

The Façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: The Visual Strategies of a Political Agenda

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Abstract

The sculptural program of the façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, whose current appearance is nearly identical to its original state, is organized around four iconographic clusters or narrative sequences corresponding to the three portals and the frieze that links them. Exegetical literature imbued the episodes depicted from the life of Christ with an ecclesiological meaning: the church is the Ecclesia, the community of the faithful, governed by spiritual and temporal powers, and whose completion is predicted for the end of time. The interpretation of the sequences is “directed” by the precise and systematic articulation of the motifs of which they are composed, suggesting that symmetries in the design of the façade correspond to semantic relationships between the subjects. The designer of the Saint-Gilles façade made narrative coherence and the demands of the iconographic tradition subservient to the goals of the patron and instigator of the project, Raymond V, count of Toulouse and lord of Saint-Gilles (1148–94). Developed by the count’s entourage and likely with the support of his wife Constance, the construction of the church aimed to reinforce Raymond V’s authority, which at that time was weakened by serious accusations of heresy. At Saint-Gilles, the designer’s political strategy consisted of recalling the participation of the counts of Toulouse in the crusades and celebrating the merits of a power dedicated to the defense of the Church and its faithful. To this end, the designer selected the Holy Sepulcher as the model for the abbey’s iconography and plan in an attempt to create the illusion of a second Jerusalem at Saint-Gilles.

At the time of its reconstruction in the second half of the twelfth century, the abbey of Saint-Gilles was at the center of the religious, economic, and political life of the city (Fig. 1): the monastic enclosure was bordered to the east by the comital palace, and the church rose before the town square, the location of the market and a place where pilgrims assembled in particularly great numbers during the annual feasts of the patron saint.¹ When he made available the financial resources necessary for the reconstruction of the church, the patron—both the instigator and principal beneficiary of the project—understood the advantages of the site: unfolding in three registers across the entire width of the façade, the sculptural program enjoyed perfect visibility, and the ideas conveyed through images were made permanent by being recorded in stone. In a previous study dedicated to the iconographic analysis of the lateral portals of the façade, I identified the central idea the designer intended to convey through the decorative scheme: to proclaim the orthodoxy of the patron, Count Raymond V of Toulouse (1148–94).² In this article, I continue the iconographic survey through a comprehensive study of the sculptural program, in an effort to verify the identity and clarify the intentions of the patron. While proclaiming the orthodoxy of the counts, the visual discourse celebrates the dynasty for its participation in the crusades, declaring the legitimacy of a function performed for the benefit of the faithful, for the protection and defense of Christendom.

1. Count Raymond V (1148–94) selected the site of the comital palace, which corresponds to what is today the square in front of the town hall. Laurent Macé, *Les comtes de Toulouse et leur entourage, XIIe–XIIIe siècles: rivalités, alliances et jeux de pouvoir*, Bibliothèque historique Privat (Toulouse: Privat, 2000), 378n31. The public function of the square in front of the church was described by the anonymous author who composed between 1150 and 1166 the second part of the Miracles of Saint Gilles: *Liber miraculorum sancti Egidii, Livre des miracles de saint Gilles, la vie d’un sanctuaire de pèlerinage au XIIIe siècle*, ed. and trans. Marcel Girault and Pierre-Gilles Girault, *Medievalia* 60 (Orléans: Paradigme, 2007), Miracle 19, 134–37. The number of pilgrims could reach 50,000, a number established on the basis of the 135 money changers who, in 1178, operated inside the monastic enclosure. Marcel Gouron, “Saint-Gilles-du-Gard,” in *Congrès archéologique de France* 108, Montpellier (Paris: Société française d’archéologie, 1950–51), 104–19, esp. 109; and Florian Mazel, “Lieu sacré, aire de paix et seigneurie autour de l’abbaye de Saint-Gilles (fin IXe–début XIIIe siècle),” in *Lieux sacrés et espace ecclésial (IXe–XVe siècle)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 46 (Toulouse: Privat, 2011), 229–76, at 254.

2. Barbara Franzé, “Iconographie et théologie politique: pour une relecture de la façade de Saint-Gilles-du-Gard,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 58 (2015): 1–26.



Figure 1. *Sculpted façade, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard* (photo: © Vanessa Eggert). See the electronic edition of *Gesta* for color versions of all images.

Numerous studies have been devoted to the church of Saint-Gilles, addressing both the iconography and the construction of the church, two elements that are inextricably linked since the understanding of one depends on the other, particularly with regard to their dating. First, I will map out the existing research landscape and some of the resulting findings before pursuing my own avenue of inquiry: the intentions behind the conception of the sculptural program, using an analysis of its imagery as a primary source.

Avenues of Research

The first studies of the façade of Saint-Gilles sought to date the monument by interpreting its iconography. In 1922, Émile Mâle connected the use of certain motifs in the decoration of the façade—such as the Last Supper and the Crucifixion—to the heresy of Peter of Bruis, who rejected the fundamental dogmas of the Church, including the transubstantiation of the Eucharist, and opposed the veneration of the cross, considering it an ignominious instrument of Christ’s death. The Petrobrusian heresy, professed in Languedoc, had been strongly repressed there: shortly before 1139–40, Peter of Bruis was burned in

front of the church of Saint-Gilles. According to Mâle, the decoration of the abbey was conceived to proclaim the truths of the Church, “as if the monks wished to erase the words of the blasphemers forever from the memory of the faithful,” perhaps inspired by Peter the Venerable’s *Contra petrobrusianos*.³ In his 1973 book, Whitney Stoddard took up Mâle’s hypothesis and developed it. Stoddard confirmed that the decoration of the façade of Saint-Gilles served to establish the position of the Church in the context of the heresies that proliferated in the region in the same period. The need felt by the designer to include anti-heretical imagery in the façade program would have required changes in its organization, which explains certain inconsistencies and some breaks in the narrative sequences. Stoddard’s interpretation dated the modifications to the program between the 1140s and the beginning of the following decade.⁴ Mâle’s and Stoddard’s interpretations of the façade have not found unanimous acceptance in the literature.

3. Émile Mâle, *L’art religieux du XIIe siècle en France* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1922), 422–24, quotation 424.

4. Whitney S. Stoddard, *The Façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: Its Influence on French Sculpture* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press,

Carra Ferguson O'Meara identified several pieces of evidence that, in her view, situated the iconography of Saint-Gilles in an anti-Islamic and more broadly anti-heretical context, sparked by preparations for the Second Crusade (1147–48).⁵ Saint-Gilles-du-Gard was, indeed, closely linked to the history of the crusades: as a port of departure for the Holy Land, the city accommodated the Templars (before 1139) and the Hospitallers (before 1113).⁶ Ferguson O'Meara based her interpretation on an analysis of the tympanum of the south portal, where the triumphant *Ecclesia* appears opposite the fallen *Synagoga*; she observed that the crown worn by the personification took as its model the Dome of the Rock, the shrine in Jerusalem captured by the crusaders in 1099 (Fig. 2).⁷ Rather than signaling the decline of the Jewish people, the fall of *Synagoga* was thus an image celebrating the victory of the crusaders over the “infidels,” as well as the triumph of the counts of Toulouse and the military orders who participated in the holy war.⁸ From this analysis Ferguson O'Meara dated the decoration to the years after 1099, when the crusaders captured Jerusalem, thus situating the façade of Saint-Gilles in the context of the preaching of the Second Crusade and echoing an ecclesiology upheld in the 1140s by Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable, and the Church of Rome.⁹ Earlier, Henry Kraus had read the decorative program of Saint-Gilles as the staging of a speech contrasting “good Jews” (the inhabitants of Jerusalem, Lazarus, the three Marys) with “bad Jews” (Judas, Caiaphas, Malchus).¹⁰

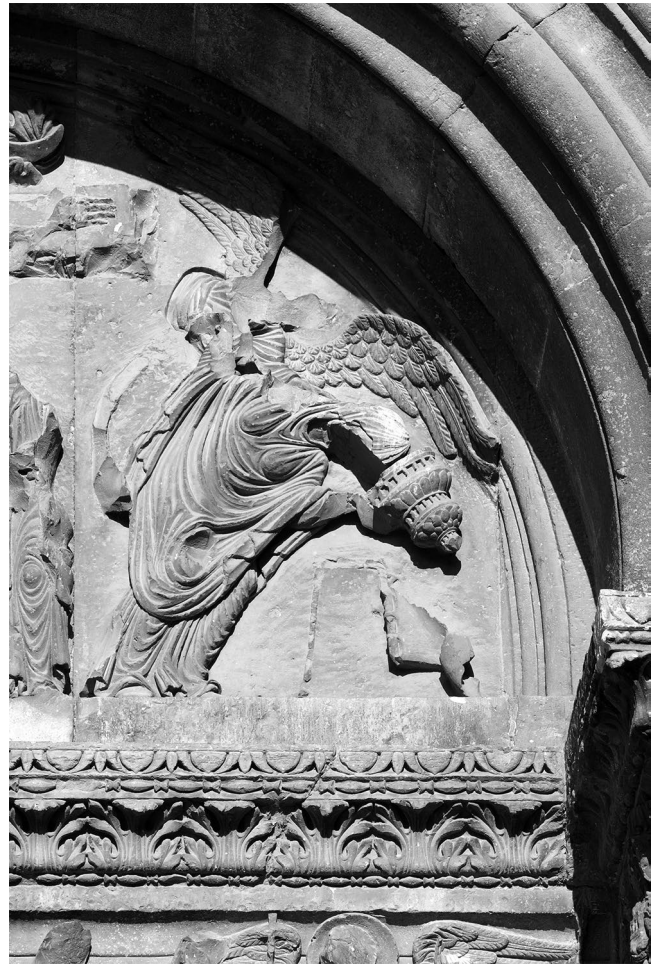


Figure 2. Angel toppling *Synagoga*, south portal, tympanum, right side, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Barbara Franzé).

1973). Shortly before this publication appeared, Émile Mâle's position was taken up by Marcia L. Colish, “Peter of Bruys, Henry of Lausanne, and the Façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard,” *Traditio* 28 (1972): 451–60. This type of interpretation was called into question by Walter Cahn, “Heresy and the Interpretation of Romanesque Art,” in *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki*, ed. Neil Stratford (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), 27–33.

5. Carra Ferguson O'Meara, *The Iconography of the Façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard*, Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts (New York: Garland, 1977).

6. For a history of the Templars in the region, see Damien Carraz, *L'ordre du Temple dans la basse Vallée du Rhône (1124–1312): ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2005). On the establishment of the two military orders in Saint-Gilles, see *ibid.*, 18 (Hospitallers), and 89–90 (Templars). At Saint-Gilles, the construction of the first Templar chapel began in 1169 (*ibid.*, 92).

7. Ferguson O'Meara, *The Iconography of the Façade*, 113–16.

8. Ferguson O'Meara (*ibid.*, 125–26) identifies the two armed laypeople on the south tympanum as *milites Christi* (the Knights Templar and the Hospitallers, the armed wing of the Church).

9. Ferguson O'Meara (*ibid.*, 126–29, 142–51, 185–88) argues that the façade's depiction of Saint Peter Cutting Off Malchus's Ear expresses Bernard of Clairvaux's theory of the two swords.

10. Henry Kraus, *The Living Theatre of Medieval Art* (London: Indiana University Press, 1967), 150.

Gil Fishhof focused on the imagery sculpted on the socle of the façade, which had been neglected in previous studies. Relying on visual and textual traditions both exegetical and historical, the author pointed out the opposition of Christians and “infidels,” understood as a vast community that included Muslims, Jews, and heretics. The decoration of the first register thus expressed the same ideas as those developed for the parts of the façade above, as Ferguson O'Meara interpreted them.¹¹ Moreover, Willibald Sauerländer noted the meaningful relationships established between registers along a vertical axis: the statue of Saint Peter appears under the prediction of his denial, the statue of Saint James the Lesser is placed below

11. Gil Fishhof, “Reconsidering the Sculptural Program of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: The Role and Meaning of Its Bases and Socles,” in *Pictorial Languages and Their Meanings: Liber Amicorum in Honor of Nurit Kenaan-Kedar*, ed. Christine B. Verzar and Gil Fishhof (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), 93–118.

the Temple of Jerusalem, of which he was the first bishop, and Saint John is directly connected with the raising of Lazarus, an episode related only in his Gospel (11:1–44).¹² Thus, the history of the church of Saint-Gilles and its façade has long remained a subject of controversy, which reached a partial resolution with the work of the archaeological team *Aegidiana*, directed in 2009–11 by Andreas Hartmann-Virnich. The excavations conducted around the church and in the cloister revealed constructions that may have been part of the original foundations (second half of the seventh century), or at least of an edifice that predates the one there today.¹³ The construction of the Romanesque abbey is mentioned in the second part of the miracle accounts of Saint-Gilles, written between 1150 and 1166. The anonymous author reports that in 1116 the main church and the ones dedicated to Saint Peter and the Virgin Mary, which formed part of the monastic complex, were torn down to make way for the construction of a single building large enough to accommodate the many pilgrims who wished to gather around the tomb of Saint Gilles.¹⁴ Through observation and critical reflection, Andreas Hartmann-Virnich distinguished the church founded in 1116 from the one currently visible.¹⁵ The first twelfth-century church, which had on its south side a cloister that was both vast and richly adorned with sculptures, was quickly replaced by a second, larger church. Integrating a portion of the walls of the earlier structure,¹⁶ the second

church impinged on the space of the cloister, as the north gallery was torn down and rebuilt farther to the south.¹⁷

Although limited to the crypt and façade of the abbey, the archaeological analysis of the building established its chronology relative to the second Romanesque phase.¹⁸ Hartmann-Virnich and Heike Hansen also demonstrated that while the crypt underwent several changes in relation to the initial plan, the construction of the abbey unfolded rapidly, although the work was not completed. In the early thirteenth century, when the Albigensian war halted construction, the transept, crossing, and neighboring bays were not yet finished.¹⁹

Hansen's study of the church façade demonstrated that it was part of the initial project: its construction, as well as its form, with a sharply projecting central portion, was planned from the time of the reworking of the lower church and the lateral walls of the adjoining nave.²⁰ The sculptural program was realized in two distinct phases. The first phase included the fluted socle, the row of apostles, the friezes, and the three lintels; the second phase included the cornice resting on consoles that frames the central portal and the archivolt and tympanum of the same portal.²¹ The original plan likewise envisaged the construction of a *protiro* (small portico) in front of the central portal. If it had been built, this projection would have further highlighted a part of the façade that is already emphasized by abundant sculpture and the use of more prestigious materials than those used elsewhere in the building.²² Hansen emphasized the coherence of the first project: the joints, reworking, and wedge stones found on this part of the façade resulted from the organization of labor, which allowed

12. Willibald Sauerländer, "Die Fassade der Abteikirche in Saint-Gilles-du-Gard," in *Romanesque Art: Problems and Monuments* 1, ed. Willibald Sauerländer (London: Pindar, 2004), 385–98, esp. 391–92.

