Reading Between the Lions: Mapping Meaning in a Surviving Capital at Maillezais Abbey

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In the tenth century, when Maillezais abbey was constructed, it sat on the highest point of an island in the Golfe des Pictons in southwestern France. The monastic church underwent three periods of construction and reconstruction, before it was eventually fortified during the French wars of religion in 1562–1598. The structure stands today half-destroyed. Elements of the narthex and nave, with a Gothic window, survive. **(fig 1)** Within the abbey, a lone figural capital known as the "Victory Capital," caps a column. **(fig. 2)** The column is one of six still-extant on the north wall of the nave. The frontal face of this capital is comprised of four registers, the center dominated by a male human figure. (The figure's gender is indicated by his beard and linear torso.) Two rounded beasts on the edge of the sculpture curve inward and frame the center. The beasts grasp the figure's arms and attempt to pull him apart. They gain leverage by arching their backs and pressing their legs onto the figure's hips that disappear into the repetitive triangular shapes that ornamentally fill the two bottom registers.
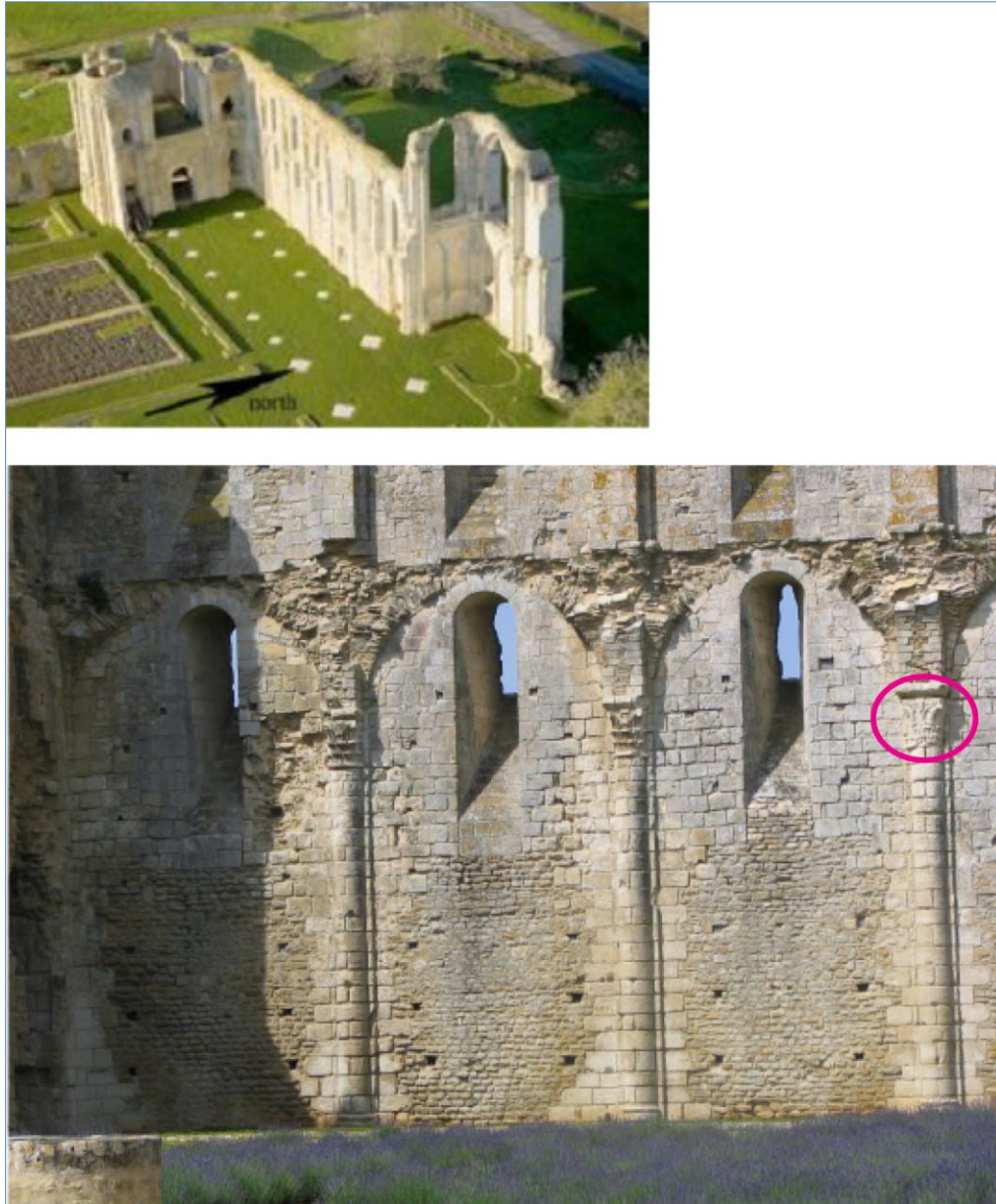
Figure 1 Maillezais Abbey. Photo: Mickey Abel.

The frontal scene is repeated onto the two other sides of the capital, although they appear

to be incomplete. The human figure on each side, matching the one on the frontal face, is

laterally bifurcated. Close inspection of the stone reveals that the full scene was

initially depicted on both sides, repeating that on the front, but was then later cut in half

to fit the engaged column at Maillezais. It is possible that the Victory Capital was re-used

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Figure 2 Victory Capital, Maillezais Abbey, nave.
Photo: author.

Figure 3 Maillezais Abbey, narthex capitals.
Photo: Owen Wilson Chavez.

from the earliest church at Maillezais or that it was transported from another site, before

it was altered to fit the column at Maillezais in the late eleventh century. The Victory

Capital is among the few sculptural objects that remain at the site.[1] Similar in style, two

engaged and also reused capitals in the narthex depict symmetrical peacocks. **(fig. 3)** The

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[1] A repository room at Maillezais Abbey holds fallen sculptural elements including corbels, capitals and pieces of the archivolts.

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scenes appear to repeat on the other two sides of the capital, with a full reading of the imagery obscured because these two capitals were embedded in the later wall of the narthex, added to the building in *c.* 1080.[2]

Unlike these two narthex capitals, the Victory Capital is the only remaining architectural element that depicts a human figure. The beasts that frame the corners or edges of the nave capital create an omega (Ω)-like shape. The beasts' tails twist up towards the corners, ending in shapes that resemble fish. These fish shapes rest just below the curve of the omega shape created by the beasts. They have drilled holes near where the eyes would be on the fish. Originally, the capital most likely was fully painted with rich and vivid colors – the deep royal blue of the background would contrast with the bright reds and yellows of the foreground.[3]

Scholars cataloging of sculpture from the general Poitevin region of Aquitaine suggest that the Victory Capital belongs to a particular "type" of subject matter based on its "man versus beast" or "man versus the wild elements" iconography.[4] The identity of the "beasts" on the Victory capital have been determined through a comparative analysis to similar compositions found within the region: the capitals at Saint-Saturnin in Couppes **(fig. 4)** and at Saint-Pierre in Airvault **(fig. 5)**, both of which depict beasts that are clearly lions with their rounded bellies and short, thin legs.

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[2] Mickey Abel, "To Sea and Be Seen: Reconstruction of the Strategic Building Program at Maillezais Abbey." *Avista Forum Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 1 / 2 (2010), 13.

[3] Sites such as Sainte-Radegonde and Notre-Dame la Grande in Poitiers (see appendix) show interiors that are still vividly painted. The capitals in the choir at Sainte-Radegonde show dark blue backgrounds. The foreground relief is painted in reds and yellows to make their respective scenes stand out.

[4] Anat Tcherikover, *High Romanesque Sculpture in the Duchy of Aquitaine c. 1090 –1140* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 50; Michael D. Costen, and Catherine Oaks, *Romanesque Churches of the Loire and Western France* (Gloucestershire UK: Tempus, 2000), 117-122; and Robert Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism: Parthenay in Romanesque Aquitaine* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 77.
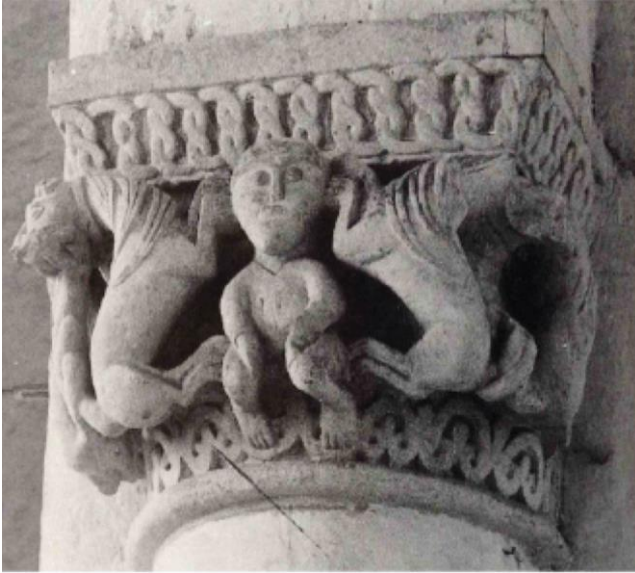
Figure 4 Chouppes, Saint-Saturnin, nave. Photo: After Source 300, "Non-narrative Figural Chart Source Bibliography": Camus, Marie-Thérèse, Elisabeth Carpentier, and Jean-François Amelot, *Sculpture Romane du Poitou: Le Temps des Chefs-de-'œvre*, p. 450, fig. 280.

Figure 5 Airvault, Saint-Pierre, nave, south arcade. Photo: After Source 298, "Non-narrative Figural Chart Source Bibliography": Camus, Marie-Thérèse, Elisabeth Carpentier, and Jean-François Amelot, *Sculpture Romane du Poitou: Le Temps des Chefs-de-'œvre*, p. 363, fig. 398.

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While it has been noted previously that this iconography of "man versus beast" is rooted in the Sumerian origin myth of Gilgamesh or in Biblical narrative,[5] or even attributed to a Eucharistic tradition,[6] recent scholarship seeks to situate a more-specific iconographical analyses within a particular socio-political context.[7] This methodology avoids an isolating, silo-like focus, which separates out singular types of imagery from the whole of a particular site's larger sculptural program, as this would have been inconsistent with medieval patterns of interpretation.[8] The goal of the contextualized approach is to determine a programmatic reading based on a holistic understanding of the specific site or a particular site's relationship to a larger regional context.[9] The over-riding implication is that the understanding of an individual's place within the context is paramount.

For the Victory Capital at Maillezais, I want to argue that it is geography — specifically the geo-physical topography of the marshy, island setting of the abbey itself — as much as the socio-political issues, that defined the parameters of the context, and thus structured the individual's perceptual understanding of his or her place within that setting. Therefore while images of the "Man vs. Wild Elements" type can indeed be

[5] Renè Crozet, "Maillezais," *Congrès Archéologique de France* (La Rochelle: Société Française d'archéologie, 1956), 85; Costen and Oaks, *Romanesque Churches of the Loire and Western France,* 117; and Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism,* 108.

[6] Linda Seidel, *Songs of Glory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 47.

[7] Tcherikover, *High Romanesque Sculpture,* 9; Seidel, *Songs of Glory,* ix; and Thomas E. A. Dale, "The Monstrous," in *A Medieval Companion*, edited by Conrad Rudolph (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 260-261.

[8] Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images* 400-1200 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Seidel, *Songs of Glory*, 3-12. Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism,* xv-xvii, 215, argues that the repetition of isolated subjects depicted in imagery can be read through locally based systems of production.

[9] For instance, see Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism,* xv-xix, who states that stylistic studies are "ill-suited" for churches without a clear iconographical programs or large-scale workshops with easily identified masters. He suggests rather that iconographical studies should also consider the conditions of urban settings.

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shown, by way of a straight-forward iconographical analysis to have biblical origins

linked to the Sumerian *Epic of Gilgamesh*, an examination of the imagery in relation to

the specific environmental circumstances of the abbey's physical setting, as well as the

sculpture's production within the era of monastic land expansion that characterized the

social-political landscape of the Poitou region in the eleventh century, will demonstrate

that the capital could well have been read as a statement on localized urbanization and the

concerted harnessing of the physical dimensions of the marshy wetlands surrounding the

abbey's island setting.

Employing the methodologies of Cultural Geography and implementing a

program of spatial mapping within the micro environment of the monastic foundation of

Maillezais Abbey in relation to the macro landscape of the Poitou region, I will argue that

the "Man vs. Wild Elements" type of sculptural imagery was particularly relevant and

meaningful for the community at Maillezais because the monks, who were key players in

the region's political and economic activities, were tasked with the conquering of the

wild and unclaimed territory of not only their small island within the ancient Golfe des

Pictons, but also the physical landscape of the surrounding marshy wetlands, where they

are said to have worked laboriously to build a complicated hydraulic system.

The call for addressing eleventh-century architectural sculptural imagery within a

broader contextual approach is not new. Setting the stage for this historiography, scholars

Henri Focillon in the 1930's and Meyer Schapiro in the 1970's explored the social and

political implications of Romanesque sculpture's production and programmatic themes.

