and, probably, shared workmanship, imposed a much stronger diktat of the block on the scale and bodily proportions of the figures. As all voussoirs share more or less the same dimension,[24] the artist adjusted the scale and proportion of the figures accordingly, depending on what configuration of figures, poses and gestures he wanted to achieve. So when figures stand, they are smaller and the relation of the head to body changes. As the same amount of space was available for each scene, it was the requirements of the narrative, or, rather, the preferences of the artist to depict a particular pose, that directly affected the final form of the figure. In the scene of expulsion (fig.154), the sculptor had as much space for the standing figures as was elsewhere given to seated or squatting ones. The bodies were thus significantly reduced in scale, so the limbs are shorter and thinner and the trunks less robust. Only the heads were left at almost the same scale as elsewhere, no doubt for retaining the visibility of facial expression. The faces are only gently distorted by emotion, mostly retaining a graceful look. Only Eve's mouth is slightly open and Adam's is downturned. Their legs take up relatively little space but their position clearly expresses the bodily deprecation. The treatment of the expelling angel is very revealing. All three figures reach almost the top of the block, with only Adam's head slightly lowered. The sculptor wanting to keep the angel’s proportions the same as the others’, but having to depict him completely upright, disguised the feet of the angel, so his height is

24 Height approx. 0.87m on the outer curve, 0.82 on the inner curve. Width approx. 0, 65m on the face, 0.52m on the soffit side. These are my own measurements taken of the original voussoirs now at Palais du Tau, Reims.

indiscernible. Such treatment of angelic figures came down to the thirteenth-century sculptors from the previous century (see chapter one).

The treatment of scale in the scene of Eve's creation (fig.155) further confirms that the scale of figures was entirely subjected to the design of the body language within the square block. The reclining figure of Adam, stretching at an angle of the front face of the block, is as big as the block and pose allow. Meanwhile, Eve, shown emerging from Adam's side, was carved on such a scale that she looks like a puppet, or a child. Though younger, Eve was not commonly shown as smaller and more child-like, she was instead born an adult and an equal of Adam, on many levels, including the scalar. The above example from Sant Pere de Rodes, or others including Master Wiligelmo's work from Modena, testify to such an approach. I would like to suggest, therefore, that the Reims artist's decision to make Eve so small results from practical considerations and concerns for visibility. Had Eve been carved on the same scale as Adam, the two figures would have had to be made smaller, and conjoined in such a way could have been less easily recognisable from below. Instead, a large Adam, and a small but perfectly formed Eve emerging from him, effectively deliver the content of the voussoir.

And finally, the scenes at the other end of the cycle, the labouring Adam and Eve (fig.146, 156), further confirm the sculptor’s flexible approach to bodily scale and proportions, always concerned to fit the desired poses and activities perfectly within the given space. The head and body of the seated Eve and the digging, and thus bowed, Adam are bigger than the head and the body of the figure in the following scene (fig.157), shown standing by an oak tree.[25] It appears that the artist’s priority was to make the most of the available space for the bodies. Once all the bodies that were meant for the scene were comfortably situated, he did not care for much unnecessary detail only to fill the space, as the scenes with digging Adam and spinning Eve show. The figures are significantly freed from the blocks and singled out against a stark empty background, this confirming that the body was the priority of the Reims artist.

25 The scene is part of the cycle of labours, following on from the story of the Fall.

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In his technical manual Theophilus does not go into detail about planning and designing the figures on stained glass panels, as is the case for figurative designs he mentions for other media. But he explicitly refers to the will and desire of the maker in the process of the conception of the piece: '…mark out the width you want and the workmanship you desire. This done, draw whatever figures you have chosen…'[26] But between the wish and the concept, the complex and to us elusive process occurred that resulted in the scenes on the coloured glass panels. While the processes of production were distinct for diverse media, some of the issues relating to the conception and distribution of figures in space were common concerns for any artist dealing with representations of the human body.

Both carved cycles depicting the Fall have their equivalents in stained glass in the very same church. At Chartres the sculptors would have known the typological window of the Good Samaritan (fig.158, 159), in the third bay of the south nave, installed no earlier than two decades before. This cycle appears to have been known to the Reims carvers as well, as some of the similarities of pose and attributes are repeated in their carving. The Reims carvers may have had an inspiration even closer to hand, as the themes of the Fall were included in the stained glass of the Rose window (fig.160) framed by the carved cycle of the same story. As the structures are contemporary, it is possible that the stonemasons and the glass makers worked at the same time and had access to each other's work. The similarities and differences in devising a rhetorical body shed light on various concerns of the artists working in different media.

At Chartres both the voussoir and the window scenes are at approximately the same height, just several meters above the viewer, who can relatively easily see the details, while at Reims both stories are at a much greater height. The formal strategy of stained glass is to use light as well as colour. Having that advantage over stone carving, the windows could display relatively small figures, such easily fitting within the fields provided by geometric design. This is

26 Theophilus Presbyter 1961, 48.

not to say that this was always the case, and sometimes the consistency of scale was abandoned in order to aid the light and colour, and so to add substance by bulking up the body. The Reims rosette demonstrates such an approach, where the glass-designers shared the principles of the stone carvers. Adam and Eve standing by the tree of knowledge are much smaller in scale than Adam and Eve sitting by the tree. This is particularly striking as the roundels are of identical size, and if the now seated figures stood up, they would be pushing against the edges of the structural tracery. This determined treatment of the scale of the figures with consideration of the relationship of the body language and the frame is very evident in the Reims voussoirs, and it may be significant that both cycles, designed in close physical and chronological proximity, share such treatment of the figure in the narrative space.

The comparison of some physiognomies highlights the different ways of dealing with the body in various dimensions. The designer of the spinning Eve from the window at Chartres, having line at his disposal rather than the volume of a stone block, wanting to highlight the breasts, and possibly to distinguish the figure further from that of Adam, drew them large and sagging. The sculptor of the stone block from Reims, who probably knew the Eve from Chartres, having a three-dimensional mass of stone at his disposal carved Eve's breasts small and round. It is feasible that the sagging breasts were the result of an artist's choice to draw breasts that leave no doubt as to what they are, rather than being a hint of Eve's moral standing.[27] This comparison highlights how important it is to consider the making and viewing conditions of a body executed in a given medium before one jumps to conclusions about the interpretation of the bodily features and language of the figures.

While the scale and proportions of the bodies at Chartres also subtly responded to their body language within the space, it was the particular movements and gestures that, adapted to three-dimensional medium, gained particular drama. The voussoir figure of Adam

27 For this, see chapter two. An analogous two-dimensional example of such treatment of Eve's physiognomy is the Genesis frontispiece from San Paolo Fuori le Mura Bible, fol. 8v. See also Bodleian MS Junius 11, for the strategic placement of nipples to give the appearance of full, hanging breasts of Eve. For the Fall in manuscript illumination, see Bradley 2008, esp. chapters two and three.

at the Fall holding on to his throat, is a mirror image of Adam from the central oculus of the story of the Fall told in the window of the nave. While Adam in the window gazes at his wife, the three-dimensional Adam is frozen in his dramatic pose, entering the physical space around the portal, staring out into it, challenging the viewer. The intimate contact between Adam and his wife, seen in the window, is broken. So is the contact between her and the dragon, who in the window takes form of a winged beast, possibly influencing the stone one. Instead they both stare out as Adam does, exhibiting their three-dimensional bodies to the viewer.

Both sculpted cycles, particularly when compared to the scenes in the stained-glass windows, show that the bodies as primary rhetorical vehicles were prioritised in limited space, pushing the additional narrative elements, like the foliage of the garden of Eden, to the margins, or eradicating them entirely. This shows the polarisation of such motifs as the human figure in the period was rarely shown entangled. The vegetation, just like other organic elements, such as the serpent, stopped playing practical functions (such as binding or assisting with physical punishments) and remained to serve a strictly narrative or decorative role. The human and the natural became separated in this period and the voussoirs, on which the carvers chose to subordinate the figures to the architectural canopies, show the divorce very evocatively.

Although less somatically engaging than capitals, the voussoirs were a particularly absorbing medium for telling stories. This is partly due to the multitude of variously treated bodies, which carried surprises without losing their transparency. The figures constituted particular storytelling communities, for which the spatial transitions and the freedom to spread over a specific area were important. As we have seen, not only the ways of expressing the meaning through bodies changed, but also the method of storytelling – adapting to various patterns of physical narration. This could have been continuous and linear, as at Reims, or composed of physically intersecting scenes positioned either next to, or at an angle from each other. Amazingly, the variety of approaches never seems to affect the rhetorical transparency, and this was also the case with the historiated capitals.

In sum, the physical nature and context of the voussoirs, providing the proximity of other similar blocks carved with scenes, allowed for a simpler form of narration, and the partial abandonment of the conflation of scenes and meanings. However, at the level of a single block, nothing has changed in terms of the dependence of the figure on its material context. Looking at the scenes of Original Sin and hiding at Chartres and Reims, one realizes how closely the scale of the figures and their pathognomy are determined by the scale of the block and the location of the voussoir on the portal. The carvers of Gothic voussoirs used the physical limitations as a design strategy, dictating the language of their figures. The outline and the volumetric frame of the block became the basis of the template for the rhetoric of the body.

MODELLING RHETORIC IN BERNWARD'S DOORS

The scenes of the Fall discussed above have demonstrated that the shared ideas and approaches of the artists were variously affected by the spatial contexts, materials and methods used. A brief overview of the same subject matter devised in yet another medium will bring some additional insights into the ways the production method and the material and spatial context affected the body language of the figures in the narrative. This example considerably pre-dates all previous case studies, but is so strikingly expressive, that many links can be drawn with various elements familiar from the twelfth- and thirteenth-century dramatic staging of the story.

The left leaf of the early eleventh-century bronze doors at Hildesheim features scenes from the book of Genesis (fig.161-164). Being the work of goldsmiths, the doors were devised using the sculptural technique opposite to the subtractive method of stone carving.[28] Based on the additive method of moulding the figures raised from the flat panels, the creation of the bodies was of a different nature, one more palpable, and direct. This physical and almost intimate nature of the process of articulation of the bodies is evident in their final appearance as well as their body language. While the metalworker had a greater control over his wax

28 On the technique of Bernward's metal production, see Drescher 1993, 337-51.

model than the stone carver would over his block of stone, control was to some extent lost during the process of casting. The designer had to make sure that all the void space in the mould would be filled with molten metal, so that no air would be trapped in the negative. Careful planning of the raised and liberated elements helped to reduce that risk; the sculptor avoided complicated undercutting, and made sure to leave thick channels connecting the projecting parts and the background, so as not to create potential traps for air. This allowed the designer to produce figures exceptionally liberated, sporting hanging heads raised from solid necks and shoulders, projecting limbs rising gradually and three-quarter views of trunks partially released from the background. Once cast, elements were resistant to breakage, and this characteristic encouraged the sculptors to create hanging heads in this medium well before this became a common feature of monumental stone sculpture.

The designer of the monumental cast sculptures on Bernward's doors may have looked to the forms of the hanging heads on crucifixes like the bronze Werden Cross.[29] The three-dimensional freedom of the human form was rarely but powerfully employed in metalwork over the next two centuries. A step towards the fully blown (or cast) freedom of movement in the works of the thirteenth century is Renier of Huy's font at Liège, where the artist developed the classically-inspired bodies shown in a range of poses and views.[30] While packed with dynamic twists and turns and even freed limbs, Renier's scenes are not gestural in the same sense as those on Bernward's doors. As a patron, Bernward did not seem to care for the classical perfection of his figures' forms, as the manuscript illuminations from the Hildesheim workshops testify. Human bodies on Bernward's doors are not aimed to show grace and beauty, as they are fully subjected to their rhetorical function. The doors are among the few early works to prioritise three-dimensional figuration as the potent agent in communicating the nuances of the narrative, and to this communication the bodily form is subjected. Rhetorical potency in Bernward's doors lies in the spatial treatment of the figures (i.e. their

29 See Swarzenski 1954, fig. 94, 95.
30 Swarzenski 1954, plates 110-13.

relationship with the background and other figures), as well as in their physiognomy and the conception of the passions of the body.

The setting of the story in the garden where Adam and Eve dwelt alone, surrounded only by plants, gave the artist the freedom to experiment with organic forms that were required to fill the space of the rectangular panels. He opted for a reduced scale of the figures in order to give them more space for expression, as well as to leave space for vegetation, and, I would suggest, the dramatic void of the otherwise flat and uninhabited surface.[31] So while the plants complete the narrative space and reinforce the rhetoric of lines and shapes of the human body, the narrative weight is placed on the figures.

The narrative cycle opens with the scene of the creation of Eve (fig.161), who appears to be the most important figure of the work.[32] She is shown watching the scene of her own making, so we deal with an interesting take on simultaneous narration, which uses bodies as memory cues aiding the recollection of the full story. The figure of Eve, being a result of God's actions viewed simultaneously in the same scene, becomes a symbol of creation. Her physiognomy testifies to her being a fully-formed companion to her husband, whose anatomical detail has been exaggerated to remind the viewer of the details of the story. Her body is rounded, with full hips and protruding bowed head, but her gestures are not drawn in volume but in line, for example the hands set against the chest do not project significantly. Instead, the head and upper body of God project to draw attention to the focal activity.

Projection, volume and line were used in such subtle ways elsewhere. In the scene of the introduction of Adam and Eve (fig.162), all three figures bow their bodies away from the background so as to allow the maximum projection of the upper body. This practical measure not only adds three-dimensionality and variety to the surface, but gives dynamism to the figures, which rhythmically sway as if depicted in motion. The mobility of the limbs was

31 See chapter one for a similar approach taken by Gislebertus on the tympanum of Autun, where he employed flat spaces, voids that not only made the figures stand out but increased the drama of the oppositions of forms.

32 For an argument about Eve as a primary, and sexualized, figure of the narrative, see Cohen and Derbes 2001, 19–38.

suggested by the clear outlining, which also provides volume to the raised thighs and bent knees. Some parts are even detached from the surface, such as Adam and Eve's outer arms.

Heterogeneous in terms of style and shape, the foliage helps highlight the language of the body, particularly in the scenes of the highest drama and importance, where the bodies seem as if attuned more to the forces of nature than to God. In fact, from the formal point of view, the human forms were designed first and then the foliage devised to contribute to the narrative, and perhaps to affect the interpretation of the body language, the bodies twisting and bending like the trees in the wind. In the scene of Temptation (fig.163) the volumes and projections of the bodies are important and differentiated, as Eve is shown more corpulent, with her crossed legs protruding significantly as in motion. But it is line that seems more important in this scene as Eve's body formally attunes to the composition of the organic forms around her – her extended hand clutching the apple follows the pattern of extended trunks with apples attached to them, as well as the extended body of the serpent with an apple in its mouth. Eve's body copies the movements of nature around her, to the extent that she becomes an extension of the gesture of the serpent – a soft continuous line could be drawn through the body of the serpent and the movement of Eve's arm handing Adam the apple. The repetition of the apple along that line could have worked not only as a reinforcement of the message but also as an element adding dynamism, helping the narrative move forward. At the end of this train of symbols is Adam, who responds directly to the gesture of Eve, rather than to the forms of nature. While Adam gives in to Eve, she gives in to the entangled natural forms and dangerous forces within the tree of knowledge. The surface of her body also warps and wrinkles to resemble the surface of the tree trunks, even making her look slightly reptilian. The pathognomic and physiognomic submission heralds the moral fall of the figures. The composition of the figures and foliage offers yet another level of interpretation, as the cruciform tree flanked by Adam and Eve correspond with Christ on the cross, flanked by Longinus and Stephaton, on the opposite scene on the right-hand leaf. The visual

correspondence of forms establishes a multi-levelled dialogue between the scenes across the door-leaves for the beholder to contemplate.