13. Andreas Hartmann-Virnich and Heike Hansen, "L'église abbatiale et les bâtiments monastiques: nouvelles recherches archéologiques," in *Saint-Gilles-du-Gard. Nouvelles recherches sur un monument majeur de l'art roman, Bulletin monumental* 171, no. 4 (2013), 293–338, esp. 295, appendices 2–3, 331–32. Marcel Gouron mentioned the discovery, during the excavations of Revoil, of a reused capital that he dated to the end of the seventh century (Gouron, "Saint-Gilles-du-Gard," 104); he assumes that the tomb and the enclosing walls discovered in the crypt in 1864 and demolished thereafter belonged to the initial structure.

14. *Liber miraculorum sancti Egidii*, Miracle 19, 134–37. The account mentions the demolition of the vault that had, for centuries, surmounted the body of Saint Gilles.

15. The stone bearing the foundation inscription, integrated into the south wall of the nave, was reused. Andreas Hartmann-Virnich, "L'inscription de la fondation de l'abbatiale de Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: réflexions sur un problème archéologique," in *Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge. Commande, production et réception de l'œuvre d'art. Mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet*, ed. Chantal Pasini (Paris: Picard, 2012), 140–48, esp. 142; Hartmann-Virnich and Hansen, "L'église abbatiale," 295–97.

16. The archaeological excavations revealed the presence of a wall that runs east–west, incorporated into the foundations of the façade. Hartmann-Virnich and Hansen, "L'église abbatiale," 296.

17. *Ibid.*, 301. See also Andreas Hartmann-Virnich and Marie-Pierre Bonetti, "Ancienne abbaye de Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: nouvelles recherches sur la sculpture architecturale 'erratique,'" *Bulletin du Centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* 17, no. 1 (2013), online <<http://cem.revues.org/13004>>.

18. Hartmann-Virnich and Hansen, "L'église abbatiale."

19. Andreas Hartmann-Virnich, "Et le dessin dicelle nestre pas en forme deglize": déchéance, infortune et réparation de l'abbatiale de Saint-Gilles-du-Gard aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles," in *Ars auro gemmisque prior: mélanges en hommage à Jean-Pierre Caillet*, ed. Chrystèle Blondeau, Brigitte Boissavit-Camus, Véronique Boucherat, and Panayota Volti, *Dissertationes et monographiae* 6 (Zagreb: University of Zagreb, International Research Center for Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 2013), 259–66, esp. 260. Construction resumed in 1261, likely instigated by Pope Clement IV, a native of Saint-Gilles. Hartmann-Virnich and Hansen, "L'église abbatiale," 330.

20. Heike Hansen, "La façade de l'ancienne abbatiale de Saint-Gilles-du-Gard. Recherches d'archéologie du bâti sur la construction," in *Saint-Gilles-du-Gard. Nouvelles recherches*, 345–74, esp. 352–57.

21. *Ibid.*, 363–65.

22. Many of the sculpted elements surrounding the central portal (the apostles in the embrasures, north frieze) are made of marble. The rest of the façade is limestone, with the exception of the columns. *Ibid.*, 369 and fig. 22, 364.

for the prefabrication of various sculpted elements, adjusted later to fit the space provided for them on the façade. Moreover, if the central portal was finished only after the lateral portals, that would not be a sign of rupture, but rather of the special attention paid to it.²³

As Hartmann-Virnich has demonstrated, modern restorations altered the original appearance of the façade only slightly. From 1650 to 1655, the work performed on the façade was limited to the central portal: the central part of the tympanum was redone, the lintel was filled in on its left side with a roughly sculpted block, while the ends of the lintel were left in situ; the trumeau was restored, as were the cornice above the lintel and the eagle on the right impost, imitating the motif on the left impost. In the 1840s, Raymond Questel restored the arrangement of the double columns in front and built a grand staircase. Nevertheless, he reused remains found in situ to the extent possible and was committed to a restoration faithful to the original state of the façade.²⁴

The building analysis of the church and the façade by Hartmann-Virnich and Hansen established a relative chronology of the phases of construction and offered solutions to the problems of the façade's iconographic inconsistencies observed by their predecessors. The current appearance of the sculptural program conforms almost entirely to the original project, and thus we may analyze it as such. While archaeological studies have provided some assurance that the chronology of the phases of construction is now well established, the absolute dating of the first phase remains imprecise, oscillating between the third and fourth quarters of the twelfth century. In my earlier study, on the basis of stylistic, iconographic, and historical evidence, I suggested that the façade was built in the 1150s and 1160s, during the abbacy of Bertrand of Saint-Côme (1150–69) and at the time when Raymond V of Toulouse, accused of heresy beginning in the 1160s, found at Saint-Gilles the opportunity to plead his case. My iconographic analysis and detailed study of the meaning of the visual evidence make it possible to confirm that hypothesis and refine the date of the façade.

Iconographic Analysis of the Façade

We have seen that the vast sculptural program of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard has been the subject of several studies, at times reaching contradictory conclusions. However, as Alessia Trivellone has observed, if all interpretations are acceptable, none is convincing. Indeed, while the sculptural program is a (re)affirmation of Church dogma, it is also a discourse of general

23. Ibid., 370.

24. Ibid., 348–52 and Hartmann-Virnich, “*Et le dessain dicelle*,” 264.

import that sets the faithful in opposition to unbelievers and “deviants” of all sorts.²⁵

Those who have attempted to decipher the sculptural program of Saint-Gilles have inscribed it within specific historical contexts, whether the crusades or efforts to combat heresy. Although the program echoed contemporary historical events, the choices it represents depended on the will of an individual, the patron, and on what he intended to convey to its “readers.” For the patron, the stakes were high, as he had invested the financial, logistical, and human resources required to tear down the previous church, only recently completed, and realize an ambitious work, unrivalled in the region.²⁶ The impetus for the elaboration of the decorative program is evident from the analysis of its unique features, because the designer determined them at the behest of the patron. These particularities include both the innovative iconographic formulations already enumerated by Mâle and the arrangement of the scenes that appear on the friezes and lintels.

The Layout of the Sculptural Program

The sculptural program of the abbey church's west façade is organized in three registers around three portals, with the two lateral entrances framing a larger central one (Fig. 3). On the socle of the façade, battles between humans, animals, and hybrids frame scenes from the Old Testament, all gathered around the middle entrance. Framed at left and right by archangels struggling with demons (I and XIV), twelve apostles appear in a row in the second register, some identifiable from inscriptions or attributes.²⁷ Separated from the row of apostles by vegetal rinceaux inhabited by human and animal figures, scenes related to the life, Passion, and Resurrection of Christ follow on the lintels of the three portals and the friezes linking them. The two lateral tympana have a tripartite format, with the north centering on the Virgin and Child and the south on the Crucifixion. In the central portal, the tympanum features Christ and the Tetramorph, elements that belonged to the second phase of the façade project and were partially restored in the seventeenth century.

25. Alessia Trivellone, *L'hérétique imaginé: hétérodoxie et iconographie dans l'Occident médiéval, de l'époque carolingienne à l'Inquisition*, Collection d'études médiévales de Nice 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 53.

26. At nearly 100 meters, the length of the edifice was unprecedented in the region: Hartmann-Virnich, “*Et le dessain dicelle*,” 260.

27. On the inscriptions that enable the identification of the apostles, see Robert Favreau, ed., *Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale 13: Gard, Lozère, Vaucluse* (Paris/Poitiers: CNRS, 1988), 75–82.

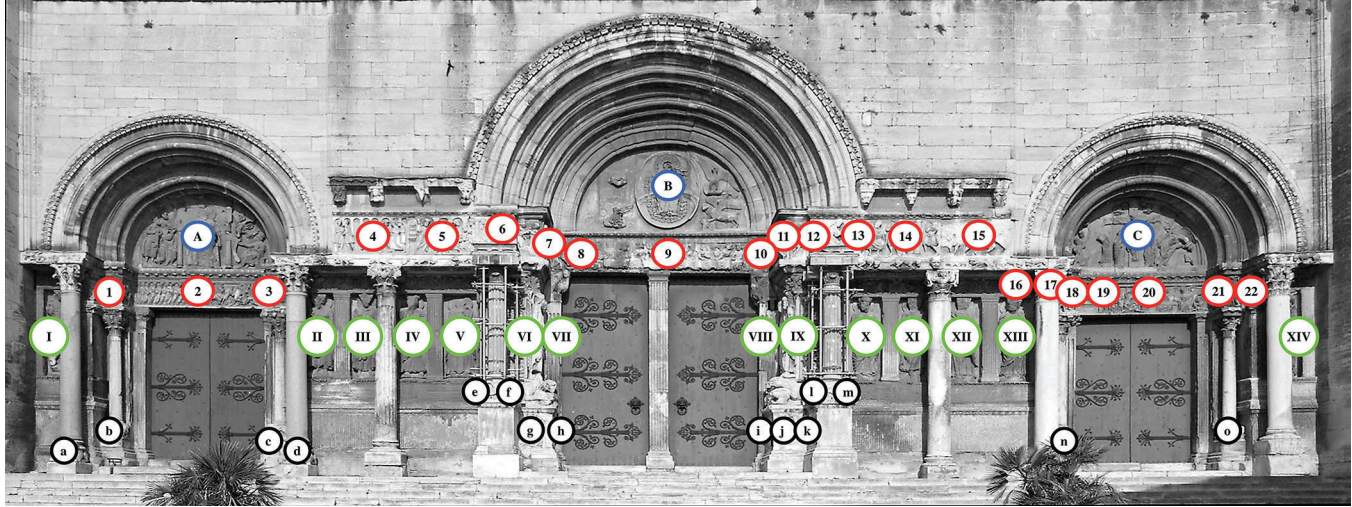


Figure 3. Sculpted façade of the abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, with numbered scenes (see Appendix for lists of scenes) (photo: © Barbara Franzé).

The third register, which includes the tympana, lintels, and friezes, is organized in four iconographic sequences or units, each possessing its own narrative logic. The breaks within each unit are indicated by vertical architectural elements or figures that, turning toward the interior of the scene, delimit it. Three of the four sequences are found in the portals, where they extend to the lintels and friezes that flank them. The fourth appears on the left frieze, devoted to two scenes from the life of Christ that precede the Passion. Three of the narrative breaks that occur in these sequences are often observed and discussed in studies of the façade.

Three of the scenes do not appear in the chronological order of the biblical account: the Conspiracy of the Jews and the Payment of Judas (Matthew 26:4 and 26:14; Mark 14:1 and 14:10–11; Luke 22:4–5; John 13:27; Fig. 3, no. 4) should appear after the depiction of Christ Driving the Merchants from the Temple (Matthew 21:12; Mark 11:5; Luke 19:45; John 2:14; Fig. 3, no. 5), while the Repentant Sinner in the House of Simon (Luke 7:36–50; Fig. 3, no. 18), a scene from the life of Christ, does not belong in this part of the story of the Resurrection.²⁸ Finally, the Raising of Lazarus contained in the Gospel of John (11:1–44; Fig. 3, no. 6) should be placed before the Conspiracy of the Jews and Judas’s Betrayal (John 13:27; Fig. 3, no. 4). Art historians have attempted to explain these narrative inconsistencies using the Gospel account itself. Judy

28. Here, the designer selected the account of Saint Luke: according to Matthew (26:6–13) and Mark (14:3–9), the sinner anointed the head of Christ, not his feet as in the image. Furthermore, on the façade, the host who contradicts Christ is not a disciple: his garments are different. Contrary to John, who identifies the figure as Judas Iscariot, Luke identifies him as Simon the Pharisee—that is, not a disciple.

Scott noted, for example, that according to the Gospel of John, Christ foretold his resurrection after having chased the merchants from the Temple, which would explain why the raising of Lazarus immediately follows the scene.²⁹ She attributed the other breaks in the narrative to changes made during the construction of the façade. However, since the building analysis demonstrated the unity of the project, which was built in a single phase of construction, iconographic analysis enables us to assert that the breaks in the narrative were intentional, offering overall, programmatic coherence. This program was dedicated to the Church, future and present, and to the powers that governed it.

The Iconographic Sequences of the North and South Portals: The Eschatological Church

As I have demonstrated elsewhere through an exegetical reading of its imagery, the north portal represents the eschatological Church—that is, as it will appear in a state of completion at the end of time.³⁰ Here, the designer’s source of inspiration was Rupert, abbot of Deutz (d. 1128), whose works were known to the monks of Saint-Gilles almost immediately after they were written. In three of his works, written between 1109 and 1117, Rupert linked the Magi and Joseph to the followers of Christ, respectively, as the Gentiles and the people of the Old Law (Fig. 4). The two peoples are again represented on the lintel below depicting Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem, greeted

29. Judy F. Scott, *St.-Gilles-du-Gard: The West Facade Figured Frieze: Irregularities and Relative Chronology 1* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1981), 71–73.

30. Franzé, “Iconographie et programme politique,” 14–16.



Figure 4. North portal, general view, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Barbara Franzé).

by the disciples (the Gentiles) and the inhabitants of Jerusalem (the Jews) who affirmed their recognition of Christ's divinity by receiving him in triumph. In the center of the lintel and in the axis extending from the Virgin and Child, the donkey and the colt represent (according to an exegetical tradition recorded by German symbolists) the Jewish people and the Gentiles, the two peoples promised to reunite at the end of time, in the *Synagoga conversa*.³¹ An exegetical reading of the motifs that make up the south portal suggests the same meaning (Fig. 5).

In the tympanum, the Virgin and Saint John, witnessing the Crucifixion, are flanked on the left by *Ecclesia* and two armed laypeople and on the right by *Synagoga*, toppled by an angel. On the lintel, the three holy women purchase the aromatics intended for the body of Christ (Mark 16:1). Further to the right, they witness the appearance of the angel who announces the Resurrection of the Lord (Mark 16:2–6).³² The iconographic sequence extends to the friezes flanking the portal, where it is delimited by a double representation of the *Noli me tangere* described by John (20:17; Figs. 6–7). The one on the left is followed by a scene from the life of Christ, causing a break in the biblical narrative: it is the episode in which the sinner who had

31. Ibid., 17–18. The German “symbolists” shared the goal of aspiring to attain knowledge of God through nature and history. Among them were Rupert of Deutz, Honorius Augustodunensis, Anselm of Havelberg, Otto of Freising, Gerhoh of Reichersberg, Hildegard of Bingen. Jeremy Cohen, “*Synagoga conversa*: Honorius Augustodunensis, the Song of Songs, and Christianity’s ‘Eschatological Jew,’” *Speculum* 79, no. 2 (2004): 309–40, esp. 310–11.

