



Holy Warriors: The Romanesque Rider and the Fight Against Islam

Equestrian figures, which flourished in the sculptural decoration of Romanesque churches, have come to be regarded, by historians and art historians alike, as a quintessential manifestation of the Renaissance of the twelfth century. Both Christopher Brooke and Erwin Panofsky considered the large-scale figures to be faithful copies of the celebrated ancient statue of Marcus Aurelius, which stood, until the sixteenth century, outside the Lateran Palace in Rome (fig. 1).¹ Since the Middle Ages believed that this monumental bronze represented Constantine, scholarly tradition has assumed that the Romanesque carvings likewise portrayed the first Christian emperor. Emile Mâle even hypothesized that commemorative trinkets of the equestrian statue, brought back by French pilgrims in Rome, provided the impetus, during the early twelfth century, for the representation of mounted figures on church façades. The relief at Parthenay-le-vieux, one of many such riders in western France, is the best preserved and most celebrated among these carvings (fig. 2).² Mâle's theory accords well with the widespread view of Romanesque as an art that drew its intellectual instruction primarily from the Church in Rome and its artistic inspiration, particularly in southern Europe, from local civic monuments that had survived from the period of Roman colonization.

But why elevate Constantine to such a position of prominence on the outside of ecclesiastical buildings? There is no evidence of a cult of Constantine in either France or Spain at the time and no tradition of the Roman convert as benefactor of the churches on which he appears.³ Moreover, if the rider image was inspired by a statue in Rome, why didn't the type proliferate in territories adjacent to Italy? A few riders do appear on sculptures in southern France, but these are small and belong to narrative episodes on capitals (fig. 3).⁴ And certain features of these works, such as the figure trampled underfoot and the accompanying woman, characteristics as well of the Aquitanian cavaliers, do not appear on the Roman work.⁵ Neither the western French riders nor the Provençal equestrians bear significant formal relation to the monumental Antique bronze.

Two types of riders had, in fact, been bequeathed by Antiquity to the Middle Ages. The sedate image of the victorious leader, familiar from public monuments such as the one in Rome, persisted in early Christian Imperial sculptures and on official coins; it also inspired representations of Christ's entry into Jerusalem.⁶ A second, animated depiction of an aggressive cavalier, found originally on pagan funerary slabs and subsequently on Imperial Roman coins, became associated with the military saints, George, Demetrios, Theodore, who were seen, in Byzantium, as the defenders of Christianity.⁷ Kingsley Porter suggested that this diverse group of Eastern warrior saints, rather than the individual Imperial rider, influenced the invention of the lively Western cavaliers.⁸

Alternatives to the Constantinian explanation of the twelfth-century equestrians do, in fact, emphasize the active quality of many of the Romanesque riders. The Spanish have held that the horseman is Saint James as he legendarily appeared in a dream to Charlemagne urging the Frank to fight the Moors and liberate the Saint's basilica in Galicia (fig. 4).⁹ A Poitevin sigilographer, observing the similarity between the representations of armed riders on the seals of the lords of Parthenay and the riders that grace the tympana of two churches in that town, suggested that these particular equestrian carvings had something to do with local nobility;

perhaps they commemorated a victory by an eleventh-century member of their line over a local heresy.¹⁰ The French archeologist Paul Deschamps observed that the "Constantinian" subject on a capital of French workmanship from Syria might allude to the twelfth-century fight against Islam.¹¹ Abstract explanations have also been offered. The riders have been related to mounted personifications of *Superbia*, sometimes shown wearing the trappings of a soldier. The identification of that awful Vice with cavaliers has been interpreted as a warning to members of the powerful fighting class not to abuse their power and commit the sin of Pride.¹² At the same time, the triumphant riders have been viewed as the embodiment of Virtue¹³ and, along with a frequent companion, the lion-fighter, they have been interpreted as the dual powers in medieval society, Kingship and Priesthood (fig. 5).¹⁴

Each of the non-Constantine suggestions attempts to relate the riders to developments and themes of the period in which they were carved; each is, in part, persuasive. The difficulty with the explanations lies not so much with their arguments as with their evidence: the riders, in every instance, are viewed incompletely and are treated, more or less, as independent entities. It is as though the association of the twelfth-century rider with the Roman statue transferred to the medieval carving an illusion of self-containment, a quality that, while appropriate to the art of Antiquity, is not applicable to the mural sculpture of the Romanesque period. The twelfth-century figures occur without exception as part of vast sculptural programs and architectural installations; they are merely fragments of façades. When the riders are viewed within the contexts of the mural programs of which they form a part, several fascinating themes consistently assert themselves. These themes reveal an irresistible attraction not to the Antique but to Islam and point unambiguously toward a comprehensive interpretation of a significant group of Romanesque monuments.

West façades in western France are characterized by multiple arched openings carefully aligned in two tiers and divided by a band of corbels (figs. 6, 7). The doorway is the central element in a series of richly framed nichelike units, which invariably number three on

the lower story and which have been compared to Roman triumphal arches.¹⁵ The equestrian typically occupies the deep niche to the left or the north of the façade and is seen often in the second register but, at times, as at Parthenay, is introduced into the lower one as well.

The rider, in large or small scale, is one of the standard iconographic types in the decoration of these screenlike structures. Other prevalent themes that recur in the ornamentation of the voussiors of the main door and around the niches of the second story are the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, the Psychomachia, and a combined Zodiac and Labors of the Months, which includes a *horseman* as the workman for May. The first two themes sustain the idea of victory, suggested as well by the triumphal form of the façade.¹⁶ The themes are often combined. The rider is united with the Psychomachia at Aulnay, where a fragment of the horse survives,¹⁷ at Civray, at St-Hilaire-de-Melle and at Notre-Dame-de-la-Couldre at Parthenay. On the latter church, identical pairs of Prudentius's warring Virtues and Vices adorn the second row of voussiors around the central doorway; angels and elders in turn surround them. Fragmentary reliefs of a rider and a lion-fighter can still be seen in the arched niches to either side (fig. 8). On the façade at St-Jouin-de-Marnes, also in western France, a lunging horseman about to spear a serpent is shown at the top of a lofty engaged double column to the left of the central window (fig. 9). The figure penetrates the zone of the gable where a frieze of the faithful is shown proceeding toward a standing Virgin. Immediately above is Christ, seated in front of a huge cross, His arms lowered and extended to either side.¹⁸ At Civray, the theme of salvation or triumph is conveyed in more jubilant form by the presence of rejoicing angels within the medallions that frame the arched niche surrounding the rider (fig. 7).¹⁹

One of the Vices, in particular, is singled out for representation on several façades in the Saintonge-Poitou. *Luxuria*, so dramatically rendered on the porch at Moissac farther south,²⁰ assumes a variety of less strident, and at times even obscure, aliases on the Aquitanian monuments, as well as on some of the Spanish ones in

which the rider appears. On the façade at St-Jouin, chained apes, a well-known image of obscenity,²¹ adorn the capital that supports the modish companion of the rider to the right of the central window (fig. 9). At Sangüesa, in the spandrel adjacent to a tympanum with the Last Judgment, a now headless nude woman is shown crouching in front of the horseman.²² *Unchastity* herself, a woman agonized by serpents at her breasts, is depicted on the archivolt directly beneath a partially restored horseman (and among the warring Virtues and Vices) at Melle and another such figure ornaments the engaged capital to the left and above the rider at Parthenay-le-vieux (fig. 10). Groups to either side of Saint James in the tympanum in the south transept at Compostela have been interpreted as the women who were liberated from Muslim harems after the saint's miraculous intervention at Clavijo (fig. 4).²³

The curious busts of nude women in baskets on the voussoirs surrounding the Parthenay figure can be added to this group (fig. 2). In fact, these unusual figures provide the key to the meaning of the *Luxuria* motif. The presentations resemble the scene of the Virgin Mary being bathed as it appears in the capital frieze on the Royal Portal at Chartres, ca. 1150 (fig. 11).²⁴ But such an interpretation can hardly be applied to thirty-seven women. The hefty little figures recall the novel representation of a nude woman in a basket that is carried on horseback behind a cavalier in an animated depiction of a siege (figs. 12a & b). The complex scene decorates a Persian plate of early thirteenth-century manufacture in the Freer Gallery, Washington. Although depictions of nudity are uncommon in Islamic art, a few sources locate representations of unclad figures in harem's quarters and in bath houses. Following this, Ettinghausen suggested that the figure on the ceramic probably represents a dancer or entertainer of low social or moral standing brought along for the amusement of the soldiers.²⁵ Such portable objects of Muslim manufacture, the plates rather than the women, were readily available in the Mediterranean ports that traded heavily with North Africa; they were even copied in French workshops. An enameled copper washbasin of thirteenth-century Limoges manufacture, in the Detroit Institute of Arts, is decorated with a

mounted falconer in the central medallion and with dancing girls in the surrounding lobes. A comparable Islamic dish dated to the mid-twelfth century is presently in Innsbruck.²⁶ Oleg Grabar has shown that this type of object popularized previously restricted princely themes in response to the tastes of twelfth-century Muslim patrons, aristocratic as well as bourgeois.²⁷ It is certain that such ceramic work from the Eastern Mediterranean was imported into the West, for traces of Syrian lustre ware have been found embedded into the façade of a house built by a wealthy feudal lord of St-Antonin, a town not far from Toulouse, toward the middle of the twelfth century (fig. 13).²⁸

The women in baskets represent a substitution of an Islamic motif for a conventional Christian one in a theme closely associated with Romanesque riders. Additional evidence of western Europe's contact with and appreciation of Muslim art is found in other equestrian carvings of the period. The rider on a capital from Avignon, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England, presents such a curiously feminine mien that he was recently suspected of being a woman (fig. 14).²⁹ The figure actually recalls the type of Islamic prince, clean-shaven but often long-haired and mustachioed, who appears in hunting scenes on precious ivory boxes produced largely in Spain and Sicily from the tenth century on. The resemblance of the stone carving to Mozarabic work is enhanced by the similarity of the pearly ribbons that meander above and behind the head of the figure on the sculpture to the jeweled bands that enclose riders in lobed medallions on a tenth-century casket in London (fig. 15).³⁰ Contemporary literary descriptions emphasized the Moorish attire of Provençal lords, their shaven faces, parted hair and Arab steeds, all well observed aspects of this remarkable representation.³¹

Fascination with Islamic forms may also have encouraged the inclusion of a musician alongside the rider on the Avignon capital and on the frieze at Notre-Dame-de-la-Couldre, Parthenay (fig. 16). Such an alliance of figures was common on the cosmopolitan Saracenic ceramics to which western Europe had easy access and which Christian aristocrats clearly enjoyed possessing and display-

ing.³² In addition and in contrast to this courtly expression, Old Testament associations are evoked by the presence of a *crowned* harpist, David, alongside the rider on capitals at Lérída and Narbonne (figs. 17, 18a, b). David also slew a lion, and with great humility. The lion-fighter on the Lérída capital, juxtaposed with the crowned harpist, appears to evoke the legend of the youthful Hebrew king rather than the story of Samson, the biblical hero who has often been identified as the lion-fighter at Parthenay and at La Rochette (fig. 5).³³

Three important characteristics emerge from our consideration of the Romanesque rider thus far. It has been seen that the equestrian figure in western France is generally part of a large mural arrangement in which his frequent companions are Old Testament heroes, musicians, lion-fighters, and women. Second, the idea of Triumph is implicit in the arcuated frame of these monumental ensembles and in the themes of the Psychomachia and Wise Virgins usually found around the central doors. Finally, the handling of certain motifs closely resembles Muslim workmanship and suggests sophisticated appreciation of and knowledgeable borrowing from the art of Islam.

