Points of View in Romanesque Sculpture:
The Cluniac Group

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The most enduring definition of the aesthetics of Romanesque sculpture was advanced over two generations ago by Henri Focillon (1931).[1] This theory, known in English as the "laws of frame and plane," interprets Romanesque sculpture as an art inseparable from its architectural support: the frame dictates the shape of the image, while the plane precludes any continuity with the space of the viewer. Expanding on this notion, Jurgis Baltru aitis (1931) deduced a number of simple motifs which supposedly inform all Romanesque compositions.[2] Louis Grodecki (1978), another student of Focillon's, characterized Romanesque sculpture as an art of frontality.[3] According to this mode of interpretation, then, sculpture of this period was conceived in terms of images hieratically fixed to the stone; each work was designed to be seen from a single angle.[4]

In this paper, I will propose a different reading of Romanesque aesthetics, based on a group of sculptures in which several vantage points were considered. This phenomenon of "points of view"—*i.e.*, the various angles from which sculpture was designed to be seen—is usually associated with Mannerism; more recently, it has been extended to Gothic production as well.[5] In my opinion, the phenomenon was already present in the Romanesque period, however surprising this may seem in light of the prevailing theories on Romanesque sculpture.

I will concentrate on sculptures from the Cluniac group. As used in this essay, the term "Cluniac" designates only that style associated with the celebrated eight choir capitals of Cluny. In my view, the major exponents of this manner, apart from Cluny itself (*e.g.*, ambulatory and nave facade), were Montceaux-l'Etoile (nave facade), Perrecy-les-Forges (nave facade), Saint-Barnard of Romans (two capitals in the nave), Vézelay (lateral portals of nave facade, especially), and Saint-Vincent of Mâcon (various fragments in the Musée des Ursulines). Sculptural activity at these sites extended over several generations, particularly at Cluny, Vézelay, and Mâcon, but the period of the choir capitals and their shop can be situated c. 1115-1135.[6] Rather than discuss each site separately, I will proceed by type, examining each of the major sculptural fields (capitals, consoles, tympana, and lintels).[7] The Cluniac group is the best example I know of sustained experimentation with points of view in monumental sculpture. It needs to be stressed at the outset that it was not the only group to explore this aesthetic.

Points of view never became as widespread a phenomenon in Romanesque sculpture as the "laws of frame and plane;" but they help nuance our view of the complexity of Romanesque style. The aim of this article is thus two-fold: to offer new insights into the aesthetics of Romanesque sculpture and in so doing to contribute to our knowledge of a major group (Cluny and its circle).

Three Principal Views. Before analyzing points of view in Romanesque sculpture, it is first necessary to summarize the system this phenomenon overturned. A characteristic example is provided by a capital from Saint-Lazare of Autun (Saône-et-Loire) representing Two Virtues and Two Vices (south nave arcade, pier 6, east face; Figures 1-2). Though the boasting (*épannelage*) establishes three sides, all sculptured, each side functions independently of the other two. The major axes are defined by the elongated figures of *Largitas* and *Patientia* at either corner. Seen from the back, these figures are little more than a simple vertical. The corner is a barrier; the integrity of each side is absolute.

With points of view, the sculptural field was unified.[8] One of the most successful works with multiple viewpoints is the St. Michael and the Devil console (nave facade, S.XI) from Vézelay (Yonne; Figures 3-5).[9] Set at the corner and deeply undercut, the archangel pivots around his own axis, presenting an always changing view. The first, and predominant view, is the central one (Figure 4); the second is defined by the direction *toward* which the figure moves (Figure 3); the third view is defined by that direction *from* which the figure moves (Figure 5). Between each there is a fluid transition. This triple viewpoint became standard in the Cluniac group.