Focillon's notion of the "dialectic of the ornamental" suggested the symmetrically of

ornamental sculpture invoked neo-Platonic attitudes such as the concept of "True

Form."[10] Similarly, Schapiro's various articles, collected in the volume entitled *Selected Papers,* argued that "style" was indicative of socio-political atmosphere, and that the juxtaposition between formal qualities signaled the Christian dualities of spirit and matter or God and man.[11] For Schapiro, however, it was secular interests that ultimately modified this spiritual view, allowing images of non-descript human figures to signal the secular atmosphere.[12] Arguing along the same lines as Schapiro and Focillion, Anat Tcherikover (1997) followed by clarifying that for the sculpture of Aquitaine, this "secular atmosphere" was shaped and colored by the era of church reform.[13]

Each of these scholars would agree, however, that in order to address meaning within a particular contextual setting, one must first identify and understand the standard, underlying reading of the iconography. It was Tcherikover's work that set this stage, as her catalog sought to classify and categorize much of the figural imagery found within the Poitou region.[14] She states that, while the sculpture existed mostly for ornamentation of the interior of the church spaces, two general types of sculpture proliferated through the eleventh century: scenes with symmetrical lions or other beastly animals with "twisted necks" and foliate or "corinthianesque" imagery.[15] Characteristically, the more-figural scenes repeat and wrap around the sides of the capital.

Complicating the cataloging efforts of Tcherikover and others is that much of the sculptural imagery in Aquitaine in general, and Poitou specifically, was commonly non-

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[10] Henri Focillon, *L'Art d'occident: Le Moyen Age roman et gothique* (Paris, 1938), 104-105.
[11] Meyer Schapiro, *Selected Papers: Romanesque Art* (New York: George Braziller Inc., 1977).
[12] Meyer Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," in *Selected Papers,* 28-101, particularly 35.
[13] Tcherikover, *High Romanesque Sculpture*, 8-9.
[14] Tcherikover, *High Romanesque Sculpture*, pls.1-397.
[15] Tcherikover, *High Romanesque Sculpture*, 10.

figural; few images of the full human figure survive from this early period.[16] Even those

hybridized with lions and other beasts have been understood to be ornamental and thus

inherently meaningless. These scholars do agree that the more repetitive images — the

geometricized ornamentation or the scrolling foliage — served to fill, link or frame

objects, and acting as intermediaries between representational motifs.[17] Moreover, it has

been suggested that it was the repetitive nature of this sculpture that inspired

contemplation.[18] In this way, the imagery worked in a manner similar to the devotional

comprehension gained through the liturgy and other textually based materials including

music and poetry.[19] For instance, where vegetal capitals were used to punctuate a series

of capitals composed to tell stories: their lack of narrative created what Kirk Ambrose

calls a "pause."[20] This pause within the imagery could be used to link diverse themes,

where the intent was for the viewer to fill in the gaps indicated by foliage.[21] Referring to

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[16] Marie-Thérèse Camus, *Sculpture Romane du Poitou: Les Grands Chantiers du XI Siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1992); Marie-Thérèse Camus, Elisabeth Carpentier and Jean-François Amelot, *Sculpture Romane du Poitou: Le Temps des Chefs-de'œvre* (Paris: Picard, 2009); Jean-Renè Gaborit, *La Sculpture Romane* (Paris: Hazan, 2010); Eliane Vergnolle. *L'Art Roman en France* (Flammarion, 2005); and Yvonne Labande-Mailfert, *Poitou Roman* (La Pierre-qui-Vire (Yonne): Zodiaque, 1962).

[17] Tcherikover, *High Romanesque Sculpture*; Seidel, *Songs of Glory*; and Kirk Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vezelay: The Art of Monastic Viewing* (Toronto, Ontario: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2006); Maxwell, *The Art of Urbanism*; and Grabar, *The Meditation of Ornament*.

[18] Kirk Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vezelay: The Art of Monastic Viewing* (Toronto, Ontario: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2006), 61; Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 137, states that repetition and omission were rhetorical strategies used for selective emphasis. Dale, *The Monstrous*, 266, points to the inclusion of a chimaera hybrid, within in *versus rapportati* – "versus we all say." The verses utilized omission and repetition in order to enhance cognitive pattern formulation, which is an effective method for artists to communicate divine invention.

[19] Oleg Grabar, *The Meditation of Ornament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 23-26. Seidel, *Songs of Glory*, 12, opened the doors to this line of analysis, exploring the various ways in which non-narrative imagery was read within the context of poetry, to be followed by the work of Mickey Abel, *Open Access: Contextualizing the Archivolted Portals of Northern Spain and Western France within the Theology and Politics of Entry* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle Upon Tyne, 2012), 260, who also correlates poetry with architecture.

[20] Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vezelay*, 61 and 71.

[21] Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism*, 109-111, explains that the absence of clear unifying message was an opportunity for a spectator to draw out selective meanings.

the *Antiquiores conseutudines Cluniacensis monasterii,*[22] which describes how a monk would have understood the connection between meditation and ornamentation, Ambrose suggests that this type of ornamental imagery inspired or aided meditation.[23] The monks were meant to gather abundant meaning from these non-narrative scenes. With this is mind we can begin to imagine how the monastic viewer of the Victory Capital at Maillezais might have incorporated this type of imagery within the meaning of their daily rituals.

Corroborating and building on the multivalency possible in the reading of non-figural imagery, the importance of particular spatial and relational understandings becomes relevant. Following a theoretical position espoused by Robert Maxwell, it has been argued that the non-figural, mostly foliate or geometric imagery of Poitou was equally as important to the contextual understanding as the figural because it served both to link the figures and to create a spatial dimension that reflected the qualities of the prevailing local landscape.[24] Following this line of thought, the contextualization process for figural imagery, such as that on the Victory Capital, should be seen as a matter of situating or mapping particular elements within the matrix of the predominantly non-figural, and then considering not only the spatial relationship between the two within the architectural space, but also within the external visual connections across geographical

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[22] Udalrich of Cluny, *Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii,* Migne, PL, 149, coll. 635-778. See also, S. Boynton, "The Customaries of Bernard and Ulrich as Liturgical Sources," in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, S. Boynton and I. Cochelin eds. (Turnhout: Brepohls, 2005), 109-130.

[23] Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vezelay*, 64.

[24] Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism*, suggests that an awareness of a town's history and sites construction could have provided one means for viewers to fill in spaces between iconographic subjects. The monks would have filled their own experience within the images that represent gaps in narrative or liturgy – which specifically strengthens and enhances their relationship and place within the spiritualized landscape.

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confines. In order to begin this mapping process, one must take into consideration the various iconographic readings of the non-narrative imagery.

As stated above, when we look at the catalogs of architectural sculpture for Poitou, we see that while these scholars tended to emphasize that eleventh-century sculpture was primarily decorative and ornamental with the lack of figural representations; they also note that the few human figures that were sculpted appear in marginal areas of the architecture and thus do not easily support larger narrative schemes.[25] Nonetheless, employing traditional iconographical approaches in those cases where there were identifiable characters from biblical narratives or significant historical events, the analysis of sculpture with figures has facilitated my identification of the corpus of comparable imagery by specific site, thus allowing these comparable types to be mapped spatially in relation to each other in both the micro sense of the space of the church interior and the macro sense of the larger geographical region.

Building my own catalog, I have categorized the non-narrative figural imagery of eleventh- and twelfth-century sculpture of southwestern France, specifically that of Poitiou and the north Aquitaine regions, using seven key sources (The Non-Narrative

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[25] Camus, *Sculpture Romane du Poitou*, 18, 84, 86, 104, 109, 133; Camus, Carpentier and Amelot, *Sculpture Romane du Poitou,* 228; and Tcherikover, *High Romanesque Sculpture*, pls. 19, 21, 31, 62, 158. As a side note, it is also interesting to consider the suggestion made by many scholars that the decorative quality and use of line in Romanesque sculpture has been attributed Islamic influences. Dale, *The Monstrous*, 259, states that the ornamental repertoire "ranged from ancient Mesopotamian and Sassanian art to more recent byzantine textiles which made their way to France as objects of gift exchange, as imported for liturgical vestments or wrappings for relics. Andreas Petzold, *Romanesque Art* (New York: Calmann and King, Ltd, 1995), 12-15, states that the Romanesque sculpture resembles Islamic art through the "sense of human under garment, limited repertoire for emotion, use of mosaic and painted arches. He attributes the rise of narratives in historical, lives and liturgical traditions to relationship with Islamic themes. Seidel, *Songs of Glory*, 78, connects the resemblance of Islamic metalwork and ceramics to capitals and vegetal friezes from the Poitou. She states that the relationship with Islamic themes signals continuity with the past, spiritual struggle and the concept of victorious faith.

Figural Chart in the appendix).[26] Also included in this catalog are images gathered by the

Maillezais Hydraulics Field School, led by Mickey Abel in the summer of 2013. [27] The

date range encompasses the earliest building phase at Maillezais (around 987) through the

construction of the parish churches throughout the region affiliated with Maillezais, built

in the twelfth century. This two-hundred-year time period allows this chart to incorporate

a broader basis of sites than any one of the base sources. The chart indicates where each

element of sculpture came from geographically within the region, as well as where it was

located within the actual space of the church.

For the macro view of these elements' relationship to one another, I have utilized

ArcGIS software to map these sites, indicating churches that include non-narrative figural

imagery, which are listed in the Non-Narrative Figural Chart. **Maps 1-15** use church

symbols to indicate precise locations of churches or abbeys, while the black circles

indicate city centers near churches. The different types of imagery at each site has been

singled out in **Maps 4-15** according to a color-coded system. The images are categorized

into four main types: "Beasts," "Hybrids," "Man vs. Wild Elements," and "Labor." While

each type includes various subtypes that are described in the appendix, "Beasts" are

generally identified by their resemblance to creatures found in nature; "Hybrids" include

mythical and composite figures such as a Lamassu, which is a human, bird, and lion or

bull combination.[28] The "Man vs. Wild Elements" category includes images that have a

compositional resemblance to the Victory Capital -- a centralized human figure flanked

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[26] Tcherikover, *High Romanesque Sculpture*; Camus, *Sculpture Romane du Poitou*; Camus, *Sculpture Romane du Poitou*; Gaborit, *La Sculpture Romane*; Vergnolle, *L'Art Roman en France*; and Labande-Mailfert, *Poitou Roman*.
[27] Maillezais Hydraulics Field School Summer 2013 lead by Dr. Mickey Abel: LauraLee Brott, Owen Wilson-Chavez, Dory Deines, and Shana Thompson.
[28] Marilyn Stokstad, *Art History*. Vol. 1, ed. 3. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2008), 24-25.

by beasts or hybrids. The "Labor" category separates out images of men holding church construction elements.[29]

Categorizing the imagery in this fashion is insightful because it demonstrates the frequency of particular types of imagery prevalent in the Poitou region. Importantly, it also facilitates our understanding of how any one image would have been read in isolation, what iconographic meaning did the image suggest within its own frame. This is significant because, as suggested above, the minimal, three-character compositional format of the Victory Capital has led it to be identified as Gilgamesh, thus tying it to a visual trope rooted in Sumerian art.[30] Gilgamesh was a historical figure, the sixth king of Uruk from 2600 BCE.[31] The *Epic of Gilgamesh* was written in Akkadian onto eleven tablets. Described as half-man, half-god,[32] Gilgamesh travels to the spiritual realm after the gods vanquished his companion, Enkindu, who was also a hybrid creature, half- man, half-beast. As he navigates through the divine world, he defeats a pair of lions on a mountain pass with his axe.[33] We also know that narrative elements from Mesopotamian legends such as the *Epic of Gilgamesh* are found in Biblical narrative.[34] The story of Noah and the flood retells the legend of Utnapishtim, whom Gilgamesh meets in in tablet X of the *Epic* in the realm of the Gods. [35]

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[29] Camus, *Sculpture Romane du Poitou,* 218-219, 338, labels the figures as "Atlas," a Roman God who is known to have beyond human strength.

[30] Costen and Oaks, *Romanesque Churches of the Loire and Western France,* 117, attribute the scene to Eucharistic ideas "by consuming one, will not be consumed."

[31] A. R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts*, Vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 103. The Sumerian King lists him as ruler for 126 years; David Damrosch, *The Narrative Covenant: Transformations of Genre in The Growth of Biblical Literature* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1991), 89.

[32] Tablet I, l.48; See George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 541, 545.

[33] Tablet IX l.8-21 describes Gilgamesh's battle with the lions. See George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 667-669.

[34] See Damrosch, "Gilgamesh and Genesis" in *The Narrative Covenant*, 88-143.

[35] The Epic of Gilgamesh, Tablet X, l.109, Gilgamesh first speaks to Utnapishtim. See George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 685.

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Figure 6 Bull Lyre, Ur, Sumerian, 2500-2400 BCE. Photo: public domain

Figure 7 Lion Gate, Mycenae, 1250 BCE. Photo: public domain.

Figure 8 Ring, Mycenae, 1500 BCE. Photo: public domain.

In this story, Gilgamesh is both man and God, which allows him to play

intercessor to the divine world. And thus the visual similarities between the images of

Gilgamesh and the Victory Capital warrant consideration, particularly if we consider, as

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some have suggested that images of symmetrical lions represent a type of Christ, Lion of Judah or other kingly guardian.[39]

Gilgamesh is typically pictured in the center of a three-figure composition, surrounded by bulls or lions that symmetrically frame him. The famous Bull Lyre from 3500 BCE depicts the scene on the top register on the front panel. [40](**fig. 6**) The composition of the Lion Gate into Mycenae, where two lions stand on their hind legs and frame the central keystone, is similar, but here the lions symbolically guard the gates into the city and stand as a monumental symbol of power and strength.[41](**fig. 7**) Likewise, a Mycenaean ring from 1500 BCE shows Gilgamesh grabbing a pair of lions by their legs and neck.[42](**fig. 8**) The 2000 years between these objects speaks to the extended propagation of this visual trope.