These several elements associated with the rider reliefs are the essential ingredients of contemporary texts in which the eighth- and ninth-century struggles of Charlemagne's army against the Muslims are celebrated.³⁴ *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin*, also known to us as Book IV of the pilgrimage compilation *Jacobus*, the songs of the *William Cycle*, and of course the brilliant *Song of Roland*, all of which can be dated like the sculptures within the first half of the twelfth century, celebrate encounters between Carolingian and Saracen armies.³⁵ The battles described therein take place in western France (around Agen and Saintes), in northern Spain (in Sahagún and Saragossa), and in Provence (at Orange and Narbonne), precisely the regions in which the rider figures proliferated. The texts reveal a passionate concern for the triumph of Virtue, with an immutable allocation of right to Christians and wrong to heathens, a belief in instant martyrdom and a moralizing tendency to rationalize or justify defeat, all of which parallel the themes of

the sculpture. There is also a marked tendency in both the *Song of Roland* and the sculpture to employ repetition, "of artfully varied occurrences" in Erich Auerbach's words, in order to make events more intense.³⁶

The author of the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* "moralizes at the drop of a hat."³⁷ In this text, the fight against the Moors is likened to the more general fight against evil. In chapter 9, the reader is reminded to prepare his weapons, that is to say his Virtues, before undertaking the battle against Vice, just as Charles's warriors made ready their weapons before battle. "Who-so puts virtue before vice, his spear shall sprout and his victor's soul shall be crowned in heaven."³⁸

The entire *Song of Roland* can be read as a contrast of Virtue and Vice. The *Song* begins with the wily deceitfulness of the Saracens who try to buy off Charlemagne and who initially succeed by dint of their lavish gifts to persuade the Frank of their intention to convert to Christianity. The traitor Ganelon encourages Charlemagne to accept the peace proposal and the emperor's naive agreement to withdraw from Spanish territory is the occasion for the blood bath at Roncesvalles.³⁹

Interestingly enough, the *Pseudo-Turpin*, which covers some of the same ground as the *Song*, labors to explain why it happened that good Christians were slaughtered by pagans in the Pyrenean pass. The massacre is blamed on the fact that on the night before the retreat, some of the Christians had slept with Saracen women, one thousand of whom were sent to Charlemagne as part of the treacherous tribute by the Moorish king.⁴⁰ Indeed, the longer editions of the *Pseudo-Turpin* go on to warn warriors not to take wives or women on campaigns for it is neither decent nor expedient.⁴¹ Weakness of the flesh then justifies the death of Roland and the twelve peers. Yet the *Chronicle* hastens to explain that by dying in the fight against the Infidel, the sinful soldiers overcame prior transgressions. They are immediately crowned among holy martyrs in the Kingdom of Heaven.⁴² It might be noted here parenthetically that a less exalted reward was described for those

who survived their sinful acts and lived to repeat them. The punishment for *Unchastity* was vividly described in Book V of the *Jacobus*, the *Pilgrim's Guide*, in a passage that calls the reader's attention to the figure of a partially clad woman in one of the tympana on the Puerta de las Platerías at Santiago:

And don't forget to notice the woman who is found alongside the Temptation of The Lord: she holds between her hands the fetid head of her lover which was cut off by her own husband and which she must kiss two times a day, on his order. Oh what a terrible and just punishment for the adulterous woman, it must be told to all.⁴³

The *Pseudo-Turpin* has recently been described as possessing the essential qualities of a really good children's book; it is witty, full of action, packed with fascinating detail.⁴⁴ Whatever its purpose, it certainly became immensely popular. The fact that Aymery Picaud (or Picand) from Parthenay, a prominent town on the pilgrimage roads, is identifiable as one of the editors or contributors to the compilation, may explain in part why the imagery of a church in that town shows such rapport with the jocular spirit as well as the substance of the text (figs. 2, 6, 10).⁴⁵

One could cite numerous passages from the literature to clarify ambiguities in the interpretation of the sculptures. For example, the descriptions of Roland's fight with the giant Ferragut may have inspired emphatic contemporary representations of the young David shown pitted against a huge and horrible Goliath.⁴⁶ A passage in the *Song of Roland*, in which Charlemagne dreams that he is struggling with a fierce lion, may help to explain the recurrent appearance of lion-fighters on capitals and church façades. The dream occurs the night before the Christian emperor's meeting with the Muslim Emir Baligant in a battle that clearly pits good against evil.⁴⁷ But Lejeune and Stiennon have already studied such relationships,⁴⁸ and moreover I do not seek to suggest that the sculptures merely serve as illustrations of popular texts. They are, rather, analogues of the manuscripts. As the texts relate to an oral tradition of folklore,⁴⁹ so the images depend upon venerable pictorial customs. And just as the authors sought their raw material in the

events of Carolingian political history, so, I believe, the sculptors found some of their forms in the artistic monuments associated with Charlemagne and his court.

In particular, two objects of Carolingian metalwork, known only through old drawings, closely resemble in design and iconography Romanesque façades in western France. The arrangement of the tiers of jeweled arches on the so-called *Escrain de Charlemagne* recalls the two-dimensional organization of a façade such as the one at Tauriac (figs. 19, 20).⁵⁰ The distinctive ingredient of such a Romanesque portal, the association of a rider with an arched entry, is known from the *Arc of Eginhard*, a late ninth-century miniature metalwork arch that served as the support for a cross (fig. 21).⁵¹ The triumphal imagery on this monument groups Christ, the Apostles, and the Evangelist symbols in the attic story while below, pairs of nimbed, armored figures holding standards adorn the short sides and, on front and back, four similarly garbed individuals, holding lances and shields, flank the opening. Guarding the inner passage are two armed riders trampling serpents. Weitzmann has modified the traditional identification of the riders, often called the rulers of the East and West, Constantine and either Charlemagne or Louis the Pious, and suggested that perhaps the more comprehensive idea of the ongoing veneration of the cross by Christian emperors past and present is represented.⁵² The upper part of the façade at St-Jouin, with its culmination in the Triumphant Cross accompanied by the rider immediately below, recalls the disposition of the imagery on the diminutive Carolingian arch (fig. 9).

The influence of metalwork on the rebirth of monumental sculpture during the eleventh century was amply stressed half a century ago by Paul Deschamps.⁵³ Since then, resemblances between liturgical furniture and specific Aquitanian façades, such as those of Notre-Dame-la-Grande in Poitiers and the Cathedral at Angoulême, have been mentioned but not pursued.⁵⁴ Although the argument for these associations has previously been based primarily on form, the discussion here provides content and context. A possible mode of transmission can be suggested as well. Eginhard's reliquary shrine has been related to small architectural models that are known to have been employed in the construction of

Carolingian churches.⁵⁵ Some of these may well have survived and persisted in later usage.

The *Torhalle* at Lorsch, a monumental Carolingian interpretation of a triumphal arch, has previously been related to western French façades primarily because of the absence of any of the presumed Gallo-Roman models for the Romanesque churches (fig. 22).⁵⁶ But the murality of the French façades and the regularity and multiplicity of openings along their surfaces genuinely recall the treatment of the Carolingian interpretation rather than that of the *Torhalle*'s own Antique prototype, the Arch of Constantine (fig. 23).⁵⁷ During Charlemagne's programmatic revival of fourth-century Antiquity, the imposing plastic forms of selected Roman monuments had been recast and reinterpreted into delicate and decorative elements. These medievalized forms became, for a while, in the twelfth century, more accessible, both aesthetically and intellectually, than surviving remnants of provincial Roman culture.⁵⁸

Why should a revival of Carolingian themes be centered in western France along the pilgrimage road? Quite simply because this was the seat of the oldest commital dynasty in France, one that traced its line back to Charlemagne.⁵⁹ The region's nobility was actively engaged in the twelfth-century fight against the Moors in Spain and was, at the same time, mindful of its dynastic attachments to heroes of the eighth-century struggle, in particular, the first Count William of Toulouse, Duke of Aquitaine, who ended his days as a monk in an abbey he founded at Gellone, not far from Montpellier.⁶⁰ This historic William emerged in the twelfth century as the hero of a cycle of *Chansons* that recount struggles against the Moors at Nîmes and Orange.⁶¹ These poems provide the parallels, perhaps even the sources, for the small-scale riders that decorate a number of capitals from Provence (figs. 3, 17, 18).⁶² William's church was one of the high spots of the pilgrimage roads and was renamed St. Guilhem-le-désert in his honor. In a *Life* composed (ca. 1125) by the monks of his abbey, the historic William was amalgamated with the current count William of Aquitaine,⁶³ who in 1120, like his distinguished eighth-century predecessor, had fought in Spain, assisting Alfonso in the Spanish

king's victory over the Moors at Cutanda. This William was also a *bon vivant* who loved music and women. In fact his participation in the Spanish campaign may have been, in part, an act of contrition following a defiant liaison for which he had been excommunicated.⁶⁴

Protection of the count was the task of a group of castellans whose *châteaux* proliferated throughout Aquitaine from the tenth century on. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, these castellans gained increased independence from the count and they, rather than the monks, were actively involved in church foundations and constructions in this area.⁶⁵ The Seigneurial House of Parthenay, whose lords were active both in the First Crusade and on the Pilgrimage, had become one of the most influential in the Poitou by the beginning of the twelfth century. By then the lords had usurped much of the power originally granted to the court.⁶⁶ A contemporary copy of the sculpture at Parthenay-le-vieux, which was the lords' burial church,⁶⁷ exists at Brinsop in Herefordshire on the Welsh border in England; it affords additional insight into the probable significance of the French monument (fig. 24). George Zarnecki explained that Oliver de Merlimond, founder of churches in Hereford, made a pilgrimage to Compostela via France during the 1130s. The falcons and cape that encumber the dragon killer on the English sculpture are not a traditional part of Saint George's iconography and appear to be directly quoted from the French carving. Zarnecki suggested that artists in Oliver's retinue returned home with sketches of monuments observed en route.⁶⁸ The English nobleman and warrior who had just completed a pilgrimage unquestionably admired and probably identified with the insignia on the Parthenay church; otherwise, why should he have had them copied?