32. Mark’s account is the one that corresponds most closely to the two scenes at Saint-Gilles: Matthew (28:1–6) mentions only two women, Mary Magdalen and Mary. According to Luke (24:2–11), while three women witnessed the angelic apparition (Mary Magdalen, Joanna, and Mary), two angels appeared to them. According to John (20:11–13), the two angels appeared only to Mary Magdalen.



Figure 5. South portal, general view, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Barbara Franzé).

come to the house of Simon the Pharisee, where Jesus was dining, bathed the feet of Jesus in her tears and in perfume in an act of repentance (Luke 7:36–50). Here, the prostrating woman wipes Christ’s feet with her hair. Pointing to her with one hand and pointing to his own head with the other, Christ addresses Simon, located to his right: through eloquent gestures, he reproaches his host for his own shortcomings and for rushing to judge a repentant sinner.

Facing the scene on the frieze to the right of the portal, the three women inform the disciples of Christ’s resurrection (Luke 24:9–10): after their encounter with the two angels at the tomb, depicted on the lintel, they “told all these things to the eleven, and to all the rest.”³³ On the frieze, Saint Peter, seated, receives the holy women. He thus faces the depiction of Christ located on the frieze to the left. Here, as in the episode of the repentant sinner, an apostle holding a book is placed behind the principal protagonist in the scene: undoubtedly Saint John, whom tradition identifies as “the other disciple whom Jesus loved” (John 20:2). Thus, on the two friezes flanking the lintel, the same eloquent gestures animate the dialogue.

A semantic symmetry corresponds to the compositional symmetry. Indeed, the exegetical tradition established an identity of meaning between the two pairs formed by, on the one hand, the Pharisee and the sinner, and, on the other hand, Saint Peter and Saint John. Gregory the Great and other authors, including Rupert of Deutz in the early twelfth century, likened Simon the Pharisee to the Jewish people who refused to believe in the mysteries of the Incarnation and in the divinity of Christ. The repentant sinner stood for the conversion of the Gentiles who affirmed the humanity and divinity of

33. All quotations are from the Douay-Rheims translation (online at www.drbo.org).



Figure 6. *Noli me tangere* and *Repentant Sinner in the House of Simon*, south portal, left frieze, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Barbara Franzé).

Christ.³⁴ According to the same tradition, Peter and John running to the tomb following their encounter with the holy women (John 20:1–9) personified the Church of the Gentiles and the Jewish Synagogue: while John was the first to arrive at the tomb, he hesitated to enter, just as the Synagogue remained incredulous in spite of the prophecies. Although he let Peter precede him in his faith, the two peoples were nonetheless destined to be reunited as the elect at the end of time.³⁵ The break in the biblical narrative was thus intentional, intended to connect two pairs of motifs that shared a common meaning, the *Ecclesia*, composed of the two peoples destined for the assembly. The other imagery included on this part of the façade served the same discursive function. Depicted twice in the scene of the *Noli me tangere*, Mary Magdalen was identified with the *Ecclesia* by medieval exegetes.³⁶ At the left, the unusual way of depicting

34. Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, ed. Raymond Étaix, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (hereafter CCSL) 141 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), Homily 33, pp. 287–98, esp. 292–95. Rupert of Deutz, *Liber de divinis officiis*, ed. and trans. Rhaban Haacke, Helmut Deutz, and Ilse Deutz (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1999), 3:1096, lines 1–20.

35. Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, Homily 22, 180–91, esp. 181–83 and 184. Rupert of Deutz, *Commentaria in Evangelium sancti Johannis*, ed. Rhaban Haacke, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (hereafter CCCM) 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), 758–60.

36. Michel Join-Lambert, “Marie-Madeleine. Introduction exégétique,” in *Marie Madeleine dans la mystique, les arts et les lettres. Actes du colloque international Avignon, 20–22 juillet 1988*, ed. Eve Duperray and Joseph Beaudé (Paris: Beauchesne, 1988), 15–20 and Dominique Iogna-Prat, “‘Bienheureuse polysémie.’ La Madeleine du *Sermo in veneratione sanctae Mariae Magdalenae* attribué à Odon de Cluny (Xe siècle),” in *ibid.*, 21–31. On the interpretation, proposed by Rupert of Deutz, of the episode of Mary Magdalen weeping at the empty tomb and the appearance of Christ, see Rupert of Deutz,



Figure 7. *Meeting of the Holy Women and the Apostles, Noli me tangere*, south portal, right frieze, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Barbara Franzé).

Mary Magdalen differs from the attitude of prostration more familiar from the iconographic tradition, as Judy Scott has noted: with her head covered and clothed in the manner of matrons in antiquity, she is seated in profile, lifting her arm toward the standing Christ.³⁷ Although unusual, the dignity with which Mary Magdalen is represented at Saint-Gilles is in keeping with the ecclesial meaning the exegetical tradition conferred upon her. The discourse continues on the lintel, with exegetes identifying as the Church the holy women described in the Gospel of Mark (16:1, 5–7).³⁸ The cohesion of the community of the faithful is reinforced by those who are excluded from it: the sleeping tomb guards, from whom the three women turn away and that the angel separates, are linked by Saint Augustine and his successors to the high priests and Pharisees who chose to remain blind despite having been informed of Christ’s resurrection.³⁹

Commentaria in Evangelium sancti Johannis, ed. Haacke, 761–62 and 764–67.

37. Scott, *St.-Gilles-du-Gard*, 68–69.

38. For example, Haymon of Halberstatt (= Haimo of Auxerre), *Homiliae de tempore*, Homilia LXX, *In die sancto Paschae, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (hereafter Migne, *PL*), 221 vols. (Paris: Migne, 1844–80), 118: cols. 446B–447C. For Bruno of Segni, Mary Magdalen referred to the Church of the Gentiles; Mary, mother of James, was a figure of the Jewish people from which Jesus decided to be born; whereas Salome was the universal Church that brought together the multitude of saints among the two peoples: Bruno of Segni, *Commentaria in Marcum*, cap. 16, Migne, *PL* 165: cols. 324B–325B.

39. Saint Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, LXIII, 15–16, ed. Eligius Dekkers and Johannes Fraipont, CCSL 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), 817, lines 41–46 and 58–63. For the tradition, see, for example, Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheum libri XII*, ed. Beda Paulus, CCCM 56B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), *In Matheum* 27, 63; *In*



Figure 8. *Raising of Lazarus and Washing of the Feet, central portal, left frieze, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Barbara Franzé).*

Based on their iconography, the lateral portals of the façade are devoted to the eschatological Church as it will appear at the end of time. The theme is in keeping with its location, at the boundary of the consecrated space. According to commentators on the ritual of church dedications, which involved inscribed letters and crosses, blessings and processions outside and inside the edifice, the west end of the consecrated space symbolized the Church in its fullness as it will appear at the end of time, thus realizing the prophecy of Saint Paul (Romans 11:25–26).⁴⁰ While the sculptural program of the lateral portals is devoted to the eschatological Church, that of the central portal represents the present Church, founded by Christ and governed ever since by spiritual and temporal authorities. It was with the intention of conveying this message that the designer inserted a second break in the narrative.

The Iconographic Sequence of the Central Portal: The Present Church

The iconographic sequence of the central portal extends to the lintel and the two flanking friezes, delimited, at left, by the

Matheum 28, 11–15, p. 1411, lines 4695–4701; pp. 1426–27, lines 5173–5217.

40. This was the interpretation of the letters of the Latin alphabet drawn along the SE–NW diagonal. *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle* 1, ed. Reinhard Elze and Cyrille Vogel, Studi e testi 226 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963), 99, chapter 18, lines 13–16: “Sed cum versus idem ab angulo orientali dextro revertitur ad angulum occidentalem sinistram, hoc indicare videtur quod cum plenitudo gentium introierit, tunc omnis Israel salvus fiet.” In the twelfth century, Honorius Augustodunensis offered the same interpretation: *De gemma animae*, Lib. 1, cap. CLV, *De dextro angulo*, Migne, *PL* 172: cols. 592A–B.

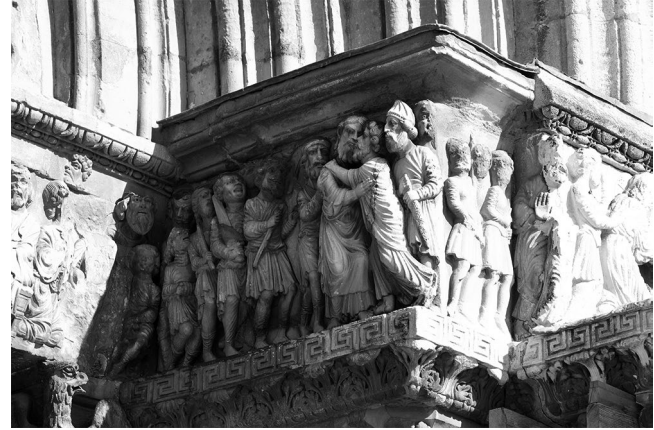


Figure 9. *Saint Peter Cutting Off Malchus's Ear, Arrest of Christ, and Kiss of Judas, central portal, right frieze, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Barbara Franzé).*

Raising of Lazarus (Fig. 3, no. 6; Fig. 8) and, at right, by three armed men accompanying those who have come to arrest Christ on the Mount of Olives (Fig. 3, no. 11; Fig. 9).⁴¹ This is where the second break in the narrative occurs: according to the story presented by John the Evangelist, the Raising of Lazarus, at the beginning of the narrative sequence, should have appeared before Judas's betrayal, found on the left frieze. The inversion, already established during the installation of the façade, was undoubtedly intentional. It seems unlikely that the mason would have chosen of his own volition to break with a narrative that he must have known, and the examination of this part of the sculptural program did not reveal any material condition that would have necessitated it. The same is true of the imagery on the friezes and the lintel they flank, although the figures placed in the corners appear “squeezed” into a limited space (Christ Predicting Saint Peter's Denial and Peter Cutting Off Malchus's Ear). It is very likely that the designer supervised the installation of the sculpture, both here and in the lateral portals, where the arrangement of the motifs subtly and skillfully suggested the semantic relationships between them. The break in the narrative thus linked the Raising of Lazarus to the scenes preceding Christ's Passion, distributed across the portal's lintel and the friezes that flank it.

41. If the original plan had been completed, with its porch, the limits of the sequence would have been more clearly marked: the supports of the *protiro* obscure the ends of the two friezes, also serving to highlight the iconographic sequence: Heike Hansen and Andreas Hartmann-Virnich, “La façade de l'abbatiale de Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: nouvelles recherches sur la construction d'un chef-d'oeuvre de l'art roman,” in *Le portail roman, XIe–XIIIe siècles: nouvelles approches, nouvelles perspectives. Actes des 45e Journées romanes de Cuxa* (Codalet: Association Culturelle de Cuxa, 2014), 157–73, at 172 and 173, fig. 19.

In the resurrection scene, Jesus pulls Lazarus out of his tomb and rescues him from death. On the frieze to the left of the portal, Christ predicts to Saint Peter, accompanied by the apostles, the denial of which he will be guilty after Christ's death. On the lintel, the Washing of the Feet is followed by the Last Supper and a group of four figures, isolated from the preceding scene. At the left end of the frieze to the right, Saint Peter cuts off Malchus's ear, while the guards seize Christ. In the scene of the denial, which opens the outward-facing frieze to the right, Saint Peter, in the corner and facing front, delimits the boundaries of the iconographic unit, corresponding to the tower, which, on the left side, helps frame the Raising of Lazarus. Occupying the ends of this sequence, returning to the friezes flanking the lintels, are thus Christ, at left, and Saint Peter, at right, in a perfectly symmetrical relationship. The symmetrical juxtaposition between Saint Peter and Christ is again suggested at either end of the lintel, in the scenes of the Washing of the Feet and the Cutting Off of Malchus's Ear. Saint Peter and Christ are grouped together on two occasions, in the Washing of the Feet and in Christ's Prediction of the Denial. As in the lateral portals, the symmetrical relationship has semantic value: the prince of the apostles appears as a representative and successor of Christ on earth, invested with the power to bind and loose souls (Matthew 16:18–19). The iconographic sequence of the central portal and its vicinity is thus dedicated to the present Church, founded by Christ when he transferred his powers to the apostles. This Church is governed by the two authorities, spiritual and secular, here represented by the Raising of Lazarus and Saint Peter Cutting Off Malchus's Ear.

The Raising of Lazarus—considered a symbol of the soul saved from sin as early as the Church Fathers, particularly Augustine and Gregory the Great—is placed as an introduction to the iconographic sequence. By leaving it to the apostles to release Lazarus from his grave wrappings, Christ signaled that he conferred the ministry of reconciliation on the pastors of the Church.⁴² A power reserved exclusively for bishops according to the bishop of Hippo, Gregory the Great conferred it more broadly on priests, as did the authors of treatises on penance composed beginning in the second half of the eleventh century.⁴³ While that scene symbolized spiritual power, Saint Peter Cutting Off Malchus's Ear represented temporal power. The episode occurred when, guided by Judas, the “chief priests

42. Anne-Marie La Bonnardière, “Pénitence et réconciliation des Pénitents d’après saint Augustin – III: les rites du pardon et le pouvoir de délier de l’Église,” *Revue des études augustiniennes* 14 (1968): 181–204, esp. 192–98. The episode was discussed by Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, Homily XXVI, 5–6, 216–28, esp. 222–23.

43. Paul Anciaux, *La théologie du sacrement de Pénitence au XIIIe siècle* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts/Gembloux: Duculot, 1949), 7–55.

and the Pharisees” came to the Garden of Gethsemane to arrest Jesus (John 18:3). One of the disciples (Luke 22:50; Matthew 26:50), whom John the Evangelist identified as Simon Peter (John 18:10), tried to defend him: “Then Simon Peter, having a sword, drew it, and struck the servant of the high priest, and cut off his right ear. And the name of the servant was Malchus.” Jesus then instructed Peter to return his sword to its sheath (John 18:11).

Together with Luke 22:38, in which the apostles offer two swords to Christ,⁴⁴ this episode fueled the controversy between Gregory VII and Henry IV, as well as conflicts between their successors. It was thus that the two swords the disciples possessed were identified with the two powers, spiritual and temporal, and that the sword Peter used to cut off Malchus's ear was equated with temporal power. While polemicists quarreled over whether this sword belonged to the Church or the emperor, they all agreed that it had to be wielded on the orders of the latter and by a soldier's hand.⁴⁵

In the depictions of the Raising of Lazarus and Saint Peter Cutting Off Malchus's Ear, spiritual and temporal powers are united around the central portal. If the juxtaposition of the two scenes is not strictly symmetrical, it is, in my view, to enable the introduction of another discursive goal, namely to designate Saint Peter as the legitimate representative of Christ on earth. Furthermore, if compositional symmetry had been the primary concern, the designer would have been forced to place the episode of Peter Cutting Off Malchus's Ear in the outer corner of the right flanking frieze—that is, after the Arrest of Christ and before the Denial of Peter and the Appearance of Christ before Pilate. Such an arrangement would have caused not just a simple break in the narrative, but rather real incoherence in the story.