While it has been shown that these iconic images of Gilgamesh do not explicitly relate to the *Epic*,[43] they do serve to reinforce, rather more generally, the tense interplay

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[39] Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism,* 108.

[40] Stokstad, *Art History,* 35; The Epic of Gilgamesh, Tablet I l. 30, 64, 212 refers to Gilgamesh as a bull because of his strength. See George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic,* 539, 543, 551. The Bull Lyre does not depict a scene directly from the narrative. Gilgamesh simply hugs a pair of bulls. The cedar forest, or his hybrid companion Enkidu who assists him in this fight are not incorporated within the imagery. The scorpion man on the bottom register, who in the *Epic* guards the entrance to the world of the Gods, stands with a goat and takes part in what reads as preparations for a feast. The bulls on the top register of the lyre have human faces, enhancing the metaphorical connection humans, the wild elements, and the divine. These animals take on attributes of men. A bull plays a lyre shaped like the actual instrument, while a lion prepares libations. A jackal carries a tray of animal heads.

[41] Stokstad, *Art History*, 100.

[42] The Mycenaean ring could reference Gilgamesh's battles with the lions described in Tablet IX. The image however does not show his axe, or the mountain-pass on which the scene occurs. For this explanation, see "The Mycenaean World: Five Centuries of Early Greek Culture 1600-1100BC," National Archaeological Museum, December 15,1988-March 31,1989 (Athens: Ministry of Culture, The Natural Hellenic Committee, 1988), 200; and ARTSTOR_103_41822000442085,http://libproxy.library.unt.edu:2325/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8CJ GczI9NzldLS1WEDhzTnkrX3kvfVt%2BcSs%3D&userId=gDJEdzkt&zoomparams=.

[43] For other images of Gilgamesh, see Beatrice Laura Goff, *Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 83-85; Giovanni Curatola, Jean-Daniel Forest, Nathalie Gallois, Carlo Lippolis and Roberta Venco Ricciardi, ed. Giovanni Curatola, *The Art and Architecture of Mesopotamia* (New York and London: Abbeville Press Publicshers, 2006), 43-50; and Eva Strommenger, *5000 Years of the Art of Mesopotamia* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publishers, 1964)*,* 30, who states

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between humans and the wild elements of nature or the landscape. More importantly, they act as signifiers for the divine.[44] The relationship between the *Epic* and visual representations of Gilgamesh is similar to how the Victory Capital might correlate to biblical narratives; both figures on the Victory Capital and Gilgamesh have super human capabilities, and vanquish animals that are typically associated with strength.

This trope, which can be seen on **Maps 12-13** to proliferate throughout eleventh- and twelfth-century Poitou, is frequently placed within the context of capitals that illustrate biblical stories of the Old Testament. **Figure 9** depicts an image of the choir at Sainte-Radegonde. Here, the six-capital choir is arranged in a horseshoe arch around the altar. Reading the images as if one was to approach the altar space from the western end of the church, the farthest capital on the left side of the arch depicts an image that fits within the Men vs. Beast category. Jackals surround a central male figure. Two foliate capitals follow this image.

The fourth capital from the left is the only narrative capital, and additionally, is the only capital that depicts a different image on each of its sides. **(fig. 13)** These scenes depict narratives from the Old Testament--an image of Daniel in the Lion's Den faces the choir; an enthroned Nebuchadnezzar sits to Daniel's left; and an image of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Paradise faces the ambulatory. To their left, a dynamic scene a man being eaten by lions, presumably from the den, takes the last face of the capital. The final capital in the choir arch depicts an image of symmetrical fanged lions or beasts on all

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that images of "heroes" such as those on another Bull Lyre from Ur, are broken into episodes with "no binding scheme in composition;".

[44] Maxwell, *The Art of Urbanism,* 239, states that images of David as the lion wrestler served as an archetype of "the desirable king," which is relevant within an urban context. Gilgamesh is the only actual human figure in the scene -- his genitals are exposed to emphasize his earthly origin, yet he exhibits god-like strength.

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Figure 9 Sainte Radegonde, Poitiers, choir. Left to right: Man vs. Beasts, foliate, foliate, Daniel and the Lions' Den, foliate, Beasts. Photo: author.
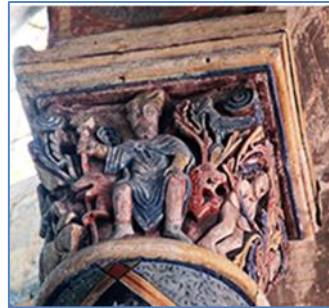

Figure 10 Sainte-Ragonde, Poitiers, ambulatory view of the capitals; Nebuchadnezzar; facing ambulatory, Adam and Eve

four sides. If we look at this quantitatively, within the total program there is a 1 to 3 split between the Narrative, Man vs Beast and Beast categories of images, with over half of the figural imagery in the choir being non-narrative.

Given the proximal and spatial relationships between these types of categories, the question thus becomes, whether it was possible for the viewer to have considered imagery such as the Man vs. Beasts type in relation to neighboring scenes, specifically those of biblical narratives that relate to man and his relationship with lions and other wild elements of the landscape, and thus to define or create a general overarching context. For instance, what is that context, if we consider the capital at Sainte-Radegonde, which depicts a central human form engaged with two lions or jackals on either side, and is thus categorized within the "Man vs. Beast" type, [45] in relation to an image of Daniel in the Lion's Den, which faces it across the choir. The first, Man vs. Beasts capital, resembling the Victory Capital at Maillezais, **(see fig. 9)**, has figures on each face of the capital that serve to establish a counterbalance with their left arm, which extends outward to grasp a limb from one of the beasts who playfully lick the central figure's feet. Reflecting this composition, Daniel on the capital across the choir, sits with his legs crossed, peacefully in the center of the composition **(see fig. 12)**, while two tamed lions similarly lick his feet and a pair angels hover beside him, providing provisions for his stay in the den.[46] It can be argued that both capitals at Sainte-Radegonde existed as a type of mnemonic device that served to link the inter-textual components of Daniel's story. While Daniel's interactions with the lions is not

Figure 11 St. Pierre de Chauvigny, choir, Babylonia. Photo: author.

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[45] Tcherikover, *High Romanesque Sculpture*, 15, argues that this scene has no known narrative and it is obscure in an iconographical context.

[46] Tcherikover, *High Romanesque Sculpture*, 15.

Figure 11 St. Pierre de Chauvigny, choir, Babylonia. Photo: author.

specifically described on either capital,[47] the similarity of the references to man's interactions with wild animals signal the manifestation of a scene outside of the actual story, allowing the reading viewer to create a deeper, more personal connection with the Biblical narrative where the figure on the capital could represent Daniel, or a character that mimics the divine attributes of Daniel.[48] It is these types of visual similarities and the spatial relationships between the repeating images of the "Man vs. Beast" type that can thus be said to facilitate a narratological connection between the various subjects within the programmatic whole, as well as within the individual images. Importantly it is the individual viewer who has to make the connections.

It is within this type of programmatic and spatial relationships that we should consider the Victory Capital at Maillezais. With an iconographical basis established, the

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[47] Book of Daniel, in *The Holy Bible* (New Revised Standard Version) (Burlingame: Thomas Nelson Publishers for Cokesbury, 1990), 827.

[48] Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vezelay*, pl. 34, labels an image that resembles this type at Airvault as "Daniel in the Lions Den."

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task at hand shifts to imagining the possible configuration of Maillezais' program. This can be done through supposition based on a statistical analysis of Sainte-Radegonde and Saint Porchaire, which are similar in size and date to Maillezais, but which have a fuller set of extant capitals in the nave and choir and western portal. The early choir at Maillezais has the same number of columns in the choir as Saint Radegonde and has a portal that has been proposed as the model for that at Maillezais.[49] In both Saint Radegonde and Saint Porchaire, images of foliage unevenly divide the narrative and non-narrative figural scenes. **(fig. 11)** Quantitative analysis of the frequency of the non-

Figure 12 Sainte-Radegonde, Poitiers, Daniel and the Lions' Den, scene to Daniel's left; facing the choir. Photo: author.

(Left) Scene to Daniel's right (Enthroned Nebuchadezzar); (Right) Adam and Eve

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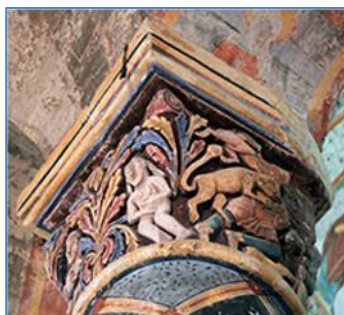
[49] Abel, "To Sea and Be Seen," 13.

narrative figural type in the choir in Saint Radegonde shows that there is a 1/3 split between narrative scenes, Man vs. Wild Elements, and Beast types. Precisely 17% of the Man vs. Wild Elements category was represented in choir, 17% of beasts, and 17% direct narrative. The remaining 50% consists of foliate imagery. At Saint-Porchaire, the extant four, three sided capitals show 1 / 4 divide between narrative and non-narrative imagery. **(fig. 13)** 25% of the narrative imagery illustrates scenes from the Old Testament story of Daniel and the Lion's Den. The remaining 75% depicts beasts, 58% of which depict lions and 17% birds. These sites show a trend in sculptural ornamentation where most of the imagery was made of up foliage or non-narrative figural motifs, and a smaller percentage was directly figural.

I would argue that the program at Maillezais would have followed a similar formula as that at Sainte-Radegonde and Saint-Porchaire, where 50-75% of the imagery in the choir would have been filled with foliate or non-narrative imagery, and then 17-25% direct narrative imagery. Originally, the nave at Maillezais would have had 16 columns. Each column has four shafts. Following the formula at Sainte-Radegonde and Saint-Prochaire, the non-narrative and narrative scenes would likely have taken up to three sides, with foliate in between each figural scene. This ratio reflects what we can see in the six extant capitals within the nave at Maillezais, where the Victory Capital sits between a set of two and a set of three capitals, all foliate. **(fig. 14)**

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Figure 13 St. Prochaire, Poitier, porch capitals details. Top left: lions, birds; top right: lions; bottom left: lions; bottom right: Daniel in the lions' den. Photo: author.
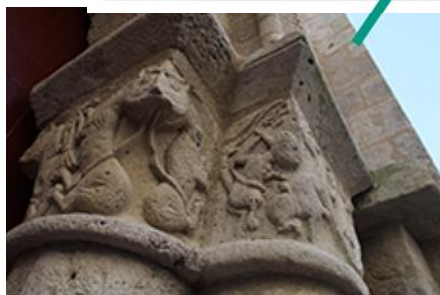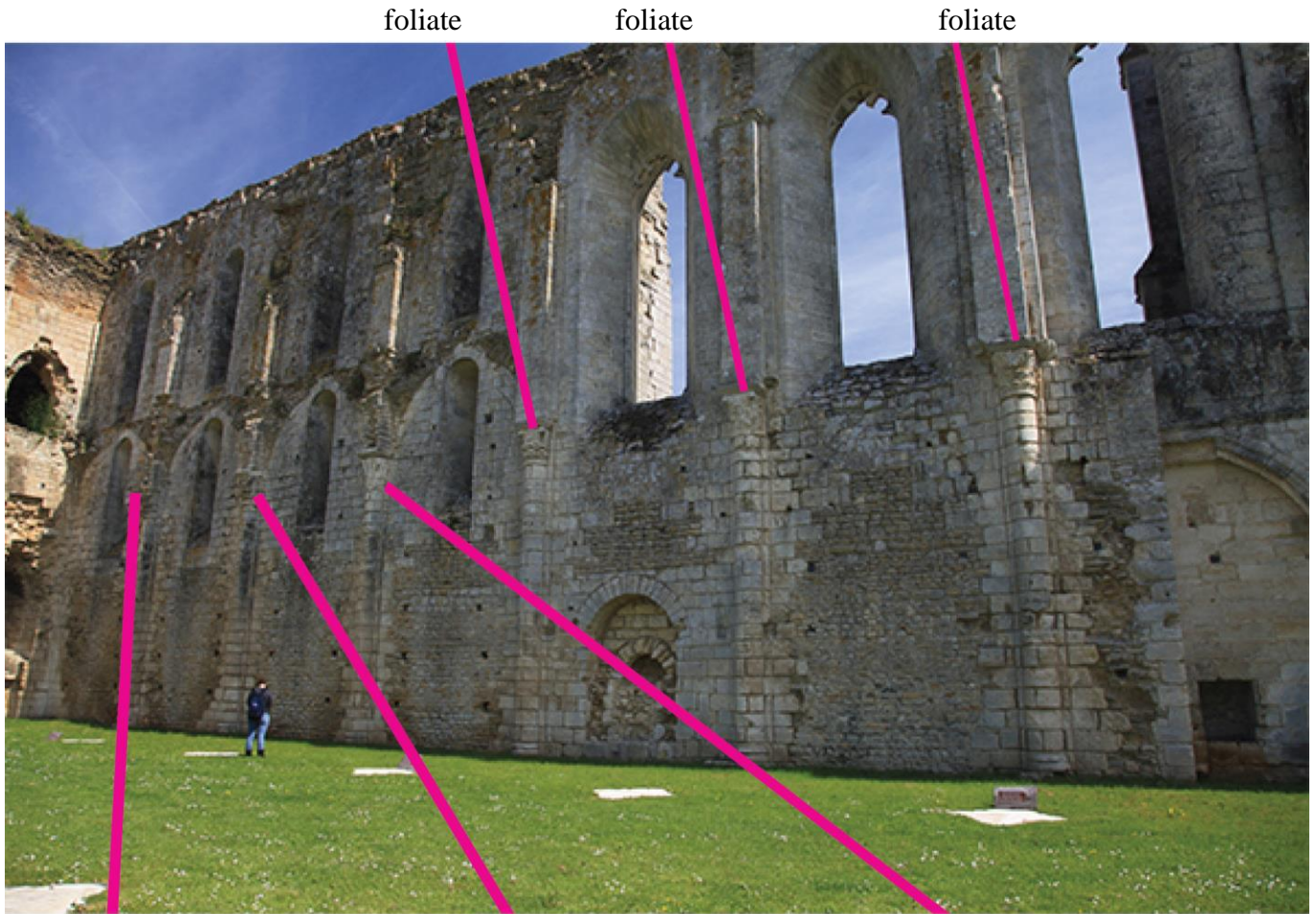
22

Figure 14 Foliate Capitals, Maillezais Abbey. Photo: author.

foliate   foliate   foliate

Victory Capital

For the fuller configuration of imagery within the abbey's nave, we can also look at St. Nicolas de Maillezais, one of Maillezais' parish churches constructed circa 1073.[51] Like Sainte-Radegonde, Saint-Porchaire, St. Nicolas included images representative of all four main categories and even sub-categories within the non-narrative figural types accounted for in my catalog. Given this continued and enduring precedence, it seems likely that the nave program at Maillezais abbey would also have included images of all of the non-narrative figural types described in the appendix, and that these figural types would have been interspersed throughout the church interior and western facade.