In the following scene of Expulsion (fig.164) the natural forms became even stronger connectors between the figures, reinforcing the communication and even potentially affecting the behaviour of the body. Here Adam's body is constrained directly by the natural forms, as the branch of a tree that corresponds to Eve's bent body leans over Adam, restricting the space available to him, and making him hunch. Another force, a gestural one this time, moves from the opposite direction and remarkably unites all the figures. As God reproaches Adam by pointing at him, the latter passes the blame onto Eve, and she in turn points at the serpent as the culprit. The sinuous continuity of gestures uniting the bodies is thus preserved from the previous scene, as is the relationship between the poses of the figures and the plants around them. The crossing of the limbs is not only a measure to heighten the complexity of the surface, and its dynamism and thus drama, but also seems to be a compositional choice of the designer determined to achieve an effective continuity of lines. The thin and projecting limbs, used as 'pointers', connectors or binders, lend a jagged, uncanny rhythm to the scene, affecting the overall visual experience of the viewers before they even analyse the details of the surface. Volume adds to the eloquence of the spindly gestures, as the projection of bent legs, crossed forearms and pointing fingers increases drama.[33] The sculptors at Hildesheim took advantage of the contrast between line and volume in a way that stone carvers, for structural reasons, could not.

So, in sum, while the continuous lines and the rhythm of gestures, movements and organic forms strongly contributed to the animated storytelling, it is the three-dimensionality of the bodies that makes the works like Bernward's door exceptional. In contrast to the foliage, attributes and draperies of the clothed figures, the naked bodies are given extra volume, which is achieved not so much by the projection of the elements, but by the particular modelling of and around the bodies. The smooth rounded surfaces of the bodies catch the light, and the

33 For the meaning and use of crossed limbs in art, see Garnier 1982b, 145-52.

tidy surface around the edges make them appear much more in relief than they actually are. The resulting deeper shadows further push the figures out into the space of the viewers, affecting their perception of particular movements and gestures. If the two methods of sculpting, the subtractive and additive one, come together, it is in the treatment of the naked human form, whose surface is handled so as to export its expressive presence into the space around it. As was evidenced in chapter one, it is also the carved nude bodies which visually stand out the most from their background on monumental stone ensembles. This intended physical disobedience of the forms raised up from the matter of the pictorial space would have resonated with the senses of the audience. The nude human bodies were not only conceptually closest to the viewer, they also appeared, and indeed were, physically the most approachable, palpable, and familiar.

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The above discussion provides a number of examples from various locations, time and media, all sharing the common subject matter of the biblical story of the Fall, the focus being the bodily behaviour of the figures of Adam and Eve. Several patterns of bodily techniques surface from the overview, patterns like the use of bodily compression, contraction, and deflation to somatically communicate a range of familiar emotions. As we have seen in examples such as the capital of Sant Pere de Rodes or the pairings of the voussoirs at Chartres, direct visual contrasts were employed where the upright and relaxed body of God was set against a hunched or squatting sinner. The minimisation of Adam and Eve's physical presence through their poses sometimes caused the artist to adapt the bodily scale to the parameters of the block, as in the pinnate compositions in the voussoirs at Reims.[34] All above examples, however, show bodies conforming to the contemporary standards of beauty, and the overall proportions of the body parts corresponding to those of the holy figures. Adam and Eve's bodies were, after all, godly images.

34 'Pinnate' arrangement refers to caving on two adjacent faces of the square block which results in the scene having a protruding centre – which becomes a common axis.

The frequently applied changes of bodily scale did not mean changes of physiognomy, which in all cases remained unchanged in the process of Sin. The overview has shown that the expression of the bodies was the primary communicator of the messages of the story; the fleeting features petrified in stone take the entire load of communicating the emotions of the protagonists and thus the meaning of the scene. They do this even while the physiognomies remain disciplined or untainted - even the faces are not twisted with extreme emotion, likely due to the attempt to avoid beastly corruption of the human faces, after all made in God's image.[35] The physiognomically typical and so recognisable bodies thus become as if devoid, through sin, of their own form; their bodies bend and twist, taking the form of the trees they are hiding among. Similar images were witnessed on the capital at Cluny, and to various degrees elsewhere.

Despite such a flexible and palpable subject as the human body, the many different methods of making resulted in comparable effects. The various styles of narration were also relatively adaptable to various physical forms and media, as we have seen in the examples of sequential narrative on the Hildesheim door and the capital at Sant Pere de Rodes. Motifs of particular gestures like the clutching of the throat or the pointing in exchange of guilt were equally effectively applied in all three-dimensional examples from various contexts, whether they are bronze doors, a capital or a voussoir.

The full success of rhetorical performance required the familiar body of a protagonist equipped with some anticipated characteristics set in a familiar narrative. The above has shown that such 'familiarities' were variously devised, employing diverse scales, physiognomies and pathognomies, but always with a dose of ambiguity and space for free interpretation. This plays on the argument from the introduction to this thesis where I suggested that the human figure could be devised and intended as a receptacle for the emotions of the viewers. That ambiguity turns the character into a metaphor of an empty vessel into which the beholder is able to pour in his or her interpretation and reflection. The

35 As this would bring the first men closer to countenances of devils.

mould into which the viewer's emotion is transferred forms the attitude and the overall effect upon the beholder.

The receptacles would have been opened by the way of the senses, so the rhetorical scenes relied on a sensory staging of drama. Expansion of the sensory repertoire led to the development of the events – Eve saw the fruit and tasted it, shared her sensory experience with Adam, and so their sensory experience led them to enlightenment – if only the realisation of their sin. Eve listening to the serpent, Eve tasting, Adam clutching his throat, both hiding from the sight of God as if in a reverse gesture of creation – this intense cognitive performance carved in stone referred to the psyche via the human senses, thus heightening the intensity of the experience.

The somatic perception of gestures would have triggered neurological responses, sending an alert, making the viewers aware of the miserable state of the viewed persons. Seeing the staged mental and physical trauma, the choking, the fear, and remorse, would have attuned the viewers to empathise with the image. For example, the encountered deflation of the body could have, via the mechanism of mirror neurons, caused reflexive cowering of the body of the viewer. And this would be only the beginning of the chain of the occurring psychosomatic responses.

Such processes would have been particularly easily triggered by the figures of Adam and Eve, as being the first humans, they stand for each of their descendants. Their images work as avatars for each of the beholders. Their bodies reflect the bodies of the viewers; the recognition of the particular bodily actions and reactions and poses, along with the familiar physiognomies, and very importantly, the accessibility of the bodies due to their nudity, all play a crucial role in the construction of the narrative of a collective guilt and a range of other, more positive feelings. Like their viewers, Adam and Eve are social beings, and the social aspects stands at the core of the communication and perception of the story. The artists played on the deep connection of the two protagonists, their togetherness in creation, separation in sin, and togetherness, again, in punishment. Eve comes out of Adam, offers him

a gift of forbidden fruit, he accepts. This social bond is then broken and they become isolated in their personal guilt. Their antisocial attitudes are visible in the acts of pointing, turning away, hiding from God; lack of eye-contact communicates the postlapsarian loneliness of the two. But while the psychological connection appears broken, some arrangements of the figures allowed the artists to emphasize the surviving union of the bodies, clinging to each other in a constrained space. The interplay of the physical and psychological prolongs the engagement of the viewer, who is prompted to think of the meaning of this story and its enormous consequences for humanity.

Not all is lost, however. Adam and Eve not only provided a useful typological contrast to the Virgin and Christ who conquered the original sin. They also themselves, particularly by the physiognomy of their bodies, foretell their own redemption. We have seen that while their bodies were affected by extreme passions distorting the image of the body, being pathognomic, all those features were only temporary. In physiognomic terms, the bodies of Adam and Eve always remained beautiful. The sculpted bodies in their entirety most evocatively and directly communicated the sense of the story of sin and salvation. Via subliminal rhetorical transfer, the naked and physically untainted bodies would have resonated with the bodies of the viewers, and the passions would have been shared, but along with the hope that the miserable state is only temporary, and that through Christ one retrieves the bliss that Adam and Eve once possessed.

CHAPTER IV
BODILY RHETORIC IN THE SCENES OF JOB ON A DUNGHILL

'Take away the feeling of pain; there is nothing that you fear'[1]

It is a troubling occurrence when a just and God-fearing man becomes struck with horrific physical, material, and moral losses. But having lost all his possessions, including his children, Job remained a faithful servant of God, accepting that what was once given by the Lord so can be taken away. He thus shaved his head and rent his cloak as a sign of grief, and worshipped God as before (Job 1:20). None of these trials, however, proved as damaging as the final blow struck by Satan with God's permission. Satan argued that in order to truly test a human being, it is the body that has to be taken away from him: 'Skin for skin, and all that a man hath he will give for his life: But put forth thy hand, and touch his bone and his flesh, and then thou shalt see that he will bless thee to thy face' (Job 2:4-5).[2] Prevented from killing Job, but given free rein over his body, Satan afflicted him with pain and disease, so that the mighty and upright servant of God became a sore image of a man, self-exiled to a pile of dung, scraping his body for physical relief; this while receiving further blows from his human attendants, who doubted Job's innocence in the face of his predicament.

It is this desperate state of solitude in suffering that Job communicates in the majority of visual narratives of the story. In an early thirteenth-century carving (pl. 5), Job reclines scraping his skin and staring into the void, having disposed of his last material possession – his emaciated, infected and broken shell of a body – somewhere on a pile of dung and refuse. Apparently awaiting death, he has ceased to communicate with his

1 Hugh of St Victor, *De Sacramentis*, II, part 16, chapter 3, in Hugh of Saint-Victor 1951, 439.
2 'For this blessing God, which means cursing', see *Moralia in Job* (hereafter *Moralia*), in Gregory I 1844, I, 31.

despairing wife and his three friends, who have provided no consolation in his misery. Satan is now the figure closest to him, shown clasping the left leg of Job with his left hand and with his right hand on Job's head, at the same time turning his grotesque head upwards, towards the image of God in the upper register, thus being at once symbolic of the touch of evil, smiting Job 'from the sole of the foot even to the top of his head' (Job 2:7), and of the Satanic hope that Job will renounce God. With Satan in action, Job's wife grieving, his friends in conversation, and God looming from the whirlwind, the scene is a conflation of various events in the story, from the wager of Satan and God, through Job's interactions with wife and friends, to the final intervention of God. At the same time the image is as if suspended in a single moment, comprising a visual summary of the miseries of Job, who not only lost everything, including the control over his own body, but who is also misunderstood and bullied by his own friends and remaining family, now reclining in solitude and awaiting death or salvation, in the power of Satan but with God carefully watching and present. The visual rhetoric of the carved bodies signals the emotional and social relationships between the figures that stand for the complex verbal exchanges forming the core of the Book of Job.

This artist's interpretation of the scene comes from a tympanum on the north transept at Chartres cathedral. This composition probably influenced another in the north transept at Reims (pl.6). The two renderings include elements departing from the conventional design of Job shown seated on the mound, and surrounded by wife and friends, but they are in fact a conflation of various portraits of Job which Lawrence Besserman identified as emerging from apocryphal and exegetical traditions of reading of the legend.[3] Two characteristics stand out in the Chartres and Reims interpretations. Firstly, Job is shown as reclining, his body stretched diagonally across the scene. This positioning of Job, who, according to the biblical narrative, should sit on the heap of dung ('qui testa saniem

3 Besserman 1979, 55.

deradebat sedens in sterquilinio', Job 2:8) is rare or perhaps even unique. The second addition – the introduction of Satan – is again rare if not unique in three-dimensional representations of the story. These two iconographic introductions connect the two monumental scenes, but here the similarities seem to end. The complexities of bodily rhetoric in the service of the representation of interpersonal relationships create two different ways of engagement with the viewer. The chapter analyses these two approaches to manufacturing engagement through the use of different spatial solutions, scalar and proportional balance, gestures, physiognomies and expressions.

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The story of Job gained popularity in the Christian West when the anonymous text of the Hebrew poem surviving from the fourth century BC, and its slightly later Greek translation in the *Septuagint*, inspired the first Christian writers.[4] Job appears in St James' Epistle, and in the writings of Tertullian, Prudentius, who included Job in the *Psychomachia*, Jerome, in his translation of the Vulgate and other writings, Ambrose, and Augustine, among others. The sixth-century reading of the story by Gregory the Great, though intended exclusively for the ears of monastic brothers, nevertheless became the most popular interpretation of the story until the thirteenth-century writings of Aquinas.[5] The growing popularity of Gregory's commentary paralleled and assisted the incorporation of the story into liturgy and provided an intellectual framework for the plays it inspired.[6] Gregory's work became ingrained in the life of the story of Job in Christian tradition and it is no surprise therefore, that a work of such importance, one used in the liturgy and in the preaching of morals to

4 For history of interest and interpretations of the story of Job, see Ibid. See also Vicchio 2006.

5 As he stipulated in the Epistle I: "It was then that it seemed good to those same brethren (...) to oblige me by the importunity of their requests to set forth the book of blessed Job; and as far as the Truth should inspire me with powers, to lay open to them those mysteries of such depth." See also, Rudolph 1997, 5; Vicchio 2006, 37. About the popularity of *Moralia* – see Besserman 1979, 56 and his note 23.

6 For The Book of Job in the Office of the dead and other parts of the liturgy, see Besserman 1979, 57-64. For French play La Pacience de Job, see Besserman 1979, 94-107. As Bessermann noted (107) there are no extant Middle English plays of Job but there are plenty of parallels to English morality plays. See Besserman 1979, 107-113. See also Hunt-Logan 2006, 1-68.

the laity, was owned and read also in non-monastic communities. The canons of the cathedral of Reims, for example, owned no less than five copies of the *Moralia in Job*, one given by Hincmar, the ninth-century bishop of Reims, and other copies dating to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[7]

The attitudes to the protagonists of the story, subsequently inspiring the invention of the characters in sculpture, would have been shaped by these various interpretations. The Epistle of James established Job as an example of pious suffering, patience and endurance of evil.[8] Tertullian saw him as a master of patience in spirit and the flesh and graded the bodily afflictions of Job as the ultimate challenge to the 'hero'. Thus the victory of Job over his material and physical trials, all according to divine plan, was viewed by Tertullian as a weapon against the devil:

> 'What a bier for the devil did God erect in the person of that hero! What a banner did He rear over the enemy of His glory, when, at every bitter message, that man uttered nothing out of his mouth but thanks to God...How did God smile, how was the evil one cut asunder, while Job with mighty equanimity kept scraping off the unclean overflow of his own ulcer, while he sportively replaced the vermin that broke out thence, in the same caves and feeding-places of his pitted flesh! And so, when all the darts of temptations had blunted themselves against the corslet and shield of his patience, that instrument of God's victory not only presently recovered from God the soundness of his body, but possessed in redoubled measure what he had lost'.[9]

7 Hinkle 1965, 59.

8 James 5:7-11, esp 10-11: 'Take, my brethren, for an example of suffering evil, of labour and patience, the prophets, who spoke in the name of the Lord. Behold, we account them blessed who have endured. You have heard of the patience of Job, and you have seen the end of the Lord, that the Lord is merciful and compassionate.'

9 Tertullian, *Of Patience* 14; ANF vol.3, 1340-41. The anguish of Satan is shown in the renditions of the story though the physiognomic and pathognomic articulation of his body, as he twists and turns and grins and frowns, contorted by all negative emotions possible, as in the below-discussed manuscript BnF Lat. 15675.

For Jerome, Job was also a model of patience, as well as of the hope of bodily resurrection.[10] For Ambrose, in turn, as J. R. Baskin emphasized, Job's shield of patience was understood primarily in moral terms, painting him as a human exemplar of pious endurance of the material misfortunes that can bring one closer to God, and which in fact purge all uncleanliness and prepare one for salvation.[11] In his sermon preached during the siege of his church in Milan, Ambrose referred to physical suffering as a divine trial of the strongest.[12] The physical aspects intertwined with the mental remained strong in Gregory's take on Job. Already in the preface he established a connection between Job and Christ, based on the suffering of the flesh – as like Christ, through his suffering Job achieved victory over Satan.[13] Job being a type of the Redeemer, his friends represented to Gregory heretics in need of repentance.[14] While the wife and friends remained blind, Job's suffering, according to Gregory, was an eye-opening purifying process, the series of trials leading to complete restoration of body as well as soul.[15]

10 Jerome cited by Barasch 1997, 9. See also Vicchio 2006, chapter 11.

11 Baskin 1981, esp. 226.

12 'The stronger is tried in his own person, the weaker in that of another.' See Baskin 1981, 229.

13 *Moralia,* Pref. 14.

14 Which eventually happens in the final chapter of the Book. See Job 42,7ff. For Gregory on friends of Job as heretics, see *Moralia,* XXIII,3; XXXV,11. For a discussion of heretical behaviour of friends of Job and association of Job's wife with Synagoga, see Büchsel 2012, 88-96. On p. 89 Büchsel interprets the gesture of Eliphaz at Chartres, supposedly placing ashes on the head of Job, as at the same time caressing the hand of Satan, placed on the crown of Job, the two thus uniting in the condemning gesture of evil.