The right–left polarization of the sequence unfolds along a vertical axis, incorporating the row of apostles and the socle of the façade. At left is Saint Peter, on whom Christ founded the Church (Fig. 10).⁴⁶ On the socle, Abel's offering is a prefiguration

44. Luke 22:38: “They said: *Lord, behold here are two swords.* And he said to them: *It is enough.*”

45. On the dispute over the two swords and their meanings, see Joseph Lecler, “L’argument des deux glaives (Luc, XXII, 38) dans les controverses politiques du Moyen Âge: ses origines et son développement,” *Recherches de science religieuse* 21 (1931): 299–339; Joseph Canning, *Histoire de la pensée politique médiévale (300–1450)* (Paris: Cerf/Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 2003), 132–35; Yves Sassier, *Royauté et idéologie au Moyen Âge: bas-empire, monde franc, France (IVE–XIIIe siècle)*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Colin, 2012), 289–91.

46. There, Saint John appears beside Saint Peter. Willibald Sauerländer connected the presence of Saint John to the story of the Raising of Lazarus located above him, at the right end of the frieze connecting the north portal to the central portal (Fig. 3, VII and no. 6): the evangelist is, indeed, the only one to mention



Figure 10. Central portal, left frieze, general view, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Vanessa Eggert).

of the eucharistic sacrifice, a prerogative of the spiritual power (Fig. 3, h). On the opposite side, supporting the right flanking frieze (Fig. 11), is Saint Paul, who was the first to establish the distinction between the material sword of the prince and the spiritual sword of the Church, a distinction that was later taken up by exegetes (Romans 13:4; Ephesians 6:17). Below, the projecting mass of the portal is devoted to the story of David: the encounter with the angel is depicted on the left side, while his victory over Goliath appears on the right side (Fig. 3, l and m; Fig. 12). Moreover, we know that beginning in the Merovingian period and throughout the Middle Ages, David was held up as a model of authority by and for kings and emperors, his victory over Goliath often being compared to their own victories

the miracle (11:1–44). According to Sauerländer, the decision to place Saint John in this location determined the inclusion of the Raising of Lazarus and explains the chronological break found in this part of the program. Sauerländer, *Die Fassade der Abteikirche*, 391.



Figure 11. Central portal, right frieze, general view, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Vanessa Eggert).

over “infidels.”⁴⁷ Similarly, crusaders used the triumph of David to celebrate their own victory over the “Saracens.”⁴⁸

The care lavished on this part of the sculptural program dedicated to the Church instituted by Christ and governed by the two powers, described in their distinct functions and prerogatives, speaks to the importance accorded it by the designer. Here, double columns placed on protruding pedestals “theatricalize” the architectural decoration.⁴⁹ The materials, selected in order to create a spatial hierarchy among the ornamented surfaces, contribute to the emphasis placed on the iconographic sequence: whereas the right and left friezes and the lateral lintels and tympana are made of microgranular

47. On David as a model for princes, see, for example, Yves Sassié, *Royauté et idéologie*, 128–36.

48. Fishhof, “Reconsidering the Sculptural Program,” 99–101.

49. The “theatricalization” would have been enhanced if the *protiro* had been realized. Hansen, “La façade de l’ancienne abbatale,” 370.



Figure 12. *David and Goliath*, relief sculpted on the base of the first column on the left between the central and south portals, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Vanessa Eggert).

limestone, the portal and its immediate surroundings—the apostles, flanking friezes, bases, and adjacent masses—are made of marble.⁵⁰

The Iconographic Sequence of the North Frieze

The sculptural program's third narrative break occurs in the façade's fourth iconographic sequence. While, according to the Gospels, Christ's triumphal Entry into Jerusalem was immediately followed by the Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple, here Judas's Betrayal appears between the two episodes (Fig. 13).⁵¹ In this part of the sculptural program, as elsewhere on the façade, narrative coherence is sacrificed for coherence in the program's agenda. The life of Christ is here the occasion for a celebration of the crusades and holy war.

Breaking with the Gospel account, in this sequence the designer proposed an association between the wrongful acts of Judas and the high priests, on the one hand, and the expulsion of the merchants from the Temple, on the other. The sequence is brought together by the presence of liminal figures and by the colonnade, which, in the background of the composition,

50. The marble is coarse-grained throughout, except for the base of the left column and the mass featuring the story of Cain and Abel, where it is fine-grained. This choice seems to emphasize the part of the façade dedicated to spiritual power.

51. Matthew 21:1–11/21:12–17; Mark 11:1–11, 15–19; Luke 19:28–44/19:45–48. It is only in John that the two scenes are independent: the Purification of the Temple appears at the beginning of his Gospel (2:13–16) and the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem in chapter 12:12–19.

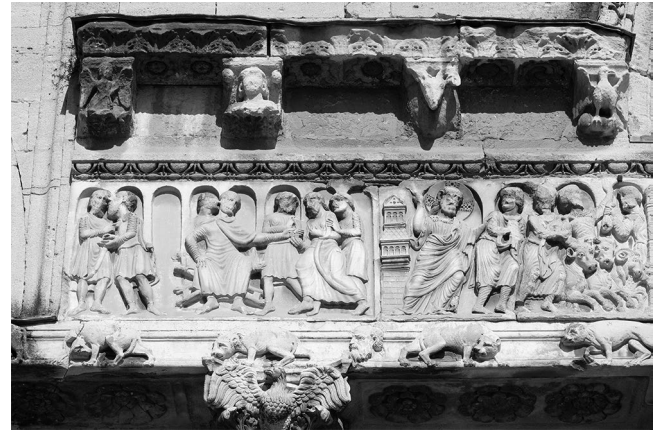


Figure 13. *Judas's Betrayal and Payment of Judas, Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple*, frieze linking the north and central portals, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Barbara Franzé).

continues uninterrupted across the two scenes. The colonnade indicates the setting of the events: the Temple to which it belongs, represented in its entirety at the beginning of the second scene. It was from the Temple that Jesus chased the merchants, and there, too, where Caiaphas and the high priests who bribed Judas lived, or at least sacrificed (Matthew 26:3–4, 14), and also where Judas brought back the thirty pieces of silver he had received for his betrayal (Matthew 27:5). In the register of apostles underneath, the location of the action is further specified by the presence of Saint James the Lesser (Figs. 3, V and 14).⁵² On the orders of the high priest Annas, the first bishop of Jerusalem is thrown from the top of the Temple, before being finished off by being beaten with sticks. There, several meters from the Temple and at the site of his martyrdom, a chapel was constructed in his honor. As in the main portal, the narrative sequence extends across both registers.

In the scene of the Purification, Christ chases the merchants from the Temple, an act whose violence is amplified by the inclusion of a whip, mentioned only in the Gospel of John (2:13–16). A cause-and-effect relationship is established by linking the two scenes and choosing to invert them in relation to the biblical account: the misconduct, in both cases avarice and the illicit exchange of money, is followed by punishment, the violent expulsion of the merchants. This relationship of cause and effect was likewise established in the literature of the crusades: by liberating Jerusalem from the “infidels,” destroying the city, and massacring its population, the *milites Christi* avenged the death of Christ and his apostles. In the realization

52. Identified by an inscription engraved in his nimbus, James the Lesser holds in his hand the instrument of his martyrdom, a fuller's club.

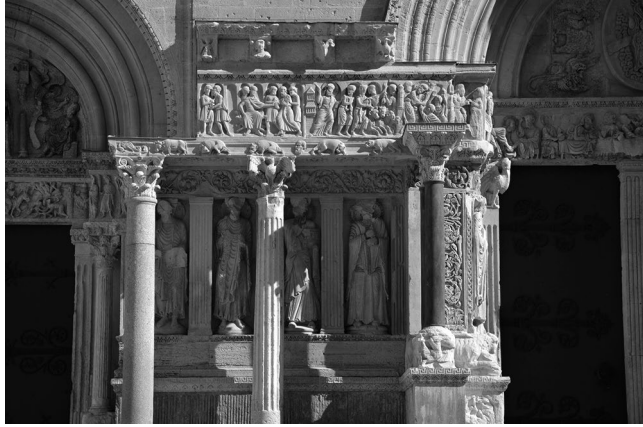


Figure 14. *Sculpted part of the façade located between the north and central portals, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Vanessa Eggert).*

of the divine plan, the crusaders believed they were following the model of Christ, with whom they were gladly identified.

Imitatio Christi and Punitive War

The many narrative, epistolary, and diplomatic sources related to the crusades assembled and analyzed by William J. Purkis demonstrate that the crusaders shared a common feeling, that of imitating Christ, when they chose to leave their homes and their families behind in order to depart for the Holy Land. The suffering the crusaders endured and the sacrifices they made to liberate Jerusalem from Islam were likened to the Passion and death to which Christ consented in order to liberate the soul from sin.⁵³ In parallel with the written sources, images likewise demonstrate a kind of *imitatio Christi* on the part of the crusaders.

In the ambulatory of the priory church Notre-Dame de Cunault (Maine-et-Loire), the capital featuring the Flagellation and Christ Carrying the Cross faces a depiction of the arrival in Jerusalem of Fulk V, count of Anjou. A benefactor of the priory, he reigned in Jerusalem from 1131 to 1143. From the perspective of comparing the crusaders to Christ, other images from the life of Christ participated in the celebration of the holy war and its protagonists. Such was the case of the Purification of the Temple, as Ferguson O'Meara observed in her

53. William J. Purkis, "Elite and Popular Perceptions of *Imitatio Christi* in Twelfth-Century Crusade Spirituality," in *Elite and Popular Religion: Papers Read at the 2004 Summer Meeting and the 2005 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 54–64; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095–c. 1187* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), 30–47.

study of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard,⁵⁴ as well as the Fall of the Idols recounted in chapters 22–23 of Pseudo Matthew: at Moissac, Chartres, Saint-Denis, and in other works created in the context of the crusades, the episode celebrated the entry of the *milites Christi* into Jerusalem and the subsequent purification of holy places.⁵⁵ From the standpoint of semantics, Christ's Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem was its canonical equivalent.⁵⁶ Likewise, it was upon entering Jerusalem that Christ prophesied the destruction of the city, rendered inevitable by its refusal to recognize him (Luke 19:41–44).

In the wake of the biblical account, Christian tradition considered the destructions of Jerusalem to be manifestations of divine punishment. For Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Saint Jerome, as well as for Jacobus de Voragine in the thirteenth century, the fall of Jerusalem and the 70 CE destruction of the Temple by the Romans resulted from the errors of the Jews, who were considered responsible for the death of Christ and James the Lesser. For Christian authors, this view came from a tradition recorded by Flavius Josephus in *The Jewish War*.⁵⁷ The

54. Ferguson O'Meara, *The Iconography of the Façade*. In the sermon delivered in Clermont, as reported by William of Tyre (ca. 1130), Pope Urban II invited the faithful to liberate the Temple of the Lord from the demons that inhabited it, in the same way that Christ had chased the merchants from the Temple: William of Tyre, *Chronique*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 63 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), 132. Bernard of Clairvaux attributed to the Templars the same zeal that had animated Christ when he chased the merchants from the Temple: *Éloge de la nouvelle chevalerie*, ed. and trans. Pierre-Yves Emery, Sources chrétiennes 367 (Paris: Sources chrétiennes, 1990), 75, chapter 9.

55. Barbara Franzé, "Croisades et légitimité dynastique: le motif de la Chute des idoles," in *Survivals, revivals, rinascenze. Studi in onore di Serena Romano*, ed. Nicolas Bock, Ivan Foletti, and Michele Tomasi (Rome: Viella, 2017), 509–22.

56. The Purification of the Temple and Christ's Entry into Jerusalem were also carved on the lintel of the left portal of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. According to Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, the triumphal scene from the life of Christ symbolized, along with the others linked to it, the dual objective achieved by the crusaders—the liberation of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher from the hands of "infidels" and the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, "The Figurative Western Lintel of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem," in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. Vladimir P. Goss, Studies in Medieval Culture 21 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1986), 123–31, esp. 126.

57. Origen, *Contre Celse*, ed. and trans. Marcel Borret, Sources chrétiennes 132 (Paris: Cerf, 1967), 1:198–99; Eusebius of Caesarea, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, ed. and trans. Émile Grapin (Paris: Picard, 1905), book II, chapter XXIII, 19–20, 207; Jerome, *Liber de viris illustribus*, Migne, PL 23: col. 642B. Jacobus de Voragine, *Légende dorée*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. Jean-Baptiste Rozé (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1967), 1: book II, 43, 336. This consideration of the death of James, while attributed by Christian authors to Flavius Josephus, does not

interpretation was reactivated on the eve of the First Crusade: according to the false encyclical of Sergius IV, probably composed by monks of the abbey of Moissac who were in favor of an expedition to the Holy Land, the pope encouraged Christians to retaliate against the “infidels” responsible for the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher; by engaging in holy war, they would be following the example of the emperors Titus and Vespasian, who, in avenging Christ’s death through the destruction of the Temple, received imperial honors after their victory and forgiveness for their sins.⁵⁸ At the time of the crusades, there was a resurgence of interest in the historical works of Flavius Josephus, seen in the copies produced at the end of the eleventh century and in the second quarter of the twelfth century.⁵⁹ This interest, of course, stemmed from Josephus’s description of Palestine as it appeared in the time of Jesus, but in my opinion, it also arose from the historical value attributed to his account: the emperors’ victory over Jerusalem and Judea prefigured and rendered possible the crusaders’ victory.

At Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, Christ’s Passion and the events leading up to it, the Entry into Jerusalem and the Purification of the Temple, occupy a considerable portion of the sculptural program. They offer an occasion to celebrate the actions of the crusaders and the suffering endured to liberate the holy places from the “infidels.” The holy war was part of a divine plan, aiming to avenge the death of Christ and his apostles, including James the Lesser, here appropriately integrated into the iconographic sequence. In their punitive action, the crusaders followed the example of Titus and Vespasian and, at Saint-Gilles, of Christ himself: this is what the designer intended to suggest by having Judas and the Jews’ Betrayal precede the Purification of the Temple.

The sculptural program of the façade of Saint-Gilles demonstrates, therefore, a desire to reappropriate events from the life of Christ in order to commemorate and celebrate the crusaders who had undertaken the reconquest of the Holy Land. Efforts to update the scenes are likewise evident in the depic-

appear in the text of Josephus as it has come down to us. See Emil Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* 1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901), 581–82n45.

58. The encyclical elicited numerous commentaries. On the text and its attribution to Moissac, see Alexander Gieysztor, “The Genesis of the Crusades: The Encyclical of Sergius IV (1009–1012),” *Medievalia et Humanistica* 6 (1950): 3–34. The participation of Moissac in the organization of the crusades had an impact on the architectural and iconographic choices of the sculpted porch: Linda Seidel, “Images of the Crusades in Western Art: Models as Metaphors,” in *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, ed. Goss, 377–91; Barbara Franzé, “Moissac et l’œuvre de l’abbé Ansquitol (1085–1115). Un discours de pénitence,” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 21 (2015): 579–99.