With this hypothetical assemblage of imagery in mind, we can begin to consider how the monastic audience might have perceived this imagery within its particular architectural setting. The sculptural programs in these early eleventh-century sites were commonly linked with the architectural layout of the structures.[52] For instance, façade sculpture differs from that in the cloister, nave, or ambulatory arcade because each of these spaces addressed a different audience and thus differed in their intended programmatic message. Façade sculpture was viewable by the public, while the enclosed area of the cloisters and many monastic naves were accessible only to the monks and church officials. It is commonly understood that these architectural spaces were reserved for the monastic audience and frequently used as a tool for the monks' contemplation.[53]

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[51] Renè Crozet, *L'Art Roman en Poitou*, edited by Henri Laurens (Paris, 1948), 92; Abel, "To Sea and Be Seen," 18.

[52] Bruno Boerner, "Sculptural Programs," in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, edited by Conrad Rudolph (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 569, states that there is "no consistent principle according to which the sculptures are arranged in the architectural layout of the buildings. Instead, you can find a wide range of architectural frames for the sculptural cycles."

[53] Wolfgang Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe: The Architecture of the Orders* (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd, 1972), 11-12. Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vezelay,* 4, states that eleventh-century abbey spaces were conceived for monastic rituals, since the churches in this region were initially built before the pilgrimage era.

For instance, architectural space could be understood to be a manifestation of the liturgy with spiritual truths communicated through physical movement, philosophical concepts and mathematical principles.[54] This is based on the understanding that the monastic viewer was educated and more familiar with biblical imagery and thus did not require explicit visual narrative. The monks were expected rather to seek deeper meaning than the literal or allegorical, to reach an anagogical level of reading and gain a spiritual understanding of the imagery in a way that connects all the individual components together.[55]

The sculptural programs that used non-narrative figural imagery in a contemplative manner to "fill in the gaps" within the narratives and liturgy, as suggested above, employed figural images to punctuate and illustrate key moments in the biblical stories.[56] The monastic viewer at Maillezais, steeped in the life of liturgical practice, with its specific reading and interpretive patterns, [57] would have considered the iconography on the Victory Capital within the larger program of imagery in this manner, taking into consideration the whole program created by the sixteen columns.

Scholars have shown that in the eleventh century, images of the monstrous or hybrid creatures were seen to be particularly useful as an aid in the participation of a

[54] Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka. *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 136. Abel, *Open Access*, 63-90, 425-429, argues that the archivolts reflect an awareness of mathematics, geometry, music, and astronomy. Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture at Vezelay*, 65, also relates the sculpture to calendric tables developed by Bede from as early as the 8th century to the "systematic disposition of foliate bands provides an ordered structure for the multiplicity of forms."
[55] Henri de Lubec, *Medieval Exegesis, Volume 2, The Four Senses of Scripture* (Edinburgh, Erdmans Publishing, 1959/2000).
[56] Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vezelay,* 19-20, 34, 61, 70, shows that at Vezelay, the images on the capitals in the nave incorporate familiar hand signals used for delivering liturgy during prescribed periods of silence. The monastic viewer was required to incorporate the imagery within their comprehension of the liturgy. He cites Hugh of St. Victor as who describes a "collecting" signs for high truths. As the viewer moves through nave of Vezelay, he was "gathering biblical episodes, elaborated with rich foliate ornamentation upon which he can meditate."
[57] Hanawalt and Kobialka, *Medieval Practices of Space*, 144.

more emotional, affective liturgy.[58] While Saint Bernard of Clairvaux in his *Apologia*

saw monstrous images as distracting and frivolous,[59] it can also be said that distraction

from the sacred was performed and ritualized in the architectural context.[60] Images of

hybrid beasts caused the monk to contemplate malevolent spirits, and it was understood

that the act of viewing this type of image neutralized the dichotomy between sin and

virtue.[61]

Considering the Victory Capital in this diametrical context, the centralized figure

can be read as the virtuous protagonist in this scene because he is the only human in the

image. **(fig. 2)** The notion of who the victor might be, the man or the wild elements is,

however, unclear. The human figure in the center displays super-human strength by

fighting off two lions, while the beasts seem prepared to tear off the man's limbs. At first

glance of the image, it might seem that the human figure is taming these creatures, but if

the viewer were to pause at the scene, the image also suggests that the figure is soon to be

overpowered; his only stability is obtained by grasping the organic tendrils in the upper

register. The conflict displayed in the image is only resolved through the monk's

meditative emotional response to the imagery.[62] His mental participation in the

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[58] Eric Palazzo, "Visions and Liturgical Experience in the Early Middle Ages," in *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art History*, Colum Hourihane, ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 16, suggests that this type of devotion was developed during the eleventh century.

[59] Conrad Rudolph, "The "Things of Greater Importance:" Bernard of Clairvaux's "Apologia" and The Controversy over Monastic Art" (PhD diss. University of California, Los Angeles, 1985), 282-283.

[60] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought,* 140-142, states that images of monsters in margins generate anxiety as a prelude to meditation. Some of the images are amusing, used in didactic contexts to stimulate productive thinking. Dale, *The Monstrous,* 267, states that "these images suggest a deeper reality within monastic thought in which the body and its verbal and visual representations functioned as an image of the spiritual, inner man and externalized its conflicts and anxieties." Man could still be influenced by the lower "animal power" of sensations associated with the imagination.

[61] Grabar, 193, states that true conversion to the religious life could be achieved only by first recalling past vices and sins. Also see Grabar, 37; Dale, *The Monstrous*, 269; and Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought,* 272-276.

[62] Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 54, suggests that

contemplation of the scene could have been internalized as a triumph over evil foes —

the type of triumph that offers celestial rewards for the arming against wrongdoing.[63]

The notion of movement also plays a role in this type of affective devotion in

relation to architectural sculpture. Compositional symmetry and repetition within a

program of sculpture served to push the viewer forward or around a spatial

configuration.[64] The symmetry of the types of images cataloged on the Non-Narrative

Figural Chart inspired movement. In many cases, the compositions are directed toward

the edges of the capitals, which require the viewer to physically move to view entire set

of images (**see figs. 15-17**, which illustrate capitals from the nave at Saint Jean de

Figures 15, 16, 17 Saint Jean de Montierneuf, Poitiers, nave capitals. Photo: author.

emotional responses inspired the audience to imitate the saints and contemplate their place within the narratives. She argues that this emotional reaction is an inherent component within the medieval viewer's processes of intellectual comprehension.
[63] Seidel, *Songs of Glory*, 56.
[64] Grabar, *The Meditation of Ornament*, 207.

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Figure 18 Maillé, west façade. Photo: author.

Montierneuf). The viewer's moving journey is ultimately concludees at the altar space at the end of the nave.

Outside of the church, the repetitive nature of friezes carry the viewers around the exterior of the structure, as seen at Maillé. **(fig. 18)** Foliage scrolls horizontally across the portals, connecting the architectural elements. Understanding that Maillezais probably had portals resembling those at Maillé, with its characteristically Romanesque radiating archivolts as ornamentation to the western church exterior, it is possible that the monastic viewer at Maillezias would have been aware of the metaphorical implications of the liminal transition between the exterior and interior of the church space.[65] The archivolts enhanced the notion of transition from earthly to heavenly spheres, which is aided by the sculpture in the interior. In similar manner to the way images on capitals within the interior of a nave or choir encouraged a forward momentum toward the altar space, the archivolts on the exterior portals were used to move the viewer inward from the exterior, earthly realm.

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[65] Abel, *Open Access*, 125.

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Map 2 Maillezais Island.
Photo: author.

Map 2
Maillezais Island

0   5   10 Kilometers

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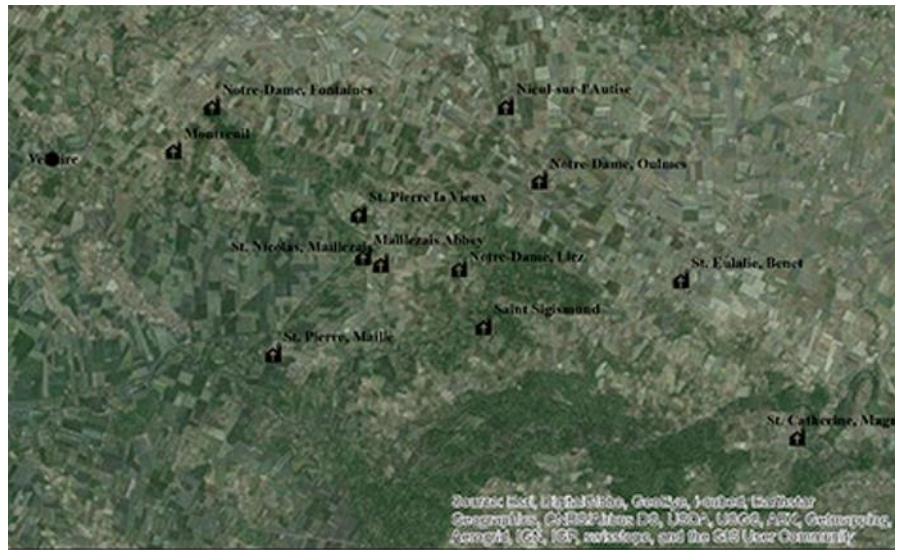
Map 3 Claude Masse, 17th
century. Photo: author.

Key to this programmatic reading is the correlation between the spirituality of the

altar region and the untamed nature of the exterior world. I would argue that the larger

geographic context facilitated a multivalent reading of imagery such as the Victory

Capital and inspired a comprehension reflective of the natural world and of the prevailing

geographical topography. At Maillezais this is particularly significant because of Maillezais abbey's topographical setting on an island in the ancient Golfe des Pictons. Now a part of the mainland, Maillezais was once surrounded by a canal system constructed contemporaneously with the monastic church in the early eleventh century.[66] The ancient island is still visible from an aerial view of the site on **Map 2** and the abbey sat on the western most point of the island, seen in a detail on **Map 3**.

Given this setting, Maillezais was naturally and metaphorically correlated with the island of Patmos on which St. John recorded the events of the apocalypse.[67] The rivers that flanked the abbey existed as a metaphor for the four rivers of Paradise so vividly described by Augustine.[68] Scholarship from the early sixth century, such as Cosmas Indicopleustes's *Christian Topography* and the tenth-century *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* explicitly discuss how one approaches such an earthly paradise from the ocean.[69] These authors situate Eden on an island. They describe Eden as fruitful and abundant, a "heavenly land of bliss and eternal light." Eden is the source of four rivers, an "island of singing monks," and a place where beasts, monsters and large fish reside."[70]

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[66] Abel, "To Sea and Be Seen," 12.

[67] Revelation to John, 1:9 in the The Holy Bible, New Revised Standard Version (Nashville, Burlingame: Thomas Nelson Publishers for Cokesbury, 1990), 245; Cécile Treffort, "Iles et Moines du Littoral Atlantique entre Loire et Girone au Moyen Age," in *Lérins, une île sainte de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2009), 319-334.

[68] Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 44.

[69] Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Christian Topography*, Constantinople, ninth century (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana) MS Vat. Gr. 699. For translations see Scafi, "Where Is Nowhere?" in *Mapping Paradise* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 160-182; Navigato Sancti Brendani abbatis: De reis van Sint Brandaan: Een reisver hall uit de twaalfde eeuw, Willem Wilmink, ed. (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Prometheus—Bert Baker, 1994).

[70] Navigato Sancti Brendani abbatis, I. 38-9, 42, 60 in Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*, 52-53.

in the twelfth century, Strabo went so far as to place Eden "in the sunrise," and thus in the East.[71]

Connecting this description to the geographic and topographic siting of Maillezais' abbey church, one could project that after entering the western narthex, a monastic viewer would have been aware that if he turned around and looked in the direction from which he had just entered, he would have seen a stretch of water leading out into the ocean directly beyond the monastic grounds. The view would have transported him miles out beyond the bountiful landscape due to the abbey's elevated position on a hill.