15 See Buchsel, as in note above, for the heroism of Job's wife compared to blind Synagoga. See *Moralia,* III:38-9, for a discussion of Job's wife's carnal mind, esp. III:38 when he explains the attitude and deeds of carnally-minded people. Also Cassian wrote about trials as purging uncleanliness so that people can stand before God at the Last Judgement as ' fire-tried gold or silver', cleansed and ready for everlasting bliss. For this, see Dale 2001, 429 and his note 187.

In the first of his sermons on the *Song of Songs*, Bernard of Claivaux commented on Job 7:1, talking of undergoing daily battles arising from the flesh, the world and the devil.[16] But these could be challenged by virtuous behaviour. Inner virtue in turn affected the physical state of the body. In the commentary on the *Song of Songs*, Bernard wrote how the stench of Job's rotting body was nullified by the worthiness of the deeds of the upright man.[17] Properly prescribed bodily conduct would thus overcome corrupt physiognomy and provide a remedy for progressing decay.

The idea of remedy was upheld by Peter of Blois, whose *Compendium* essentially abbreviated Gregory's *Moralia* for King Henry II of England. For Peter, Job was a model of good behaviour, discipline, and the way to face adversity piously.[18] Peter referred to penance as a medicine for the wounds of the soul, a metaphor relevant in the context of the meditations over Job.[19] Job's piety allowed him to endure the trials, thus proving to be the only effective remedy for the evils bestowed by Satan. Significantly for the purposes of this chapter, Peter also tried to justify the presence of Satan as a powerful, active figure in the story. He saw Job as a tool with which God tormented Satan, 'who is rent with anguish

16 Sermon 1:V, 9. Bernard of Clairvaux 1971, 5-6. For images of the spiritual battle in Book of Job, see Rudolph 1997, chapter 4. Also Gregory describes the temptations of the flesh, desires rising up against one as beasts. See Rudolph 1997, 56, 110-111 and *Moralia* 6:52. "By the 'beasts of the earth' too may be understood the motions of the flesh, which, while they gall the mind by prompting conduct which is contrary to reason, rise up against us like beasts. But when the heart is bowed down under the Divine Law, even the incitements of the flesh are reduced, so that, though in tempting us they give a low muttering, yet they never mount so high as to the execution of the deeds, as to the madness of open biting. For who that still subsists in this corruptible flesh, completely tames these beasts of the earth, when that preeminent Preacher that was caught up to the third heaven, says, but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin, which is my members." (Rom. 7, 21).

17 'What a sweet perfume that man must have radiated throughout the earth by works such as these? Every action bore its own aroma. Even his own conscience was filled with accumulating perfumes, so that pleasant odors from within tempered the stench of his rotting flesh.' Sermon 12:II, 3; Bernard of Clairvaux 1971, 79.

18 See Cotts 2009, 218-30.

19 'When I applied the medicine of penance to the wounds of my soul, and with the aid of confession and satisfaction turned the wounds into scars (…) Cited in Cotts 2009, 221.

when he hears of man's virtues'.[20] The reading of Job as not only the victor over Satan but a medium of his torments attunes with the subsequent analysis of the depicted relationship of Job and Satan in the case studies, where the reclining, passive body of Job, I suggest, becomes a symbolic catafalque for Satan.

It was not until after the creation of the two thirteenth-century portals in question that Thomas Aquinas drew the focus away from the suffering of Job towards the contemplation of divine providence, in his *Expositio super Job.* However, it is possible that the images at Chartres and Reims, especially the latter, lean towards the view later propagated widely by Aquinas. This may be implied by the conspicuous physical presence of God overseeing the scenes and the body language of Job, appearing resigned to divine will, as well as by the relative restraint from explicit signs of physical and physiological suffering despite the sculptors' evident technical abilities to show them.[21] The discussion below aims to explore this issue further.

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The messages communicated by the Book of Job and its various interpretations over time surfaced in many different ways in visual representations. The stagings of the story, while retaining a basic narrative formula, nevertheless produced a variety of different impressions of engagement of the figures with each other and with the viewer. Variously abbreviated or fused narratives tend to show Job interacting to various degrees with his friends and wife, and occasionally an artist included a supernatural or divine figure: Satan, God, or less often a divine messenger. The articulation of various passions and movements of the body, and the dynamic between the figures arising from their emotional exchange and the layout of the scene, are telling and indicative of the sculptors' methods of creating characters and engaging the audience. There is no clear chronological, geographical or

20 See Hinkle 1965, 59. Peter focuses primarily on chapter 1, 2, parts of 3 and chapter 42, the chapters involving Satan.

21 '*Why dost thou not remove my sin, and why dost thou not take away my iniquity? Behold now I shall sleep in the dust: and if thou seek me in the morning, I shall not be*.' Job 7:22.

technological progressive development of the iconography of the figures. The physiognomy and bodily ailments of Job appear to have been much dependent on the artist's individual interpretation, so were the behaviour and attitude of the accompanying figures, and the props such as the variously-interpreted pile of waste.[22] The available space of the two or three-dimensional composition seems often to have determined the character of the props, poses, proximity and pathognomy of the figures. On the fourth-century sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (fig.165), Job is shown as a pensive bearded wise-man, almost a philosopher, seated on what resembles a pile of rocks, or perhaps a hardened pile of mud or dung on which Job props himself with his right hand (which could be sinking slightly?).[23] His wife is shown as supportive, as she scrapes her husband's boils, but her gesture of covering her mouth or nose with a veil, although not straightforward in its meaning, is nevertheless a sign of weakness, either moral or physical, depending on whether we see the wife as grieving or covering her nose in disgust, in line with depictions of the reactions to the putrid smell in the scenes of raising of Lazarus.[24] Either way, her gesture discloses her focus on the carnal aspects of Job's suffering, in accordance with the carnal inclinations

22 The original poem of Job speaks of the ashes, see Dillon 1905, 4. Meanwhile, the text of Vulgata follows the Septuagint in the use of *sterquilinium* – the heap of dung. The contents of the pile are variously interpreted and referred to the body of Job. As in 7:22 he lies in the ashes, awaiting to perish, in both the poem and Vulgata (pulvere); In chapter 20:7 Zophar refers to Job's previous words saying that Job will perish forever like dung (the word in the poem was translated as dung, not ashes, so does the text of the Vulgata use the word sterquilinium). Thus the meaning of the substance on which Job sits is not so much something demeaning, disgusting, but more perishable, or temporary, in line with the state of the body upon it, which in fact had already begun to disintegrate. Dust may also refer to death, according to Genesis 3:19: 'quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris'.

23 This was undiscovered until the sixteenth century.

24 This gesture of grieving is inherited from Greek models. See Dodwell 2000,106 and Barasch 1976, 11, 23. The interpretation depends on the commentator or the viewer's readiness to acknowledge the role of the senses - we could either agree that the image follows a convention, or accept the possibility that the sculptor may have wanted to depict a live reaction to a powerful physical incentive, the stench of rotting flesh. Job does mention that his wife is affected by the stench of his body – see Job 19:17. Dillon (41) translated the passage from the original poem as 'my breath is irksome to my wife', while Douai Reims version has 'My wife hath abhorred my breath'. However, these, particularly with the context of the surrounding passages, could be interpreted as a metaphor of a general rejection by the wife and the loved ones.

assigned to her by Gregory in *Moralia* III:38-9.[25] Such a take on Job's wife was common in eastern representations of the story.[26] In a tenth-century manuscript possibly from Asia Minor (fig.166), Job, the pensive leper, is handed food on a stick by the wife, whose other hand protects her mouth and nose.[27] In another Greek depiction of the story, in the eleventh-century Codex Sinaiticus (fig.167), the wife of Job similarly avoids physical contact with her husband, keeping a significant distance from him, but this time, the gesture of either grief or revulsion is performed by one of Job's friends.[28] It is important to note that the layout and proximity of the figures were affected by the abundance of physical space, resulting from the small scale of the figures, which are spaced out across the pictorial field, thus distant from each other not only physically but also emotionally.

The available space enforced a particular reading of the relationship between the characters also in three-dimensional renderings of the story. In a double capital from Monastère de la Daurade, Toulouse (fig.168), Job is mounted atop a basket, seated and pensively supporting his head with his hand, listening to his friend, while another friend mirrors Job's gesture. The proximity of the figures enforced by the limitations of space implies a particular reading of the relationships between the figures. Crowded in the intimate space of a small roundel, the four figures appear deeply involved with each other's affairs. Job is shown calmly receiving the speeches of the friends, who appear as thoughtful, considerate and pious characters, in spite of so many previous visual and verbal testimonies about them! A Middle French play *La Patience de Job* portrays Job's comforters as pious and polite, and most of all, faithful friends of Job, who grieve and apologise, rather than suspect him of sin.[29] If it is possible that the play, although surviving only through a

25 See note 15 above.
26 Gregory in *Moralia* condemns the wife and friends of Job as creatures of carnal attitudes, see above.
27 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Codex Gr. 538, fol.23.
28 Mount Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Codex gr.3, fol. unknown.
29 For analysis and the text of the play, see Meiller 1971. For discussion of and excerpts from the play, see Besserman, 94-107.

fifteenth-century manuscript, was composed in or before the first half of the twelfth century, we could speculate that such literary and performative interpretations fed into the sculptor's composition. A detail which further feeds the temptation to associate the La Daurade Capital with the Middle French play is located in the pendant roundel carved on the same face, where an angel attends a bed-bound Job. The angel's rolled-up sleeve exposes their right hand placed on Job's knee. This intimate gesture may carry prophylactic connotations alluding to Job's healing by a divine messenger. *La Patience de Job* includes a scene near the end of the play where Archangel Gabriel descends from heaven and completes the restoration of the body of Job.[30] The reclining position of Job in the potential scene of healing in the Toulouse capital is reminiscent of the later reclining figures of Job in Chartres and Reims. In this light the rare reclining position could be interpreted as alluding to various moments of the story, where the single image stands for the protagonist's descent into misery as well as his salvation. So while the twelfth-century capital's continuous narrative divides the meaning of subsequent representations of Job, the later representations conflate the various states, and events into one image, so at once Job is struck by the evil touch, tormented by the human element, and cured by divine will.

A detailed and densely-packed double capital from Pamplona (fig.169), is an example where the articulation of the continuous narrative has one figure of Job almost mounted on top of another from the neighbouring scene. The eye of the viewer is without relief, discerning one figure emerging from behind another, the physical proximity echoed by charitable gestures balanced with expressions of astonishment, and what could either be seen as distrust or reverence, or a conflation of the two. For example, as Job's wife supports his neck with her left hand, her right is raised in a gesture that in this context could be interpreted as astonishment, or wonder. Job's seated friend supports the right hand of the sick man with both his hands but hold it through his garment. Now, while this

30 Besserman 1979, 105.

gesture was since antiquity used to symbolise a particular reverence for a most cherished or sacred object, in this context, where the object held is the horribly diseased and apparently swollen limb of a leper, the gesture becomes somewhat ambiguous.[31]

The poses that in other contexts would have communicated status or prestige, in the context of the story of Job and the often explicit display of a pathological body, take on more ambiguous meanings. On the capital in Vienne (fig.170), the large figure of Job occupies the entire front face of the capital. With such scale and bodily attitude, his knees splayed, garments flowing, seated firmly and assuredly in the centre of the face, at a glance he appears like an enthroned king. On closer inspection one notices, however, that the scaly texture of the seat suggests something more organic than a throne, appropriate to a depiction of Job. Job's conspicuously open mouth, the only case known to me, paired with a very explicit depiction of the scraping of the lesions from his body, shows him somewhat differently from that pensive figure known from many other depictions; Job is here loudly complaining about his fate, as he does in the in the Book of Job.[32] The open mouth of the friend to the left, and his hand on Job's shoulder, show him joining in the disputation over the sufferer's fate. The other flanking figure is Job's wife, performing the familiar gesture in reaction to the horrid ailments or suffering of her husband.

A capital from Avignon (fig.171) shows Job similarly perched on the front face of the basket, protruding from it in a pensive attitude, apparently completely disconnected from his friends, looking stoically into space in front of him. The attitudes of his damaged companions resemble those of the Vienne capital; the figure on the left rests the hand on Job's shoulder, while the one on the right, somewhat further from the central figure, appears to hold a veil to its face.

At the dawn of the thirteenth century another depiction of the story looked back at various traditions and methods of articulation of the bodies and gestures. The classicizing

31 For veiled hands expressing reverence, see for example, Dodwell 2000, 106.
32 For example in Job 3.

relief from Notre-Dame of Paris (fig.172) is reminiscent of the scene from the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, with its Job the Philosopher looked over by figures in close proximity. In the crowded space of the rectangular slab Job is seated on a mound crawling with worms. Here the designer seems to have followed the text of the Greek Septuagint which expanded the narrative of the Hebrew poem adding details which were largely omitted by the Vulgate.[33] The Paris Job is a somewhat disintegrated philosopher – his back is hunched, neck bent and he is clothed with rags, instead of the flowing, if scanty, draperies seen elsewhere. Much due to the intimacy of space, but also thanks to the animated body language of the figures, the emotional load of the scene is heavy. The friends show their concern; one rests his hand on Job's shoulder, another holds a veil to his face, but without covering his nose. The gesture is made subtle as the veil only gently touches the cheek of the figure, whose face, although weathered, strikes the viewer with its expression of grief, perhaps the most intense in the whole scene. The gesture is thus less ambiguously delineated as one of mourning, not of disgust.

Opposing the relatively positive interpretation of the attitudes of the grieving friends, the attitude of the artist to the wife of Job on the Paris relief is more ambiguous. She is the most active participant of the narrative, her gestures and her open mouth suggest her outspoken dissent.[34] The sculptor decided to make the wife the communicator of Job's misery. Her manifest disagreement with the state of affairs and thus, by extension, with the will of God, may, particularly in the contexts of some of the above interpretations, encourage the interpretation of the woman as an adversary to Job (and God). She may also serve as a mouthpiece of Satan, as her open mouth may identify her as a scold, a blasphemer.[35] Analogous to the active Eve from the depictions of the Fall discussed in the previous chapter, the active wife of Job in the Paris relief is meant to be encouraging him to

33 Besserman 1979, 38-9.

34 For gestures of dissent, see Dodwell 2000, 60-61.

35 For the changing attitudes to the role of Job's wife in the narrative, as well as the 'deviant speech', see Low 2013, 61-4, for the Paris relief.

sin, with the words 'Dost thou still retain thine integrity? Curse God, and die.'[36] The dramatic resonance and brevity of this only line of Job's wife becomes even more drastic when represented in action, without any attempt to contain it, as could have been the case in all previous depictions showing her mouth covered with her veil.[37]

The active representation of Job's wife in the Paris relief could be also interpreted in a more positive light as drawing on the text of the Septuagint, from which the carver may have drawn the above-mentioned detail of crawling worms. The Greek translation expanded the speech of the wife of Job, in which she utters details of her own suffering as she has lost her children and her husband, who was now cast out to a pile of dung and 'putrefaction of worms', with herself becoming an itinerant servant.[38] The dramatic speech utters her personal tragedy that goes unmentioned elsewhere. And while for her lack of humility and piety she may not have been accepted as a victim of the situation, the intense exchange of gazes of the spouses in the Paris relief brings the wife of Job somewhere near the rank of the primary sufferer.

Evocative oppositions between the figures shown by the use of the body language in the above case studies spell out the desired attitudes towards the figures, as well as their supposed moral role in the narrative. Patterns appeared, withdrew and resurfaced depending on the needs of the maker and the audience. The later renderings, as Chartres and Reims demonstrate, continued with this fusion of rhetorical means of conveying the nuances of the story of Job inherited from the previous endeavours.

36 Job 2, 9 (King James Version).

37 As there are examples of Job's friends covering their mouths, it is possible that the gesture had a function of containing the general blasphemer, not just the blasphemous woman. The curt resonance of the line of the wife of Job made her the boldest blasphemer and hence she has her mouth gagged most often and most directly.