59. Guy Lobrichon, *1099, Jérusalem reconquise* (Paris: Seuil, 1998), 87.

tion of holy places, including the Temple of Jerusalem, and biblical events that occurred there.

The Interpenetration of Biblical and Medieval Realities

As Kaspar Elm has stressed, the memorial nature and function of liturgical ceremonies in Jerusalem carried a special weight: the liturgy was celebrated in the same place where Jesus lived, suffered, died, and was resurrected.⁶⁰ Following the example of the inhabitants of Jerusalem who gathered to receive Christ, the “palmers” were the community of the faithful and pilgrims who came to celebrate Palm Sunday.⁶¹ In Jerusalem on that day, part of the assembly went to the Temple, where priests blessed the palm and olive branches, while the patriarch of Jerusalem and representatives of the clergy, carrying the True Cross, went to Bethany. The two processions converged at the Golden Gate before proceeding together to the south entrance to the Temple.⁶²

In the north portal of Saint-Gilles, the iconography seems to refer to the liturgical practice. On the lintel and the frieze to its left, the apostles accompanying Christ entering Jerusalem are all clothed in a manner evocative of antiquity, consisting of a long tunic wrapped in a mantle (Figs. 4 and 15): this is a clerical vestment, at least as it appears in the iconographic tradition.⁶³ At the other end of the lintel and on the frieze to its right, the

60. Kaspar Elm, “La liturgie de l’Église latine de Jérusalem au temps des croisades,” in *Le crociate, l’orient e l’occidente da Urbano II a San Luigi, 1096–1270*, ed. Monique Rey-Delque (Milan: Electa, 1997), 243–45.

61. Pilgrims returning from the Holy Land had a custom of bringing back palms, from which their name “palmers” derived. *Liber miraculorum sancti Egidii*, Miracle 6, 63.

62. Elm, “La liturgie de l’Église latine de Jérusalem.”

63. On the development of liturgical vestments and the appearance of members of the clergy (in this case, secular), in connection with the construction of the medieval Church, see Maureen C. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800–1200* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014). The author traces two steps in the history of the representation of vestments: whereas in the Carolingian period, liturgical garments were characterized by an unprecedented luxury, with the Gregorian reform, this luxury was used to establish a distinction between clerics and laypeople and a hierarchy of the orders within the Church. For a parallel with Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, see, for example, the lintel of the portal of San Leonardo al Frigido, from the twelfth century, now at the Met Cloisters: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471911>. The choice of the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, in contrast to the scene of the Incarnation (left jamb), could be explained by the fact that the church of San Leonardo was located on the route taken by pilgrims returning from the Holy Land. See Dorothy Glass, *Portals, Pilgrimage and Crusade in Western Tuscany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 32–36, figs. 32–34.



Figure 15. *Disciples Prepare Christ's Mount*, north portal, left frieze, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Barbara Franzé).



Figure 16. *Inhabitants of Jerusalem Receiving Christ*, north portal, right frieze, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Barbara Franzé).

inhabitants of Jerusalem and the palmers wear trousers under a tunic, short or long, in this case wrapped in a cloak fixed at the shoulder with a fibula or a clasp (Fig. 16), clothing characteristic of the laity. In describing the encounter of the two communities at the Temple, the sculptural program commemorates both the biblical event and the liturgy as it was celebrated when the sculptural program was realized. The particular shape of the Temple, which, on the right side of the lintel, rises above the walls of Jerusalem, demonstrates a second time the desire to update the scenes from the life of Christ.

The Temple toward which Christ proceeds is a circular three-story building, covered with a dome and rising from a wall furnished with a parapet and supported by a colonnade (Figs. 4 and 17). Based on its form, the structure is identical to the one described by John of Würzburg, shortly after 1160.⁶⁴ The first holy place in the city mentioned in the account of his visit, the Temple was a three-story domed building, with arcades and windows piercing its exterior walls.⁶⁵ The edifice was constructed on a rectangular platform, circumscribed on its west, south, and east sides by a wall whose entrances were placed beneath arcades featuring three (south), four (west), or five (east) arches supported by columns.⁶⁶ It thus lay at the heart of the holy city: at its east end, it faced the Golden Gate, the north opened onto the cloister, the west onto the city and the Holy Sepulcher, and the south onto the palace of Solomon.⁶⁷

As Carra Ferguson O'Meara has observed, the Temple depicted was not the one Christ knew, which had been destroyed

by the Romans in 70 CE, but rather the one the crusaders knew: it is the Dome of the Rock, which became the church of the *Templum Domini* after the crusaders' conquest of the city. While this anachronism was common in the twelfth century,⁶⁸ that of the designer of Saint-Gilles was intentional: he was aware of the Herodian Temple, as he depicted it elsewhere on the façade, in the scene of the Purification (Fig. 13).⁶⁹ With this anachronism, the designer of the sculptural program of Saint-Gilles sought the interpenetration of biblical and contemporary realities, and endeavored to make the scene of Christ's Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem more current.

The analysis of the iconographic sequences and breaks in the narrative reveal the intentions behind the elaboration of the sculptural program. Worked out in advance and supervised

68. The crusaders identified the shrine with the Temple of Christ. According to the anonymous author of *De situ urbis Jerusalem* or *Descriptio locorum circa Hierusalem* (ca. 1130), followed by Rorgo Fretellus (1138) and John of Würzburg (ca. 1160), the Temple was only restored, and this restoration was the work of a Roman emperor, Constantine, Justinian, or Heraclius, or even the emir Allah Kebir who effaced the Greek ornament from the so-called Christian edifice. Aryeh Grabois, "La fondation de l'abbaye du Templum Domini et la légende du Temple de Jérusalem au XIII^e siècle," in *Autour de la première croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East: Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), 231–37. Grabois, *Le pèlerin occidental en Terre sainte au Moyen Âge*, Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge 13 (Paris/Brussels: De Boeck Université, 1998), 110–11.

69. As Flavius Josephus described it, Herod's Temple stood within an enclosure and was surrounded by portico-fronted buildings, as at Saint-Gilles. Flavius Josephus, *Guerre des Juifs*, ed. André Pelletier (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1982), book V, 184–211, 134–37 (general layout of the Temple and buildings within the walls), 137–38 (the Temple itself).

64. Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus, *Peregrinationes tres*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 139 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994), 27–31.

65. *Ibid.*, 92, lines 322–27; 93–94, lines 361–81.

66. *Ibid.*, 95, lines 407–14; 96, lines 429–39.

67. *Ibid.*, 92–93, lines 344–55; 95–96, lines 414–18.



Figure 17. *City of Jerusalem and Dome of the Rock, north portal, lintel, right end, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Barbara Franzé).*

by a designer, conceived of in iconographic sequences that nevertheless form a coherent and organized whole, the sculpture thus forms a “program.” It relates to the Church, included in a narrative that goes from its foundation (central portal) to its completion, from an eschatological perspective that will see the reunion of the Gentiles and the Jews (lateral portals). The eschatological context of a sculptural program devoted to the celebration of the crusaders makes sense insofar as, for contemporaries of the events, the capture of Jerusalem was the sign heralding the end of time, marked by the meeting of the Nations around Jerusalem, holy city and center of the world.⁷⁰

While there are multiple references to the Temple of Jerusalem at Saint-Gilles, there are also many allusions to the Holy Sepulcher. The Provençal church thus offered a synthetic vision of Jerusalemite sacred space.

Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: A Jerusalem in Provence

In the analysis of the façade, we noted that the designer of the program had a special interest in the Temple of Jerusalem: twice represented as the crusaders knew it, on the lintel of the north portal and in the tympanum of the south portal (Figs. 17 and 2), it appeared a third time in its Herodian form, on the frieze linking the north and central portals (Fig. 13). Moreover, when the sculptors included a colonnade in two scenes of the iconographic sequence, their intention was to emphasize that

70. According to the prophecy of Isaiah (60:4). Paul Alphandéry, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Albin Michel, 1995); André Vauchez, “Les composantes eschatologiques de l'idée de croisade,” in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade. Actes du Colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand (23–25 juin 1995)*, ed. André Vauchez, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 236 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1997), 233–43.

the Temple was the location of the events depicted. The presence in the lower register of James the Lesser (Figs. 14 and 3, V) likewise refers to Jerusalemite topography, as the chapel dedicated to him rose from the platform of the Temple, a few meters to the east.

Christians and, in particular, crusaders and subjects of the kingdom of Jerusalem reserved a special veneration for the building and its site: according to the Old Testament, it was on Mount Moriah, where Solomon had the first Temple built, that God appeared to David. It was in the Temple rebuilt by Herod that Jesus experienced some of the events most important for the Christian faith, including his circumcision, the Presentation, the discussion among the doctors when Jesus was twelve years old, the poor widow's offering, and the meeting with the woman taken in adultery. It was to the roof of the Temple that the devil brought Christ in the third temptation (according to Luke), and it was from the Temple that Jesus chased the merchants. For Muslims, Mount Moriah was likewise a *locus sanctus*: it was from there that Muhammad ascended into heaven (Isra and Miraj). After his army had chased the Byzantines from the city, Sultan Abd al-Malik had a shrine built, in 691–92, on the site of the Temple destroyed by the Romans: the Dome of the Rock. In choosing *martyria*, and more specifically the Constantinian rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher, as the model for the shrine, Abd al-Malik wished to express the superiority of Islam over Christianity and leave a mark of his power on the city and region.⁷¹ When the crusaders entered the city, Tancred's army rushed to the Dome of the Rock. Discovering an enormous silver statue that they identified as Muhammad, the crusaders readily destroyed it, their act symbolically manifesting the purification of the holy place, sullied by “idolatrous” practices.⁷² The edifice was henceforth converted to Christian use: the inscriptions denying the central tenets of Christianity that covered the former Islamic shrine were erased and replaced with images and commentaries that re-established their truth, the dome was topped with a large cross, and the so-called palace of Solomon, that is, the adjacent Aqsa Mosque, to the south, was transformed into the headquarters of the Knights Templar. The Christianization of the buildings and, in the memory of the places, the “cancellation”

71. Oleg Grabar, “The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem,” *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 33–62. Grabar's hypotheses have not been unanimously accepted. For a recent discussion of his argument, and new interpretations, see Rina Avner, “The Dome of the Rock in Light of the Development of Concentric Martyria in Jerusalem: Architecture and Architectural Iconography,” *Muqarnas* 27 (2010): 31–49.

72. Xenia Muratova, “Western Chronicles of the First Crusade as Sources for the History of Art in the Holy Land,” in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Jaroslav Folda, BAR International Series 152 (Jerusalem: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem/Oxford: B.A.R., 1982), 47–70.

of Muslim presence through the identification of the Dome of the Rock with the Herodian Temple, emerged from a desire to retaliate against the “infidels” who had made the site a symbol of their triumph over Christians. For Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, this desire for revenge likewise expressed itself in the design of the new Church of the Holy Sepulcher, initiated in the first years of the twelfth century and completed at the time of its consecration, in 1149, or shortly thereafter.⁷³ In choosing to construct a dome over the crossing, the builders had twin goals: to recall the Constantinian origins of the church with a rotunda and to rival the Dome of the Rock.

At the Holy Sepulcher, such were the polemical intentions that prevailed in the choice of the architectural plan, the church being conceived as a monumental manifestation of Christian supremacy over Islam, and of the crusaders’ victory over the “infidels.” This goal was, as we have seen, the same one the designer of Saint-Gilles pursued in the elaboration of the sculptural program. In order to realize this ideological aim and to associate the patron more closely with the victorious crusaders, the designer incorporated multiple allusions to the Holy Sepulcher, in both the sculptural program of the façade and the architecture of the church.

Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: A Replica of the Holy Sepulcher

At the entrance to the Holy Sepulcher, on the lintel of the left portal, the scenes depicted at either end are easily identifiable: at left, the Raising of Lazarus and, at right, Christ’s Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem followed by the Last Supper. While the interpretation of the central scenes following the Raising of Lazarus is more problematic, Kenaan-Kedar suggests that they represent a synthetic vision of Christ’s three post-resurrection appearances (to the apostles, to the pilgrims of Emmaus, and to the holy women), then, at the center of the lintel, the Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple.⁷⁴ If we accept this interpre-

73. Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, “Symbolic Meaning in Crusader Architecture: The Twelfth-Century Dome of the Holy Sepulcher Church in Jerusalem,” *Cahiers archéologiques. Fin de l’antiquité et moyen âge* 34 (1986): 109–17. While it is not certain that the church was completely finished at the time of its consecration, celebrated on 15 July 1149, four altars were consecrated that day: the high altar, the altar above Calvary, and two other altars in the north arm of the church. This led Denys Pringle to conclude that by 1149, construction had at least reached the height of the galleries. Moreover, the presence of a bell tower is attested before 1154, undoubtedly referring to the tower that abuts the south façade. Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus*, vol. 3: *The City of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 21.

74. Kenaan-Kedar, “The Figurative Western Lintel.” The reconstruction of the lintel the author proposed is corroborated by the descriptions of Brother Felix Fabri, at the end of the fifteenth century, and by De Vergoncey in 1615. Brother Felix Fabri, *The Book*

tation, all the scenes represented here are also integrated into the lintels and friezes of the façade of Saint-Gilles: the stories of Christ Entering Jerusalem, the Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple, the Raising of Lazarus, the Last Supper, and the Appearances of Christ to the Holy Women and to the Pilgrims of Emmaus after his resurrection. While the mosaics that adorned the two tympana of the Holy Sepulcher are now lost, they were described several times between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.⁷⁵ This is how we know that a Virgin and Child adorned the left tympanum, while the *Noli me tangere* appeared at right, imagery that we find at Saint-Gilles-du-Gard in the tympanum of the north portal and on the two friezes flanking the south portal, respectively. According to the description of the Holy Sepulcher by Theoderic (1169), the door featuring the *Noli me tangere* was located near a chapel dedicated to Mary Magdalen or the three Marys—that is, at the entrance to Golgotha.⁷⁶ The accumulated attention here given to Mary Magdalen corresponds, at Saint-Gilles, to the proliferation of images devoted to the repentant sinner on the right side of the façade.⁷⁷

The presence in both places of motifs rarely seen elsewhere demonstrates that the decorative parallels were not random. On the lintel of the east (right) door of the Holy Sepulcher, naked male figures showing their genitalia are constrained by vegetal rinceaux, together with hybrid creatures, centaurs, and bird-sirens. At Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, naked male figures showing their genitalia are depicted on the bases of the columns that support the hemicycle of the choir, contemporary with the façade (Fig. 18).⁷⁸ In a general sense, we can interpret this motif as a representation of virtue triumphing over evil and the

of the *Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri (circa 1480–1483 A.D.)*, 2 vols., ed. Aubrey Stewart, Palestine Pilgrim’s Text Society 20 (London: Palestine Pilgrim’s Text Society, 1892), vol. 1, pt. 2, 426. Gabrielle-Emilie De Vergoncey, *Le pèlerin véritable de la Terre Sainte, auquel, sous le discours figuré de la Jérusalem antique et moderne de la Palestine est enseigné le chemin de la Céléste* (Paris: Louys Féburier, 1615), 260.

75. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 29.

76. Ibid. and Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus, *Peregrinationes tres*, 157, lines 456–59. The date of 1169 for the composition of Theoderic’s account was put forth in Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 28.

77. On this part of the façade, Mary Magdalen appears twice in the *Noli me tangere*, three times in the company of the holy women, and, if we consider the connections established by exegetes, again as the repentant sinner: for example, Rupert of Deutz, *Liber de divinis officiis*, ed. Haacke, Deutz, and Deutz, book 8, chapter 11, 1096–98.

78. The motif of restrained creatures appears on the façade of Saint-Gilles: on the socle and located on axis with the Raising of Lazarus, two monkeys are tied up facing a camel. For Gil Fishhof, the monkeys personified the vices, while the camel may have alluded to the county of Tripoli, founded by Raymond IV and frequently



Figure 18. Naked male figure showing his genitalia, column base in the hemicycle of the choir, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © John McNeill).

vices.⁷⁹ At Saint-Gilles, this “crushing” victory was that of the Church, represented symbolically by the church building and manifested in the sculptural program of the façade.⁸⁰

To the similarities between the sculptural programs of the Holy Sepulcher and Saint-Gilles should be added some architectural analogies that, at Saint-Gilles (which was partially demolished in the seventeenth century), concern the plan.⁸¹ Several authors have observed that the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was rebuilt by integrating characteristics of Western European pilgrimage churches, namely tribunes, a

nicknamed the “Land of Camels.” Fishhof, “Reconsidering the Sculptural Program,” 110.

79. For the Holy Sepulcher, Avital Heyman saw in the hybrid creatures and naked male figures personifications of several vices attributed to the “Saracens.” The ensnared creatures thus signified the victory of the crusaders over their enemies. Avital Heyman, “Fulcher’s Bestiary at the Door of the Holy Sepulchre,” *Ad Limina* 6 (2015): 99–147.

80. Several studies have suggested the transfer, in twelfth-century churches, of iconographic elements enabling the evocation and commemoration of the crusades. This was the case, according to Jerrilynn Dodds, of the alternating voussoirs characteristic of Islamic architecture, observed in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem before being adopted, in the twelfth century, in churches linked to the history of the crusades: Vézelay, Notre-Dame du Puy, and Notre-Dame du Port of Clermont-Ferrand. Jerrilynn Dodds, “Remembering the Crusades in the Fabric of Buildings: Preliminary Thoughts about Alternating Voussoirs,” in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, ed. Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2015), 99–124.

81. During the seventeenth-century restorations, the liturgical choir and the chevet were cut off, and the east end of the church was relocated to the sixth bay of the nave. The demolished parts are nevertheless visible at the level of the foundations, thus enabling the reconstruction of the original plan.

choir with ambulatory, and radiating chapels.⁸² Thomas W. Lyman noted the architectural elements shared by the Holy Sepulcher and Saint-Sernin of Toulouse, particularly the double entrance on the south flank of the two churches. For Lyman, the architectural typology of the Holy Sepulcher benefitted from the personal intervention of Raymond IV, count of Toulouse and chief of the Provençal army in the Holy Land.⁸³ In turn, as Christian Freigang has observed, the structural concepts developed at the Holy Sepulcher were applied to churches in Western Europe, particularly in Provençal churches, including Saint-Gilles-du-Gard. More specifically, Freigang noted correspondences at Saint-Gilles in the plan of the choir with an ambulatory, from which radiate three deep chapels between two chapels with flat walls, which lack regional equivalents. Even though the construction technique, style, and the way the stone was worked emerged from local traditions, the choir of Saint-Gilles appeared, nevertheless, as the product of concepts formulated at the Holy Sepulcher.⁸⁴ Moreover, comparative analysis of the plans of the Holy Sepulcher and Saint-Gilles-du-Gard has revealed the close links between the two churches.

The plans of the two churches were recently established by means of laser surveys: Heike Hansen for Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (2009–16; Fig. 19), and Grazia Tucci and Valentina Bonora for the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (2007–10; Fig. 20). Scaled plans of the two churches were imported into AutoCAD, guaranteeing the accuracy of the measurements and the precision of the data. The similarities were evident for the choirs and the width of the naves: at Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, the internal diameter of the hemicycle of the choir was 9.46/9.50 meters, the external diameter 13.10 meters; at the Holy Sepulcher, these measurements are practically identical, reaching 9.50/9.54 meters internally and 13.07 meters externally. The total internal width

82. On this subject, see the synthesis by Thomas W. Lyman, “The counts of Toulouse, the Reformed Canons, and the Holy Sepulcher,” in *The Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben Zvi/London: Variorum, 1992), 63–80, esp. 73 and note 28.

83. *Ibid.* The double door of the Holy Sepulcher, a symbolic reference to the Golden Gate, may have also taken inspiration from the portal of *Las Platerias* at Santiago de Compostela (1103–11): Manuel Castiñeiras Gonzales, “Compostela, Bari and Jerusalem: In Search of the Footsteps of a Figurative Culture on the Roads of Pilgrimage,” *Ad Limina* 1 (2010): 17–53, at 46–53.

84. Christian Freigang, “Jerusalem und Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: Das Heilige Land in der Provence,” in *Architektur und Monumentalskulptur des 12.–14. Jahrhunderts Produktion und Rezeption: Festschrift für Peter Kurmann zum 65. Geburtstag = Architecture et sculpture monumentale du 12e–14e siècle: production et réception: mélanges offerts à Peter Kurmann à l’occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire*, ed. Stephan Gasser, Christian Freigang, and Bruno Boerer (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006), 43–62, at 55–57.

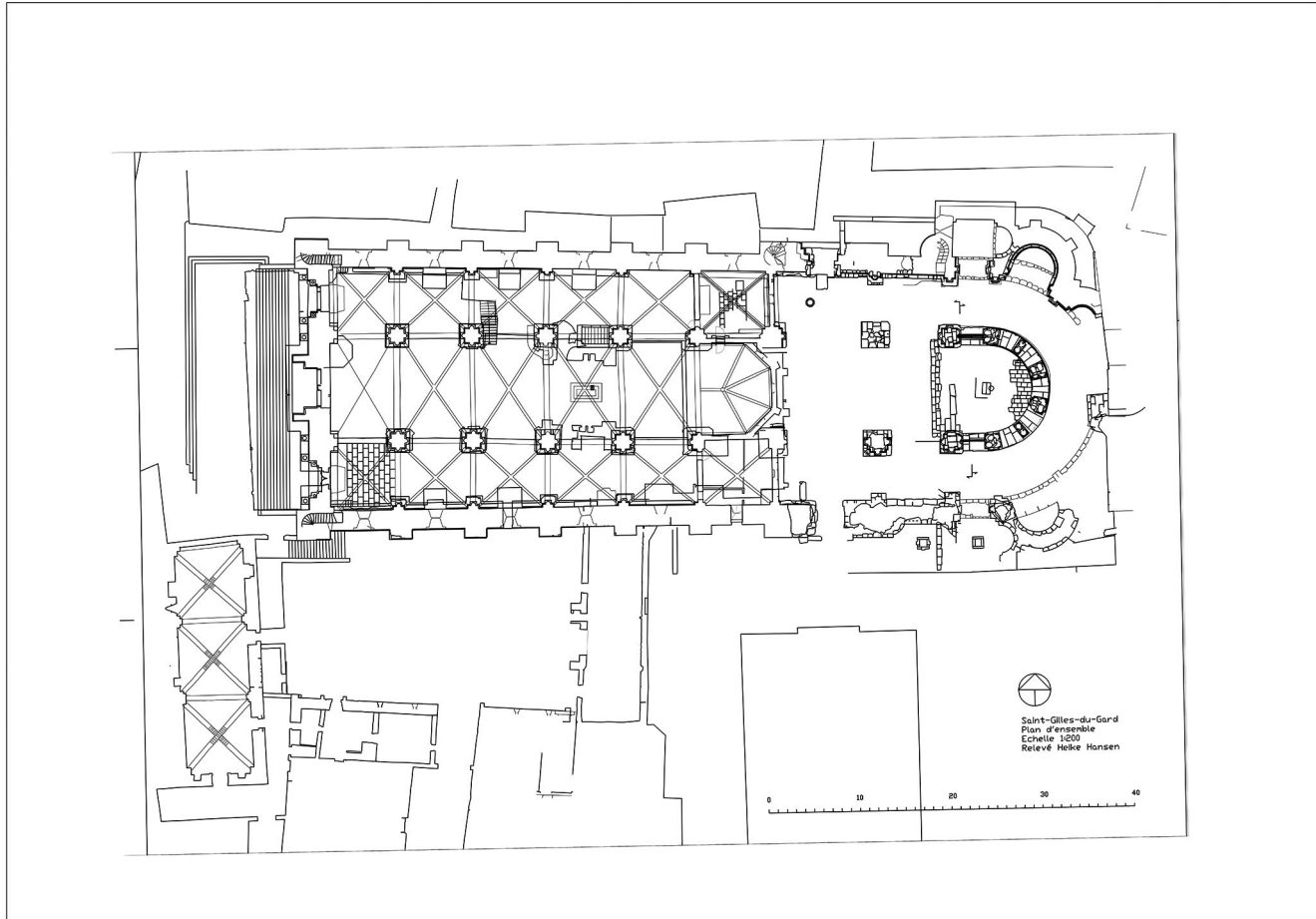


Figure 19. *Abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, plan 1/350 scale, laser survey (photo: © Heike Hansen, IFAG Université de Stuttgart/LA3M Aix-Marseille Université/CNRS, 2009–16, projects Aegidiana and Aegimaior).*

of the nave of Saint-Gilles reaches 24.35/24.37 meters, which corresponds exactly to the dimensions of the nave of the Holy Sepulcher (24.34 m).⁸⁵ The master builders of Saint-Gilles thus recorded precisely the dimensions of the choir and the three aisles of the Holy Sepulcher, at least in terms of their width. The measurements differ slightly with respect to the depth of the chevet, and more significantly in the total length of the church: that of Saint-Gilles (82.46 m, not including the radiating chapel) exceeds by 16.26 meters that of the Holy Sepulcher (66.17 m, not including the radiating chapels), a difference that corresponds to the length of two bays (Fig. 21). This elongation of the church in relation to the Holy Sepulcher may be explained by the need to integrate existing structures, including

85. At the Holy Sepulcher, the measurement of the nave was taken from the northeast corner of the two pillars, north and south, of the first bay. At Saint-Gilles, the measurement was taken in the seventh western bay of the church (now destroyed), where the nave is very regular: to the west and east of the south portal, the width is identical. The chevet is slightly deeper at Saint-Gilles (17.43 m) than at the Holy Sepulcher (15.29 m).

the cloister that belonged to the previous church, or for reasons related to the setting of the façade.

The comparison of the two churches suggests several conclusions with implications for the dating of Saint-Gilles. First, it appears that the intention of the designer of Saint-Gilles was not to copy the Constantinian rotunda, as was customary in Western Europe, but rather to offer an exact replica of the east end, rebuilt by the crusaders.⁸⁶ In establishing the plan of the church, the designer thus intended to commemorate the victory of the crusaders over the “infidels,” rather than recalling the origins of the Church founded by Christ. Second, the analogies between the two edifices are such that they imply that measurements were taken in situ, realized during a long stay in Jerusalem. Moreover, such a stay must have predated Saladin’s

86. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, “Les imitations du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem (IXe–XVe siècles): archéologie d’une dévotion,” *Revue d’histoire de la spiritualité* 50 (1974): 319–42; Piero Pierotti, Carlo Tosco, and Caterina Zannella, eds., *Le rotonde del Santo Sepolcro: un itinerario europeo* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2005).

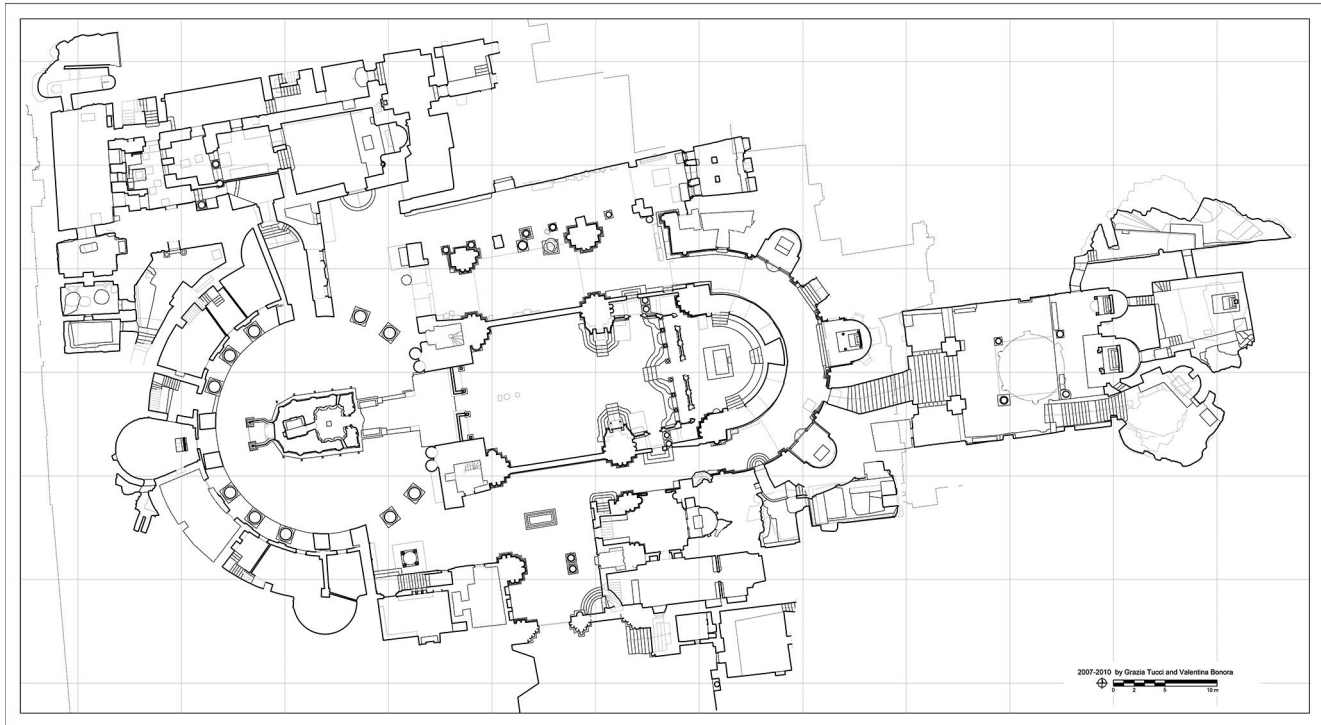


Figure 20. Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, plan 1/350 scale, laser survey (photo: © G. Tucci, V. Bonora, Università degli Studi di Firenze, GECO Laboratory, 2007–10).

capture of the city in 1187: not only was access to the city subsequently difficult, but the Holy Sepulcher also lost the “political aura” of a monument that had once manifested a Christian victory over Islam.