Reflecting this topographic setting, nature itself is depicted within the church in various ways, from the explicit to the implied. The many Corinthian capitals, with large triangular shapes that curl outward, line the inner and outer walls of the churches in the Aquitaine. These capitals, which flank the Victory Capital on the northern wall, feature shapes that repeat in multiple registers in a busy composition, similar to a leafy plant. **(fig. 14)** The bottom two registers of the Victory capital, while abstract in nature, originally depicted a similar leafy, vegetal motif. The ornamental nature of this type of sculpture, indicated on the Non-Narrative Figural Chart by the symmetrical compositions and use of repetition, evoke the notion of Eden because of the inclusion of wild beasts and fertile, and fanciful foliage.[72]

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[71] Strabo is cited in *Glossa ordinaria,* which was either written by Strabo or compilers from the twelfth-century monastic school in Laon, France. See Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*, 49-50; *Biblia latina cum Glossa ordinaria* (1480/1; 1992), I, 21.

[72] Oleg Grabar, *The Meditation of Ornament*, 191-192, 205, 207, states that "images with architecture and landscape evoke the notion of paradise rather than explicitly representing." He goes on to say that the myth of Paradise was depicted as a mountainous garden with animals romping in a setting of real or imagined vegetation. The myth is rooted in ancient Mesopotamian sources, and may have affected Roman art. He stipulates, however, that the images of nature in Romanesque were uncharged and served to help the viewer move through the space.

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Similar capitals were in the nave at Saint-Jean de Montierneuf in Poitiers, but there the vines originate in the gaping mouths of lions. **(fig. 15)** These vines curl out and extend onto the other sides of the sculpture. These somewhat grotesque scenes are coupled with images of animals sharing water and eating fruits. **(figs 16, 17)** These "naturalistic" scenes that depict everyday activities of animals, are juxtaposed with the hybridized beasts. This relationship emphasized the inherent good and evil in nature,[73] but could also have alluded to the real perils (robbers, beasts) within the medieval forest.[74]

It has been noted that the monk's interaction with the landscape solidified their place within a sacred geography.[75] In this sense, a monastery existed as the site where the monks placed themselves within an earthly Jerusalem,[76] where they imagined themselves existing as "angels" within their sacred topography, working together as a community to guarantee their position in the heavenly realm. The types of ornamental images organized in the Non-Narrative Figural chart, on both the interior and exterior of churches, aided in this notion of a spiritual landscape. The images of paradise, which include fundamentally earthly elements, created both tension and harmony between the divine and themes that would be relevant to the local population of monks.[77] With Maillezais' particular island

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[73] Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism*, 239; Seidel, *Songs of Glory*, 41; Dale, "The Monstrous," 269.
[74] Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture at Vezelay*, 64.
[75] Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1995), 21.
[76] Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism*, 239, and 61-62. He states that the Parthenay can be read through a palimpsestual framework where the layers "came to achieve a kind of ideological sublime." The foundation of the St. Sepulcher demonstrates how an interest in the Holy Land could be co-opted for strategic urban aims.
[77] Ann Marie Yasin, "Making Use of Paradise: Church Benefactors, Heavenly Visions, and the Late Antique Commemorative Imagination" in *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 44, states that in images of paradise on sixth-century apse programs, the world between spatial and celestial is broken by incorporation of historical mortal donor figures and local saints. The church programs give local expression to the theological hierarchy. The images "invite the beholders and teach them not to participate in that world as well."

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setting, this type of imagery had the potential to evoke a unique comprehension of the relation between the natural setting and the sacred enclosure.

One way to grasp how this relationship between the earthly realm and the spiritual confines was understood is to look at the imagery from a macro point of view, that is to situate the imagery geographically. **Maps 1-16** place the images to be considered with in their geographical context, providing insight on how the eleventh-century viewer might have read the imagery in relation to the physical topography that surrounded them in their day-to-day reality. These maps also provide a resource for calculating the geographical distance between eleventh- and twelfth-century church sites in the Poitou region, contextualizing how the monastic audience would have perceived their position within the region's topography.

There are a number of variables to consider, though, before factoring the maps within a quantitative context. First, there are likely additional church sites that exist, but are not indicated on the map because the sites were either not included in the catalogs employed or are no longer extant. Second, the data accounted for two hundred years of church construction, but it does not differentiate between eleventh- and twelfth-century sites. So the eleventh-century viewer would have been privy to a smaller percentage of this imagery than the twelfth-century viewer. While the date range considered includes the earliest building phase at Maillezais through the later building of the parish churches throughout the region, it is important to recognize that each of these sites, at the time of their construction, likely incorporated a wider scope of imagery than indicated on **Maps 1-15** and in the Non-Narrative Figural Chart, which specifies where these images are found in the church because neither accounts for imagery no longer extant.

With these factors in mind, and orienting ourselves to the ancient Golfe des

Pictons, we see that Maillezais Island is indicated by the darker green of its lush

vegetation. From this vantage point, the church sites seem to fan outward from the gulf,

the epicenter of the hydraulic canal system. Beyond this, what can immediately be

ascertained from the maps of sites included in the catalogs, is that the churches were

primarily situated on the edges of the light brown lowlands; the gap between the ancient

gulf and the lowlands to the east was less-sparsely populated with church sites.

Interestingly, the geography of the church layout in the city of Poitiers can be

compared to how the sites on and around Maillezais Island were situated. Poitiers was

densely populated with sites erected in the eleventh century. **Map 16** locates six of these

church sites, situated less than one kilometer apart, making it possible to visit each of

these sites, multiple times in one day. **Map 2** shows that while the churches near

Maillezais were built to accommodate the island topography and are spread farther apart

than those within Poitiers, travel to multiple sites on the island and mainland would also

have been possible in one day. The overriding implications of this geographical context is

that a traveling viewer would have had the opportunity to engage with the four types of

imagery cataloged at multiple sites in relative close proximity.

This is interesting because we know that the typical monastic viewer was

frequently engaged in activities that aided in the construction of mental and sacred

geographies.[78] Sacred processions that established the borders of a town are one example

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[78] Remensynder, *Remembering Kings Past,* 72, states that the inclusion of church spaces creates topographic points that define undefined space, giving it significance by indication of name. The relationship between one's conception of their own physical geography and map-making, whether mental or material, has been discussed by cultural geographers that investigate the terms landscape, space/place and boundaries. See also, Geoff King, *Mapping Reality: An Exploration of Cultural Geographies* (New York: Macmillan Press, 1996), 15-17; and Denis Cosgrove, "Mapping/Cartography," in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Definition of Key Concepts*, David Atkinson, Peter Jackson, David Sibley and Neil

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of this type of geographical engagement.[79] Architectural imagery was factored within that experience and the repetition of themes and archetypes aided in the thematic composition.[80] Sites that repeat isolated subjects throughout a specified region thus served to construct one's mental geography of place. In this way, the monastic viewer at Maillezias could have connected the sculptural imagery both on the exterior portal and the churches' interior with regard to their unique relationship with the watery landscape that surrounded the abbey. This becomes particularly relevant when we consider the specific social and political climate at Maillezais.

Maillezais was established in 987 by Emma of Blois and her husband, Duke William IV of Aquitaine.[81] William IV was also known as "Iron Arm" because of his military accomplishments.[82] In light of local property disputes, William, along with the regional bishops, convened at the Peace Council of Charroux in 989 to discuss the "criminal actions" of the region's nobility.[83] This Council marked the beginning of the Peace of God movement in the Aquitaine region. The construction of Maillezais was relevant to the Peace of God in that it reified William IV's sacred patronage as well as his secular legitimacy.[84]

Washbourne, eds. (London: I.B. Taurus, 2005), 27-28. These scholars explore the use of mapping to visualize the spatial relationships between social, cultural and political developments.

[79] Abel, "Inclusive Circles of Peace: The Politics of Entry," in *Open Access,* 122-157, particularly 130-133, addresses the issue of inter-church processions.

[80] Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism*, 3-13, states that sculptural imagery constructs the notion of a community through their placement within existing city structures that mobilize the *polis* (community). The proliferation of a "type" of sculpture within a limited context was a conscious approach to constructing an urban or regional identity.

[81] Thomas Head, "The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine (970-1005)," *Speculum*, Vol. 74, No. 3 (1999), 670.

[82] Head, "The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine," 659.

[83] Head, "The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine," 666.

[84] Head, "The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine," 667; and Abel, *Open Access*, 133. Archbishop Gunabldus met with William IV after the council in Poitiers. The Archbishop recognized William IV's economic power and social influence, and sought his aid in retaining the efforts of the Charroux council. This evidences William IV's position of privilege, despite his actions in the previous

The key component to maintaining the Peace was the expansion of sacred territory. This movement sought to reclaim and spiritualize the wild territories that surrounded the cities. This untamed countryside was thought to be a haven for both marauding invaders and land-grabbing independent warriors seeking to build their own fiefdoms.[85] The monastic communities, particularly those along the coastline of western France, had a particularly vivid conception of the inherent dangers of the wild and unclaimed territory, as they were frequently the targets of the violent destruction inherent in both groups of people. They were therefore instrumental, beginning in the year 1000, in the active promotion of land reclamation and resettlement. The monks worked to multiply arable acreage by chopping down forests, cleaning brush and thickets, and draining marshy soil. [86] Maillezais, for instance, was transformed from the Duke's remote hunting lodge into a site for sacred patronage.[87]

The spiritual component of this land reclaiming can be seen in Maillezais' foundation legend.[88] Maillezais was established at the site of a miraculous event involving a wild boar witnessed by Emma of Blois, William IV's wife.[89] This legend follows a trope found in many French monastic foundation stories, [90] where it was the

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years. The fact that Maillezais was established before the Council of Charroux is telling of William IV's involvement in the regional politics, both sacred and secular.

[85] Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism*, 49, 60, 69.

[86] Mickey Abel, "Recontextualizing the Context: The Dispute Capital from Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers and Storytelling in the Poitou around the Time of the Peace of God Movement," *Gesta*, 71/1 (2008), 55-57.

[87] Mickey Abel, "Emma of Blois as Arbiter of Peace and the Politics of Patronage," in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 851-852.

[88] Petrus Malleacensis, *De antiquitate et Commutatione in Melius Mallaecensis Insulae et Translatione Corporis Sancti Rigomeri,* 1.2, J. Migne, ed. *Patrologia Latina* 146 (Paris: Vayet, 1851), 1 (fol. 247 b).

[89] Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, 45 and 75, states that the couple and their hunting party came upon "church ruins" with three altarpieces. A member of the hunting party touched one altar and was blinded. See also Abel, "Emma of Blois as Arbiter of Peace and the Politics of Patronage," 838.

[90] Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past,* 1-21, states that monastic foundation legends are part of an "imaginative memory" and were a reflection upon the past. Charters also manifest sacred nature of site. In the 10th century there was increased attention to foundation legends, which helped in the establishment of communal identities by 1000.

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elements of the landscape acted as the signifier of the divine, rather than the presence of a holy saint or relic.[91] In the case of Maillezais,[92] it is possible that in an effort to legitimize the sacredness of the site, the founders of the abbey not only considered the possible metaphorical relationship between the creatures that existed in the Garden of Eden, but those found in the real landscape as a means to spiritualize the process of land reclamation.

When considered in relation to these spiritualized foundations, the sculptural imagery captured and reflected the land that surrounded their sacred sanctuary. In this sense, the Victory Capital's imagery can be said to have heightened the viewers' perception of the process of land claiming, particularly in light of the abbeys' ongoing and contemporaneous construction of the complicated new hydraulic program. This ancient canal system can, seen on **Map 3**, was drawn by Claude Masse, a seventeenth-century cartographer.[93] It shows how the canals radiate outward from the monastery site. The monks, clerical officials and political leaders in Maillezais controlled this canal system to increase the amount of arable land and provide additional economic capital.[94] This control of the water enhanced the abbey's regional political and religious prestige.

Given the predominance of water surrounding the abbey, the leafy shapes depicted on corinthianesque capitals in the area, as well as the bottom two registers on the Victory Capital, itself could well have been imagined as representative of the marshy landscape. In this context the male figure's presence in the nave would have inspired the

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[91] Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, 65; Abel, "Emma of Blois," 837.
[92] Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, 77.
[93] See Mickey Abel, "Defining a New Coast: G.I.S. Reconstruction of Maillezais Abbey's Hydraulic Drainage Program and the Coastline it Created," in this volume.
[94] Abel, "To Sea and Be Seen," 13, 20.

Figure 19 Saint Nicholas, Maillezais, portal frieze. Photo: author.

monks to contemplate their own place within the environment, which at the time was

consistently changing and expanding outward into unknown regions. The many images of

men working with these marshy elements can be seen at Saint-Eutrope in Saintes **(fig. 19)**

and Saint Nicolas in the village of Maillezais **(fig. 20)**, where repetitive figures holding

the western portals. Similar imagery adorns the outer apse wall in Saint-Pierre in Aulnay.

Images of men hold up the weight of the stone above them at both Saint-Hilaire-des-

Loges **(fig. 21)** and Saint Nicolas in Maillezais. These images suggest that the medieval

audience was perhaps intended to contemplate the physical labor necessary to conquer

the landscapes in the region.[95]

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[95] Abel, "Recontextualizing the Context," 51, similarly argues that audience of the Dispute Capital on the façade of Saint-Hilaire was intended to recognize the relationship between man and the processes land claiming during the Peace of God movement.

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Figure 20 Aulnay, Saint-Pierre, apse window. Top left: central window; top right: slab relief detail. Photo: author**.**

Figure 21 Saint Nicholas, Maillezais, portal. Photo: author. (top right)

Figure 22 Saint-Hilaire-des-Loges, nave. Photo: author.