38 Besserman 1979, 38-39.

THE CONTEXT OF AUDIENCES AND SPACE

The sculptors acknowledged the circumstances of viewing of the final product. The cloister capitals, for example at Avignon, Pamplona and Toulouse, would have been seen from close-to, at a distance of one or two meters, making the small details more discernible to the eye. The capitals thus display shallower carving with lighter chiaroscuro, as well as an accumulation of finer motifs, some decorative, some narrative, many only gently incised on the surface. The capital at Vienne on the other hand, displayed in the nave of the church, shows a bolder treatment of narrative motifs, as if to make the image clear for the more distant viewing by the general public. The gestures are more emphatic, the carving bolder, and the spatial divisions clearer. The large and expansive figure of Job clearly stands out from the concave background, further emphasized by the flowing, sharply defined draperies. His large legs display lesions, and the large heads and hands of all the figures help communicate the meaning of their gestures and facial expressions.

The reliefs on the bases of the jambs of the central portal at Notre-Dame are located at eye level and the high visibility allowed for shallow relief. The sculptor extracted only enough stone to achieve the desired composition of figures, detail, and surface effect, possibly carving *in situ*. The intimate air of the scene thus depends not only on its small size, but on its accessibility as the viewers could approach and behold the small details of the faces, and subtle variations of gestures.

In the Job scenes from Chartres and Reims the public character of external portal sculpture is combined with considerable height of display.[39] However, the public access was in both locations restricted. At Chartres it was the south portal that displayed the iconography more conspicuously directed at the laity, while the northern side, facing the episcopal palace, would have had a more a more select, and discerning, audience. At Reims

39 The scene at Reims, for example, is c.7.10m above the ground.

the north façade faced the enclosure of the canons' cloister until the eighteenth century.[40] Barbara Abou-el-Haj suggested the possibility of occasional public access to the sculptures, occurring possibly during performances of public penance or subordination, as in the aftermath of the insurgencies at Reims, when such processions could have included the burghers. But even if the public was occasionally involved in the viewing, the programmes were conceived, as at Chartres, in a more private guise, for the cathedral canons, and possibly in the service of, as Abou-el-Haj suggested, the 'reaffirmation of episcopal authority'.[41] In both locations then, the designers would have decided on the imagery appropriate to communicate with a group of people with the same intellectual training. The limited and specific audience could have contributed to the decision to depict such a rare topic as the Book of Job.

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A formal and contextual analysis of the tympana at Chartres (pl. 5) and Reims (pl. 6) allows access to the visual rhetorical aura of the sculpted bodies in the compositions. At Chartres, two rectangular blocks of the lintel, carved with the scenes of the judgement of Solomon, are divided from the tympanum by two long border slabs that have been hollowed out from below to achieve an overhanging row of trefoils decorated with repetitive architectural designs. Above, a large monolithic slab fills the entire first register of the small tympanum. It contains three standing figures of Job's friends located to the left of the mound of waste on which Job rests. The mound and Job conceal the lower body of Satan, who emerges from the depth of the scene. Satan's head is flanked by two trees that fill the spaces between the heads of the figures, perhaps acting as kind of punctuation, giving the eye temporary relief, a pause from the intensity of the faces. On the right, the mound of

40 For reproductions of drawings of the enclosure, see Branner 1961. See also Hinkle 1965, appendix A, p. 67 for the seventeenth-century description mentioning the processions in the cloister: 'a celle qui au grand cloître des Chanoines et en celle qui entre au cloistre ou l'on faict ordinairement la procession'. For Reims, see also Abou-El-Haj 1988, 17–41.

41 Ibid., 27-8.

waste reaches the feet of Job's wife who, in turn, is seated on the rock formation emerging behind her. This register is surmounted by three blocks filling the upper register of the tympanum. In the largest, central block, God is shown in a frontal view, his lower body disappearing in the formation of clouds.[42] He is flanked by two angels who mirror each other's pose and gestures of hands folded in prayer.[43] Like God, the angels emerge from the billowy clouds, whose intricate surface is echoed in many variations by the surfaces executed in the 'earthly' scene below.

The story of Job at Reims occupies the centre of the tympanum of the portal of St Calixtus. The tympanum is divided into four registers of equal height resting on an equally scaled lintel, which on its two slabs represents the story of the martyrdom of St Nicasius and baptism of Clovis by St Remigius. The first register of the tympanum, divided into three equal parts, continues with the scenes from the life of Remigius, with a scene now destroyed, but preserved in photographs, of Remigius expelling fire-demons from the city of Reims, with an excellent display of grotesque faces and sinewy and knobbly limbs also apparent in the scene of Job above. Job's register is structured in the same way as the first register, so the vertical joints of the blocks align. The narrative is distributed between three blocks of equal width, which organise the space and group the figures into three separate narrative groups. This register is surmounted by two more, one composed of two blocks and continuing with the miracles of Remigius, that of the raising of the girl from Toulouse and the miracle of the wine cellar. The whole is topped with the monolithic top register, accommodating the enthroned Christ blessing, flanked by two kneeling angels presenting him with crowns.

The compositional formula of the Chartres scene is repeated at Reims: in the centre of the register Job, reclining on his mound, is attended by Satan. The relationship of

42 Jahveh speaking out of a whirlwind, Job 38:1.

43 Hands now lost but the parallel and snug positioning of the wrists indicates that the hands must have been folded together.

the bodies of Satan and Job is reminiscent of that at Chartres. Satan is positioned to the viewers' right from Job, that is, on Job's left side, standing behind his half-bent legs, and touching Job's crown with his right hand and raising the now broken-off foot with his left. The bodies of the central duet, interlocked by their synchronised body language and physiognomy, do not connect physically or mentally (e.g. through gaze) with other figures. The wife of Job stands in place of one of Job's friends at Chartres, that is, behind the high edge of the mound, thus deprived of contact with her husband, but instead being a primary eye-witness to the act of Satan, her extremely expressive gesture communicating her response to this sight.[44] Satan's dismissive attitude to Job's body, his head addressing the figure above and his back turned on the figures to the right, cuts Job off from the remaining witnesses, who stand in idle astonishment and helplessness communicated by the gestures of raised palms and touching of cheeks. The group is formed of two men and two women standing close to each other and visually balancing Job on his mound backed by his wife, located on the other side of the axis that is Satan.

As the story of Job at Reims received more physical space, more scenes were inserted in the two flanking blocks and the only other direct reflection of the sculpture of Chartres is the group of the three friends of Job standing, as at Chartres, on the far left. Their physiognomies, arrangement of their bodies and some of their gestures directly relate to the Chartres scene. They are balanced on the right side of the block by a corresponding group of younger figures, engaged in a lively dispute. The two groups are separated by a tree and counterbalanced on the opposite side of the mound of Job by a tightly arranged crowd of witnesses to the scene likely to be St Benedict's exorcism of the

44 The gesture carries further connotations, tied closely to the text of the poem. 'I will lay mine hand upon my mouth', Job 40:4. The hands could be seen as either reinforced expression of shock and/or grief, or function as a means to gag the heretic to prevent her from her blasphemous speech, hands being an equivalent of a veil from examples presented above.

girl of Toulouse.[45] If the identification of all the scenes of the tympanum is correct, the register showing the story of Job contains scenes that can be seen as a flash-back to the past, providing a backdrop, a substance and a commentary for the acts of St Remi, whose ecclesiastical mission was marked by the struggle with and expulsion of evil, resulting in the cleansing and spiritual and physical renewal of the protagonists.

'SKIN FOR SKIN': PHYSIOGNOMY IN THE SURFACE AND LINE

The patterns of surfaces of the tympanum at Chartres radiate from the figure of Satan, whose linearity of bodily surface corresponds to the billowy articulation of the other natural elements, like rocks, the mound of waste, trees or the clouds. As Satan is positioned behind Job, his organic (read: physiognomically unconditioned, uncharted) body is interrupted by the patch of artifice in the form of the flowing folds of Job's loin cloth. Another relationship of nature and supposed artifice, though an inverted one, is seen above, where the static and statue-like, perfect, regular body of God is halved by the emerging billows of clouds – a compositional choice leading to a clash of contrasting surfaces.

While the visible bodily surfaces of all the 'unaffected' figures are smooth and, in case of the human protagonists, marked only by pathognomic display of emotions, the exposed body of Job was treated with a point chisel all over its visible surface, a technique resulting in a flickering surface suggesting, in the case of a human body, an anomalous,

45 St Benedict is mentioned by Hincmar in his Vitae St Remy, see Hinkle 1965, 48-49.The scene has also been identified as the arrival of the messenger communicating the terrible news to Job. The reading of the scene as the attempt to expel demons from the girl of Toulouse is more likely. The identification of the scene is confirmed by the centrality of the figure of the girl, her physical and mental state, the distinct philosopher's dress of the splendid figure of young Benedict, and finally, the figure of the father, who appears twice more on the tympanum (recognizable by dress and gesture of holding the strap of his cloak).

pathological state.[46] The exposed body of Satan is also made to flicker but in a different way – his humanoid body was made beastly by the interruption of its smooth surface with a repeated pattern of triangular undulating clumps of hair. The busy effect of the surface of the devilish body is echoed by the complexity of the execution of the mound of waste, where vegetal forms mingle with animal waste in forms of shells and, probably, dung. Sandwiched between the messy mound and the expansive beastly body of Satan, and removed from the domain of his peers lies Job, his diagonal positioning confirming his alien state.[47]

The rhythm of the surfaces across Job's register at Reims is dynamic, as particularly the draperies of the figures fall in a range of forms and patterns (fig.173). In contrast with Chartres, the sculptors did not introduce the differentiation of bodily surface on the level of minute detail; on close inspection the skin of Job and even Satan appear as smooth as the skin of the unmarked by physical decay. The Reims carver introduced the changes to the bodies on a macro level, by affecting the structure of lines on the bodies themselves, emulating bones and sinews. The body of Satan is purposefully so exposed as to display his particular physiognomy. Firstly, the protruding ribs that appear as to echo the elegant draperies of the figures nearby, at the same time visually corresponding with the similar linear rhythms of Job's loin cloth. Secondly, the thin and sinewy thighs and calves, and the knobbly knees bear a direct resemblance to the exposed, raddled legs of Job. The shoulders and arms of Job, although less bony than those of Satan, also share the overall sinewy, emaciated, fatigued appearance, highlighted further by delineated ribs and a sagging fold on the stomach, directly echoing that of Satan. Via this macro approach to the surfaces of the bodies, the identities of the afflicted and the unafflicted and the uncorrupted are not

46 'Pour me out as milk'... 'curdle me like cheese' Dillon 1905, 22. Job 10:10 applies such analogies to his disintegrating body. The surface of his skin at Chartres does indeed resemble curdled milk.

47 For Gregory's interpretations of the relationship of the body of Job and the dunghill, see *Moralia* III:10.

expressed through their overall texture but rather through alterations to major physiognomic features.

The carvers created associations between figures across the tympanum as well. The appearance of the body of Job, and his dress – the hanging loin cloth – associate him visually with the demons from the scene below, where Remigius expels four agitated and grimacing demons (fig.174). Not only the physiognomy but also the alignment of the body of Job, his loins and leg extended diagonally downwards, connects the figure with the scene below. This alignment of the lower body of Job goes against the vertical orientation of all the other figures, introducing a contradicting line of direction, which leads the eye towards the group of demons. This interruption of the rhythm of the whole tympanum is apparent particularly at a considerable distance from the portal and thus makes the group of Job stand out from the rest of the tympanum. The line of direction of the semi-seated upper body of Job leads to yet another physiognomically connected figure of the freshly resurrected girl of Toulouse, depicted still with her deadly corporal ambience of sinewy limbs and wrinkled, withered face (fig.175).[48] This visual linking of afflicted physiognomies across the tympanum may serve as the key to understanding the relationship of the narratives represented. Job's decayed body, its physiognomic and spatial articulation linking him visually with other decayed bodies – those of the devils or the dead (or the recently revived from the dead), places him on a threshold between life and death, damnation and salvation, thus highlighting his human, corporal identity, making him into a kind of everyman. His body, marked by decay, places him conceptually (as he is placed visually) in the hands of the Devil, in the domain of afterlife, hell, where the demons dwell. But Job's lack of interaction, and his bland expression, reflect the uncorrupted core of the man of God who eventually undergoes the restoration of the flesh, the process symbolising

48 For the interpretation of the girl of Toulouse as a penitential figure, see Abou-El-Haj 1988, 25-27. She also notes that the girl of Toulouse at Reims is not the typical demoniac. She is instead docile, as if she was taking part in a contemporary ceremony. The girl and Job show spiritual solemnity in the face of the corruption of their bodies.

his recovery. The scene of resurrection of the body immediately above conveys and completes this complex multi-narrative at the core of which stands spiritual renewal symbolised by the restoration of the body.

COMPARISON OF THE TREATMENT OF PHYSICAL AILMENTS AND OTHER PHYSIOGNOMIC DETAIL

The decay of the flesh was suggested by the carvers through signs of physical anomaly. The grooves suggesting emaciation on the bodies contributed to the linear patterning of the whole compositions. I suggest that the significant scale and height of the scene above the ground had an impact on the restrained minuteness of detail and the Chartres and Reims sculptors' general preference for overall surface and linear effects. Had they opted for the detailed depiction of numerous ailments on the body of Job, as others did in the case of the smaller sculpture we have seen on the capitals, they would have to be large and numerous enough to be recognised as ailments, and this could have distorted the clarity of the overall image. Several two- and three-dimensional renderings of the diseased surface of Job's body may serve as example. In manuscript illumination, where the artist lacked the physical depth for representation of the body, the lesions were marked as numerous dots of various colours (usually black or red) covering the surface of Job's body.

Various shapes and sizes of the painted marks were applied. In the late twelfth-century *Dialogus de Laudibus* (fig.176), the grieving Job is seated on a dunghill with his arm propped on his knobbly knee.[49] It is possible that the artist wanted to represent a swelling, displayed by the akimbo pose. While the outline of the body of Job and the details of the face were represented with the use of a darker pigment, the numerous bean-shaped and small lesions, Job's potsherd for scraping them, and the symbol of the cross near the figure were executed in a rich red. It is probably significant that a different, bold colour was

49 Dialogus de laudibus sanctae crucis, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (München), Cod. lat. 14159.

chosen to depict the signs of the physical suffering of Job, the tool of supposed relief but only a temporary one, thus being truly a tool for prolonging the pain, and, finally, the most prominent feature of the illustration, the remedy – the symbol of Christ who is the only medium of salvation.

In most two-dimensional depictions the painters opted for the rendering of the multitude of lesions, making them the primary communicator of the pathological state, rather than embarking on changing the shape of Job's body. Examples here include the Marciana manuscript, Codex Sinaiticus, or Vatopedi 590 manuscript (fig.177) where the artists did not alter their ways of depicting a body, even for Job. He thus appears as a well-built man, just the same as the figures surrounding him, the only difference being that he is nude and this nudity reveals the spotting on his otherwise normally-coloured bodily surface. The Vatopedi artist even opted for a polychrome presentation of the lesions, neatly aligned over the entire surface of Job's body, appearing almost as a chainmail protecting Job from the outside world, at the same time further removing the figure from the domain of his peers. In sum, it was the surface of the body that in the manuscript illumination provided the artists with the opportunity to communicate Job's pathological state, not the alterations to bodily form, like signs of deformations and other physiognomic changes.

The painter of the Vienna *Bible Moralisée* (fig.178) retained this reliance on the skin surface of Job for the illustration of his disease, again, without making significant changes to the bodily form of the figure.[50] But he opted for boosting the impact of the pathological, spotted surface with the addition of slithering worms attached to his body like leeches, as if biting into his flesh, or gradually sucking the life out of him. In the several scenes Job is shown in different poses and from different sides and one can surmise that the artist revelled in the opportunity, which he himself created, of achieving a variety of poses

50 Bible Moralisée, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 1179.

particularly for Job. The worms introduce chaos to the surface of Job's body, one already spotted with marks representing lesions. Worms also reinforce the associations with death, as the body of Job is graphically represented as eaten by worms, while the man remains alive.[51] Being the representation of the ultimate decay and ultimate torture, the image must have made an impact on the memory of the viewer.