Thus, the rider image had, in the eyes of contemporaries, become identified with the struggle against Islam. In combating this last and greatest of heresies,⁶⁹ Christians, as we have seen, had become attracted to some of its rival's characteristic modes of expression. Perhaps by imitating Islam's forms and by popularizing them, the West thought it could mitigate the powerful challenge

of its enemy.⁷⁰ The proliferation of the *Luxuria* theme on Aquitanian portals may be part of this mystique. For in this geographical milieu, an image of *Unchastity* would serve as both a condemnation of heathen manners and a caveat to the Christian feudal class, as Meyer Schapiro long ago observed, to avoid excesses through which it could be drawn away from the guidance of the Church.⁷¹ In falling prey to the Vice, Christians were reminded that they risked identification with Islam.⁷²

The Romanesque fascination with the rider fused the concepts of triumphant ruler, aggressive warrior, and cosmopolitan courtier. Images of the mounted figure thus evoked associations with the state, the Church and the trusty knight who served them both.⁷³ Who then can we finally say the Romanesque rider represents? He represents no single individual but stands instead for a class of heroes, big and small, past and present, each of whom battled, metaphorically, alongside Charlemagne in the fight for Christianity and for country.⁷⁴ Like their colleagues in the epic poems, the riders epitomize the valor of the feudal aristocrat. Both are at once emblems of past glory and guarantors of continued triumph. In literature as well as in art, the past is perpetuated not by renaissance, but by reformulation in the Romanesque present.⁷⁵

This twelfth-century revitalization of a once discrete Imperial motif had remarkable progeny. It is not inappropriate in the context of this meeting to look ahead to the figure's repercussions during the Renaissance. Those equestrians that flourished in Mediterranean Europe in centuries to follow, even though they were free-standing, made of metal, and posed like the Imperial bronze, continued in fact to celebrate and commemorate the prowess of local heroes (fig. 25). The Venetian Colleoni was, like our Romanesque rider, a Christian adventurer in service of God and country.

The research for this paper was carried out during several seasons and profited from discussions with numerous colleagues and friends. I am especially grateful to Ernst Kitzinger for his generous and careful criticism of key aspects of this work. A study of

pilgrimage sculpture, supported by the Canaday Fund of Harvard University during the summer of 1967, first directed my attention from the issue of style to the problem of meaning. Versions of this study were presented to the Medieval Seminar at Columbia University in January 1973 and at the meeting of The College Art Association in January 1974.

1. Christopher Brooke, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969), pp. 15–17; Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), p. 57. See J. S. Ackerman, "Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline Hill," *Renaissance News* 10 (1957): 71–72, for a discussion of the history of the Roman statue's identification and E. Babut for comments on its possible ninth-century location, "Les statues équestres du Forum," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, École française de Rome* 20 (1900): 209–22.

2. Émile Mâle is generally credited with having popularized the theory of the Constantinian identification of the Romanesque rider, although he was not the first to make the association, *L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle en France* (Paris: A. Colin, 1922), p. 247. The earlier literature, including an enumeration of the Romanesque examples, is well summarized in Henri Leclercq's entry, "Cavaliers au portail des églises," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. Fernand Cabrol, 15 vols. (Paris: Letouzey, 1907–53), vol. 2, prt. 2, cols. 2690–2700. An updated account of scholarship on the subject, touching on several of the problems considered here, is given by René Crozet, "Nouvelles remarques sur les cavaliers sculptés ou peints dans les églises romanes," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 1 (1958): 27–36, with a final reconsideration in "Le thème du cavalier victorieux dans l'art roman de France et d'Espagne," *Principe de Viana* 32 (1971): 125–43. Few, if any, of the figures can be dated precisely, but the vast majority of them have been attributed to the first half of the twelfth century. For a general discussion of the sculpture of this region, including the problem of dating, see René Crozet, *L'Art roman en Poitou* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1948) and *L'Art roman en Saintonge* (Paris: A. and J. Picard, 1971). Restoration of the Parthenay sculpture replaced losses, particularly among the vousoirs, but appears not to have tampered with the surviving original elements.

3. Jean Adhémar's arguments supporting this position in *Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen âge français* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1939), pp. 208–9, and Leclercq's in "Cavaliers," cols. 2699–2700, have been rejected by Crozet, "Nouvelles remarques," pp. 31–32. To be sure, Constantine was evoked by the partisans of Gregory VII in their defense of the supremacy of the Church over the laity. But no specific relationship between this late eleventh-century dispute and the imagery considered here can be shown. See the recent comments by I. S. Robinson, "Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ," *History* 58 (1973): 169–92.

Hubert Le Roux has recently stressed that the name Constantine appears far more frequently in eleventh- and twelfth-century documents from western France, the precise region in which the rider sculptures proliferated, than in the charts of any other area of France. He suggests that the riders may, in many cases, be "donor" portraits of the churches' benefactors seen, perhaps, as allegories of Constantine. At Melle, he notes, two successive donors actually bore that name. "Figures Equestres et Personnages du nom de Constantin au XI^e et XII^e siècles," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest et des Musées de Poitiers*, 4th ser. 12 (1974): 379–94. A previously neglected reference to *Constantinus prefectus romanus*, a Christian warrior in the service of Charlemagne, occurs in the *Pseudo-Turpin*, chap. 13. On the text and the question of its relationship to the problems of the riders, see below and note 35.

4. A Constantinian interpretation of the carvings in the cloisters of Saint-Trophime at Arles and Saint-Sauveur at Aix has nevertheless been put forth. See Abbé P. M. Tonnelier,

"Réflexions sur les cavaliers des portails romans," *Bulletin de la Société historique et scientifique des Deux-Sèvres* 9 (1952): 229.

5. Harald von Roques de Maumont suggested that the crouching figure that medieval texts described beneath the hoof of Marcus Aurelius's horse was a medieval invention; the animal's foot is fully modeled and indicates no sign of attachment (fig. 1). Moreover, the figure is not in a warring pose. See *Antike Reiterstandbilder* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1958), pp. 55–58. Charles Daras, likewise noting the lack of resemblance between the French riders and the Roman bronze, stressed the importance of indigenous Gallo-Roman prototypes for the Roman equestrians. "Réflexions sur les statues équestres représentant Constantin en Aquitaine," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest et des Musées de Poitiers*, 4th ser. 10 (1969): 152, 157.

6. See the discussions in André Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1936), pp. 45 ff. and pls. 28–29; E. Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Sta. Sabina," *Art Bulletin* 26 (1944): 215–16; E. Kitzinger, "The Mosaics of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo," *Art Bulletin* 31 (1949): 279–80.

7. Von Roques, *Reiterstandbilder*, pp. 52–53, 55, and A. Grabar, *L'Empereur*, pp. 47–48, with illustrations.

8. A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, 10 vols. (Boston: Marshall Jones, 1923), 1:187–92.

9. The theme is discussed by A. de Apraiz, "La representación del caballero en las iglesias de los caminos de Santiago," *Archivo español de arte* 14 (1941): 384–96.

10. F. Eygün, "Un thème iconographique commun aux églises romanes de Parthenay at aux sceaux de ses seigneurs," *Bulletin archéologique* (1927): 387–90, and *Sigillographie de Poitou* (Mâcon: Protat frères, 1938), pl. XVIII, no. 533 and p. 236. But the rider had appeared on the seals of other nobles in western France earlier in the century. See the seals of Duke William IX and Aimery I of Châtelleraut, *ibid.*, pls. I, no. 1 and VIII, no. 207. By the end of the century, the period to which the Parthenay seals can be attributed, riders were used as personal insignia by the House of Lusignan and the Vicomte of Thouars, *ibid.*, pls. LVII, no. 415 and LVIII, no. 532.

11. "Un chapiteau roman provenant de Terre-Sainte," *Bulletin des Musées de France* (1929): 244, and "La sculpture française en Palestine et en Syrie," *Monuments Piot* 31 (1930): 94–95. See also the catalogue by M. Aubert and M. Beaulieu, *Description raisonnée des sculptures du moyen âge, de la Renaissance et des temps modernes* (Paris: Musée National du Louvre, 1950–), vol. 1, *Moyen Âge*, pp. 81–83, no. 105. Crozet also associated a relief in Tudela, showing a mounted soldier with a turbaned Moor at his feet, with the fight against Islam, "Recherches sur la sculpture romane en Navarre et en Aragon," *Cahiers de la civilisation médiévale* 3 (1960): 127.

12. L. K. Little, "Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom," *American Historical Review* 76 (1971): 34–35.

13. C. Daras discussed the theme of warring and riding figures as illustrations of the Virtues and Vices. "Les cavaliers de la Rochette," *Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente* (1957): 1–5. See also his "Réflexions sur les statues équestres," pp. 151–57.

14. Y. Labande-Mailfert interpreted the rider and lion-fighter as *regnum* and *sacerdotium* in "L'iconographie des laïcs dans la société aux XI^e et XII^e siècles," in *I Laici nella "Societas Christiana" dei secoli XI e XII*, Miscellanea del centro di Studi Medioevali 5 (Milan: Vira e pensiero, 1968), pp. 515–18.

15. René Crozet, "Survivances antiques dans l'architecture romane du Poitou, de l'Angoumois et de la Saintonge," *Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 9th ser. 3 (1954): 198-99.

16. See the studies on the Psychomachia theme in art by P. Deschamps, "Le Combat des Vertus et des Vices sur les portails romans de la Saintonge et du Poitou," *Congrès archéologique*, vol. 79, no. 2 (1912), pp. 309-24, and Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art*, trans. Alan J. P. Crick (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964), especially p. 9. Enumerations of the iconographic themes represented on churches in western France are included in Crozet, *L'Art roman en Poitou*, passim, and in E. L. Mendel, *Romanesque Sculpture in Saintonge*, Yale History Publications, History of Art 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), pp. 86-88. See Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, 7, pl. 997 for an illustration of the doorway at Fenieux with a rider on the outermost vousoir.

17. G. Dez, "Encore le 'Constantin' de Notre-Dame-la-Grande et celui d'Aulnay de Saintonge," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest et des Musées de Poitiers*, 4th ser. 12 (1973): 265-74.

18. See the discussion of the whole façade in E. Maillard, "La Façade de l'église romane de St-Jouin-de-Marnes en Poitou," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5th ser. 9 (1924): 137-50. See also the plates in Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, especially pl. 947.

19. For the plate, *ibid.*, pl. 1123.

20. *Ibid.*, 4, pl. 371.

21. Horst W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1952), pp. 29 ff, especially pp. 50-51. Illustrated in Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, 7, pl. 948.

22. *Ibid.*, 6, pl. 749.

23. Crozet, "Le thème du cavalier," p. 135, n. 18.

24. Adelheid Heimann touched on the iconography in "The Capital Frieze and Pilasters of the Portail Royal, Chartres," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31 (1968): 76.