Placing this type of imagery within the greater geographical context of Poitou, as well as within the spatial context of the church architecture, allows us to better understand both its broad social-political implications and its site-specific meanings. In it, we can see that the rise in church construction in the early eleventh century led to the proliferation of sculptural tropes that emphasized man's relationship with the wild elements. The constant reminding of the populous of their triumph and ingenuity in the construction of such sites that in many controlled the water, gave the illusion that the giving of life was initiated from within the church. The imagery on the Victory Capital, although now seen as a lone capital remaining within a vast two-aisled basilica, was likely part of a program that featured other imagery of the type linked to the "Man vs. Wild Elements" theme and perhaps all of the categories of imagery described in the

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appendix. With this as their visual backdrop, the monastic viewer at Maillezais would have understood these images within the context of their practices of landscape claiming. Read in relation to ideas of Eden and the spiritualized land reclamation of the landscape, we come to understand the context where landscape was mythologized, tamed, and ultimately controlled by man to their spiritual, economic and political benefit. 🐦

II. A. Visual Catalog

This section defines the image type categories listed on the Non-Narrative Figural Chart. The images are labeled by site, followed by a number in parentheses that corresponds to the chart source document.

Beasts
The wider category of beasts includes animals that are recognizable in nature such as lions, birds, elephants and jackals.

Lions
Images of lions are defined by the shape of their large, round torso and paws. Curvilinear lines on the neck region defines the mane on these creatures. The lions often share a face on the edge of the capital.

Thouras, Saint-Laon
Nave or Transept, (164)

Sainte-Radegonde, Poitiers, Choir, (140)
Image credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

Parthenay-le-Vieux, Saint-Pierre
Apse, (153)

Lions often appear without a mane (left image). The face also has human characteristics, which can be seen through the elogated shape of the nose and shape of the lips.

Saint-Nicholas, Maillezais, Transept
Image credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

41

Birds

A surviving capital in the narthex at Maillezais includes images of symmetrical birds. The birds are defined by the inclusion of wings and pointed beak. Their bodies are faced forward while their necks are contorted backward toward the edge of the capital. Their claws rest on a rabbit or other rodent that sits on the center of the bottom register. Large round circles on the heads define their eyes, which appear to be open widely.

Maillezais Abbey, Narthex
Image credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

At Saint Pierre in Aulnay-de Saintogne, images of birds are carved onto three faces of a four shaft freestanding column. The birds stand in the center of the composition. The birds are peacocks, identified by repetitive lines shapes near the neck and tail, which define the opposing feather textures that are found on the actual creature. Their long tail features are tucked down toward their legs. Like the capital at Maillezais, their necks bend backward, toward the outer edges of the capital. They stand on a large leaf that dominates the bottom register. The leaf curves upward on its front edges, creating a shape that resembles a boat. The ends of the boat extend upward onto the edges of the capital and terminate into a leaf shapes. The peacocks dip their beaks toward the leaf shapes, indicating that they are eating the plant.

Aulnay-de-Saintonge, Saint-Pierre
Nave, (102)

42

Birds

Images of symmetrical birds are also seen converging towards a water vessel or fruit. Alike the birds at Aulnay de Saintogne, their beaks either touch or disappear into the vessels. Birds that resemble egrets at Chivaux prop one of their legs onto the vessel, which creates more lines that guide the viewers eye toward the center. A metopede in the crypt at Charroux shows a similar composition, but in this image the birds' beaks are connected. Four lines extend outward from the bottom portion of the drinking vessel, and encase the birds in leafy tendrils that complete in fleur-de-lis shapes in the corners.

Civaux, Saint-Gervais, Saint-Protais
Nave, (105)

Charroux,
Crypt, (104)

Birds in a similar composition adorn the archivolts on the exterior portal at Aulnay-de-Santigone (top right). The birds' bodies are faced outward, while the neck faces inward toward the centralized vessel. The tips of their beaks dip into the vessel. Their eyes are open wide out toward the viewer.

On the register to their left, birds that resemble peacocks perch on top of jackals. The jackals and birds create a "ying-yang" effect: the birds eat bugs out of the jackals' hinds, while the jackals bite the birds rear. Their mouths are open wide and are placed just under the birds' long feathers. The scene could represent a symbiotic relationship between the two creatures.

Similar imagery adorns double capitals in Notre Dame at Soudan (bottom right), except here birds stand on lions. The peacocks stand on their hinds and eat out of the lion's ears. Their necks bow outward and converge on the corners while their long features extend inward toward the beasts neck.

Soudan, Notre-Dame, (177)

Aulnay-de-Saintonge, Saint-Pierre, (227)

43

Elephants

Images are identified as elephants in Saint Martin in Doussay and at Saint Pierre in Aulnay. The elephant's large tusks are frequently adorned with a decorative harness, indicating that humans tamed the creatures. At Aulnay, their long thin tails end in a circular shape, which resembles the tail on an elephant. The difference between these images and an actual elephant is their shape of their ears, which are depicted as short, stubby pointed triangles. Text over the image indicates that the creature is an elephant. Similar creatures can be seen at Saint-Jean de Montierneuf in Poitiers. The creatures are facing the edges of the capital. Their trunks meet in the center and are connected by a harness, similar to those at Aulnay.

Saint Jean de Montierneuf, Poitiers, Nave, (128)
Image credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

Aulnay-de-Santonge, Saint-Pierre, Collatéral Sud, (123)

Jackals

Doussay, Saint-Martin
Cross Transept, (129)

Jackals are identified by the shape of their long snout, legs and ears. An example of this type of creature lies in the choir at Sainte-Radegonde (left image). The creatures have long torsos. The scene is playful. Their legs are bent and rest delicately against the figure's hips and forearms. The jackals lick the figure's feet. Their eyes are shaped like almonds, which might show an attempt to represent the angular nature of a jackals face.

Sainte-Radegonde, Poitiers, (285)
Image credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

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Beast Hybrids

This category is defined composite creatures, created from combining two or more beasts.

Dragons

Dragons are composited from multiple beasts, including birds, lizards, snakes. Thick scales, created by triangular shapes, line the necks of the creatures. The faces resemble jackals. Their tails dissapear into leafy tendris on the capitals at Maillezais and Saint-Nicholas de Maillezais.

Saint-Nicolas, Maillezais, West facade (14)
Photo credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

Maillezais, deposit room , (45)
Photo credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

Soudan, Notre-Dame, Nave, (17)

Vouvant, Notre-Dame
Portal, (229)
Photo credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

45

Griffons

Images of griffons also proliferate throughout the region. Griffons are large, four legged birds with the body of a lion. Their large winds protrude from the lion's torso. At Saint-Pierre in Parthenay-le-Vieux, griffons sit on the upper choir in the south side of the church. Their bodies face the center of the capital. Their necks are bent backward toward their wings. This flexibility allows the creatures to clean their bodies of bugs. The composition resembles the many of birds that perform the same cleansing activity.

Nieul-sur-l'Autise, (221)
Image credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

Parthenay-le-Vieux, Saint-Pierre Apse,(29)

Winged Lions

Images of winged lions also fit within the hybrid category. The lions at Saint-Hilaire in Melle share a face that sits at the edge of the capital. Their front paws are joined just below their head. Their wings seem connected to their mane and dominate the upper register of the image. These creatures resemble a black-figure pitcher from Corinth made around 600 BC (right image). The bottom register shows an image of symmetrical winged lions that share one face. The creature is bipedal.

Melle,
Saint-Hilaire,
Nave, Portal on the
south wall, (46)

Corinth, 600 BC

46

Beast/Human Hybrids

Lamassu

The Lamassu is an ancient Mesopotamian mythological protective diety. The creature has a winged body of a bull or lion, with a human face. In some cases, the faces have beards. This character is on a capital in the ambulatory at Saint Nicolas de Maillezais and Notre-Dame in Fontaines. The figures at these church sites do not have a beard.
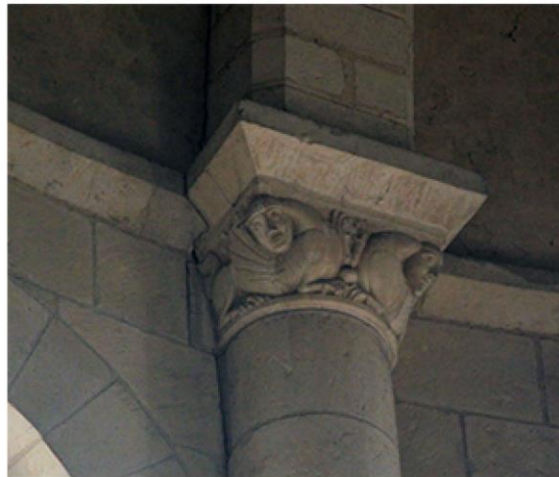

Assyrian, , 883–859 BC

Fontaines, Notre-Dame, Nave, (75)
Image credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

Saint Nicholas, Maillezais, Ambulatory
Image credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

47

Centaurs

The centaur is half human, half horse. At Nieul-sur-l'Autize in the cloister portal, two full centaur figures meet on the edge of the capital. At Saint Nicolas de Maillezais, a west portal capital shows a similar composition. The centaur is engulfed in organic tendrils. He seems to shoot a human figure in the mouth.

Marans Saint-Etienne, (98)
Image credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

Maillezais, Saint-Nicolas, Portal (6)
Image credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

Mermaids

Mermaids are composite creatures. The figures are typically female, indicated by their breasts and long hair. The human figure's shape ends at the torso and completes as a fish. The figure holds either their own hair, the ends of their fish tails, or just hold their hands up, palms facing outward. This is the case of the mermaid or "sirene" on a capital in the apse in Parthenay-le-Veux.

Parthenay-le-Vieux, Saint-Pierre, Apse (29)

48

Foliage Hybrids

Beasts / Foliage Hybrid

Saint Jean de Montierneuf, Poitiers, (left 65, right 52)
Photo credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

At Saint-Jean de Montierneuf (left image), capitals in the nave show foliage spilling out of the gaping mouths of lions. Ornamental foliage sculpted in high relief dominates the bottom and middle registers of the capital. The necks and manes of two lions come out of this foliage and onto the upper register. Their necks are angled toward the edge of the capital and share one face. Two groups of five tendrils spill out and curve upward and around the faces of the capital. Today these capitals sit at eye level. Hybrid jackal and foliate creatures sit close by (right image). The jackals converge toward the edge of the capital, and share a bowl of water. A leafy vine shape occupies the jackal's body from their waist down.

In the nave at Saint-Hilaire-des-Loges, full-bodied lions frame the center face of a capital. Their necks curve inward while vines expel from their mouths and wrap around their torsos. The vine also serves as the creature's tail. Each creature's plant creates lines that carry the viewer's eye through the whole composition. The vines twirl and twist around and meet in the center. They scroll upward and then wrap around the bodies of each lion.

Saint-Hilaire-des-Loges, Nave, (239)
Image credit: Owen-Wilson-Chavez

Man / Foliage Hybrid

This category is defined by images of men that are hybridized with foliage. The male's mustache is hybridized with vine stems at Clussais-la-Pommeraie and Maillezais. Small jackals are carved just above the figure at Clussais-la-Pommeraie's head. These jackals sit in the upper regiseter, where ornamental volutes normally occupy, and pick as his hair.
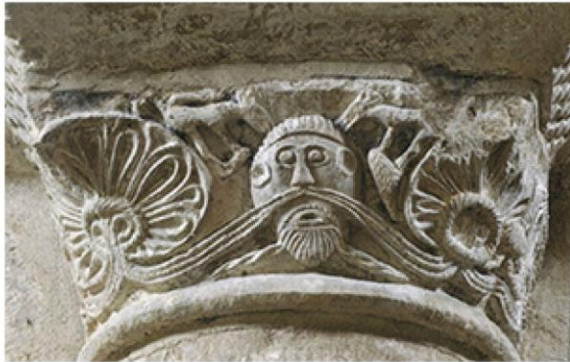
Clussais-la-Pommeraie,
Notre-Dame, (98)

Saint-Nicholas, Maillezais,
West façade, (194)

At Saint-Pierre in Airvault, multiple heads human faces are encased in foliage. Of the six faces seen on two sides of the capital, one of the faces is an elderly man, indicated by his beard. The heads peer out from the background of the image. This indicates that the rest of their bodies are entangled in the thick and dense foliage that wraps around each of their necks.

Airvault, Saint-Pierre,
Nave (196)

50

Man vs. Wild Elements

These images are defined by their compositional elements – a centralized full male figure extends his limbs outward toward elements of the landscape, beasts and hybrids.

Man vs. Beasts

In the ambulatory arcade in Saint-Radegonde, the beasts that flank the humans resemble jackals. The composition can also be seen on the well-known purse cover from the Sutton Hoo burial ship (below). The purse cover was retrieved from Suffolk, England and is dated to the first half of the 7th century.
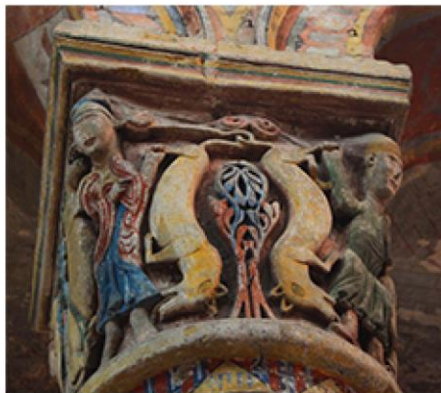
Maillezais, Saint-Nicolas, Façade, (253)
Image credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

Man vs. Lions

The Victory Capital fits within this specific category because of the lions that surround the central figure. The human figures uniquely interact with their surroundings. A capital from Saint-Pierre in Chauvigny is split into two from his hips down, while in Saint-Saturnin and in Saint-Pierre in Correze the figures have actual weapons. The figure at Correze notably holds the reins of the beasts to his right, suggesting that he has tamed the creature. The bottom registers on the capitals Saint-Pierre in Correze and Saint-Pierre in Airvault show curvilinear vines, which the central figures hover over.