This approach was repeated in sculptural form on the Paris relief, where the lesions of Job were replaced with segmented worms, crawling over the exposed parts of his body. As there are larger and thicker maggots on the pile of refuse on which Job is seated, he appears somewhat likened to it, as he is similarly infested by disgusting beasts. The difference of scale of the worms is perhaps due to the sculptor's wish to retain the effect of chaos on the skin surface of Job, where a larger number of thinner worms would have worked better than a few large ones. A multitude of meandering shapes, clearly identifiable as worms due to the comparison with the fat beasts on the pile, would have contributed to the flickering effect, indicative of the pathological state of the skin surface. The flatness of relief of the small elements would have contributed to the effect of anomalous patterning, at the same time allowing for considerable clarity.

Apart from signalling the pathological state in which Job found himself, as well as his associations with death, the body crawling with worms could have worked as the counterweight of the emotional charge of the group. While the companions attending Job show a multitude of human feelings of various quality, the troubled physiognomy of Job functions as a means to remove him from the domain of the earthly, or human, to alienate

51 *'My flesh is clothed with worms and clouds of dust'*, Job 7:5, translation from Dillon 1905, 14. Worms and dust bring up associations with death, decomposition and mourning. In another passage, Job expresses his desperate situation more explicitly further on: *'If I wait hell is my house, and I have made my bed in darkness. If I have said to rottenness: Thou art my father; to worms, my mother and my sister.*' Job 17:14. See Dillon 1905, 41, for an observation that in Syriac the terms for devil means literally a flesh-eater. Job also refers to his pains as consuming him: *'In the night my bone is pierced with sorrows: and they that feed upon me, do not sleep. With the multitude of them my garment is consumed, and they have girded me about, as with the collar of my coat.'* Job 30:17-18.

him, or perhaps even to distinguish him as the only wise man among the foolish. The repulsive surface of his body marks him as the other, the ugly human, if not a creature close to beastly. The physical intensity of Job's body thus counterbalances the intensity of emotional load presented by the other figures.

As three-dimensional renderings of the physiognomic treatment of Job's pathological body offered more options for interpretation, some carvers made use of the available depth to experiment with the three-dimensional rendering of the lesions. An evocative example is the Pamplona carving where the complex surface of the large boils makes them resemble an efflorescence of the pathological uncontrolled growths on the body. The surface of Job's body, depicted here twice, is extremely busy, with vertical ridges, probably achieved with the use of a toothed chisel, providing a flickering background to large and numerous boils. Still, the other aspects of his physiognomy did not change, and the proportions and form of Job's body are the same as his companions'. Only the scale of one of the representations of Job was altered, perhaps to bring out the importance of the scene in which he is singled out by God as the only righteous.

There are more examples of a straightforward approach to the pathological body seen elsewhere in the sculpture of the period, the images of the leper Lazarus being the most immediate, if not extreme examples. At Moissac (fig.179), Lazarus is lying half naked and appearing half-dead, his body covered tightly with surface bumps representing boils and lesions.[52] Overall, the representations focusing on the pathological surface of the body exploit the general idea of disruption – something devoid of smoothness, clarity, unity, and thus normality. The artists differed in their interest in a veristic rendering of the diseased body – see for example the contrast between the symbolic marking of lesions of the Vatopedi manuscript and the more detailed and careful, almost tactile representation of his lesions at Pamplona. What mattered was the general effect of the interrupted surface,

52 For the link of Lazarus and Job in a penitential context, see Werckmeister 1972, esp. 12-21.

alerting the eye perhaps in a more immediate and effective way than the less striking changes in bodily form elsewhere.

However, the later representations of the body of Job departed from such explicit treatment of bodily surface and focused instead on the application of more subtle marks on the body. Line began to be treated as a primary determinant of physiognomic features, rather than being just a surface noise-maker as it was at Pamplona. The capital from Toulouse, carved with the story of Job distributed over several scenes, displays a shift of the physiognomic emphasis from the physical signs of disease affecting the bodily surface, the horrific and numerous lesions known from manuscripts and carvings such as the one at Pamplona, to the representation of a general exhaustion of the body. In two neighbouring scenes set into the roundels, Job's body is shown emaciated, with the skin stretched over bones and sinews, much in the guise of contemporary sculpted representations of devils, with the parallel ridges stretching along the sides of his limbs.[53] A toothed chisel was used across the chest of Job – from his collarbones down to his belly – to forcefully delineate ribs, reinforcing the withered appearance of the body. No lesions are shown, nor do they need to be, as the delicate, subtle lines in strategic places communicate well the frail physique of Job. The emaciation, apart from signifying physical weakness, exhaustion, decay, can carry additional meanings as it contributes to the overall effect of Job's body, thus shedding light on his condition as a human. His presence is physically reduced, the bodily mass is reduced, and thus the body is belittled, the body weakened materially but conceptually made more significant. Job's physiognomy is playing the same role here as pathognomy does for the bodies of the damned and of Adam and Eve, where their postures aim to reduce their physical presence as if the figures are trying to disappear from the scrutinising and judging eye of God.

53 For this type of physiognomic characterisation, see chapter two.

I suggest that the presence of the devil on the tympana at Chartres and Reims further facilitated this departure from the depiction of individual lesions in favour of a more general picture of a withered human body, though still both surface and linear approaches to pathological body marking were used individually, depending on the artist's approach. At Chartres and Reims the body of Satan being in direct contact with the body of Job, provides the appropriate amount of ugliness in the scene thus acting as a rhetorical tool replacing other elements communicating meanings and drama. Satan's body brings in enough corruption to add to the dramatic effect of the scene, so Job's body had to be left without drastic physiognomic changes. And yet in both scenes the bodies of Job and Satan are closely connected, though in two different ways. Chartres remains closer to the tradition of using the surface for conveying pathology. The minute dents covering the entire surface of Job's body respond to the surface of the body of Satan, while both bodies, with the exception of Satan's beastly features, remain relatively unaltered: they are not emaciated nor saggy – they are relatively shapely, as far as devils and lepers can be.[54] At Reims line was introduced to construct the features of the bodies of the two, so ribs, bones, sinews, sagging skin, and muscles are clearly delineated, as if the bodies were left bare of their protective, even if pathological, surfaces. The two examples, similar in composition, yet different on the pathognomic level, show how past conventions became fused into new representations.

54 For changing physiognomy of Satan, see for example *Moralia* II:4 where Gregory explains Satan's apostate-angelic nature; and the last chapter of the Book of Job where the 'comely' physiognomy of Satan is described. This humanisation of Satan in the thirteenth century could have had to do with the increased awareness of the dual nature of man – and therefore the dual nature of Satan – see for example the Strasbourg Tempter.

FACING JOB AND SATAN

As the following section on body language will show, the face was a somewhat different territory of bodily rhetoric, it responded to different rules. So while the body of Job at Chartres and Reims is physiognomically subjected to the body of Satan, his face represents the exact denial of this association. Or, rather, the face of Satan appears as a mockery, or subversion of every feature of the face of Job. As for Chartres, for example (fig.180), Job's small, almond-shaped eyes are contrasted with the similarly shaped and rimmed, but oversized and bulging eyes of Satan. Job's small ears are contrasted with by Satan's large earlobe. Job's noble-looking, long and straight nose contrasts with Satan's overgrown nasal rim splitting the face in two and hooking downwards at the end, needless to say, sporting gaping nostrils. And finally, Job's closed mouth is responded to by huge gaping mouth showing the teeth and thrust tongue.[55] All this goes along with a significant difference in scale of both heads.

At Reims (fig.173) the heads remain on the same scale but instead the proportions of the facial parts differ. Job's graceful nose becomes stretched and flared on Satan's face, while the slightly open and down-turned mouth of Job inverts into the toothless grin of Satan. These striking physiognomic differences, alongside so many similarities of the bodies as a whole, suggest that the artists considered the face as the locus of identity. Both images in different ways show that while Satan could take over Job's body, his face, as the window of the soul and the location of the mind over which Satan had no power, remains beyond the physiognomic corruption brought by evil powers.

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It is possible that about a decade or so after the carving of the Reims group, an artist working on the decoration of the upper parts of the south transept of the cathedral

55 The faces respond to each other in the play of oppositions.

depicted Job in yet another way, but one clearly in agreement with the above-evidenced departure from depicting complex bodily surfaces of lesions and spots, in favour of bolder signs of pathology. A voussoir of the right archivolt of the rose window of the transept contains a bald and nude man seated on a mound.[56] His raised head and facial expression communicate alertness and concern. He sits uncomfortably and awkwardly, he is vulnerable and on display. His knees are splayed and the left shin creates a strong diagonal across the front face of the voussoir. This 'Job' is calling attention to his diseased and sorry state by other means than flashy and gory lesions. He holds an attribute identifying him as a leper – in his right hand he raises a bell. His left hand is damaged but it is possible that a bridge supporting the undercut hand also represented a kind of tool – perhaps a potsherd with which he scratches his invisible boils. This example is a culmination of the transformation of approach to the diseased body – where with time bolder statements of his identity and state – such as attributes, nudity, bald head, complement the ubiquitous mound in replacing a finer delineation of lesions – which, if sculpted, would not have been visible from the ground anyway.[57]

The issue of public display may be a crucial determinant of such shifts of physiognomic emphasis. While the images on the capitals may have been considered more intimate due to their reduced size and close vantage point, and thus more flexible in terms of the individual artistic choice, the larger, more public (in theory, in case of Chartres and Reims scenes) sculptural displays called for bold statements, so that a fusion of artistic approaches fitted into the particular context of an archivolt or tympanum were applied. The departure from the particular affliction of the body to a general depiction of the anomalous, damaged, incapable physique would have resonated with the more public

56 See Sauerländer 1972, plate 263.

57 Unless they were brightly painted on.

character of the thirteenth-century scenes.[58] A general picture of the suffering Job would have appealed to the sensibilities not only of people with various similar skin conditions and bodily ailments and deformations, but various other physical as well as psychological issues.[59] Job was, after all, tormented mentally as well as physically. The more general, overarching image of the sufferer would have proved relevant to all more or less troubled souls wishing to cheat the Devil and death and hoping to achieve salvation, be they the laity or the canons of the cathedral. As their eyes and minds made the appropriate associations between the physiognomic indicators of identity and the meanings of the figure, the rhetorical goal of the gory lesion and the sagging skin was achieved.

THE RAMPANT PATHOGNOMIES

One of the outcomes of the foregoing analysis is the observation that the images depicting the story of Job generally comply with and reinforce the message of the limited powers of Satan who is eventually overcome by the steadfast Job. I argue that in some renderings of the story this rhetorically powerful predicament of Satan, thwarted in his futile and desperate actions aimed to bring down the faithful and prove God wrong, was harnessed by the artists and even used as a driving force of the narrative. The twelfth-century manuscript of the *Moralia in Job* from Affligem (fig.182-187) is particularly successful in exploiting the motif of the frustrated Satan.[60] He features in six out of fourteen full-page illuminations, and twice on one page, in the upper and lower register. Only twice in the sequence of images,[61] in the presence of God, is Satan depicted as a subordinate and

58 Even if not accessible to general public, the portal sculpture, also due to its size, belonged to a different domain than cloister decorations or other art for a selected audience.

59 For the popularity of Job in the late Middle Ages in the context of the Black Death, see Meiss 1964, 68.

60 BnF MS lat. 15675, see digitised on http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84526716/f13.item. For analysis of this manuscript, see Collon-Gevaert 1948, 39-79.

61 But only once here illustrated. The scene omitted in illustrations is at the top of fol. 5v.

particularly pathetic creature, this being communicated not only by a beastly physiognomy, but also by his body language and location. He is relegated to the inferior space to the left of Christ between the lower edge of the mandorla and the legs of Christ's blessed companions. The confined space enforces Satan's diminished scale and demeaning pose – Satan is forced to squat and bend in order to fit his body and the text scroll with his blasphemous words. His pathognomy is a construct of pure exaggeration, his nose being a misshapen mockery of the perfect nose of Christ, eyes and brows distorted by an envious frown, mouth grinning and exposing notched teeth. While such details of the articulation of Satan's body were intently exaggerated, some other features must be attributed to the particular, dynamic and expressive, if sometimes sketchy, style of the artist, as well as to the practical wish for clarity of the narrative. So while the Devil is given beastly chicken feet, his hands holding his text-scroll look exactly like the hands of Christ and the blessed companions, and in fact like the hands of any other figure in the manuscript, with their characteristic elongated fingers.

While the Devil's physiognomy remains constant throughout the sequence of the narrative, his body, in terms of scale and pathognomy, becomes more expansive as he dominates and instigates the events, or catalyses the action, in the following scenes where, by permission of God, he bestows the sorrows on Job. In the scene of the slaughter of the ploughing servants, Satan floats at the apex of the pyramidal composition. He no longer appears like a rabid beaten dog, as he did by the side of the figure of God. He is drawn much larger this time, with his hands outstretched in a gesture of command, instigating the slaughter performed by the Sabeans.[62] The instruments of the massacre, the sword and the axe raised ready to deal the deadly blows, form the arms of the pyramid, with the head of Satan as a keystone, or cornerstone of the violent composition. Such a construction of the scene and the articulation of the movement and objects within it establishes Satan as the

62 Job 1:15.

orchestrator of the evils occurring. In the next scene where the Chaldeans are shown stealing Job's camels and slaying his servants, Satan is shown again high above the other figures, with his outstretched hands orchestrating the massacre.[63] The fire of heaven itself assists Satan in the next scene where he falls upon the livestock of Job with the torches aligned so as form the linear pyramid encompassing the items about to be burned.[64] In the scene of the killing of Job's children Satan appears in the foreground, large and running rampant, with all his limbs splayed, like a deadly star, as the violent wind from the dessert, toppling the building over his victims.[65]

The visually all-embracing control over Job's assets is then repeated in the scene where Satan casts the final blow on Job, taking his physical well-being away.[66] Satan, standing behind Job, performs the same grasping gesture as before; this time, however, it appears more intimate, as he is dealing with man's most personal and precious item – his own body. Job, seated on his mound with a sorrowful expression on his face, hunches over while scraping his freshly inflicted boils with a potsherd, so that the blood gushes from the wounds.[67] The bloody act could be taken as a sign of particular despair in the face of one's suffering, perhaps not in line with the general tendency to whitewash Job, but much in line with the text of the book.[68] The act could also be viewed as a symbolic extension of Satan's powers. Although Job took the potsherd himself (Job 2:8), the object can be viewed as an agent of manipulation on behalf of Satan.[69] Indirectly through the object, Satan's control over the physicality of Job was pushed to the extreme, for, as the image shows, the scraping of the diseased body was only superficially a method of relief, eventually

63 This and the next occur in inverted sequence in relation to the narrative of the book.
64 See Job 1:16 for the fire of God falling from heaven: 'ignis Dei cecidit e caelo'.
65 Wind from the dessert Job 1:19.
66 This scene appears immediately under the second encounter of God and Satan. Note the significant change in scale of Satan's body.
67 Job bleeding could be a reference to the flogging of Christ.
68 Perhaps this could be seen as exercising some artistic licence. The whitewashing tendency is visible in most patristic literature on Job. Job's potentially heretical words were not generally explained.
69 Job 2:8.

transforming into a form of self-harm. Another example of a gruesome treatment of Job's body can be found on the capital at Vienne, where Job is shown scraping the lesions off his skin, with his mouth open in a sign of distress. Such images could suggest that the potsherd could have been interpreted and intended by the artists as a tool of self-harm, thus a symbol of Job's resignation or even despair. After all, this was evident in the text of the poem.[70] Job was in desperation because Satan gradually took everything from him, item after item, until his body was destroyed to the brink of death, as death was the only thing beyond God's dispensation (Job 2:6). But as, according to the Christian teaching, the corporeal was only a part of what a human being consisted of, there was something Satan could never get from a worthy man. And so the sequence of events showing Satan bestowed with power ultimately led the viewer to witness his defeat.

Such reasoning behind the compositional and corporal rhetoric of the scenes at Chartres and Reims was in line with the message serving the solution of the logical problem of evil; that even if evil may temporarily take over, and run rampant in the world, divine justice will ultimately reach the righteous, if they only choose to be such. Placing Satan as the orchestrator of the tragedy seems a wise choice for the visual rendering in a monumental context, as his eye-catching figure becomes a locus of the tragic events that drive the narrative. In other words, Satan is exposed as a scapegoat – he is caught in the act of bestowing evil upon the righteous. On the tympana at Chartres and Reims, Satan is the narrative and compositional key, the language of his body identifies him as an instigator and catalyst for the movement and action of the entire scene, his figure invigorating the image and orchestrating the earthly, or corporal, drama. Central and on the axis of both tympana, exactly under the overseeing image of God, Satan is given a prime position among the humans. He is given, however temporarily, charge of their fate. His expansive gesture indicating control over the body of Job, then directly or indirectly influencing the

70 See, for example, Job 7:21-22.

bodies of the remaining figures, communicates this temporary and limited power very clearly.