The mission of the architects of Saint-Gilles at the Holy Sepulcher was undoubtedly facilitated by the presence of their Provençal colleagues. This is attested by multiple pieces of evidence, including the architectural and sculptural analogies between the Holy Sepulcher and Saint-Sernin of Toulouse.⁸⁷ According to Zehava Jacoby, a relationship between Languedoc and the Holy Land was maintained throughout the history of the kingdom of Jerusalem: the sculptors at work on the great buildings of Jerusalem and its environs from the end of the 1160s would have learned their craft on Provençal building sites, at Arles and Saint-Gilles-du-Gard.⁸⁸ The circulation of

87. Indeed, some art historians maintain that the style of the lintels of the Holy Sepulcher is characteristic of the south of France. See, for example, Alan Borg, “Observations on the Historiated Lintel of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): 25–40.

88. Zehava Jacoby, “The Workshop of the Temple Area in Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century: Its Origin, Evolution and Impact,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 45, no. 4 (1982): 325–94. Jacoby, “The Provençal Impact on Crusader Sculpture in Jerusalem: More Evidence on the Temple Area Atelier,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 48, no. 4 (1985): 442–50; Jacoby, “Le botteghe di scultura del regno latino

artists occurred in tandem with the relationships established between the counts of Toulouse and the kingdom of Jerusalem.

From the foundation of the county of Tripoli by Raymond IV, in 1102, the members of several families of his entourage settled in the Holy Land.⁸⁹ From 1174 to 1176, Raymond III of Tripoli (1152–87), cousin of Count Raymond V of Toulouse, served as regent of the kingdom. In 1174, after Raymond V repudiated her, the countess Constance settled in Bethduras, in the plain of Ascalon, before joining in 1178 or 1179 the *confraternitas* of the motherhouse of Saint-Jean-Baptiste of the Hospitallers, in Jerusalem, where she remained until 1180.⁹⁰

di Gerusalemme nel secolo XII,” in *Le crociate, l'oriente e l'occidente*, ed. Rey-Delque, 279–85.

89. These links to the Holy Land, likewise established by the Provençal clergy, weakened at the end of the Raimondine dynasty in Tripoli, in 1187. Commercial connections directly linking the ports of Saint-Gilles and Marseille were more lasting. Jacoby, “Le botteghe di scultura,” 279–80 and Jean Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102–1187)*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 39 (Paris: Geuthner, 1945), 73–85: “Les origines provençale et languedocienne des hommes liges du comte de Tripoli.”

90. William W. Clark, “Signed, Sealed and Delivered: The Patronage of Constance de France,” in *Magistra Doctissima: Essays in Honor of Bonnie Wheeler*, ed. Dorsey Armstrong et al. (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications/Western Michigan University Press, 2013), 201–16, at 203–4.

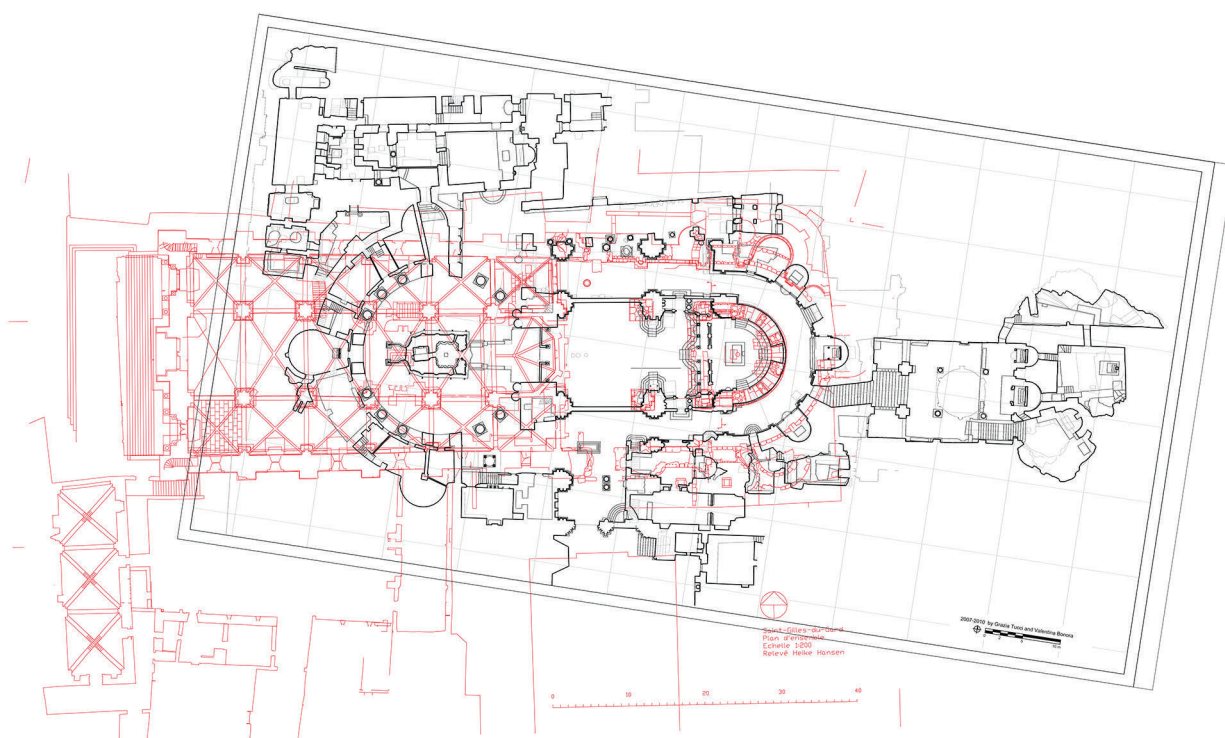


Figure 21. *Abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard and Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, superimposed plans (adapted by Barbara Franzé).*

Several clues suggest that the count of Toulouse was the patron of the church of Saint-Gilles and its sculptural program. Only a great lord who benefitted from a network in the Holy Land and had significant financial resources would have had the means required to realize such a project. While the rebuilding was not a response to the demands of worship, as the church replaced an edifice that had only just been finished, it may have served other ends, political in nature. The monument, devoted to the celebration of the crusades, added to the glory of the House of Toulouse as it took up the Christians' cause in the Holy Land. In recalling the dynasty's achievements, the design of the church of Saint-Gilles strengthened its authority, which had been weakened by accusations of heresy. It was to this end that twice in the sculptural program the designer introduced a "portrait" of the patron, Raymond V, count of Toulouse, or rather of his dynastic lineage.

A Comital Commission

In a previous study of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, I deduced the identity of the patron based on an array of historical, stylistic, and especially iconographic evidence. Raymond V, count of Toulouse and lord of Saint-Gilles, would have seen in the real-

ization of a prestigious work the occasion to demonstrate vividly his loyalty to God and the Church, in the context of an accusation of heresy that called his legitimacy into question.⁹¹ In the 1160s, at the time of the reconstruction of the abbey church, the count's authority was seriously threatened by a coalition, organized by King Henry II of England and supported by Pope Alexander III, who accused Raymond V of protecting the "Albigensian" heretics living on his lands. In 1165, in order to counter this serious accusation, and aiming to condemn the dissent and declare his own orthodoxy, the count of Toulouse organized a meeting in Lombers.⁹² The church and its sculptural program would have been another response to the accusations of heresy. The iconography of the crusades, devoted to celebrating the victory of the *milites Christi* in the Holy Land, contributed to the moral and political rehabilitation of the count's lineage. Several of Raymond V's predecessors had, indeed, fought for the Christians in the Holy Land: during the First Crusade, Raymond IV (d. 1105) assumed command of the great Provençal army and participated in the capture of

91. Franzé, "Iconographie et programme politique."

92. Jean-Louis Biget, *Hérésie et inquisition dans le Midi de la France*, Médiévistes français 8 (Paris: Picard, 2007), 153.

Jerusalem (1099). His eldest son Bertrand succeeded him at the head of the county of Tripoli (1105–9), while his second son and the father of Raymond V, Alfonso Jordan, participated in the Second Crusade and died in Caesarea in August 1148.

In establishing a semantic link between the imagery on the left side of the two lateral tympana, the three “kings” on the north and the “centurions” on the south, I proposed the identification of the latter with secular power, which Raymond V held in Saint-Gilles at the time. He is represented by the seated figure, holding the attributes of his power (sword), while the standing figure at his side is his eldest son and heir, Raymond VI (1194–1215; Fig. 5).⁹³ Careful observation of the façade reveals the existence of a second dynastic representation.

In the central portal—that is, the most prestigious ornamented surface of the façade—a group of four male figures appears at the right end of the lintel, breaking away from the narrative that includes the Last Supper and the Arrest of Christ. There, two male figures, kneeling and in profile, are turned toward a third bearded man, depicted in a striking frontal position, his full beard beveled, his eyes and lips defined with a drill, the high relief of the figure making it stick out considerably from the lintel. A small figure with curly hair, a child, is seated in front of him (Figs. 9 and 22). The same motif appears in a frieze at Beaucaire, between the Last Supper and the Arrest of Christ. There, a bearded figure wearing a cap, standing frontally, places his hands on the shoulders of a child seated before him (Fig. 23). The identification of these figures has posed a problem for art historians. While some scholars overlooked them, such as Whitney Stoddard and Robert Saint-Jean,⁹⁴ others thought they were not in their original location⁹⁵ (since the frieze of the lintel was cut), and still others have deemed the scene illegible.⁹⁶ I think, however, that these figures are of great importance to the underlying logic of the iconographic program.

The juxtaposition of the four figures with Saint Peter suggests a semantic similarity: linked with the personification of temporal authority, they appeared as those contemporaries who held temporal power—in the case of Saint-Gilles, the counts of Toulouse. Comital authority was here embodied by the dynasty, composed of three of its members and the reigning count. Moreover, Raymond V had three sons born



Figure 22. Group of four laypeople: portrait of the comital family, central portal, lintel, right end, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Barbara Franzé).

of his marriage to Constance: the future Raymond VI, born in 1156; Albéric Taillefer, born in 1157; and Baldwin, born in 1165. In what I believe is a “portrait” of the comital family, the last born of the siblings is the one who, too young to kneel next to his brothers, is seated in front of his father, suggesting a *terminus a quo* for the sculptural program of the façade (ca. 1165). This dynastic portrait is the first known evidence since antiquity for a kind of representation grounded in mimesis and individuation.⁹⁷ As part of the renewal of ancient forms observed throughout the sculptural program, the depiction of the father and sons reflects a desire for personalization and the reaffirmation of temporal authority.

93. *Ibid.*, 19–20. This was how Count Raymond V had himself depicted on his seal, seated and holding a sword. Macé, *Les comtes de Toulouse*, 432, fig. 1.

94. Robert Saint-Jean, “La sculpture à Saint-Gilles du Gard,” in *Languedoc roman: le Languedoc méditerranéen*, ed. Jacques Lugand, Jean Nougaret, and Robert Saint-Jean, *La nuit des temps* 43 (La Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1975), 298–344; Stoddard, *The Façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard*.

95. Ferguson O’Meara, *The Iconography of the Façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard*.

96. Trivellone, *L’hérétique imaginé*, 40.

97. The earliest postclassical portraits imitating nature date to the fourteenth century. Among the many studies on the subject, see, for example, Dominic Olariu, ed., *Le portrait individuel: réflexions autour d’une forme de représentation, XIIIe–XVe siècles* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009); Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); and Thomas E. A. Dale, “Romanesque Sculpted Portraits: Convention, Vision, and Real Presence,” *Gesta* 46, no. 2, *Contemporary Approaches to the Medieval Face* (2007): 101–19.

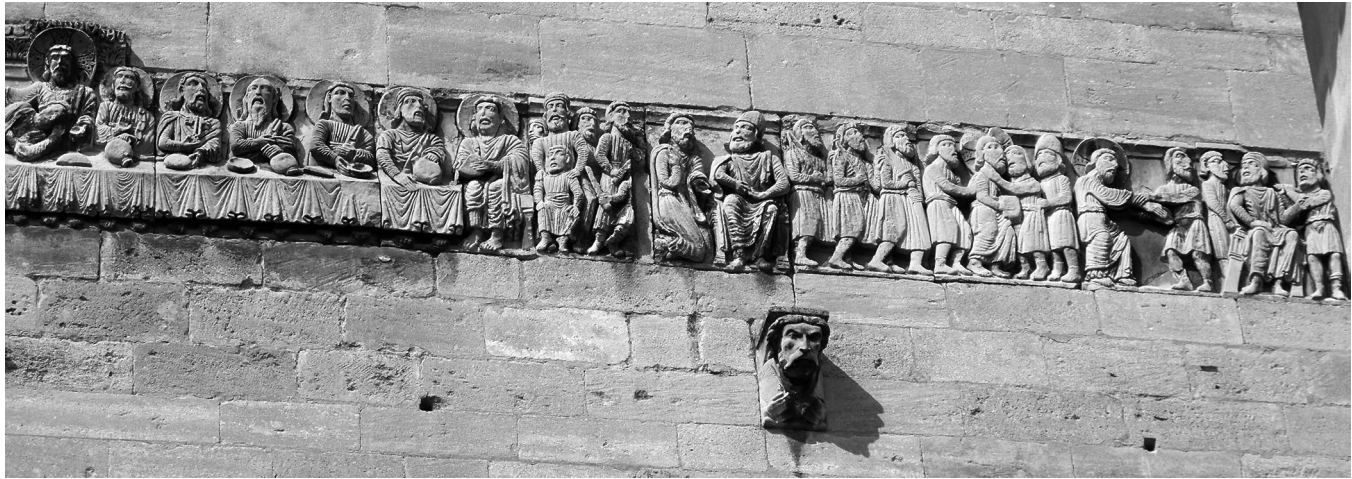


Figure 23. *The Last Supper, a pair of laypeople, Judas before Caiaphas(?), Arrest of Christ, Christ before Pilate, Romanesque frieze integrated into the east wall of the bell tower, collegiate church of Notre-Dame des Pommiers of Beaucaire (photo: © Véronique Pagnier, Creative Commons [CC BY-SA 3.0]).*

The ability of dynastic power to assert Raymond's legitimacy was also a function of a family history closely linked to the crusades and Christian Jerusalem.⁹⁸ This legitimacy was what the sculptural program proclaimed, and what the count sought to recall when he chose the name "Baldwin" for his third and last-born son: while unusual in family naming practices, it was the name given to the kings of Jerusalem as a hereditary title.⁹⁹ In 1165—that is, when the sculptural program of the façade was nearing completion—Raymond V intended, with this choice, to reinforce symbolically the links uniting the Toulousain and Jerusalemite dynasties.