Victory Capital, Maillezais Abbey, Nave (297)
Image Cedit: Mickey Abel
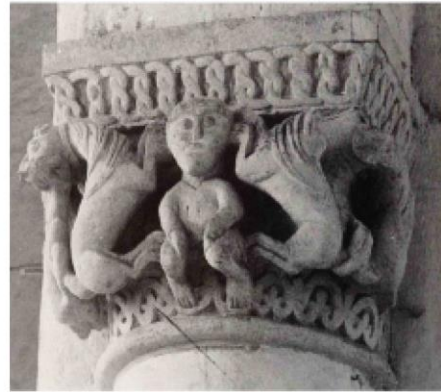
Airvault, Saint-Pierre, Nave, south arcade, (298)

Chouppes, Saint-Saturnin, Nave, (300)

Saint-Pierre, Chauvigny, Choir, (294)

52

Men vs. Hybrids

On west façade portal at Saint-Pierre at Aulnay images of symmetrical beasts and hybrids dominate the embedded capitals. The center capital on the right side of the portal shows an image of a man flanked by two dragons. His arms are stretched outward and grasp the creature's necks, which bow outward. Their tails curl underneath their bodies.

Aulnay, Saint-Pierre, Portal capital, (272)

Men are entangled with dragons on a capital in La-Chaize-le-Vicomte. Three men are engulfed in the composition. One of the figures has mounted the creature. His left arm extends back and attempts to pry a creature that caps the dragon's tail.

La-Chaize-le-Vicomte,
Saint-Nicholas, (269)

53

Man vs. Landscape

This category includes images of men fighting with foliage. At Saint Pierre in Melle, the nave includes an image of a man fighting off thick organic vine shapes with all of his limbs. The vines have round shapes that resemble seeds or beans. The male figure stands on the edge of the capital. His arms grasp the tendrils that surround him. His right foot stays planted on the ground, while his right is bent sharply upward. This sharp angle suggests that he figure was attempting to walk over the foliage, but the force of the tendril pushed against his foot and hoisted his knee upward.

Saint-Pierre, Melle, Nave (290)

In the choir at Saint-Pierre in Airvault, a scene shows male figure taming two large vines, the bases of which are thicker than his legs. He bends his knee and lunges forward. The vines bend and sway against his weight. His arms are extended outward. Vertical lines create the illusion of fabric on his skirt, which help indicate the figure's movements.

Airvault, Siant-Pierre, Choir (281)

54

Labor

This category is defined by images of men working with or taming the wild elements. Two capitals in the choir at Saint-Pierre in Airvault would fit within this category. A centralized male figure holds a scythe as a beast figure approaches. At Saint Nicolas de Maillezais, images of men run along the frieze of structure the carrying a continual vine shapes. The repetitive nature of the image on the frieze carries the eye horizontally across the portals of the façade.

Saint-Hilaire-des-Loges, Nave, (238)

Saintes, Saint-Eutrope, (249)

Aulnay, Saint-Pierre, Apse Window. Left: central window, Right: slab relief detail, (234)

Saint Nicholas, Maillezais, Portal Frieze, (241), Image credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

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Labor

Also included within this category are images that allude to church construction. At Saint Nicolas images of men stacked on top one another makes a jam in the portal.

Saint Nicholas, Maillezais, Portal Jamb, (240)
Image credit: Owen Wilson-Chavez

Saint-Hilaire-des-Loges, Nave, (238)

Saint-Pierre, Aulnay, South portal (100)

Velluire, Saint-ean Bapistry (232)

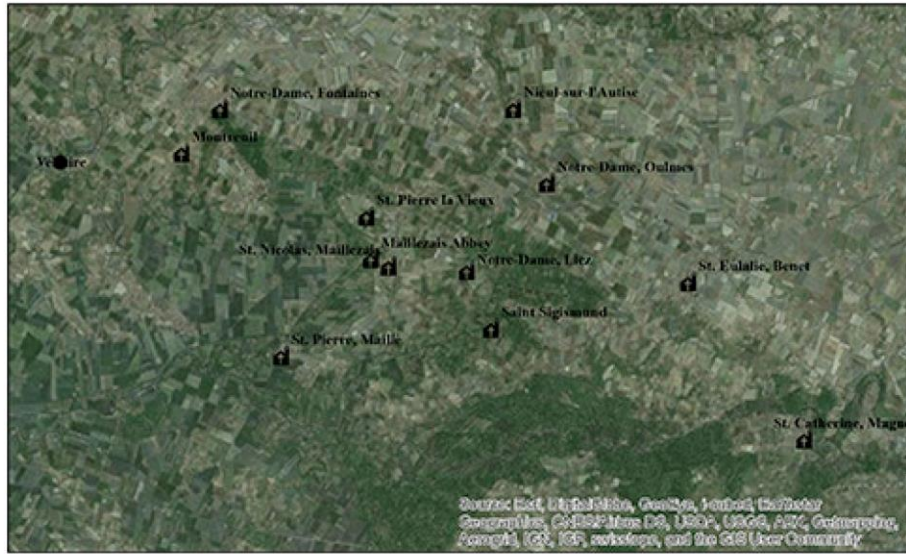56

III. Maps
This section geographically locates the sites listed in the Non-Narrative Figural Chart. Each wide view map is followed by a map that zooms in closer to Maillezais Abbey.
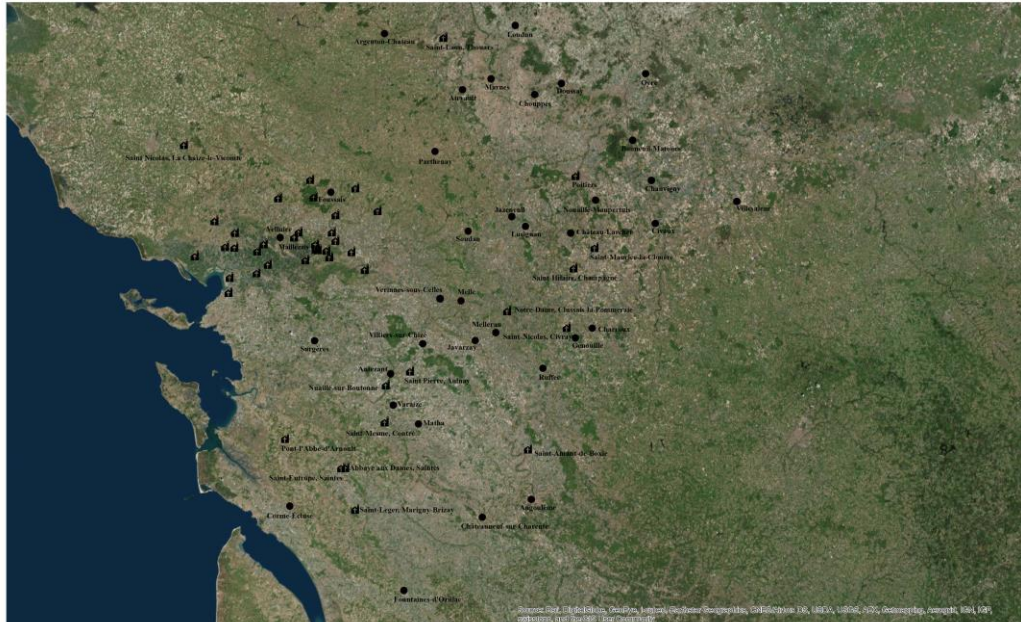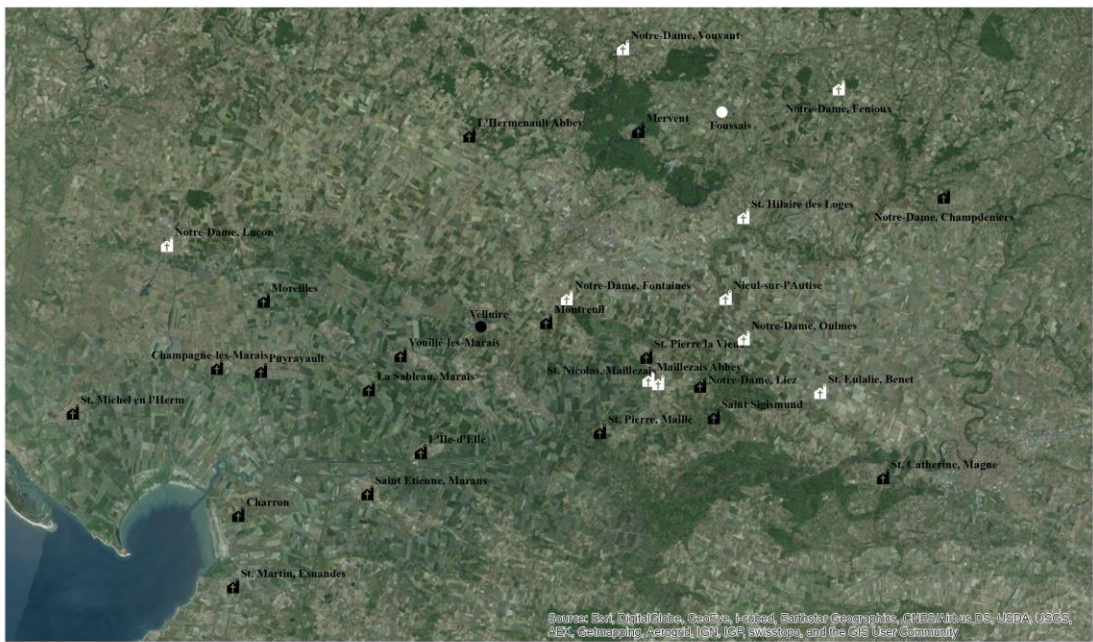

Map 1
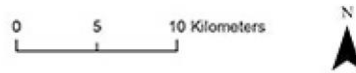
Map 2
Maillezais Island

Map 3
Claude Masse, 17th C.