25. The plate is illustrated in and dated by Arthur Pope, ed., *A Survey of Persian Art*, 9 vols. (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1938-39), 3:1465. See the brief discussion on nudity with reference to this dish by G. D. Guest and R. Ettinghausen, "The Iconography of a Kāshān Luster Plate," *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961): 43-45, and n. 70. Renata Holod has recently studied the dish in an as yet unpublished paper. Meyer Schapiro pointed out that the unchaste women appeared in Arab literary accounts of the afterlife, although such representations were unknown to him in art. "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," *Art Bulletin* 21 (1939): 328.

26. H. Buchthal, "A Note on Islamic Enameled Metalwork and its Influence in the Latin West," *Ars Islamica*, vols. 11/12 (1946), pp. 195-98.

27. André and Oleg Grabar, "L'essor des arts inspirés par les Cours princières à la fin du premier millénaire; princes musulmans et princes chrétiens," in *L'occidente e l'Islam nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 12 (Spoleto, 1964), pp. 845-92; Oleg Grabar, "Les arts mineurs de l'Orient musulman à partir du milieu du XII^e siècle," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 11 (1968): 181-90, and "Imperial and Urban Art in Islam: The Subject Matter of Fatimid Art," in *Colloque International sur l'Histoire du Caire* (Cairo: Ministry of Culture of The Arab Republic of Egypt, 1969), pp. 173-89.

28. M. Schapiro, "The South Transept Portal of Saint-Sernin at Toulouse," *Parnassus* 1, no. 2 (1929): 22. Muslim houses of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were decorated

with comparable themes carved in stone. See the tympanum of a rider illustrated in M. S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Mohammedan Art*, 3d ed., rev. and enl. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1958), pp. 97–98, fig. 57. For additional photos of the façade decoration, see Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, 4, pls. 358–59.

29. A. Borg, "A Further Note on a Marble Capital in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge," *Burlington Magazine* 110 (1968): 312–16. The piece had previously been published by M. R. Taylor, "A Marble capital from the Toulouse region," *Burlington Magazine* 106 (1964): 539.

30. See the illustrations in John Beckwith, *Caskets from Cordoba* (London: H. M. Stationery Off., 1960) and Perry B. Cott, *Siculo-Arabic Ivories* (Princeton: Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, 1939). E. Cruikshank Dodd has recently discussed artistic exchanges between Christian Europe and the Muslim world: "On the Origins of Medieval *Dinanderie*: The Equestrian Statue in Islam," *Art Bulletin* 51 (1969): 220–21, 225–29. The basic study on Islamic influence in the West remains A. Fikry, *L'Art roman du Puy et les influences Islamiques* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1934); on this point especially p. 162. See also E. Mendel's comments on the possible influence of Muslim ivory boxes in western France, *Romanesque Sculpture in Saintonge*, p. 4. James Kritzeck's valuable review article, "Moslem-Christian Understanding in Medieval Times," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 4 (1962): 388–401, touches on the Christian fascination with and interest in Islam, especially pp. 392–93, 395.

31. See Raoul Glaber's description of richly attired southern lords in his *Historiae sui temporis*; *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 10:42, cited in Robert Briffaut, *The Troubadours* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), p. 84. Similar comments appear in A. Kelly, "Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Courts of Love," *Speculum* 12 (1937): 15. The well-traveled Benjamin of Tudela provided a description of the exilarch of Baghdad (ca. 1168) that concentrated both on the elegance of his attire and on the riding ceremonies in which he participated. In J. R. Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World: A Source Book* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), pp. 186–87.

32. Certain themes, common in the sculpture of the region, have been related to Muslim concerns; see for example Ernst Kantorowicz's discussion of the archer as Ishmael in "The Archer in the Ruthwell Cross," *Art Bulletin* 42 (1960): 57–59, and Meyer Schapiro, "The Angel with the Ram in Abraham's Sacrifice: A Parallel in Western and Islamic Art," *Ars Islamica* (1943): 134–47.

33. For Parthenay, see Crozet, *L'Art roman en Poitou*, pp. 13, 185–86; on la Rochette, see Daras, "Les Cavaliers de la Rochette." The capital at Lérída was briefly discussed by Labande-Mailfert, *I Laici*, p. 518, and by Crozet, "Cavaliers sculptés," p. 35, n. 31. On the Davidic identity of the lion-fighter, see also B. de Montesquiou-Fézensac, "L'Arc d'Éginhard," *Cahiers archéologiques* 8 (1956): 171, n. 3.

34. The literature on the subject is vast and no attempt has been made to be comprehensive in the bibliographic references. In addition to two fundamental nineteenth-century studies, Gaston Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* (Paris: Librairie A. Franck, 1865), especially pp. 67ff., and Gerhard Rauschen, *Die Legende Karls des Grossen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert*, Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde 7 (Leipzig, 1890), the following recent works offer valuable presentations of the material including a review of the literature: Barton Sholod, "Charlemagne: Symbolic Link between the Eighth and Eleventh Century Crusades," in *Studies in Honor of M. J. Benardete*, ed. Izaak Langnast and Barton Sholod (New York: Las Americas, 1965), pp. 33–46; and Barton Sholod, *Charlemagne in Spain: The Cultural Legacy of Roncesvalles* (Geneva: Droz, 1966); R. Folz, *Le Souvenir et la Légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique médiévale*, Publications de l'Université de Dijon, n. s. 7 (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1950), especially bk. 3, pp. 134ff.

35. See the study by H. M. Smyser, ed. *The Pseudo-Turpin*, Mediaeval Academy of America Publication, no. 30 (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), and the review by H. M. Powicke in *Speculum* 13 (1938): 364–66. Valuable articles by A. Hamel, “Überlieferung und Bedeutung des Liber Sancti Jacobi und des Pseudo-Turpin,” *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophische Klasse 2 (Munich, 1950), pp. 1–75, and M. L. Berkey Jr., “The *Liber Sancti Jacobi*: The French adaptation by Pierre de Beauvais,” *Romania* 86 (1965): 75–80, have been surpassed by Christopher Hohler’s recent “A Note on *Jacobus*,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972): 31–80.

On the *chansons*, see W. T. H. Jackson, *Medieval Literature* (New York: Collier Books, 1966), pp. 70–72, 160–74, and on their historical situation, specifically, R. Louis, “L’épopée française est carolingienne,” in Ramon de Abadal, et al., *Coloquios de Roncesvalles*, Publicaciones de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Zaragoza (Saragosa, 1956), pp. 327–460, and J. Frappier, “Réflexions sur les rapports des chansons de geste et de l’histoire,” *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 73 (1957): 4–8. G. Frank’s “Historical Elements in the Chansons de Geste,” *Speculum* 14 (1939): 209–14, considers the theoretical problem of the chansons’ “origins.” The relationship between the *Chansons de Geste* and the pilgrimage to Compostela has been emphasized by George Zarnecki in a recent work, *The Monastic Achievement* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972), pp. 55–59.

36. Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 104; see also Mario Pei, *French Precursors of the Chanson de Roland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), p. 36.

37. Smyser, *Pseudo-Turpin*, p. 5.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 63–64.

39. See Auerbach’s discussion in *Mimesis*, pp. 98–122. Jackson suggested that the Christian soldiers are personifications of Christian Virtues in the *Song* whereas the Pagans personify the Vices. *Medieval Literature*, p. 76.

40. Smyser, *Pseudo-Turpin*, chap. 25, pp. 40, 81–82.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 83. Roland and the French barons enjoy similar instant salvation in *The Song of Roland*, trans. D. L. Sayers (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1957), lines 1127–35 and 2374–97. See recently, J. S. Preus, “Theological Legitimation for Innovation in the Middle Ages,” *Viator* 3 (1972): 14–16.

43. Jeanne Vieliard, ed., *Le Guide du Pèlerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle*, 3rd ed. (Mâcon: Protat, 1963), pp. 102–3. For the illustration, see Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, 6, pl. 679.

44. Hohler, “*Jacobus*,” p. 71.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 56.

46. On this subject, see Rita Lejeune and Jacques Stiennon, “Le héros Roland, ‘Neveu de Charlemagne,’ dans l’iconographie médiévale,” in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. Wolfgang Braunsfels, 5 vols. (Düsseldorf: L. Schwan, 1966–68). vol. 4, *Das Nachleben*, ed. Wolfgang Braunsfels and P. E. Schram (1967), p. 216, where the David parallel is mentioned, and J. M. Lacarra, “El combate de Roldán y Ferragut y su representación gráfica en el siglo XII,” *Anuario del Cuerpo facultativo de archiveros, bibliotecarios y arqueólogos* 2 (1934): 321–38. For the text, see Smyser, *Pseudo-Turpin*, chaps. 20–21, pp. 31–33, 74–78.

47. Sayers, *Roland*, lines 2549–53. The authenticity of this section of the poem has been studied and supported most recently by W. G. van Emde, “Another Look at

Charlemagne's Dreams in the Chanson de Roland," *French Studies* 28 (1974):257-71, and J. J. Duggan, *The Song of Roland: Formulaic Style and Poetic Craft* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), especially pp. 63-104.

48. Rita Lejeune and Jacques Stiennon, *La Légende de Roland dans l'art du moyen âge* (Brussels: Arcade, 1966).

49. Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (New York: Atheneum, 1971), pp. 202 ff. and Duggan, *The Song of Roland*, on oral tradition in *The Song of Roland*.

50. See V. Elbern, "Liturgisches Gerät in edlen Materialien zur Zeit Karls des Grossen," *Karl der Grosse*, vol. 3, *Karolingische Kunst*, ed. Wolfgang Braunsfels and Herman Schnitzler (1966), p. 140 and figs. 13, 22. The treasure, which served during the Gothic period as a container for relics of Saints George, Theodore and Apollinaris, was melted down during the French Revolution; the basic study is by Jean Hubert, "L' 'Escrain' dit de Charlemagne au Trésor de St-Denis," *Cahiers archéologiques* 4 (1949): 71-77. See also the recent study by Peter Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800-1200* (Harmondsworth, 1972), pp. 24 ff.

51. B. de Montesquiou-Fézensac, "L'Arc de Triomphe d'Einhards," *Cahiers archéologiques* 4 (1949): 79-103, and "L'Arc d'Eginhard," *Cahiers archéologiques* 8 (1956): 147-74. See also Lasko, *Ars Sacra*, p. 21, and *Das Einhardkreuz*, Abhandlungen der Akademik des Wissenschaften in Göttingen: Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 3d folge, 87 (1974).

52. K. Weitzmann, "Der Aufbau und die unteren Felder der Einhard-Reliquiars," *Das Einhardkreuz*, pp. 33-49, esp. p. 41.

53. "Étude sur la renaissance de la sculpture en France à l'époque romane," *Bulletin monumental* 84 (1925): 5-98.

54. P. Hélot, "Sur la façade des églises romanes d'Aquitaine à propos d'une étude récente," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest et des Musées de Poitiers*, 4th ser. 2 (1952): 247, 264, and "Observations sur les façades décorées d'arcades aveugles dans les églises romanes," *BSAO*, 4th ser. 4 (1958), 441 ff. Also C. Daras, "Les façades des églises romanes, ornées d'arcatures en Charente; leur origine, leur filiation," *Bulletin monumental* 119 (1961): 122-23.