A narthex capital from Perrecy-les-Forges (Saône-et-Loire) provides a non-figurative example of the same method. Seen frontally, the foliage appears stiff, but from the side it flows (Figures 6-7). A standard derivative of the Corinthian has been rethought; the principal stalks rotate around the edge of the block, rather than defining a vertical where the two sides intersect.[10] A single form—in this case a leaf—can be read in different ways according to the spectator's position. As at Vézelay, points of view unify the sculptural field by joining sides which more commonly were treated as disparate units.[11]

The approach of both works is inherently sculptural, turning to advantage the point of greatest salience. For Wilhelm Vöge, this rethinking of the block in terms of projecting corners constituted the most significant innovation of Gothic sculpture; these Cluniac sculptures demonstrate, however, that the technique was already practiced in a systematic way during the Romanesque period.[12] In conception the engaged capital is no longer a sculpture with three sides and two corners; instead, it is

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a curved surface susceptible of representing continuous action.

Where a corner was not available, sculptors devised other methods for enhancing visibility. The choir capitals of Cluny (Saône-et-Loire) show a characteristic solution in the adoption of a deeply carved mandorla, creating a "stage" for figures (Figure 8). Traditionally the mandorla was reserved for representations of the theophany; at Cluny (capitals 4, 5, 7, 8), however, it enframed various personifications whose meaning continues to mystify scholars.[13] In other words, the mandorla was exploited for its artistic potential, even though this involved the incorrect use of a symbol.

Similar in approach, though now iconographically correct, is the tympanum of Montceaux-l'Etoile, where the rotating Christ in a deep stage looks suspiciously like a borrowing from a Cluny choir capital (Figures 9-10). The mandorla made high relief possible even on otherwise flat surfaces.

Other solutions were found for lintels.[14] At Perrecy-les-Forges the lintel was carved as a half-concave (en demi-cuvette) (Figure 11). This created a deep base, or platform, for the figures, allowing them to twist and turn in the prescribed triple-viewpoint method. Reinforcing this effect, various conversational groups link figures across space. Bodies turn in one direction, heads in another; figures work equally well whether seen from the right, the left, or head-on.

The working methods of the time underline the achievement of this new technique. For work executed après la pose, i.e., after emplacement, the craftsman approached a piece at eye level, but did so without compensating for the changed perspective from the ground. For sculpture carved avant la pose, the sculptor was obliged to lean over his work; only after completion would it be set at eye level. Renaissance and later artists, by contrast, placed their blocks on a high table, allowing them to attack a piece from the same perspective it would enjoy once in situ.[15] Whether the decoration was executed avant or après la pose, then, Romanesque sculptors attacked their blocks at an angle different from that accessible to the spectator. With points of view—effective only if the observer's position is taken into account—this indifference vis-à-vis the audience began to change.

Origins. Various roots for this transformation can be suggested. The sculpture of Classical and Early Christian Antiquity offered a ready model as the only major precedent for a craft with a short history. The abundant cult statues of Burgundy may, for instance, have furnished a paradigm for images observable in the round.[16] Among relief sculptures, an Early Christian "imago" sarcophagus discovered near Arles provides a parallel for Perrecy-les-Forges, with its high salience and twisting figures (Figures 11-12). Such evidence is consistent with the classicism of Burgundian art, e.g., at Saint-Lazare of Autun, where both the architecture and the large-scale nude of Eve recall ancient models.[17] These similarities do not, however, establish a direct or exclusive reliance on ancient art. For instance, two of the most classicizing regions of Romanesque Europe, Tuscany and Provence, were largely untouched by the phenomenon of points of view.[18]

A more immediate connection survives in the conventions of Romanesque sculpture. For instance, "heraldic" capitals, i.e., compositions in which identical images intersect to form a new one at the center, had two vantage points by definition. This approach represents a first step toward overturning the predominant "one side-one scene" of Romanesque sculpture; it is still far, though, from points of view. A comparison between Cluniac and non-Cluniac capitals may clarify this point. In a capital from Saint-Rustice (Haute-Garonne), for example, both sides are identical; the image is immobile; two creatures merge into a new, composite one (Figure 13). The views are limited and rigidly fixed: either strictly frontal for each side or at a forty-five degree angle for the corners. At Vézelay, by contrast, each side was differentiated; the figure was conceived as moving in space (Figures 3-5). Transitions are fluid; each view gives more information about the figure; images turn within the block.[19]

Another possible source is Mosan metalwork. In works such as the font of Renier of Huy (1107-18) or the foot of the cross of Saint-Bertin (c. 1170-80), the human figure has become an organic whole, conceived in the round, and successful from several points of view (Figure 14).[20] Indeed, metalwork produced by the lost-wax method, a technique of modelling wax prototypes, was three-dimensional from its inception. Portable pieces can also be picked up and examined from different angles.