58

Map 4
Beasts

Map 5
Beasts

0   5   10   20 Kilometers

N

Map 6
Beast Hybrids

0   35   70   140 Kilometers

N

60

Map 7
Beast Hybrids

0   5   10   20 Kilometers

N

Map 8
Beast/Human Hybrid

0   35   70   140 Kilometers

N

Map 9
Beast/Human Hybrids

0 5 10   20 Kilometers

N

Map 10
Foliage Hybrid

0 35 70   140 Kilometers

N

62
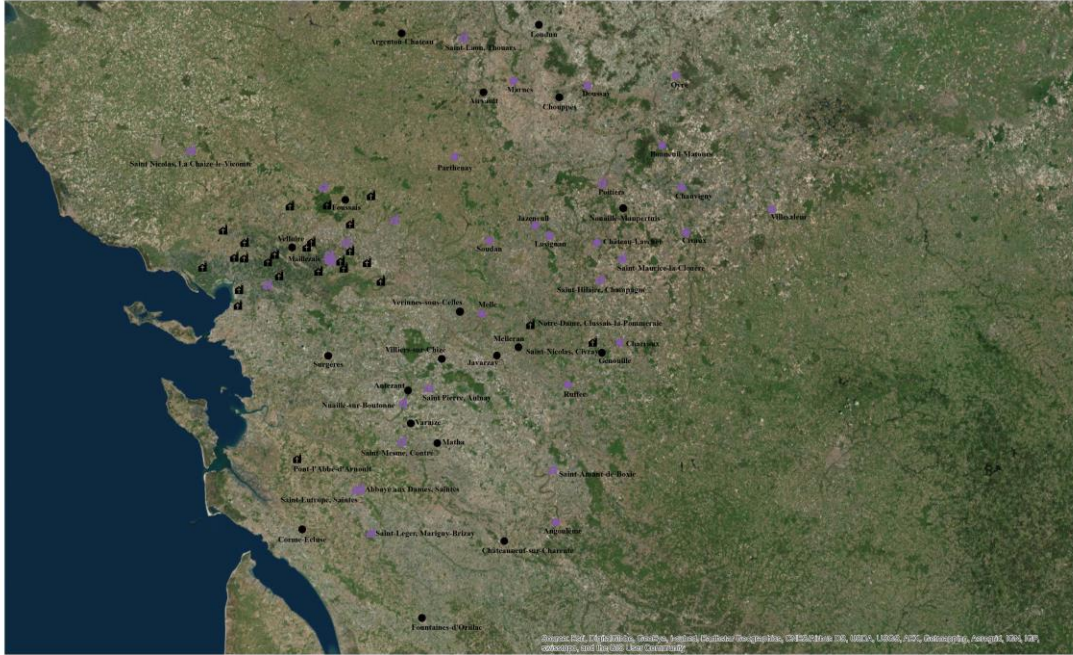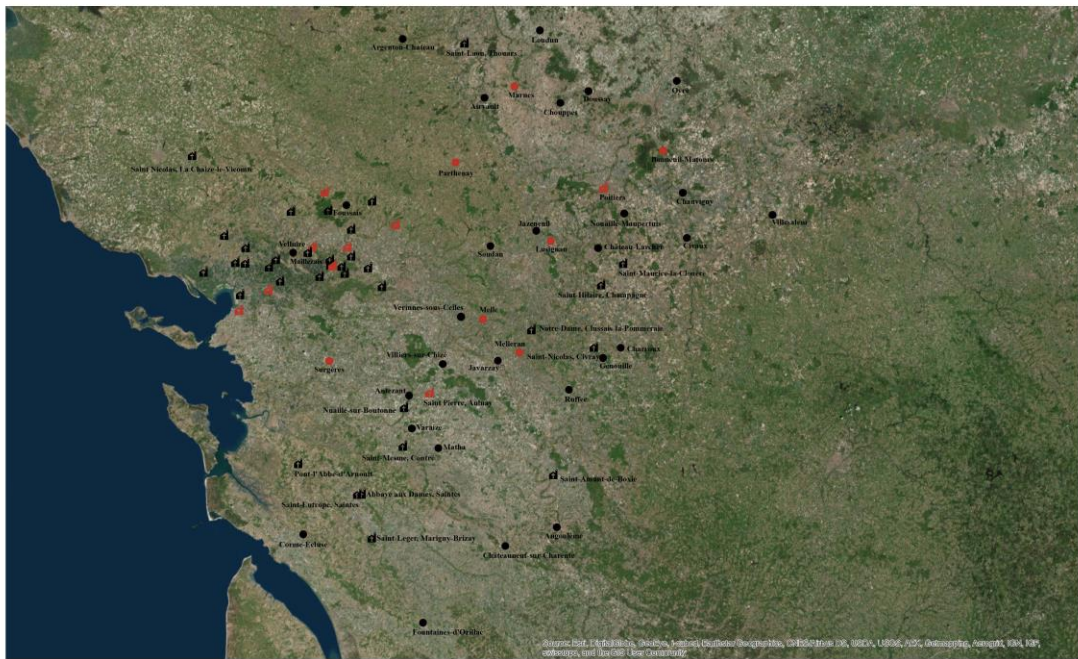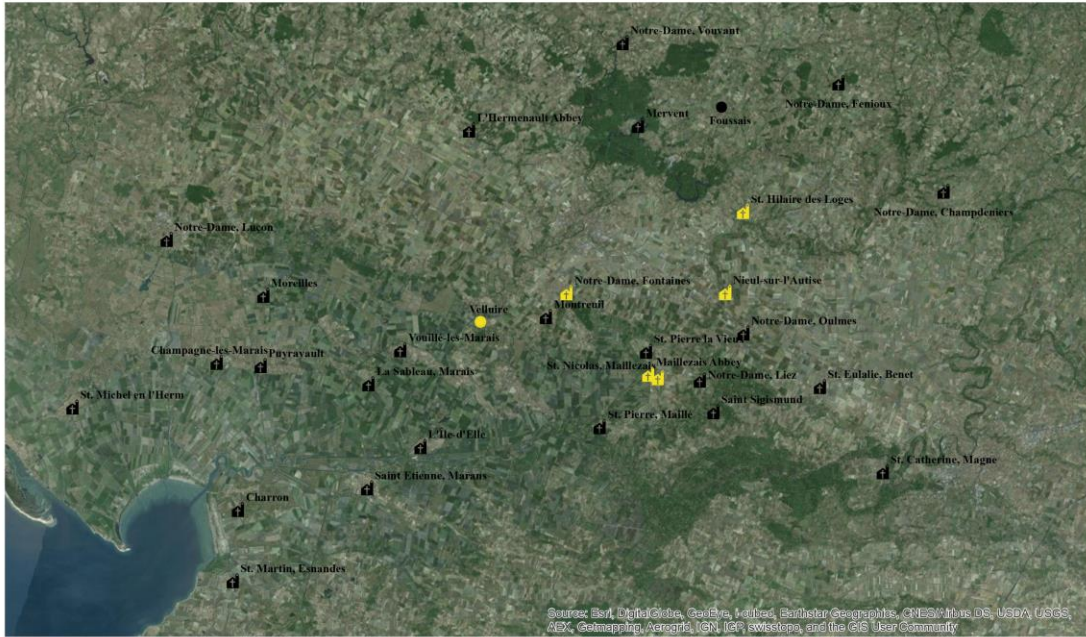
Map 11
Foliage Hybrid

0   5   10   20 Kilometers

N

Map 12
Man vs. Wild Elements

0   35   70   140 Kilometers

N

63

Map 13
Man vs. Wild Elements

0   5   10   20 Kilometers

N

Map 14
Labor

0   35   70   140 Kilometers

N

Map 15
Labor

0   5   10   20 Kilometers
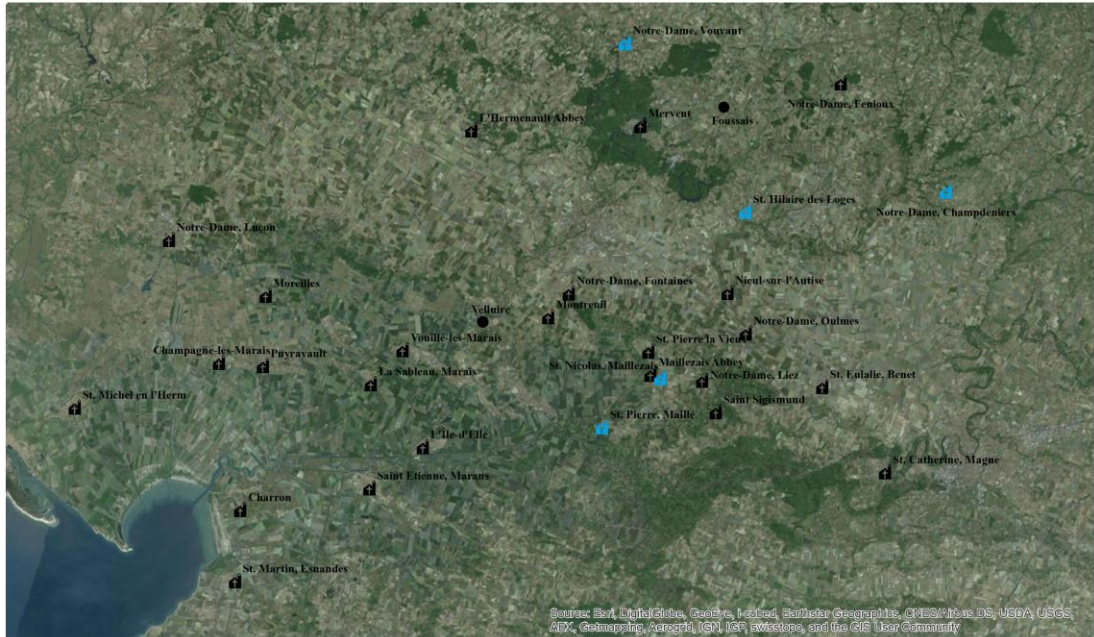
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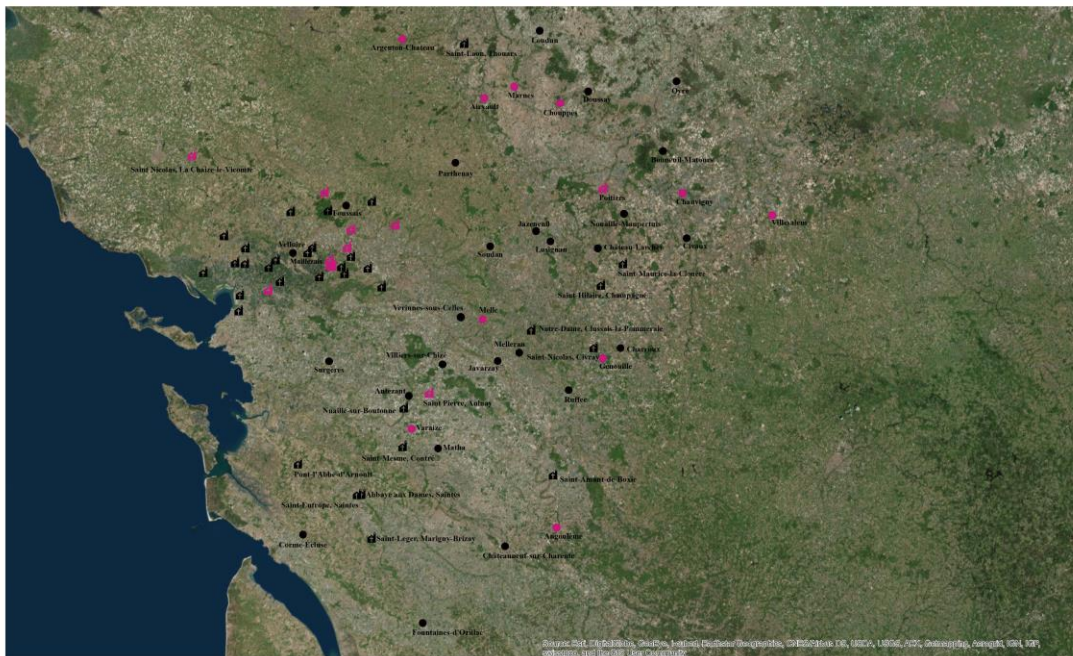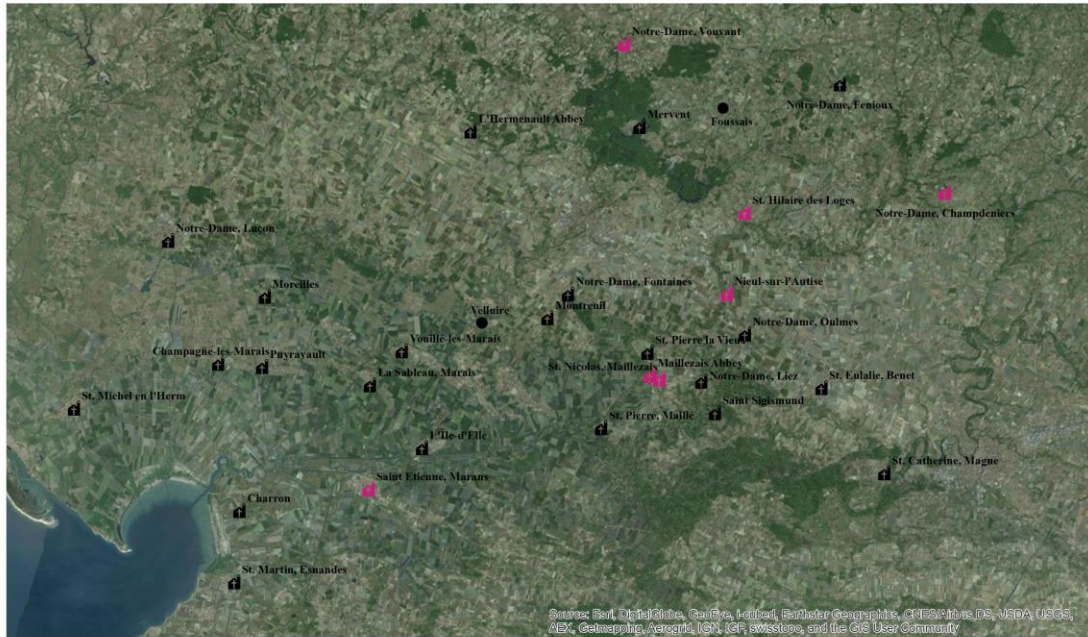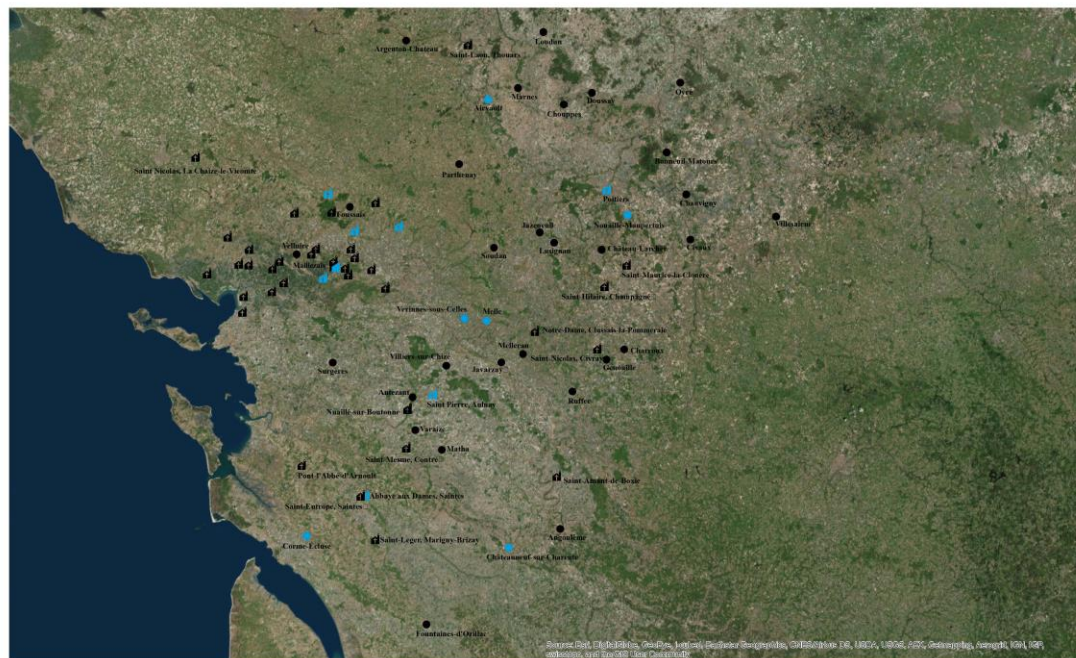
Map 16
Poitiers, France

0   0.5   1   2 Kilometers

N