On the façade, while the count is shown seated in a hieratic position that befits his authority, his two eldest sons are shown kneeling opposite Saint Peter, thus recalling donor portraits. Through their bodily posture they show their submission to the Church (Saint Peter) and to the fulfillment of their duty, the defense of Christ and his followers. In the tympanum of the south portal, the count and his son appear next to *Ecclesia* (Fig. 5). Facing the Crucifixion, they express through their gestures their recognition of the Church and their belief in a fundamental dogma, the divinity of Christ and the mystery of the Incarnation.

98. On the mechanisms of the construction of a collective memory of the crusades, by and for the nobility, based on written records and objects, see Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2002).

99. All the kings of Jerusalem who had acquired their titles on a hereditary basis were named Baldwin. In this, Raymond V followed the example of Capetian kings, who, since Philip II, had given Carolingian names to their heirs: Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).

The tympanum's composition associated comital authority with the spice merchants located on the lintel, along the vertical axis (Fig. 24). They are depicted here in full swing, with a profusion of details not indicated in the biblical source. Émile Mâle argued that at Saint-Gilles, the scene was staged in the context of liturgical dramas, which would account for the singularity of the motif. In my view, the axial relationship between the spice merchants and the centurions (signifying comital authority) has a semantic value, just as it does elsewhere on the façade: the count and the merchants are here designated as patrons of the church and its sculptural program.¹⁰⁰ Together, they received credit for having made available the material and human resources required for the completion of a project in honor of Christ and the Church.

By threatening comital authority, the accusations of heresy compromised the commercial prosperity of the region. To ward off the danger, political and economic elites formed alliances, and together applied defensive strategies. The meeting in Lombers was one, as was the construction of a new church in Saint-Gilles: with a building that was extraordinary for its time and place, the anti-coalition forces intended to proclaim forcefully their orthodoxy and their strong support for the Church.

Conclusion

In the 1150s and 1160s, Count Raymond V succeeded in convincing Abbot Bertrand of Saint-Côme of the necessity of a grandiose project, destined for his main city of residence and

100. There were 135 money changers present in the monastery in 1178. Gouron, "Saint-Gilles-du-Gard," 109 and Mazel, "Lieu sacré, aire de paix," 254.



Figure 24. *Spice merchants, south portal, lintel, left end, abbey church of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (photo: © Barbara Franzé).*

principal seat of power. The ambitious building was intended to replace an edifice that had only just been completed with the ex-novo construction of a church designed to imitate the Holy Sepulcher of the crusaders, and the execution of a sculpted façade. Owing to its position at the front of the abbey church overlooking the city and the public square where merchants and pilgrims congregated, the façade constituted a prime location for the deployment of a wide-ranging discourse in images. This extremely complex program required the intervention of experienced sculptors who possessed a mastery of ancient traditions and were capable of inventing new iconographic formulas suitable for translating the designer's intentions into stone. Saint-Gilles represents the only documented work for most of the sculptors.¹⁰¹ It is possible that once the façade was complete, or deemed so by the patron, these sculptors went to live in the Holy Land. The discovery of sculpted fragments of Provençal inspiration, found in and around Jerusalem, suggest their presence in the Holy Land as early as the late 1160s.

While the identity of the designer is not known, it is certain that he was a theologian, or at least an expert in patristic exegesis and the works of Rupert of Deutz, which were available at Saint-Gilles several decades before the beginning of the building campaign. It is also likely that the designer was close to the count, informed of the difficulties he was facing, and concerned with mounting his defense. Perhaps it was Abbot Bertrand of Saint-Côme, who appeared in the count's entourage on several occasions, or else a canonist whose services

101. Only the sculptor Brunus had a more wide-ranging career: in addition to Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, where five statues of apostles are by his hand (including two signed with his name), he seems to have practiced his art on the portals of Thines (Ardèche) and Saint-Bernard of Romans (Isère). One of his followers seems to have worked at Saint-Trophime of Arles, on the façade and in the north gallery of the cloister. Franzé, "Iconographie et programme politique," 6.

Raymond V engaged to enforce the law and consolidate power. Among the *sapientes* Raymond V chose as advisors, sources dated 1158–74 mention the *grammaticus* Pons of Saint-Césaire, educated at the school of canonists in Nîmes and whose journey to Acre is documented in 1163; the *magister* Raoul of Saint-Gilles, judge-chancellor from 1157; or Raymond nicknamed *Cardinalis*, whose period of activity extends from 1157 to 1185. An important canonist and the author of glosses on Gratian's *Decretum*, Raymond retreated to Saint-Gilles after frequenting the Roman curia, where he was at odds with Alexander III, the principal adversary of Raymond V within the enemy coalition.¹⁰² These legislators, who took part in the revival of Roman law, were immersed in the ancient culture that is so evident in the sculptural program of Saint-Gilles.

The genius of the designer is visible in the complexity of the sculpted discourse that unfolds on the Saint-Gilles façade, following compositional principles including thematic symmetry that creates a meaningful relationship between the motifs on both sides of a central element. On either side of the lateral portals, such symmetry generates relationships of equivalence (Magi = centurions, Joseph = people of the Old Law); within each portal, the principle of symmetry suggests complementarity (Gentiles + Jews, spiritual power + temporal power = *Ecclesia*). In order to visualize these relationships effectively, the designer did not hesitate to break with the Bible's narrative sequence, to the detriment of the story itself but for the benefit of the overall program.

Sculptural programs with organizing principles based on symmetrical juxtapositions were common in early Christian figurative monuments, and also later in works deeply anchored in tradition, as Hélène Toubert observed in her study of the mosaics of San Clemente in Rome. In the apse mosaic, the immense cross serves as an axis of symmetry for motifs in each register that respond to each other in a meaningful relationship.¹⁰³ When the designer of Saint-Gilles applied this ancient principle of decorative organization, he demonstrated yet again his understanding of tradition. His systematic use of symmetrical principles was, however, unprecedented, and signals a mind imbued with mathematical logic comparable to that deployed by the legislators in the count's service.

With its program elaborated by a brilliant theologian and transformed into stone by artists of the first order, the façade sculpture constitutes a sculpted manifesto dedicated to the

102. Pope Alexander III in 1163 accused the count of Toulouse of supporting the Albigensian heretics. Laurent Macé, "Le prince et l'expert: les juristes à la cour rhodanienne du comte Raimond V de Toulouse (1149–1194)," *Annales du Midi* 123, 276 (2011): 513–32.

103. Lucien De Bruyne, "Les 'Lois' de l'art paléochrétien comme instrument herméneutique," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 39 (1963): 7–92. Hélène Toubert, *Un art dirigé: réforme grégorienne et iconographie*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Cerf, 2007), 238–310.

celebration of its patron, Raymond V of Toulouse, with the intention of reinforcing and legitimizing his authority. By demonstrating his orthodoxy and acting alongside the church in support of Christendom, he proved himself worthy of the authority conferred upon him. The comital dynasty also contributed to the realization of the divine plan: by taking part in the “holy wars” of the crusades, the family anticipated the Second Coming of Christ, the end of time, and the completion of the *Ecclesia*. Framing the façade, a symbolic battleground of virtue and goodness against adversity, Saint Michael and the angelic army give earthly combat a heavenly aspect. The sculptural program is a staging of the *Ecclesia*, both eschatological and in the present. And in order for it to be governed harmoniously and please God, it must be overseen by the two powers, spiritual and temporal: together and in agreement, they work toward a common goal, the salvation of their people. Distributed on either side of the central portal, in a symmetrical relationship, spiritual authority and temporal authority appear at once complementary and distinct in their functions.

The other significant organizing principle of the sculptural program is the axuality by which the motifs of the first two registers reaffirm and clarify the meaning of those above. The ordering of the apostles serves the overall intentions of the sculptural program: Matthew, the first apostle in the series, stands in direct relation to the Adoration of the Magi and the Annunciation to Joseph, described in his Gospel. Saint John and Saint Peter are located under the Raising of Lazarus, their association justified by the fact that the episode appears only in John’s Gospel and by the fact that Peter represents the Church whose ministry the scene allegorizes. Saint Peter, facing Saint Paul, appears as the point of reference for temporal power, which was exercised in practice by the counts depicted above him. The vertical organization of the program integrates the imagery on the socle, where David is presented as a model for princes. Finally, James the Lesser, appearing under the Temple, designates that site as the setting of the narrative sequence.

Using the apostles in order to understand the episodes and imagery above them suggests a hypothesis for the reconstruction of the central tympanum as it was initially planned.¹⁰⁴ The gathering around the portal of John, Peter, and James the Greater suggests the presence of a Transfiguration above, these apostles being the witnesses of the scene on Mount Tabor (Matthew 17:1–9; Mark 9:2–9; Luke 9:38–36). The same motif

104. Some authors maintain that the tympanum originally featured a Second Coming or a Last Judgment, relying on fragments discovered at Saint-Gilles in 1949: Trivellone, *L’hérétique imaginé*, 49; Ferguson O’Meara, *The Iconography of the Façade*, 184. This hypothesis had already been refuted by Marcel Gouron, on the basis of archaeological evidence. Marcel Gouron, “Découverte du tympan de l’Église Saint-Martin à Saint-Gilles, Gard,” *Annales du Midi* 62, no. 10 (1950): 115–20.

appeared between 1160 and 1180 in the archivolt of the portal of Charlieu (Loire) and on the south façade of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela: initially planned for the cathedral’s west façade, the Transfiguration was integrated into the sculptural program of the south portal in 1111.¹⁰⁵

At Saint-Gilles, the construction of the new church and its sculptural program required major financial and human resources. Toward the end of the 1160s, the project was interrupted, even though the church was not yet finished. If the project was abandoned, it was because its patron and principal financial backer had lost interest in it, judging it ineffective or perhaps adequate for the purpose of reinforcing his authority.¹⁰⁶ This change in the design, which could be evidence of a redirecting of political strategies, coincided with the deterioration of the relationship between Raymond V and his wife Constance. Responsible for the religious affairs of the county,¹⁰⁷ and representing her husband in that capacity at the meeting in Lombers, she likely instigated the campaign to rehabilitate her husband’s reputation in the eyes of the Church. Perhaps she was the one who chose the scene of the Transfiguration for the tympanum of the central portal: the rare iconography is attested in the same years at Saint-Fortunat of Charlieu, a priory in the former kingdom of Burgundy that enjoyed the protection of the Capetians. As the daughter of King Louis VI and the widow of Eustache IV of Blois (who had been heir apparent to the English throne), Constance possessed both the requisite political and intellectual sophistication and the personal network to ensure the completion of the project at Saint-Gilles. While Constance complained as early as 1165 that the marriage had deteriorated, the official split took place the following year, with the announcement that Raymond had repudiated her. In 1174, Constance reached the Holy Land, where she joined the sculptors that she had seen at work on Saint-Gilles. Perhaps already present in Jerusalem at the end of the 1160s, these artists may have contributed to the construction of major monuments in Jerusalem, such as the tombs of Kings

105. The scene was integrated into the south portal *de Las Platerias* on the occasion of the coronation of Alfonso Raimúndez, king of Galicia (1111). Manuel Castiñeiras Gonzales, “The Topography of Images in Santiago Cathedral: Monks, Pilgrims, Bishops, and the Road to Paradise,” in *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, ed. James D’Emilio, *The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World* 58 (London: Brill, 2015), 631–94, esp. 662 and 671. The fragments of two heads and a bust, published by Jules Charles-Roux and deposited in his day in the former museum in the crypt of Saint-Gilles, may have belonged to the tympanum: Jules-Charles Roux, *Saint-Gilles. Sa légende, son abbaye, ses coutumes*, Bibliothèque Régionaliste (Paris: Bloud, 1911), 272.

106. Luc Sery, “Constance, fille de France, ‘reine d’Angleterre,’ comtesse de Toulouse,” *Annales du Midi* 63, no. 15 (1951): 193–209.

107. Macé, *Les comtes de Toulouse*, 58–60.

Baldwin IV and Baldwin V, or the new churches built for the Templars and the Hospitallers.¹⁰⁸

This iconographic analysis of the façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard sheds new light on the events that played out in the Languedoc in a period marked by the first manifestations of heresy and their instrumentalization by the count's adversaries. While integrating the archaeological findings that provide essential support for my argument, the visual analysis confirms and completes a purely historical interpretation based on written sources that are often lacunary or vague. This study argues in favor of using images as primary sources on equal footing with textual sources, and for taking an approach that is both multidisciplinary, in combining different kinds of evidence, and interdisciplinary, in the synergy resulting from multiple research methodologies.

Appendix: List of Subjects on the Façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard

Lower register

- a. Pair of lions
- b. Human figure attacked by a lion
- c. Goat and lion
- d. Pair of lions
- e. Two bound monkeys and a camel
- f. Bearded man chasing a lion that in turn is attacking a man
- g. Cain killing Abel
- h. Offerings of Abel and Cain
- i. Centaur chasing a stag
- j. Balaam on his donkey
- k. Samson fighting the lion; lioness breastfeeding
- l. David as musician challenged by the angel
- m. David fighting Goliath
- n. Man between two bears
- o. Atlantes

Middle register

- I. Saint Michael battling a demonic creature
- II. Matthew

108. This is the argument of Jacoby, "The Workshop of the Temple Area."

- III. Bartholomew
- IV. Thomas
- V. James the Lesser
- VI. John
- VII. Peter
- VIII. James the Greater
- IX. Paul
- X.–XIII. Apostles
- XIV. Saint Michael and the angelic army battling a demon

Upper register

1. Disciples prepare Christ's mount
2. Christ's entry into Jerusalem
3. Inhabitants of Jerusalem welcoming Christ
4. Conspiracy of the Jews and betrayal by Judas
5. Expulsion of the merchants from the Temple
6. Resurrection of Lazarus
7. Jesus predicts the denial of Peter
8. Washing of the feet
9. The Last Supper
10. Four male figures
11. Arrest of Christ
12. Denial of Peter
13. Christ before Pilate
14. Flagellation
15. Christ carrying the Cross
16. Christ appears to the pilgrims on the road to Emmaus
17. *Noli me tangere*
18. Repentant sinner in the house of Simon the Pharisee
19. Spice merchants
20. Holy women at the tomb and the appearance of the angel
21. Meeting of the holy women and the apostles
22. *Noli me tangere*

Tympana

- A. Virgin and Child surrounded by the Magi in adoration (left) and Annunciation to Joseph (right)
- B. The Tetramorph
- C. Christ on the Cross: on the left, the Virgin, then *Ecclesia* and two laymen; on the right, the angel topples *Synagoga*

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