JOB, SATAN, AND THEIR PATHOGNOMIC RELATIONSHIP

Satan's gesture at Chartres and Reims is a literal, not just symbolic reference to the text, in which the Adversary *'struck Job with sores from the sole of his foot to his crown'* (Job 2:7). Satan's physical contact with Job's body, clasping it at head and heel, implies his possession of it, the gesture removed from the body language of the devil as a narrative accessory of the earlier depictions or even devils-instigators of the likes of the Paris manuscript.[71] By their precision of articulation, the sculptors at Chartres and Reims highlighted the importance of the act of Satan, gave it a primary place in the story. The touch of evil so crucial to the narrative was spelled out by the evocative gesture of Satan, this being a literal staging of the passage of the text describing the crucial moment of Job's transit from being a healthy servant of God, albeit one touched by tragedy, to a man touched in direct, or physical terms, his body broken by extreme physical suffering.[72] Satan's act is a direct outcome of his remark to God that as long as Job's body itself is untouched, his loyalty will not be truly tested: 'Skin for skin, and all that a man hath he will give for his life: But put forth thy hand, and touch his bone and his flesh, and then thou shalt see that he will bless [curse] thee to thy face' (Job 2:4-5).[73] The inclusion of this gesture of Satan highlights the moment of the physical transformation of Job and emphasizes the crucial role of the corporal condition of the protagonist in the composition of the narrative. After all, it was

71 'Host (of evils) hath seized me' Job 16:7 (Dillon, 34); 'But now my sorrow hath oppressed me, and all my limbs are brought to nothing' Job 16:8.

72 The touch of evil: 'So Satan went forth from the presence Of the Lord, and struck Job with a very grievous ulcer, from the sole of the foot even to the top of his head...', Job 2:7; 'Though I were faultless, he would make me crooked'. Job 9:20; Dillon 1905, 20.

73 As in the story of the Fall, the presence of Satan functioned to test human obedience. Adam and Eve were the first to choose between good and evil, Job is the continuation of the test of humanity.

not before losing his health that Job considered himself as having lost everything – it was the loss of control over his body that put Job on the pile of refuse.

Despite his loss of control over its functions, the body of Job as the compositional and narrative focus of the tympana could have served as a means of communicating the message of the ultimate victory of virtue and the downfall of evil. Satan is grasping Job – crown and foot – the upper and the lower part of his body – the mental and the corporeal, but the touch of evil is the only aspect that bonds them, the intimacy is built solely on the physical proximity and bodily contact. Beyond that there is a total lack of interaction. The bodies face away from each other. At both Chartres and Reims Satan tosses his head sideways and up, as if addressing God.[74] The figures of Job on the two tympana vary in details. At Chartres, he rests his neck against his chest, staring into the void and scraping his left forearm. At Reims he stares out ahead as if towards the viewer, holding the potsherd against his chest. The expression on the faces of both representations of Job is of stunned acceptance – like Christ in the Judgements nearby they retain a more or less contained expression in the face of dramatic events.

In both cases Job's body is closed in; in contrast with earlier depictions of the scene he is not interacting with anyone, he appears to be closed in his own world, physically preoccupied with the state of his body, scraping it, while mentally seemingly disconnected, staring in the void. The contemplative withdrawal being primarily implied by the distance gaze, the lack of social interaction is manifested by gestures of hands. The closed-in attitude of the arms is not connected with the instinctive human gesture in response to danger, which manifests itself in the enclosing of the arms in order to protect oneself. Job with arms crossed on his chest, while being attacked by Satan and a monster symbolising

74 This highlights the insolent behaviour of Satan in contrast to humble Job, who 10:15 (in Dillon 1905, 22) says: 'Though righteous, I dare no to lift up my head'.

the disease, appears in the MS gr. 1231 from the Vatican library (fig.188).[75] Chartres Job seems preoccupied with scratching the sores on his left forearm, outstretched towards his wife but without clearly indicating speech. The hand seems stretched for convenience, not for social communication. Even further from social interaction is Job at Reims, turning his head away from other figures, while holding on to his falling loincloth with his right hand and pressing the potsherd to his chest with his left, thus wrapping his arms around his body.[76] The gesture of the left hand resembles penitential breast striking which, combined with Job's inclination of the head as he looks out towards the viewers, may suggest the intention of setting him as a penitential exemplar.[77]

The semi-seated pose so conspicuously represented in these two late portraits of Job reveals various levels of significance. From the formal perspective, the diagonal alignment of the body provides the directional opposition to other figures and scenes in the compositions. On the more metaphysical level, the reclining could be representative of Job's transitory stage, his struggle between good and evil, between life and death. He was, after all, an originally 'upright' man (Job 1:1), charged by his own friends with the loss of uprightness as the disease, which caused literal or physical loss of uprightness, struck. The departure from the ubiquitous seated pose of Job may be also related to the sculptor's wish to highlight the drama of Job's situation, reflected in physical suffering that pushed the man to liminal position on the brink of death. The reclining pose, reminiscent of the elegance of the struggling figures from late-antique marbles such as the Jonah sarcophagus (fig. 189), is an excellent bodily configuration highly expressive of pathos. The liminal pose

75 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS gr. 1231, fol. 64v. For an interpretation of the monsters attacking Job as personifications of ulcers, see Evangelatou 2009.

76 The left arm as well as the head of Job are now lost but pre-war photographs are available showing the original state of the sculptures. See fig. reproducing a photograph from the Marburg collection.

77 For his penitent gesture see also Hinkle 1965, 55. For the sixth-century *Penitential of Finnian,* mentioning striking of the breast as a sign of penitence, see O'Loughlin 2000, 101ff. Jeremiah 31:19 refers to penitential beating of a thigh: postquam enim convertisti me egi paenitentiam et postquam ostendisti mihi percussi femur meum confusus sum et erubui quoniam sustinui obprobrium adulescentiae meae.

of Job on the two Gothic tympana eloquently speaks of drama of the situation in which the wounded, but not defeated athlete of God remains.[78] But perhaps the most convincing explanation of the reclining pose could be tied with what is here highlighted as the transitory event in the story that, I argued, is at the core of the scenes at Chartres and Reims. This was the moment of the touch of evil, the point at which Job loses control over his body and only then embarks on a tirade of a thousand verses. Not asleep, not yet dead, only sick and tormented, with a useless body half-lying like that of a drunken Noah, with the difference that Job's head is raised as he is alert with a self-possessed mind, trapped in an alien body.[79]

The iconographic context of the two scenes may also help highlight the subtle differences between the form and function of Job in both locations. At Chartres Job is accompanied by another Old Testament exemplar, King Solomon, depicted passing his famous judgement (fig.190).[80] The relationship of the two scenes at Chartres is not based upon the physiognomic relationships, as at Reims, but rather, on pathognomic expression, in line with the overarching theme of wisdom that links both scenes.[81] While King Solomon stands as a vessel and a promulgator of divine wisdom,[82] seating elegantly and gesturing in command, Job submits to the mysterious ways of God, suffering through his trials and on the path to attaining wisdom himself. Job appears as a pupil in the process of formation, while Solomon stands for a model of intellectual and physical behaviour. There are also typological connections that may be drawn between the figures. The reactions of Job and the true mother from the Judgement of Solomon are being tested against the unjust behaviour of Satan and the false mother. An alternative reading may be suggested by the

78 For God's athlete, see Heslop, 1986, esp. 114-115.
79 For images and discussion of drunken Noah, see Caviness 2012, esp. 107ff.
80 For interpretation of Solomon as symbolising Christ, see Katzenellenbogen 1964b, 69-70.
81 For the analysis and interpretation of iconography of the Portal of Wisdom, see Katzenellenbogen 1964b, 67-74; Prache 1994, 64-79.
82 'And all Israel heard the judgment which the king had judged, and they feared the king, seeing that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment'. Kings 3:28.

stronger visual connection between the baby from the Judgement scene and Job himself – both are rather violently handled and tussled by the figures struggling for the ownership of their bodies or souls.

This observation gains more ground in the light of the exegetical arguments of Solomon's authorship of the Book of Job.[83] Seen in this light, the formal arrangement of the scenes becomes reminiscent of a dedicatory page in a manuscript, where the author is shown seated at the flank and below the narrative represented in the upper registers.

At Reims in turn, as the section on physiognomy above has shown, the subject matter and the various physiognomic and linear patterns connecting the scenes are established upon the concept of death and physical corruption that is overcome by spiritual renewal. The emphasis on the corporal complies with the interpretation of Gregory the Great, who in *Moralia in Job* spoke of suffering as the path to purification and wisdom.[84] The designers of the scene appear to have placed more emphasis on the physical rather than the intellectual aspects of Job's path to purification, and this is seen in the formal and iconographic relationships of the body of Job and the figures and objects in the neighbouring scenes. In possession of evil embodied by disease, death, or destructive flames; Job, the possessed girl of Toulouse, as well as the entire city of Reims require action to be taken. And while Job is the agent of his own salvation from evil, as his isolation from his neighbours suggests, the remaining scenes involve direct initiative of the saints, thus placing the tympanum in the audience-friendly local and contemporaneous context.

Job is surrounded by scenes dedicated to the local saints, whose acts and virtues aided the community directly. Job is set up as something of an example for dealing with adversity. His intimate struggle with the devil may contribute to an understanding of the inclusion of the scene within the portal. According to Sadler, the 'humanity' of Job fits well

83 Lewalski 1966, 12.

84 Reims had at least five copies of *Moralia* – see Hinkle 1965, 59.

in the context of glorification of the local bishops.[85] The presence of an Old Testament figure and an exemplar of humility, piety, and, perhaps most importantly, struggle with the dark forces, legitimised the local bishop saints' powers to do the same. The body of Job is visually (via his physiognomy) and compositionally (via the alignment and positioning of his body) connected with those of the demons on the tympanum. Job's passive steadfastness in the face of the violent assault of evil contrasts with St Remi's active participation in the events of his miracles. But the emphasis on the physical resistance of Job to the agents of death and evil legitimises St Remi's miraculous acts against the same agents shown in the registers below and above Job. Passivity versus activity are in balance as both men fought evil in their own ways. The inner power of Job reflects on the acts of St Remi, the defender of the people, man of his time, and modern saint, granted by God the power to purge death and evil through his miracles. St Remi's outreach contrasted with and thus was highlighted by the passive struggle of Job against the devil.[86]

The figures of Job in the scenes at Chartres and Reims no longer dwell on their sorry state, dispute with the companions, scratch their heads.[87] They do not display confusion or despair, quite contrary to the text of the book. The attitudes of their bodies like turn of the heads or gesture of the hands add to their isolation. They do not express their suffering through dynamic gestures, the emphasis is rather put on their internal struggle. They are both, in different ways, digested products, models, instructions of behaviour to the viewers, the guides to salvation. Their behaviour contrasts sharply with that of their human and supernatural companions, who display a range of reactions from rather passive confusion to horror. Job, meanwhile, sets an example of conduct in the face of misery. While Chartres Job quite forcefully stands (or reclines) for the virtue of submissive piety, becoming an archetype of pious suffering, and an intellectual mind-

85 Sadler 2012, 33.

86 The subject matter of the voussoirs also primarily relate to the struggle against evil through obedience to higher wisdom. See A. Katzenellenbogen 1964b, 67-74.

87 Like was the case in another manuscript from the Vatican Library – MS gr 749.

trigger, the Reims figure appears to almost stare down the viewer, as if pleading for the need for penance in the face of the hardships of life and impending death. [88]

RELATIONSHIP OF PHYSIOGNOMY AND PATHOGNOMY: BEYOND THE ACT OF SATAN

Through contrast, the bodily behaviour of Job presents a commentary on the behaviour of others. In the rendering of the scene on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, Job appears like a pensive philosopher, with the pathognomy as well as the physiognomy of his body contributing to that image: he is seated in a contemplative pose, with no lesions visible. His mindful passivity is contrasted with the spontaneous reactions of his wife, who raises her veil to her mouth and nose, in a gesture of either grief or disgust, thus baring her emotional or physical weakness. The sculptors on the portals of Chartres and Reims made such contrasts their primary narrative tool. The bodily contrasts are rooted in one primary difference between Job and the other figures – he is the man of God, the others are those in error. Their lack of acceptance of the mystery of divine providence causes a variety of emotional responses in the companions of Job. And while Satan claims power over the physiognomy of Job but not of the behaviour of his body – which is reflected in the bland expression of the man - the bodily reactions of the other figures appear affected by the bodily (and moral) actions of Satan. The most susceptible to the Satanic influences appears to be the wife of Job, who in the Hebrew poem and the Vulgate was given a single but damaging line. It was she who succumbed to the hopes of Satan as she implored Job to curse God and give up his ghost. Her verbal contribution thus made her into an extension of the gesture of Satan. But how does her body language identify her in the eye of the viewer of the portals?

88 See Büchsel 2012, 88 for identification of the Job scene at Chartres as a refined image created for intellectual contemplation by a refined audience of canons.

The sculptors at Chartres and Reims played along the lines of judgement suggested by the text, but there is no question of direct copying as each location created its own concept of the wife. At Chartres she is as active as Satan, raising her hands (now broken off) in the gesture probably once indicating speech.[89] Her brow is slightly furrowed and her mouth is open as she speaks her words to Job, encouraging him to give up. Her posture communicates concern; she is inclined forward but her back remains straight, perhaps suggesting reserve, and the gesture is performed mainly by the bowed head, slightly turned towards the viewer. Her bearing suggests her nobility. Her animated hands were carved in the round and were different in form but the same in character as those of Satan – powerful and determined. The wife of Job at Chartres is an empowered accomplice, caught in the act of speaking and gesturing with the intention to impel to sin, active and determined in the act itself like Eve, whose behaviour, though an act of free will in itself, was in its essence an extension of the workings of the Adversary.

The wife at Reims is muted (fig.181); she covers her mouth with both hands in a gesture which could be easily interpreted as a spontaneous reaction to a dramatic occurrence, despite her not being able to see Satan. Although she is reacting to the act of Satan that she cannot see, her gesture is highlighted by its impetus, the drama doubled by the use of both hands, the eye drawn. Alternatively, or in addition to being an expression of horror, the gesture could indicate compliance with Job's repeated request for his companions to remain silent, perhaps preceded by her realisation of her foolishness. In this way, the wife of Job could be interpreted as postlapsarian and expressing shame on behalf of all the heretics of the story. As such, she becomes a model heretic, one condensing the faults of others and taking the blame upon herself.[90] Unlike Eve, she does not dare to pass on the blame on to the devil, as her relationship with him is so indirect. She was neither

89 For a catalogue of hand gestures in medieval narrative, see Garnier 1982a, 159ff.

90 See *Moralia*, Pref.15 and chapter VI:1-ff. See also Katzenellenbogen 1964b, 131 on *haereticorum figuram.*

openly seduced by evil, nor later directly reproached by God. Visually, however, she stands for the primary sinner, or fool, of the scene.[91]

At Chartres more strongly than at Reims, the gesticulation of Satan, as opposed to the contained expressions of God and Job, influenced the pathognomy of other figures. Even structurally, the figures are physically connected with the body of Satan. This is the case with the figure of the wife and her compositional counterpart on the opposite flank of Job, Eliphaz the Temanite.[92] A close look at the undercutting reveals those relationships: the undercut left arm of Satan is supported by Job's wife's right arm clad in flowing draperies – a solid mass of stone providing structural aid. The other hand of Satan supports the undercut right hand of Eliphaz – this could be seen as Satan supporting his heretics, as the king of the children of Pride supporting his issue. Also the linear alignment of the arms of Eliphaz conforms to the rhythm of the gesture of Satan, so Eliphaz's gesture becomes a formally harmonious extension of the sinuous movement of the right hand of Satan. This brings to mind the gesture of Eve on Bernward's door, which was an extension of the movement of the body of the serpent. The human figure extending the gesture of Satan becomes a material extension of sin, an issue of evil, an accomplice in the act of the assault upon Job, thus visually rendering the message of the poem about a lonesome Job assailed by the forces of evil supported by its human peers, with only God truly on his side.