Virtues, a frequent theme on the Western façades under consideration, are also found on reliquary shrines of the Rhine-Meuse area after the middle of the century. See Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, pp. 46-48.

55. See Jean Hubert, Jean Porcher, and W. F. Volbach, *The Carolingian Renaissance*, trans. James Ennons, Stuart Gilbert, and Robert Allen (New York: G. Braziller, 1970), p. 345, no. 29. A text mentioning the use of a wax model for the renovation of St-Germain in Auxerre is given in R. Louis, *Les Églises d'Auxerre des origines au XI^e siècle* (Paris: Clavreuil, 1952), p. 38.

56. See note 15 above, and Crozet, *L'Art roman en Saintonge*, pp. 105-6.

57. R. Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," *Art Bulletin* 24 (1942): 35-36; E. Günther Grimme, "Novus Constantinus," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 22 (1961): 7-20.

58. For evidence of such remains, and an alternate analysis, see Crozet, "Survivances antiques," *passim*. Panofsky summarized briefly evidence of the Ottonian revival of Carolingian art, *Renaissance and Resuscitations*, pp. 53-54, n. 1. The association of a rider with an arch or a gate, known from Roman coins, appears, similarly, to have entered the Romanesque vocabulary via the Carolingian example. For the coins, see Von Roques de Maumont, *Antike Reiterstandbilder*, figs. 22, 23; T. L. Donaldson, *Ancient Architecture on Greek and Roman Coins and Medals* (1859; rpt. Chicago: Argonaut, 1966), no. 55, pp. 218-21, and E. Baldwin Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and The Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), pp. 39-40, fig. 28.

The importance of late Roman Imperial monuments for the development of medieval iconography, in particular the Arc of Eginhard, is discussed by Yves Christe, "La colonne d'Arcadius, Sainte-Pudentienne, l'arc d'Eginhard et le portail de Ripoll," *Cahiers archéologiques* 21 (1971): 34 ff. and Weitzmann, "Der Aufbau . . . des Einhard-Reliquiars," pp. 33 ff.

59. S. Painter, "Castellans of the Plain of the Poitou in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Speculum* 31 (1956): 243-57.

60. On William, ninth duke of Aquitaine and seventh count of Poitiers, see R. Bezzola, *Les Origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en occident, 500-1200*, 3 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1944-63), vol. 2, pt. 2, 243 ff.; P. Boissonnade, "Les relations des ducs d'Aquitaine, comtes de Poitiers, avec les États Chrétiens d'Aragon et de Navarre," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 3d ser. 10 (1934): 265-316; and A. Richard, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou, 778-1126*, 2 vols. (Paris: A. Picard and fils, 1903), vol. 1.

61. Madeleine Tyssens, *La Geste de Guillaume d'Orange dans les manuscrits cycloques*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 178 (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1967). See also the work of Martin de Riquer, *Les Chansons de Geste françaises*, trans. Irénée Cluzel, 2d ed. (Paris: Librairie Nizet, 1957), pp. 122 ff., and J. Frappier, *Les Chansons de Geste du Cycle de Guillaume d'Orange*, 2 vols. (Paris: Société d'édition d'enseignement supérieur, 1955-65). A. de Mandach has closely associated the *Geste de Guillaume* with the *Liber Santi Jacobi* dating the former as early as 1129. "La genèse du Guide du pèlerin de saint Jacques, Orderic Vital et la date de la Geste de Guillaume," *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune*, 2 vols. (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1969), 2:811-27. The introduction by Joan Ferrante to her new translation, *Guillaume d'Orange, Four Twelfth-Century Epics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), corroborates many of the points made here.

62. Taylor, in publishing the Avignon capital (fig. 14), suggested that the figures illustrated a legend ("A marble capital," p. 539). The elements may come from different parts of the William cycle: the bird from the *Enfances du Guillaume*, the musician-companion from the *Chanson de Guillaume*, and the ball held by the rider from *La Prise d'Orange*. See C. A. Knudson, "Le Thème de la Princesse sarrasine dans la Prise d'Orange," *Romance Philology* 22 (1969): 459 ff.

The crowned rider on the Narbonne capital (fig. 18b) is possibly Charlemagne, the legendary liberator of the city. See R. Folz, "Aspects du culte liturgique de Saint Charlemagne en France," *Karl der Grosse*, 4:92. In fact, Narbonne had been taken from the Moors in 759 by Pepin only to be lost and recaptured under William in the decade between 793 and 806. J. Lacam, "Vestiges de l'occupation arabe en Narbonnaise," *Cahiers archéologiques* 8 (1956): 93-115 and *Les Sarrasins dans le haut moyen-âge française* (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve, 1965), pp. 18-30. For the tale of the eighth-century siege of the town by the emperor's forces with William's father at the head, see L. Demaison, *Ayméri de Narbonne, Chanson de Geste*, ed. Louis Demaison, 2 vols. (Paris: F. Didot, 1887). The recent study by A. Zuckerman, *A Jewish Principedom in Feudal France, 768-900* (New York: 1972), makes selective and highly provocative use of the material in the William songs. For a review of this work see the *American Historical Review* 78 (1973): 1440-41.

In addition to the capitals with riders at Arles (fig. 3) and at Aix, cavaliers were depicted elsewhere in the vicinity. A capital with a rider figure was mentioned in the church of Alet, near the south side door by A. Burgos and J. Nougaret, "Préliminaires à l'étude de la décoration figurée des églises romanes de Bas-Languedoc," *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. P. Gallais and Y.-J. Riou, 2 vols. (Poitiers: Société d'études médiévales, 1966), 1:492. According to Louis Noguier, a rustically carved figure of a mounted rider decorates a historiated capital in the cloister at the abbey of Fontcaude, founded in 1154 at Caxouls-

les-Béziers, in the diocese of Saint-Pons. "Les Vicomtes de Béziers," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique, scientifique et littéraire de Béziers* 13 (1885): 495-96, n. 9.

63. *Les Deux Redactions en vers du Moniage Guillaume*, ed. Wilhelm Cloetta, 2 vols. (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1906-11), 2:37 and n. 3. On the metamorphosis of the historic figure into the legend, see R. Van Waard, "La postérité de saint Guilhem et la formation de sa légende," *Neophilologus* 31 (1947): 153-61, and H. Grégoire, "Les monuments inspireurs: Comment Guillaume de Toulouse devint Guillaume d'Orange," *Provence historique* 1 (1950): 32-44.

64. F. Villard, "Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine et le Concile de Reims 1119," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 16 (1973): 295-302. Local cults around other, little known, military saints flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Garonne Valley along the pilgrimage road. Etienne Delaruelle, "Les saints militaires de la région de Toulouse," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 4 (1969): 173-83.

65. Painter, "Castellans," passim, and G. T. Beech, *A Rural Society in Medieval France: The Gâtine of the Poitou in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, ser. 82, no. 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964). Ch. Higounnet discussed the development of this system, "Le Groupe aristocratique en Aquitaine et en Gascogne," *Les Structures Sociales de l'Aquitaine, du Languedoc et de l'Espagne au premier âge féodal*, Colloques internationaux du Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris, 1969), pp. 221-37. The remarks of P. Van Luyn on "Les Milites dans la France du XI^e siècle," *Le Moyen Age* 77 (1971): 5-51 and 193-238, emphasize that this group formed an elite professional class of land-holders who fought on horseback. See also R. Crozet, "Aspects sociaux de l'art du moyen-âge en Poitou," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest et des Musée de Poitiers* 4th ser. 3 (1955): 8-10. Joan Evans noted that only two of the churchers in western France on which a rider relief appeared were Cluniac, *Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1950), p. 33, no. 5.

66. Beech, *Rural Society*, especially pp. 42, 56 ff., 101 ff.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 127. Ebbo, Lord of Parthenay between 1087 and 1110, was generous to the priory at Parthenay-le-vieux, mentioned in 1092. The lords were also responsible for building Notre-Dame-de-la-Coudre and St-Croix in the precinct of their château. *Ibid.*, p. 59, and Crozet, *Poitou*, pp. 13, 76.

68. *Later English Romanesque Sculpture*, Chapters in Art 22 (London: A. Tiranti, 1953), pp. 9-13.

69. Peter the Venerable quoted by R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 38.

70. Cf. the thesis of Américo Castro, that the attraction of Saint James's shrine developed as a "Counter-Kaaba," a defensive or protective imitation of Moorish religious belief. I am grateful to Oleg Grabar for having called my attention to this work, *The Structure of Spanish History*, trans. Edmund L. King (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), especially pp. 130 ff., 147, 152, 219. See also H. Adolf, "Christendom and Islam in The Middle Ages," *Speculum* 32 (1957): 103-15, and for a modified interpretation, J.-J. Saunders, "The Crusade as a Holy War," in *Aspects of the Crusades* (Christchurch, New Zealand: 1962), pp. 56-58.

71. M. Schapiro, "Silos," pp. 326-27. See the photo of the voussour sculptures on the portal of Ste-Croix in Bordeaux in Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, 7, pl. 921.

72. On the presumed immorality of the Moors, see D. C. Munro, "The Western Attitude Toward Islam during the Crusades," *Speculum* 6 (1931): especially p. 332; C. M. Jones, "The Conventional Saracen of the Songs of Geste," *Speculum* 17 (1942): 201-5; G.

Herman, "Nationality Groups in the Old French Epic" *Annuaire mediaevale* 10 (1969): 81-82.

73. Compare A. Gérard's view of the *Song of Roland* as a Christian, National, and Monarchic epic in which the barons battle for faith, for country, and for empire. "L'Axe Roland-Ganelon: valeurs en conflit dans la Chanson de Roland," *Le Moyen Age* 75 (1969): 462. D. D. R. Owen emphasized the purely feudal aspects in "The Secular Inspiration of the Chanson de Roland," *Speculum* 37 (1962): 390-400.

74. Likewise Weitzmann, in his discussion concerning the standing soldiers around the base of Eginhard's reliquary arch, recommends that the figures be interpreted as a group of milites Christiani who pledge devotion to the cross and who fight in the name of Christ. "Der Aufbau . . . des Einhard-Reliquiars," p. 46.

75. Stimulating remarks on historic perspective in the contemporary *chansons* are found in S. G. Nichols, Jr., "The Interaction of Life and Literature in the *Peregrinationes ad Loca Sancta* and *The Chansons de Geste*," *Speculum* 44 (1969): 51, 71. Duggan remarks that in oral tradition "the reproduction of a song consists not in a phrase by phrase rendering of the previous version, but in a re-creation," *Roland*, p. 102.



Fig. 1. Marcus Aurelius, Piazza del Campidoglio (photo: Anderson).

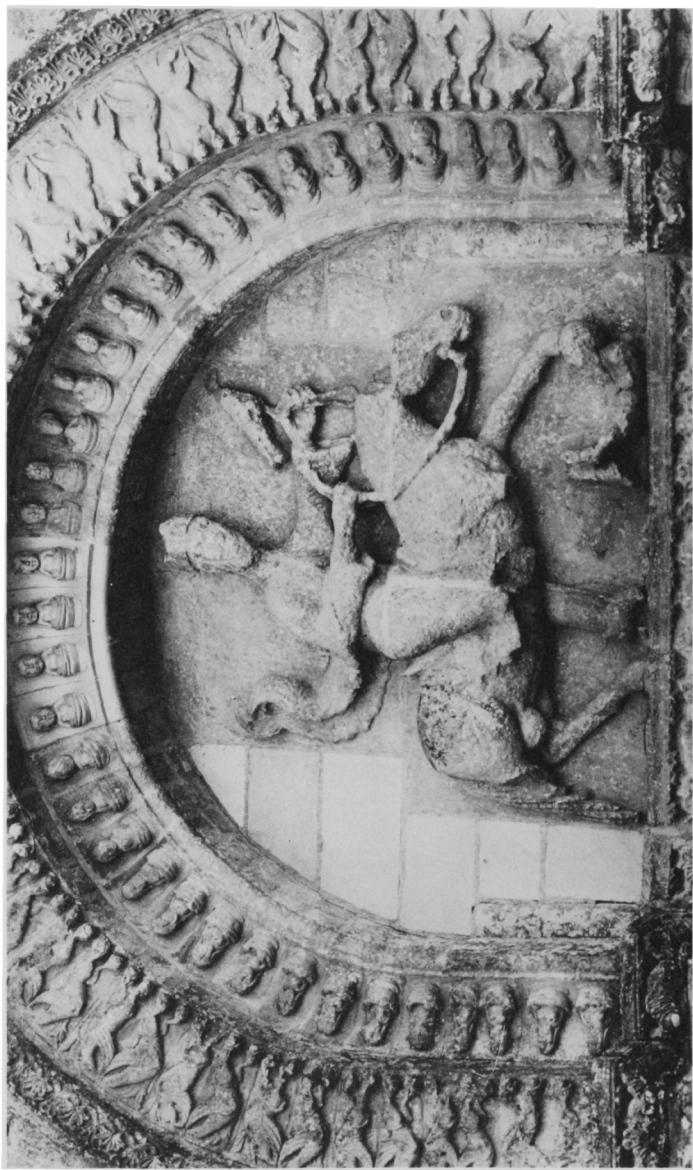


Fig. 2. Equestrian figure, left bay of west façade (Parthenay-le-vieux, Deux-Sèvres, Bildarchiv Foto Marburg 40901).



Fig. 3. Mounted figure accompanied by woman, capital in cloister of St-Trophime, Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône; Bildarchiv Foto Marburg 31557).

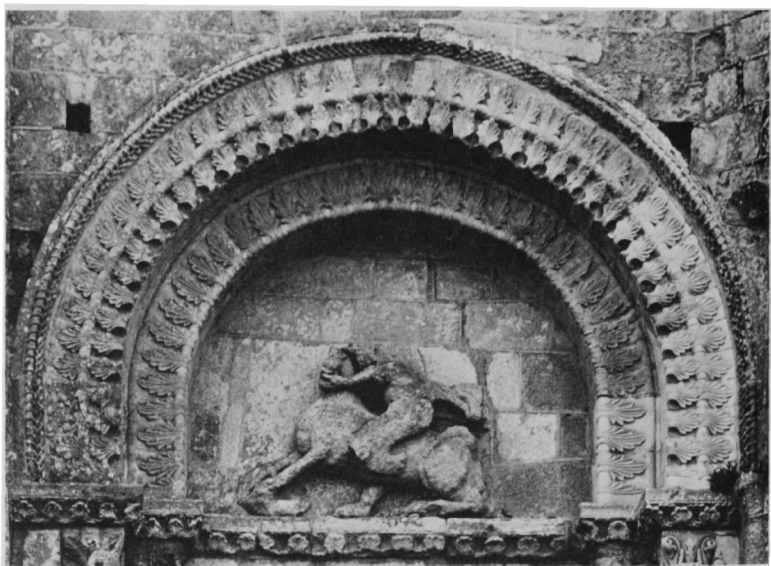
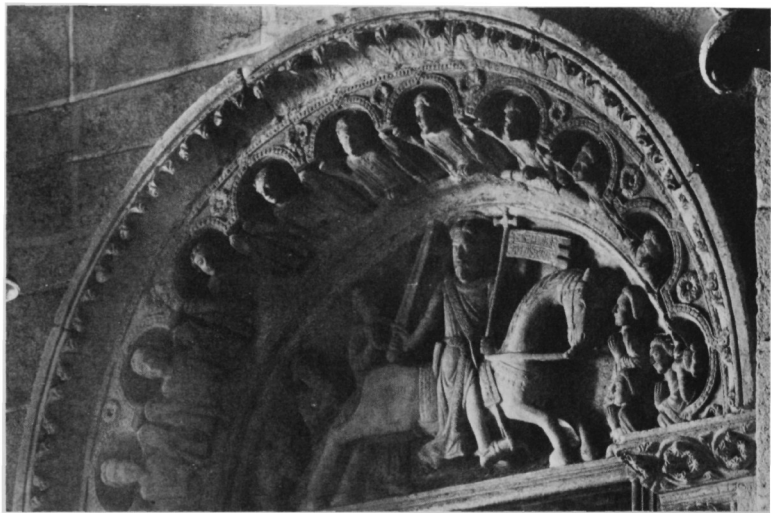


Fig. 4. Saint James on horseback, tympanum in interior of south transept, Santiago de Compostela (Bildarchiv Foto Marburg 55443).

Fig. 5. Man astride lion, right bay of west façade, Parthenay-le-vieux, detail of fig. 6 (Bildarchiv Foto Marburg 161406).

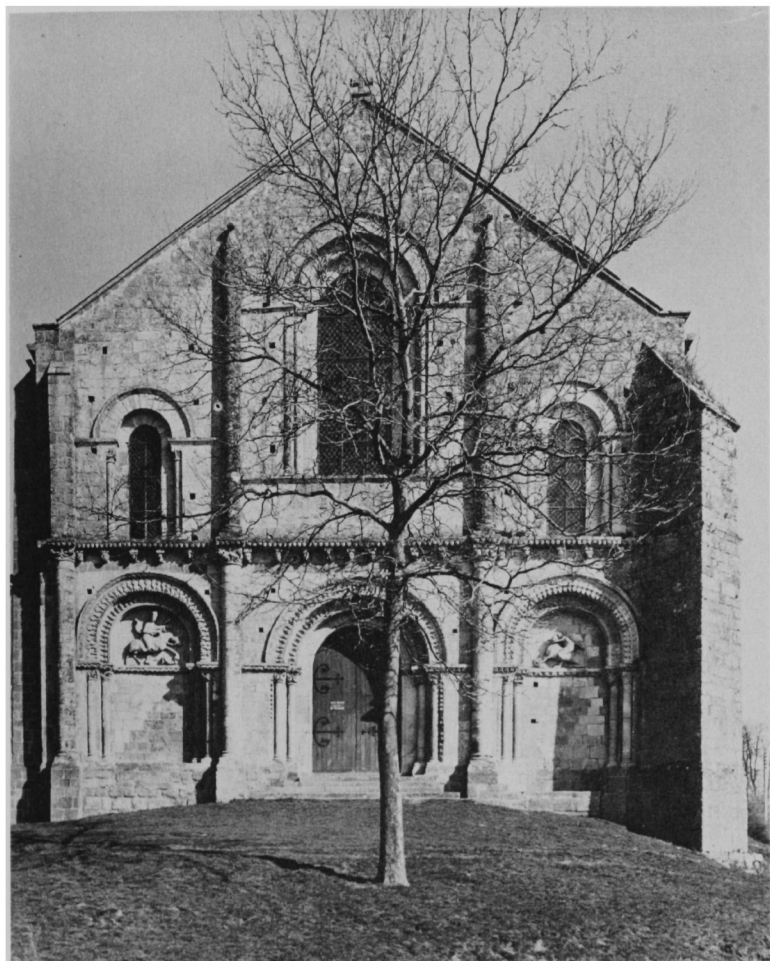


Fig. 6. Parthenay-le-vieux, west façade (Bildarchiv Foto Marburg 161401).



Fig. 7. St-Nicholas, Civray (Vienne), west façade (Bildarchiv Foto Marburg 180137).

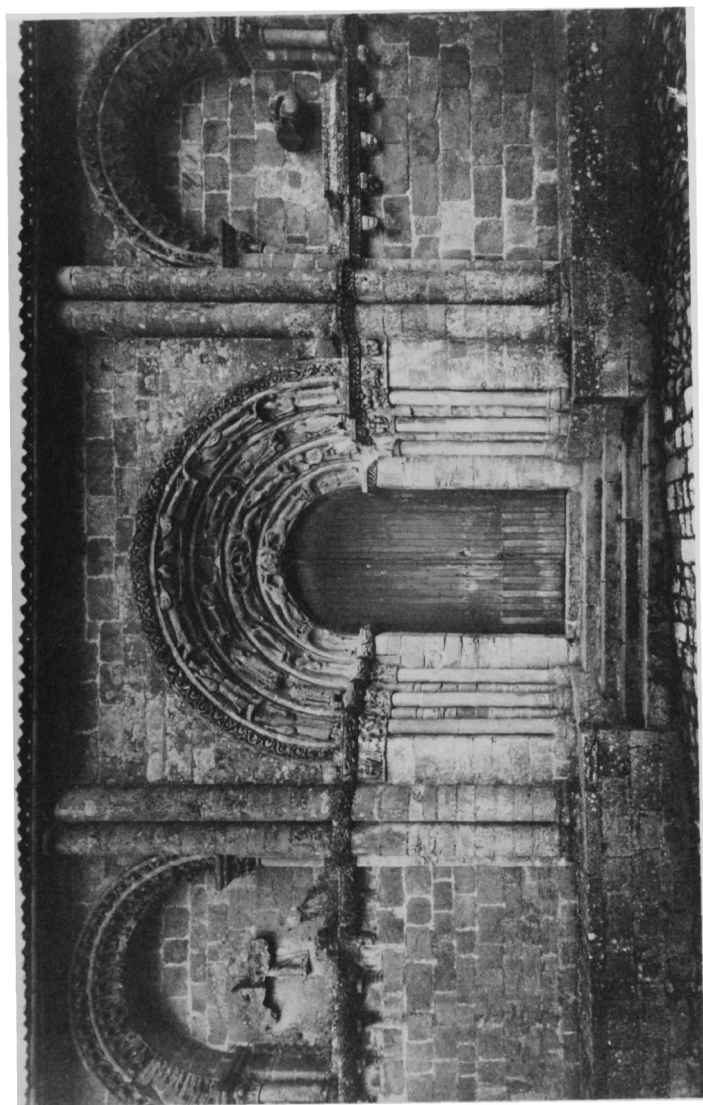


Fig. 8. Notre-Dame-de-la-Couldre, west façade (Bildarchiv Foto Marburg 40872).