As was shown above, Satan's grotesque physiognomy is exaggerated further by his grimace as he stares at God, who in turn remains serene and mentally as unruffled as the surface of his skin and even the draperies of his cloak. Pathological physiognomy also has an impact on the expression of Job, but in a different way. Job's emotions are as if encased within the shell of the pathological bodily features visible in the diseased surface of his

91 'Thou hast spoken like one of the foolish women' Job 2:10. While the foolish wife silences herself, Job is left to address the audience as the only morally upright man of the whole scene.

92 The figure is here identified as Eliphaz because he was the first to speak to Job. It could alternatively be Sophar the Naamathite – the identification coming from his link with ashes – it was after Sophar's speech, when Job compared the words of his friends to ashes (Job 13:12). The figure is shown supposedly sprinkling ashes on the head of Job.

body. At Chartres the details of the facial expression blend into the rough surface of his skin, the facial lesions softly merging with the curls of the beard. The ability of the body to express emotions appears muted by the signs of disease, in accordance with the aforementioned loss of control over body experienced by Job in the darkest hour. But even then the evil has not managed to touch the core of his being, so the apparent disconnection of the inner and the outer communicates his strength. No internal pain is shown, as if the damage stopped on the surface of the skin.

In his original state, before the figure of Job lost its head in the bombardment of the cathedral, it displayed more internal pain (fig.173), and the features were governed less by physiognomy than by the artist's manner of carving human faces. For example, the high cheekbones should not be regarded as an attempt to show a withered face with sunken cheeks, as the feature is not unique to Job. The beard-pulling friend on the extreme left sports similar cheeks, so do other figures in the composition, even though care was taken to depict a variety of facial features. The high cheekbones were likely regarded by the artist as a particularly effective aesthetic feature.[93] Those, along with an elongated nose give Job's face a noble appearance. The perfection of the face makes the delicate delineation of emotion appear more striking, especially since the internal state is marked only by a knitted brow and a gently open mouth. I suggest that the controlled emotional display on the face of Job could have been intended to indicate the internal struggle, accordingly to the conceptual context of the scene, that of the internally active resistance to evil.

There are more connections between the physiognomy and pathognomy displayed by the figures of the friends of Job. At Chartres, the hooked nose of one of the friends is echoed by the lines on his face caused by some extreme emotion. It is also tempting to compare the sharp features of his face, further distorted by the expression, to the features of devilish face and head, where the same process occurs. The lack of horizontal lines on

93 The damaged face of Christ at the apex would have been a useful comparison, had it survived through to the time of early photography.

his forehead, observable in the other two friends, and the presence instead of deep vertical lines between the heavy brows, possibly indicate an emotional weakness without a true intellectual substance. For more links between physiognomy and expression one needs to look no further than Eliphaz and his elongated nose further leading the eye towards two deep creases contorting his forehead into a frown. The overall facial elongation of the third friend is pushed further by the gesture of pulling of the beard, as expression carrying many rather negative connotations, puzzlement being the least deprecating of assigned characteristics of the figure.[94]

The artist at Reims departed from such exploitations of direct pathognomic relationships between the human and devilish body. The three friends (fig.191) are in proximity only to each other, their faces have been cleansed of exaggerated expressions, and mostly gestures have been taken from the Chartres model. The Reims artist copied the beard-pulling gesture but depicted the figure without the stooping seen in the spatially confined register of Chartres. The friend in the centre, with his head now lost, resembles the Chartres figure in the same position only by the clean-shaven face. The angelic head sports a softly pointed chin, straight nose, and relaxed features, unlike the contorted chin muscles, the flared nose and frowning brows shown at Chartres. The Reims companions appear serene and benevolent, perhaps because of the above-mentioned role of Job's wife on the Reims tympanum as pathognomic scapegoat. But perhaps the carver at Reims simply went ahead with the updating of existing model, joining the path towards the rhetorical impressionism of the mature Gothic.

Another explanation for the differences in the levels of expressivity shown in the accompanying figures in the two tympana may be tied to the context of the accompanying

94 For beard-pulling, see Garnier 1982b, 88-94; and Sutterlin 1989, 73. The negative connotations of beard-pulling are apparently suggested by marginal images in manuscripts and churches, or in narrative scenes when the gesture denotes violence of one figure towards another (see, for example, the previous chapter, where the angel pulls the beard of Adam leading him out of the Garden of Eden). See also lintel in S transept where a beard-pulling judge orders St Stephen's stoning. For this, see Katzenellenbogen 1964b, 80ff.

iconography. The demonstrative, sweeping gestures of the figures in the Chartres tympanum go well with the drama and movement of the scene of the Judgement of Solomon. The surrounding scenes in the voussoirs and jambs all relate to the struggle of making moral judgements in the face of hardship as means of overcoming evil.[95] The artist at Reims did not copy the dramatic involvement of the companions of Job. It is possible that the context of the saints' lives in the same tympanum, the presence of the great churchmen, rendered such gestural involvement unbecoming, or unfitting the splendid company of the churchmen. Saints do not wave their arms around, they do not splay legs, bend knees, or even show much emotion. So perhaps the bodily conduct of their fellow figures should remain within the norm.

The variously approached pathognomy of the two tympana is generally based on the play of oppositions, the behaviour of the body, whether flashy or subtle, denoting the moral worth of the figures. In both compositions Satan's expansive body with its gesticulation played alongside his beastly physiognomy, both uniting in a denouncement of his identity and intentions. Thus pathognomy played a crucial part in the experiment of the designers of the tympanum, in which they intended to draw attention to the corporal act of Satan – the expansive body language catches the attention of the viewer and leads onto the perusal of his bodily features. At the same time, Satan's gestures draw attention to his position in the hierarchy, as he futilely struggles to take over more than the bodily surface of his victim. This hopeless attempt is delineated by the calmness and idleness of the body of Job – the play of contrasts at its most effective. Beyond this shared attitude to the primary figures, there are more or less subtle differences between the two compositions, highlighting different expectations towards the rhetorical output of the two different choreographies. In the claustrophobic composition at Chartres the complete isolation of Job turns the scene into an intellectual riddle, an essay on the calm struggle for moral

95 Among them Samson, Gideon, Judith, and Joseph. For a discussion of typological meaning of the portal imagery, see Katzenellenbogen 1964b, 67-74.

wisdom in the face of the active assault from those morally inferior. At Reims, the struggling hero lifts his suffering body from the bed of refuse, to set an example for those who come after. Here, those who come after are the bishop of Reims of the past, as well as the bishops and audiences of the present. The human adversaries are kept at bay, relegated to further distances or physically muted; the primary Adversary is barely but effectively denied access to the struggling hero's soul. There are lessons to be learned and arrived at via different paths of the staging of the story of Job at Chartres and Reims. The role of the body in leading the eye and mind onto those paths remains a constant in these, as well as in many other, grand narratives of the period.

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Revolving around the powerful but rare narrative duet of Job and Satan depicted on the tympana at Chartres and Reims, this chapter aimed to explore how sculpted bodily rhetoric was used in storytelling and how the articulation of the bodies sheds light on the processes of design, at the same time considering the interplay and opposition of the physiognomic and pathognomic features and the ways in which it reflects the attitude of the designers and their desire to affect the attitudes of the viewers. The analysis located the two scenes in the context of other depictions of the story of Job, both two and three-dimensional, and traced some of the impact of the physical context of the medium on the bodies depicted.

One of the primary principles evident in both compositions is the prioritising of the body as carrier of messages within the corporeal, traumaturgical theatre. The threat of moral corruption was shown by the use of the anomalous physiognomy, the remedy suggested by the display of appropriate conduct of the body, guided by faith and humility towards the restoration of the body and salvation of the soul. The narrative communicating the promise of such prizes for pious humility would have appealed to the viewers. Being a mentally and physically complex and capable character, Job could speak for all – the innocent and the guilty, the sick and the healthy, basically anyone with the dimmest hopes

for their own well-being, whether temporal or perpetual. While physiognomically Job remained on the threshold of life and death, his dignified and contemplative conduct communicated his capacity to overcome the threat of moral corruption. So while the surface of his body provided a suitably shocking eye catcher and point of reflection for the viewer (as one would empathetically or even compathetically place oneself in the physical shoes of Job), the bodily behaviour provided instruction that went beyond the ailments, beyond the physical. As Bernard of Clairvaux remarked, Job's exemplary moral conduct had the power to surpass and nullify the stench and eye-sore that his body was.[96]

And so the bodily expressions of Job on the two compositions were tweaked and updated to speak to the large audiences. The unprecedented monumental settings of the scenes and the context of an iconographically dense grand portal may have affected some of the choices of the rendering of the physiognomy. Large lesions may not have been welcomed on a large scale body of a figure meant to serve an example for the clergy and the public alike. Rather, the focus was placed on a more subtle play of relationships and contrasts. The primary relationship was that of Job and Satan. The addition of the figure of Satan brought many advantages to the two monoscenic renderings of the story, where one scene has to speak for the entire narrative. Satan was introduced into the two three-dimensional scenes as an evocative multifunctional tool, raising contrasts and providing another kind of eye-sore, a challenge for the viewer, as well as the artist, demonstrating his will to incorporate a beastly body in order to highlight the physical character, one allowing experimentation with form and surface. While supernatural and beastly, and perhaps because beastly, Satan's body in all its rhetorical aspects adds to the intensity of the corporal dimension of the scenes, providing a hub for physiognomic and pathognomic comparisons.

96 See note 16 above.

With the inclusion of this figure, a problematic concept was tackled – that of an active, empowered Satan, a figure in the narrative causing a considerable problem for the medieval commentators.[97] Looking at the prominent, centred and corporally flamboyant figure, the viewer was reminded of evil as the source of the suffering in the world. Job and Satan perform a perverted Pieta – as while Job, positioned diagonally, neither horizontally or vertically, remains in a state between life and death, Satan attends him, clasping his reclining body. Satan's 'embrace' is by no means passively lamentative but in fact actively destructive. His is not the motherly cradling but the embrace of death, inflicting decay on the body and suffering on the soul. Job being the model for dead Christ, Satan, much through his unconstrained body, becomes symbolic of the sin that Christ's death redeemed. He is not lamenting, but neither is he triumphing. Satan's delight from tormenting Job may be bordering on frustration in the face of his impending failure. Frustrated Satan was represented in the *Testament of Job* and *La Patience de Job*, the texts showing that Satan's frustration was imagined by the beholders of the story.[98] Frustratingly so for himself, Satan only succeeds in corrupting the body, not the soul, as Job retains his internal humanity, thanks to the qualities he advertises among the pious. Satan's triumph is denied by Job's complicity with God and a denial of cooperation with the will of Satan, as he did not take the initiative to do anything, let alone rise in anger and curse the Creator. While true Pietas express a deep physical connection between the bodies of Christ and Mary, with Mary's face showing the same kind of deadly serenity as the face of her son's,[99] in the scenes of Satanic attendance there is no real connection between the two figures – their bodies do not merge. At the lack of interaction with the stoic body of Job, Satan becomes agitated and fidgety – the language of the bodies announces the ultimate defeat of the Adversary. In the end, Job's body is not that desired, belittled by suffering, the

97 For this, see Vicchio 2006.
98 Ibid.
99 Rottgen Pieta (Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn) being an excellent example.

possession of Satan, but instead it becomes a devil's catafalque, a corporeal vanquisher of evil.

CONCLUSION

The findings of the case studies carried out in each chapter cast light on five themes or building blocks of bodily rhetoric: bodily scale, bodily proportion, use of space, use of gestures, and, finally, physiognomies and expressions. These modes of visual rhetoric were identified in chapter one through analyses of the formal relationship of figures and material context, in chapter two via the sculptors' approach to the construction of character, and in chapters three and four in terms of the use of the body as communicator. The discussion below will present these points in turn.

BODILY SCALE

The discussion above has shown that although hierarchies of scale within individual compositions remained bound to the hierarchical identities of the figures, the range of scales was very flexible across the period, and changes in scale were primarily affected by the physical contexts of space and the characteristics of the available material.

Chapter one highlighted the impact of physical context on the scale of the figures. The mason's approach to the blocks set the scalar relationships between figures across the composition. So at Autun, the scale of the smallest figures was determined by the height of the block, while the larger figures were composed from a number of these blocks, thus regulated by the figures at the bottom of the scalar hierarchy. The master of Conques in contrast made the largest figure, Christ, the scalar template and all the smaller figures had to be accommodated within the surrounding blocks, so their scale was determined by their number and positioning within the block. In the thirteenth century scale became less dependent on the smallest or largest block, but instead conformed to the particularities of spatial design. The looser distribution of the figures as well as the more regular stereotomic arrangement of the blocks in the later tympana testify to a more relaxed approach to material, likely caused by a greater ease of sourcing of stone of particular dimensions. The neat stereotomic arrangement

led to neater divisions of the figures, such as that of Christ in Judgement at Reims, who is divided into two equal parts, matching the other blocks in the tympanum.

Chapter two has shown that the scalar hierarchy as demonstrative of identity was also flexible and dependant on physical context. Scale was not always the first sign of status, as it was in the case of Christ at Conques. Where opposing figures were given the same scale, it was left to other rhetorical modes to communicate their identity and character. Such is evident from the equal scale of angels and demons at Autun or Conques, or the almost equal scale of Christ and Satan at Conques. At Moissac, due to the need for symmetry across the porch, the woman with serpents and the demon tormenting her share the dimensions of the Virgin and the angel of the Annunciation opposite. In sum, the indication of character did not rely primarily on differentiations of scale.

Chapter three has shown some very individual approaches of the sculptors in using the scale of the figures to subtly communicate the relationships between the figures in the narratives of the Fall of Man. Interestingly, physical space proved to have more effect on the figures' scale in later case studies rather than in the twelfth-century ones. Despite the supposed difficulties posed by the material context of a historiated capital, carvers could apply changes in scale from scene to scene to communicate meaning. For example Eve's increased size in the scene of the Fall from Sant Pere de Rodes places her in a position of power. But in other cases, for example at Clermont-Ferrand, scalar differentiation is abandoned completely, most likely to retain the clarity of imagery placed high above eye-level. The location and the physical context in general affected the scale of the figures of Adam and Eve in thirteenth-century scenes. The voussoir figures at Chartres and Reims have their scale closely dictated by their body language. Where a pose or gesture allows, figure or body parts are enlarged in the service of clarity. In most cases the entirety of the block is used to accommodate the figures, with attributes and devices reduced to allow the body, and especially the face, to communicate with the viewers. This approach testifies to the sustained prioritisation of subtle modulations of the sculpted body used for communication in the thirteenth century.

Chapter four introduced case studies in which scales of figures were completely equalised, so that God is as large, or as small, as Satan and the human figures. In these rare and technically rather sophisticated scenes of the story of Job more subtle modes of differentiation were used instead of scale. This remarkable uniformity of approach to scale derives from the subject matter, a complex narrative of interpersonal relationships, and is thus less directly dependent on the material and architectural context.

In sum, the use of scale was by no means stable. In most cases the sculptor's approach to the block and the space dictated the conception of scale of the figures. While the thirteenth century saw a reduced scalar contrast between figures on the opposing sides of the spiritual spectrum, the use of scale remained flexible and susceptible to material context. Scale is the mightiest visual short-cut to meaning, as scalar contrasts between objects attract attention, and ease investigation. The manipulation of scale despite the parameters of material and space reveals the sculptors' wish to focus attention on particular bodies or objects. The common trajectory of a visual analysis of any composition tends to run from the largest to smallest elements. Thus the use of scale, even when flexible, or perhaps especially if flexible, is highly informative of the ways the figural composition was meant to work. I argued that while pronounced polarisation of scale conditioned the visual rhetoric of the figural composition based on the hierarchic incentives drawn from the scale of the elements, a uniform scale was meant to highlight the complexity of the relationships between the figures, and to facilitate the extended analysis of the viewed scene. In such cases, no figure was given priority, and the subtlety of visual details corresponded to the complexity of the narrative.

BODILY PROPORTION

The primary change in the use of bodily proportion between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries relates to the relationship of the head and the rest of the body. While in the twelfth century no particular body part was prioritised in the sculpted performance, and the limbs and torso were charged with expression as much as the head, sculptors of the later period

prioritised the face as a communicator. Thus the head was more often enlarged in relation to the rest of the body, in order to accommodate the often highly expressive face.