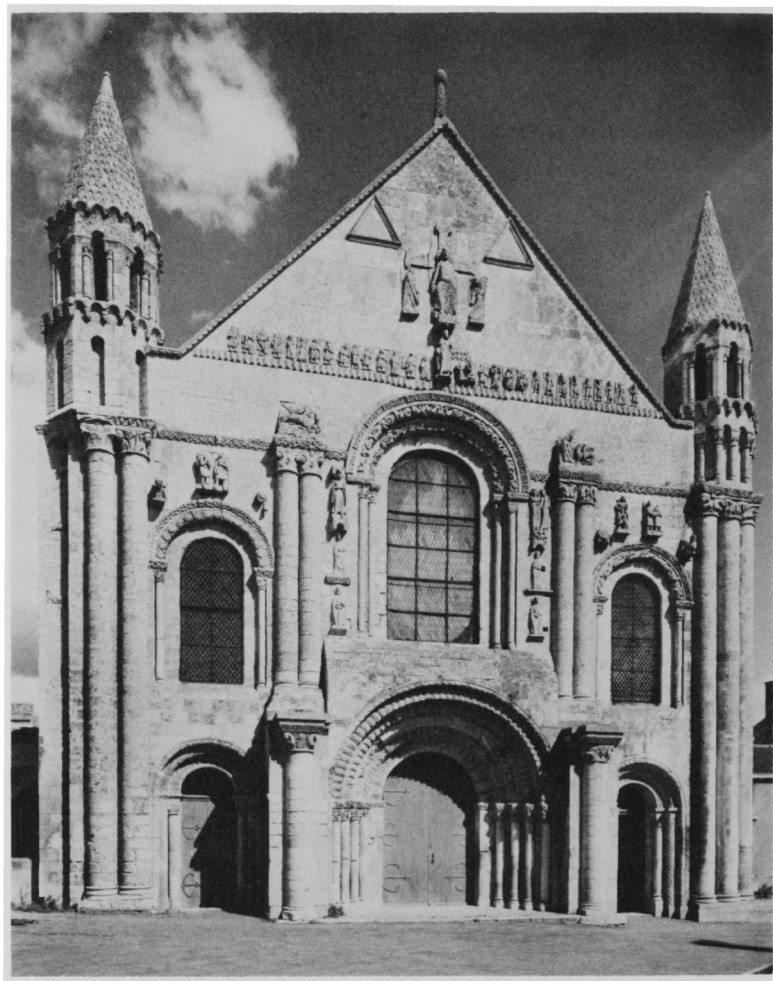


Fig. 9. St-Jouin-de-Marnes, west façade (James Austin).

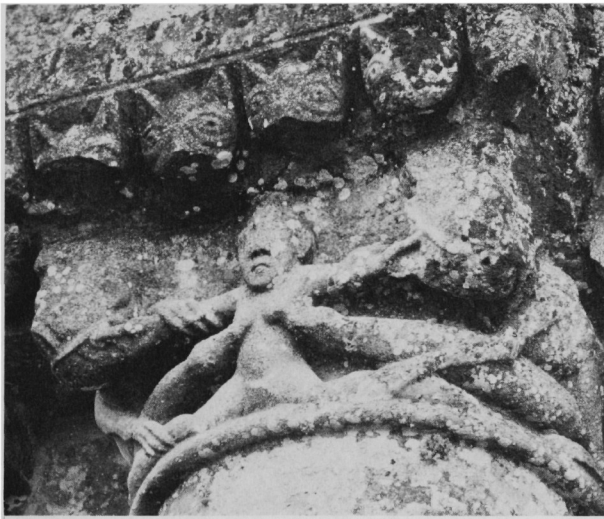


Fig. 10. *Luxuria*, capital at left of façade, Parthenay-le-vieux, detail of fig. 6 (Bildarchiv Foto Marburg 40898).

Fig. 11. The Virgin being bathed, detail of capital frieze on Royal Portal, Notre-Dame, Chartres (James Austin).



Fig. 12a. Scene of a Siege, Persian plate (Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 43.3).



Fig. 12b. Riders in a Cavalcade, detail of fig. 12a.

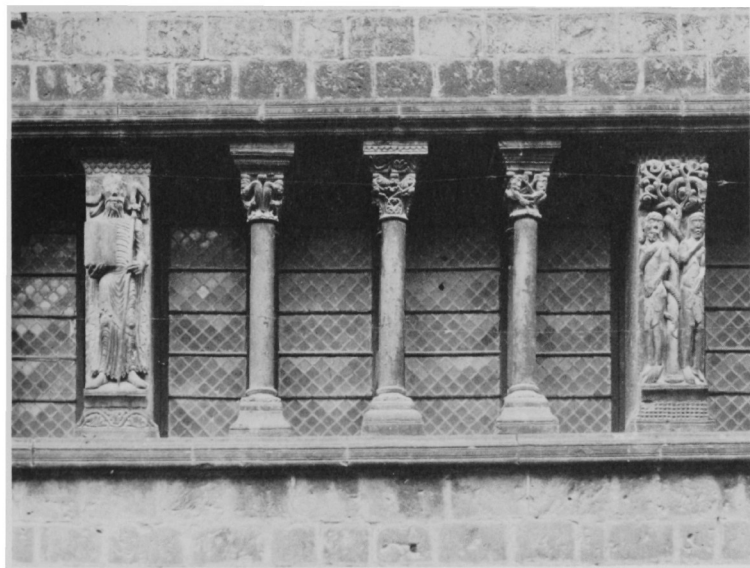


Fig. 13. Gallery of the façade of the Hotel-de-ville, St-Antonin-Noble-Val (Tarn-et-Garonne; Harvard Fine Arts Library, A. K. Porter Collection).



Fig. 14. Rider, marble capital from southern France (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; photo: Stearn and Sons).

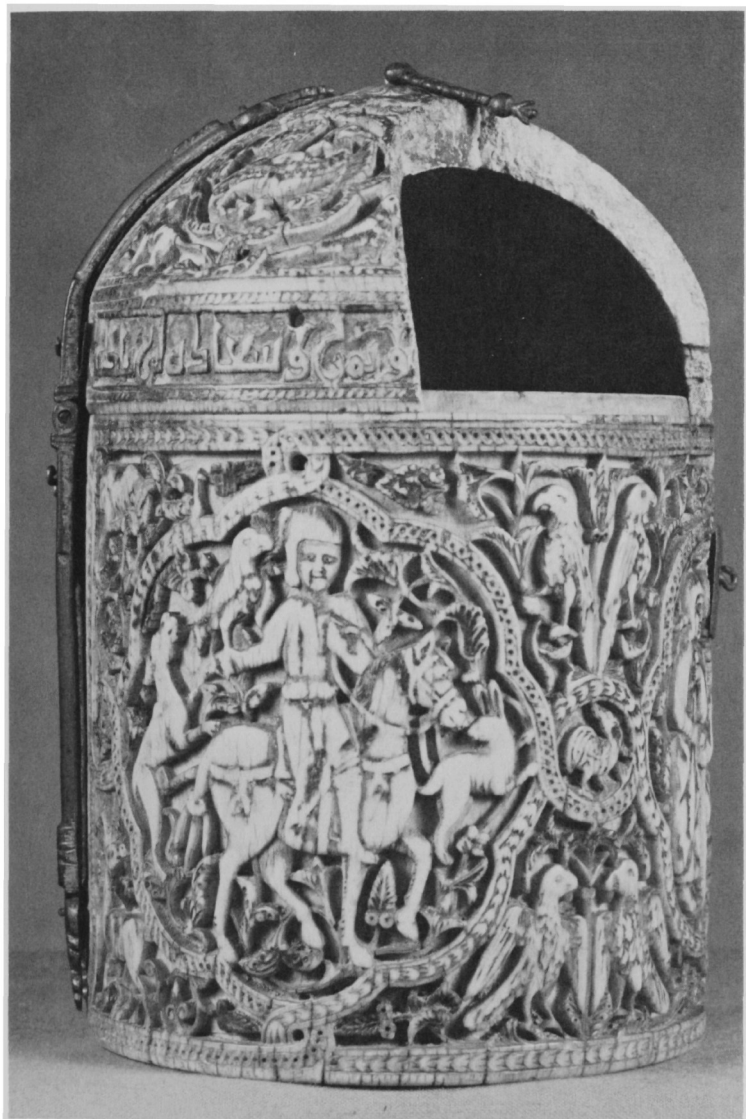


Fig. 15. Rider with bird, Hispano-Arabic ivory box (Crown Copyright. Victoria and Albert Museum).



Fig. 16. Musician, detail of capital illustrated in fig. 14 (photo: Stearn and Sons).



Fig. 17. Crowned horseman and musician, capital in the transept of the Cathedral, Lérida (Archives photographiques).

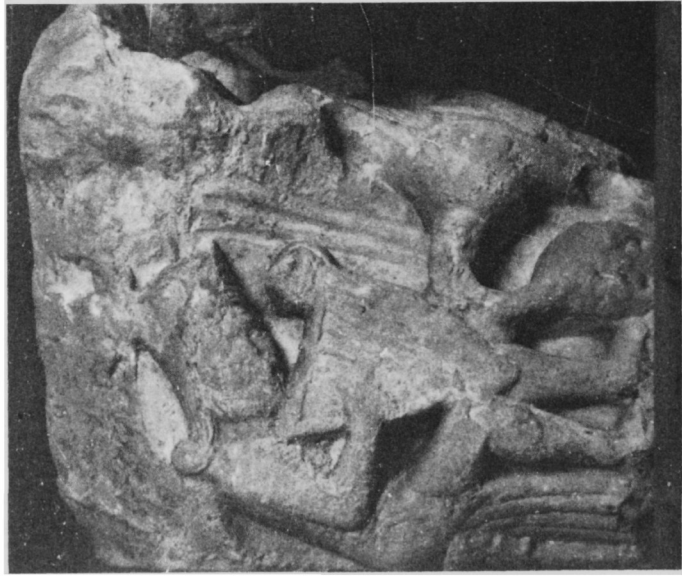


Fig. 18a. Musician, capital in the Palais des Archevêques, Narbonne.



Fig. 18b. Crowned rider, detail of fig. 18a.