Chapter one has shown that the twelfth-century bodies tended to be proportioned in strict conjunction with the space available for the figure. This means that the proportional ratio fluctuated from figure to figure, and frequently one composition sported several approaches to proportion adopted for figures of varying scale. By the thirteenth century the bodily proportions devised for the figures on the tympana were freed from the influence of the available space and the scale of the figures, and the relation of the head to the rest of the body was unified throughout the composition. I suggested that part of the reason for such an approach was a neat distribution of the bodies on the blocks, the abandonment of the clustering of figures on several levels within one block, as well as the lessening of the *horror vacui*, likely due to the greater (technical and mental) ease with which a single figure was freed from the matter of the block, and thus from its own background. The clustering of the figures within one section evident in the compositions at Autun and Conques had no counterparts in later compositions inhabited by single rows of similarly proportioned figures.

While the main trend of change in bodily proportions between the twelfth and thirteenth century relates to the changing role of the head as communicator, chapter two complicated it by bringing in cases of enlarged heads as canvases of character in early compositions. While the figures of Christ or the Saints commonly received heads relatively small in comparison to their bodies, malevolent supernatural beings were often given large heads with oversized and exaggerated facial features. This was the case both in early representations, at Conques and Compostela, or later at Reims. The oversized head communicated pathology like nothing else could, being at the same time a fertile field of physiognomic representation for the artist. Not only was the varied proportioning of the head in relation to the body employed, but subtle differences in the proportioning of smaller body parts were also communicative of characters and emotions. With the stabilisation of proportion in the thirteenth century, ‘micro-proportioning’ of features came to the fore, as in

the statue of Adam from Notre Dame, or the jamb figures at Reims cathedral.

Chapter three concluded that there was a close connection between altered bodily proportions and the communication of character in later carvings, while in the twelfth century these were relatively disconnected. In other words, the twelfth-century carvers relied on the performance of the entire human body to communicate character. So, for example, at Clermont-Ferrand, the bodies and heads of the figures are given the same amount of spatial flexibility and attention. Meanwhile, in the thirteenth-century scenes placed in the demanding space of a voussoir placed high above ground-level, the alteration of the ratio of the head and body was indeed necessary to convey a clear performance of the narrative. The heads were enlarged where necessary, and given greater care in the execution of details. In sum, physical contexts were more likely to influence bodily proportions in the thirteenth century than in the earlier period.

The analysis of the treatment of bodily features in chapter four supported this observation about the alteration of proportion of pathological bodily features, common particularly in the twelfth-century representations of the story of Job. In the carved capital at Pamplona, Job's hands, head and lesions are enlarged in relation to the rest of the body – the parts most important and most likely to strike the viewer with the display of pathology as dramatic expression. The capitals with the story of Job – small compositions located above the head of the viewers – tended to exaggerate the head of Job in particular, in order to single him out as the primary protagonist and the communicator of meaning and emotion. As the thirteenth-century scenes of the story of Job were executed in far less demanding physical contexts, the figures' bodily proportions remain stable, with the exception of Satan, whose enlarged head communicates his identity. The ratio of the head to body is smaller at Chartres than at Reims, and the carver has plenty of space to execute facial detail. Reims relied on smaller than at Chartres, but no less detailed features carved on the smaller heads. It was proposed that the diverse use of bodily proportion had to do with the spatial distribution of the figures. According to this, the figures within the less crowded scene at Reims, having less

competition in proximity, did not require alteration of bodily proportions.

The systematisation of bodily proportion was, I argued, the primary factor in both the increased verism of the thirteenth-century body, and the increased impression of the body and its language as a template. This approach endorsed the constancy of bodily articulation over the formal experimentation and surprise that met the eye in earlier expressions. On the one hand, the increased verism triggered empathy with the figure, on the other, the fluidity of the structure of the earlier body facilitated the appeal of a variety of forms and rhythms to the eye. Bodily proportion was thus a factor that shaped the various types of engagement between the figure and the viewer.

SPATIAL DYNAMIC: PROXIMITIES, FIGURE RELATIONSHIPS, ENGAGEMENT

The method of handling of the block in the execution of the figurative compositions is at the core of the observed patterns and changes between the earlier and later sculptures. I argued that the figures' relationship with their background, determined by the way they were freed from the block, significantly impacted on perceptions of the inter-figural relationships. But the depth of carving and the extent of undercutting were not the primary determinants of this relationship. Twelfth-century figures were no less undercut than their later counterparts, they were often quite substantially released from the block of stone. It was, rather the subtle modelling of surfaces in consideration of the use of light and shade that affected the perceptions of spatial, physical and mental relationships between the figures.

Chapter one has shown how compositions of the same type could differ from the perspective of the handling of material and thus the treatment of space creating relationships. Many of the figures at Autun are quite severely undercut and supported by buttressing, yet the individualism of the figures is carefully controlled. The strong communal character is noticeable even in the section containing the individually carved figures of the damned. Instead of carving gestures of touching, the sculptor connected the figures with echoing poses and expressions. This rhythmic patterning stands at the core of the treatment of space and

construction of relationships at Autun. At Conques, this making of relationships relied on the use of clear transitions between multiple planar levels; figures appear connected not so much by the rhythms of their body language as at Autun, but instead by the continuity of the undulating surface. In the thirteenth-century, on the other hand, carvers tended to clear away matter around figures, depicting relationships through direct gesture or gaze, instead of the dynamic of surfaces and rhythms.

Chapter two discussed spatial relationships in terms of oppositions. Throughout the period, contrasting physiognomic signs and gestures were complemented by spatial contrasts to communicate opposing identities. Thus the contrasting physiognomies of the bodies of God and Satan, or Mary and the woman with serpents, were reinforced by carefully designed spatial correspondences. By the thirteenth century this mirroring of figures appears to have reduced the role of gesture or physiognomic display in rhetorical performance. I suggested that this played an important role in the systematisation of normative and non-normative bodies in the thirteenth century.

The representations of the Story of Job discussed in chapter four, whether on a twelfth-century capital, or a thirteenth-century slab or tympanum, share a claustrophobic air resulting not only from the spatial proximity of the bodies but also the intensity of their engagement. The two thirteenth-century examples complicate this effect through particular modelling of the bodies within the narrative space. The crowded composition at Chartres sports bodies plastically modelled for clarity, but the gradation of planes connects the bodies in such a way that they appear to depend on each other for meaning to such an extent that only extremely sophisticated facial expression and complex gestures save them from losing their individuality altogether. The block gives way to carving that reveals forms superimposed on one another, gesturing limbs overlapping and crossing. This bold execution of intertwined bodies strengthens the connection between the figures and highlights the intensity of psychological exchange. The air of psychosomatic confinement is granted to the viewer.

Meanwhile, the carver of Reims distributed several condensed scenes relatively

loosely across the tympanum, leaving the group around Job disconnected, and clearing the material around the figures, denying the level gradations seen at Chartres. This comparison shows the impact of the artistic choices on the interpretation of two and three-dimensional space and therefore the understanding of the viewed scenes.

Spatial correspondences are indeed a crucial formal factor in communicating the physical and emotional dynamics of the sculpted compositions. Spatial relationships are particularly potent in sculpture; a sculpted figure not only engaged with its counterparts, but could also penetrate the space of the viewer, quite literally poking its nose into the world of the captivated and unsuspecting onlooker.

USE OF GESTURES (EMPHATIC VERSUS UNDERSTATED)

Various factors have influenced the formation of gesture in sculpture. The level of drama invested in gesture was moderated by a range of physical aspects that came into play during the planning and execution of the sculpted performance. The twelfth-century methods of execution, based on the rhythmic sequencing of patterns, allowed the carvers to use the immediate surround to reinforce or to soften gestures. The more ruthless treatment of the blocks in the later period resulted in more clear-cut relationships between the figure and its surroundings, thus leaving it formally 'responsible' for its behaviour. In this way, the method of carving led to a softening of emphasis on gestures in the thirteenth century.

The case studies in chapter one evocatively illustrate the macrocosm around sculpted gesture and its impact of the articulation of the bodies. On the tympana at Autun and Conques, the wide repertoire of bodily attitudes, all highly charged emotionally and emphatic, were still dependent on the context. Thus while the dramatic charge increases empathetic potential, it does not guarantee individuality - the twelfth-century emphatic gestures required a legible context. Christ in Judgement or a stooping sinner needed to be embedded within a dramatic, rhythmically conceived scene to perform their function. This is to say that the twelfth-century gesture, regardless of its charge, was a collective phenomenon. Each gesture

acted as a cog embedded in a narrative macrocosm.

The thirteenth-century changes in conception of the figures led to their isolation, with gestures tempered, and corresponding to a smaller area of their surround. Thus the earlier macrocosmic order turned into a microcosmic one, with the autonomy of the figures conditioned by their immediate surroundings, and not by the entirety of the composition. Such microcosmic choreography had an impact on the tempering of gestures, which perceived within a contained scene had little means for unloading emotional charge on to their neighbouring bodies. Thus the more individual the treatment of scenes, the more contained the gestures.

The use of gestures for narration was analysed in chapter three. The bodies of Adam and Eve in many cases lacked forceful characterisations and so gesture had to be employed to make the story clear. In twelfth-century capital and tympanum sculpture sophisticated gestures were employed alongside the attributes signifying the garden setting. Gestures in thirteenth-century sculpted scenes were to a larger extent influenced by the circumstances of execution. The Chartres and Reims voussoirs contain figures largely freed from the mass of stone, and so for safety the gestures of limbs had to remain contained in proximity of the torso. The limited surface detail of the body ensured clarity of perception of gestures, and the enlarged heads with developed facial expressions further eased interpretation. The chapter demonstrated not only the dependence of the execution of gesture on the material context, but also the great flexibility of the carvers who demonstrated a wide variety of approaches to a single subject.

These observations were tested further in chapter four. A whole catalogue of gestures of different dramatic charge were represented in the story of Job, providing an opportunity for the display of artistic virtuosity. The pattern was repeated of the limiting of attributes, contextual features and bodily surface details in thirteenth-century representations on behalf of the increased attention to gestural performance supported by facial expression.

Gesture is a mode of rhetoric that offers a particularly rich field for artistic self-

expression. The emphatic gesture was perhaps the element of primary importance in introducing the viewer to the nuances of the depicted story. The changing method of handling material and designing the composition shifted the rhetorical context of gesture from the total to the local, from a function within the entire composition, to increased relevance within a single scene. These changes affected not so much the overall impact of the body language but rather the processes of its perception by the viewers.

PHYSIOGNOMIES AND EXPRESSIONS (MORPHOLOGY, ANATOMY, CHARACTERISATION, DRAPERY)

The physiognomic features of the early twelfth-century bodies were physically bound with other modes of expression. Facial features blended into the expressions of fleeting passions and vice versa. The theological ideas on the relationship of the inner and the outer human body worked alongside the skill, ambition, and the experimental attitudes of the artists, making each of those faces into an essence of human experience intelligible in a particular context. In the later period, the stable and fleeting modes of expression (physiognomy and pathognomy) became more separated from each other, as well as from the context, and the handling of materials, again, is largely responsible for this. The sculptors tidied up the bodies and the faces, and reduced intrusive morphological detail, so the physiognomy of the face became polarised and somewhat independent from the expression of inner feeling. Characterisation became a domain of pathognomy, like a layer imposed on the faces of various beings.

Chapter one demonstrated the indirect impact of physical context on the stable and fleeting features of bodies on the twelfth-century tympana. The rhythms of patterns created on the two and three-dimensional surface resonated with the lines and levels forming the physiognomic and expressive features of the bodies. Morphological details conformed to the overall shape of the body and its movement, which in turn conformed to the patterns and rhythms of the surroundings. The effect can be compared to the rippling on the surface of

water, only viewed in reverse. The three-dimensional handling, like the depth of carving, undercutting elements also had its impact on bodily features. Deep strokes of the chisel created dramatic emotion, the shadows highlighted the furrowed brows or pursed lips. Bodily expression in the thirteenth century, however, was less dependent on the body's context. The sculptors invented individual filters that were imposed on the surface of the figures, particularly on their faces.

Chapter two has shown that earlier and later carvings also differed in the handling of skin surface and drapery. Depending on identity, the earlier body displayed either a catalogue of morphological detail, or was covered with drapery, letting patterns speak in its stead. In later works the draperies were in a more intimate dialogue with the body underneath, but at the same time the naked body became less anatomically pronounced, as morphological detail was cleansed or systematised. The construction of character went from relying on the collective effort of all aspects of the body to the selective treatment of body parts or their 'dressing'. The thirteenth-century attitude to the block, it was argued, stands in a large part as an explanation; it was no longer concealed by the chisel marks, and its structure was allowed to speak for itself.

Chapter three showed how the physical features of Adam and Eve were affected by their identity, as images of God that were not to be ‘uglified’ in any way. Thus as the bodies conformed to standards of the most holy bodies, the fleeting expressions were used to communicate the nuances of the narrative. The air of disconnection of the bodies and faces, as well as the physiognomic features and bodily expression dominate the performance in the scenes of the thirteenth century. The carvers approached each block individually, with each element being given a separate role to play.

Bodily features and expressions in the story of Job contributed primarily to shaping the viewers’ perceptions of relationships between the figures. Despite differences of handling, this remained constant in all case studies. The corrupt bodily surface of Job, particularly disturbing in three dimensions, brings the protagonist physically into the domain of Satan,

whereas his face communicated his inner quality, making him into a monument to virtue. The productive balancing of the modes of rhetoric goes along with the overall message of the story, about the complexity of human nature and the human relationship with the divine.

Stable bodily features and fleeting expressions (as interpreted by the viewer) were individually handled in architectural sculpture with consideration of their usefulness for the story the carver wanted those bodies to tell. The different methods of handling the bodies in the process of releasing them from the block stood at the core of the changes observed. This was the case for all the aspects that played a part in the bodily performance. The creation of bodily rhetoric in stone was as dynamic as the processes of carving stone. Chipping away the stone fragments was a means, but also a metaphor for shaping the messages and meanings. Rooted in the material in the hands of the craftsman, the multidimensional passions springing from the chisel in all directions, the rhetoric of the sculpted body remained as elusive as it was tactile, and as timeless as its material.

But what of it all? How does this attention to material and the making of persuasive bodies reflect on the bigger picture of the history of western sculpture? The analysis of sculpted bodies as rhetorical tools revealed a fundamental change that occurred between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. That change does not concern the quality or stylistic development of the objects, but their conceptual bearing which ultimately affected their reception. The twelfth-century compositions are identifiable by their macrocosmic character, their momentum and sweeping collective dynamic, the fluidity of temperamental forms pushing against the flexible conceptual frame. The Romanesque body was a striving body, a body on the conceptual move, as if performing an experimental dance. Its psyche revealed itself dissected with the use of the range of tools discussed in this thesis. By the thirteenth century, the psychological dissection was turned into a suggestive impression, so the bodies engaged their audiences with subtle particularities of their performance. The later sculpted bodies belong to clusters of microcosms comprised of forms determined, dynamic and elegant, but also happily settled within their rather rigid conceptual frames. For these reasons the

dance performed by the body on a cathedral portal resembles a neat waltz, rather than expressive improvisation. Whether this could or should be translated into the medieval context of courtly choreographies or demoniacal fits, I leave for the reader to decide. All in all, the story of the rhetoric of the sculpted body across the two centuries is not the story of improvement or decline, but of attunement of contemporary perceptions of the human body and its place in the universe to the practicalities of stone carving.

This thesis aimed to take a rather radical step away from the traditional methods of analysis based on interpretation of content, context and theories of sculpture. My way of deconstructing the rhetorical effect led through and towards an analysis of the implications of the physicality of stone and approaches to working it. While the detailed assessment of practical aspects of the modes of sculpted rhetoric aimed to shift the reader's attention to sculptural practice, the analysis remained focused on finished works. Further investigation must be conducted according to the trajectory that takes the analysis and reflection away from the finished sculpture and brings it closer to the processes of production. Properties of materials in the light of their geological make-up, and the possibilities and methods of extraction, handling of the blocks, issues of design, techniques of carving, approaches to finish, as well as the role of the body of the carver – its movements, the role of the senses – all this and much more awaits to make a contribution to the story of sculpture – the story of turning dead, shapeless stone into living forms that meet the eye and speak the intended story.

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