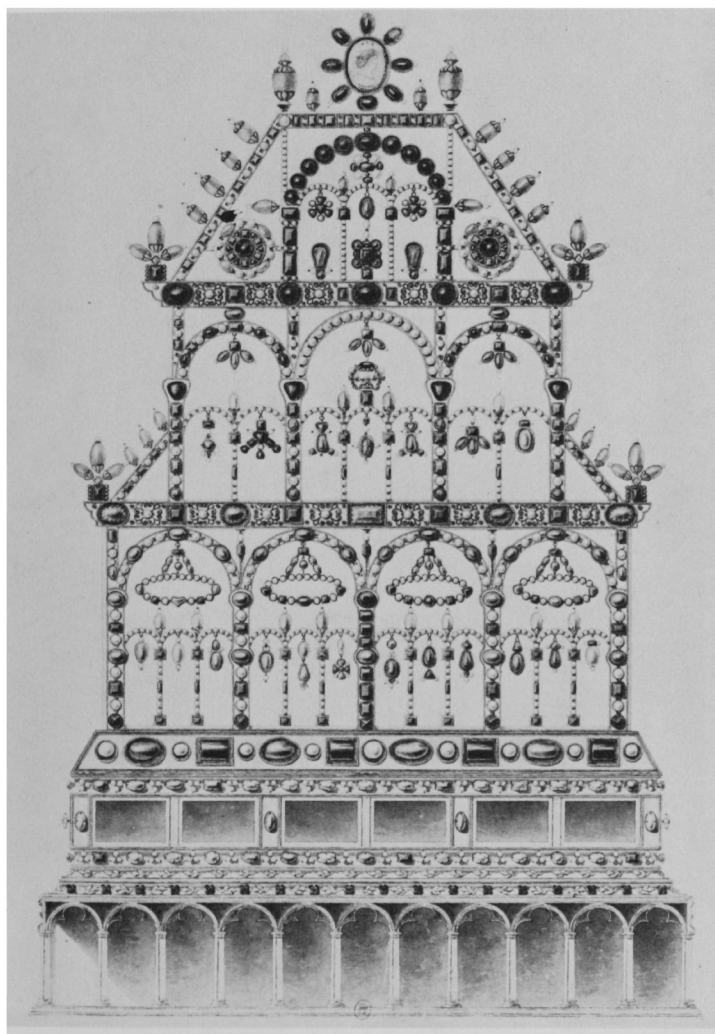


Fig. 19. Escriain de Charlemagne, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Recueil Le, 38c (Bibliothèque Nationale).

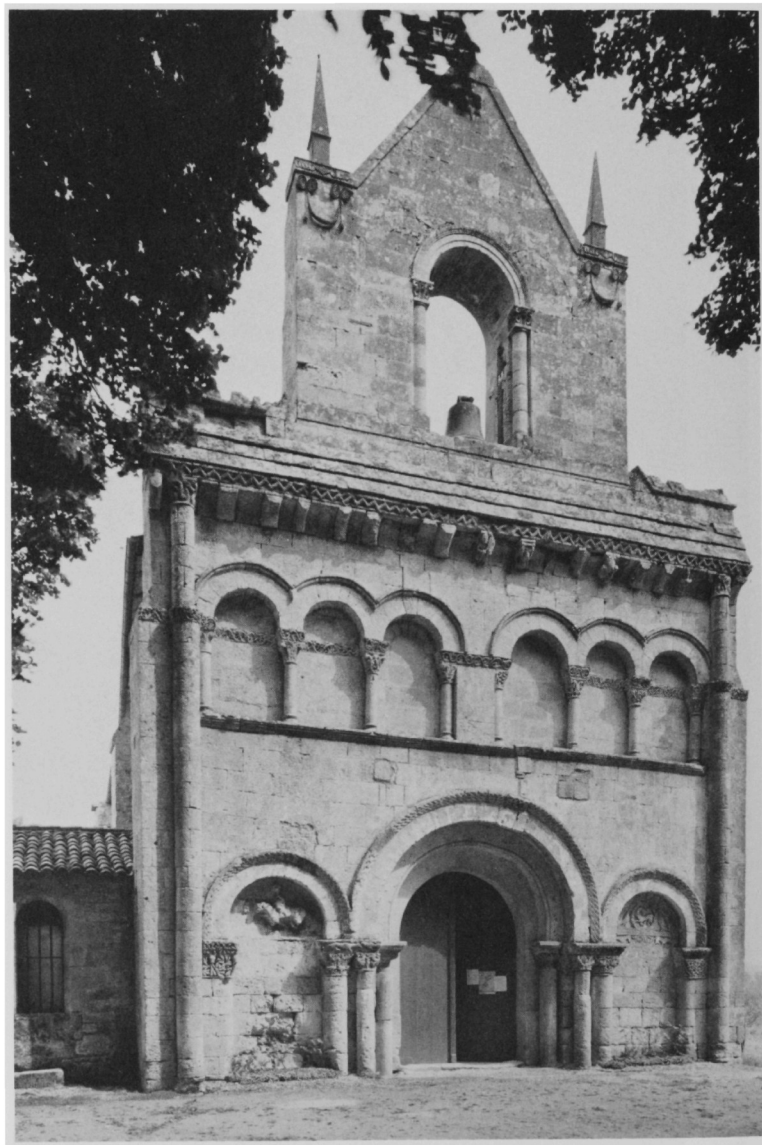


Fig. 20. St-Etienne, Tauriac (Gironde), west façade (James Austin).

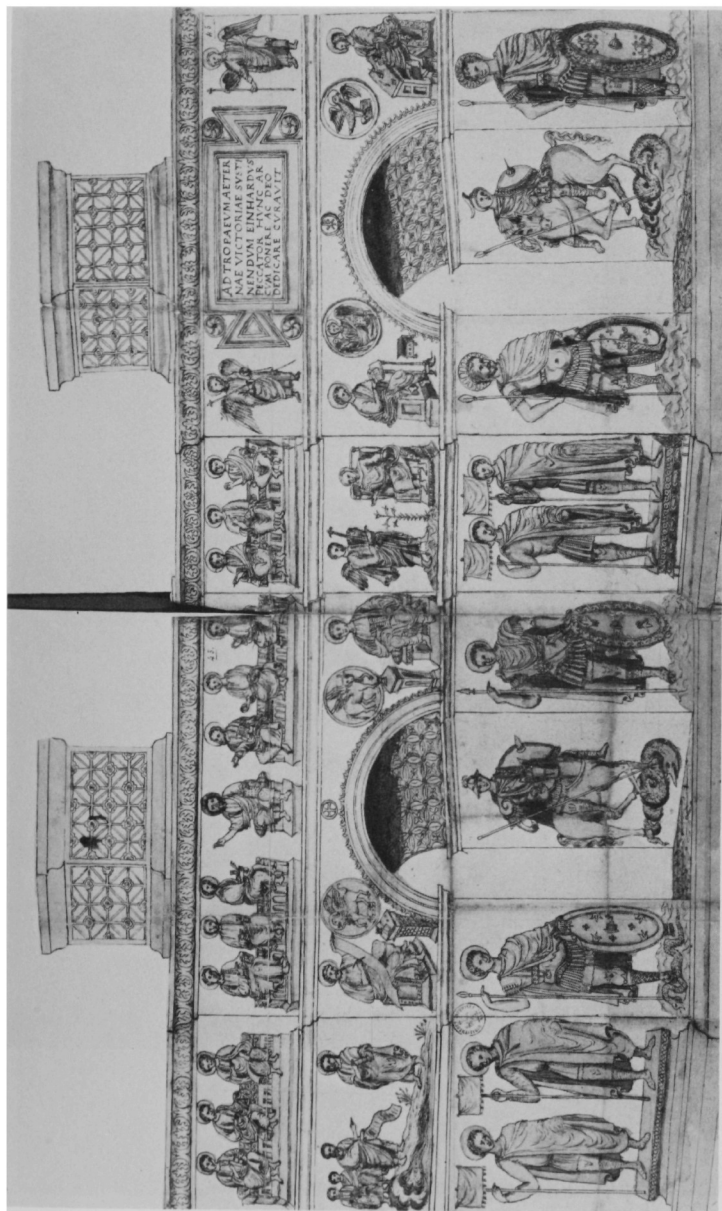


Fig. 21. Arc d'Eginhard, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Fr. 10440, fol. 45 (Bibliothèque Nationale).



Fig. 22. Gatehouse, Lorsch (Bildarchiv Foto Marburg 187534).

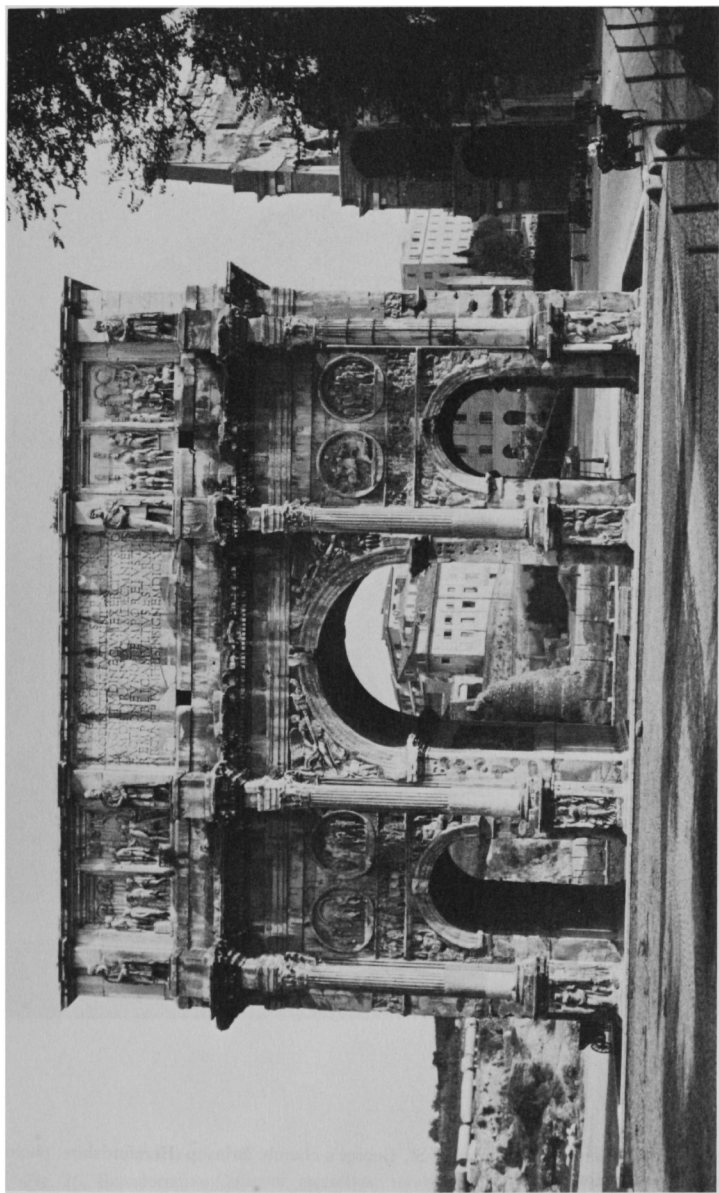


Fig. 23. Arch of Constantine, Rome (Bildarchiv Foto Marburg 53966).



Fig. 24. St. George, tympanum of St. George's church, Brinsop (Herefordshire; photo: National Monuments record).



Fig. 25. Bartolommeo Colleoni, equestrian monument by Verrocchio, Venice (photo: Alinari).