In manuscript illumination as well—not to mention stained glass, frescoes, and the other arts—violently contorted figures present a wealth of postures, juxtaposed to heighten the sense of excitement and variety.[21] With sculpture, artists were now able to realize these poses in three dimensions, within the same figure.

In my view the crucial parallel is with Burgundy, homeland of the Cluniac style. The tympana of La Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre; Transfiguration tympanum), with its stepped-back panels; of Donzy-le-Pré (Nièvre), with its deep proscenium; of Saint-Vincent of Mâcon (Saône-et-Loire), with its five superimposed registers carved en demi-cuvette; of Montceaux-l'Etoile, with its carving en cuvette; of Avallon (Yonne), with its flat ground, suggest so many approaches to the problem of relief.[22] This rethinking of the ground bears witness to an interest in creating a stage for multi-directional figures.

Other Burgundian sculptors devised "all-over" compositions in which figures uncoil across the capital. The best-known example is the "acrobat" from Anzy-le-Duc (Saône-et-Loire). There is no triple viewpoint per se, but the stasis of a fixed view has been overturned. A shop which Neil Stratford has centered around Neuilly-en-Donjon (Allier) specialized in such "serpentine creatures."[23]

The calligraphic quality of Burgundian sculpture may have favored the development of points of view, too, by transforming the flowing line into a three-dimensional mass. Other regional "schools" excelled in this agitated calligraphy, as seen, for instance, in the trumeau of Souillac (Lot) or the apse capitals of Vigeois (Corrèze). In Cluniac sculpture, however, the pattern

does not lie on the surface, but penetrates the stone.

Chronology. A chronology of points of view remains elusive, though a rough outline can perhaps be attempted. Several of the "preconditions" alluded to above, such as hieratic capitals, the calligraphic treatment of line, and an experimentation with grounds were all known, it would seem, by the eleventh century.[24] The flourishing of the Cluniac shop, *c.* 1115-35, combined with the evidence of Mosan metalwork (*e.g.*, Renier's font of 1107-18), suggest that points of view, as a conscious and coherent system, began in the early-twelfth century.

In this first generation, the adoption of points of view appears to have been somewhat haphazard. On the nave facade of Vézelay (usually dated after 1120), for instance, they affected some figures (console S.XI, among others), but not others.[25] Over time they became increasingly schematized, as on the narthex facade of Charlieu (usually dated about mid-twelfth century; Figure 15).[26] In the lintel and capitals of the *majestas domini* portal, the multidimensionality of figures decreases on approaching the center. The roundest forms are the foliate capitals, followed by the figures of King David and John the Baptist in the outer jamb, King Boso with St. Stephen (?) and Bishop Ratbert with St. Fortunatus (?) in the inner jamb, and finally the apostles in the lintel proper.[27] The arrangement, strictly symmetrical, implies a degree of foresight in organizing the relief.

Points of view also affected the production of other regions; but to the best of my knowledge only in the sculpture of Western France can anything comparable to the Cluniac development be found. The archivolt sculptures of Blasimon (Gironde) and Saint-Aubin of Angers (Maine-et-Loire) provide two notable examples.[28]

The genealogy of points of view can be traced further to the early Gothic sculpture of Senlis (west portal archivolts; *c.* 1170), Reims (archivolt of the "porte romane;" *c.* 1180), and beyond.[29] In works such as the Last Judgment pillar of Strasbourg (*c.* 1230) and Claus Sluter's Moses Well from the charterhouse of Champmol (1395-1405)—where freely articulated figures were loosened from their architectural support—points of view had their richest expression in medieval art. To derive from this, however, a linear descent from Cluny to Gothic sculpture requires a leap of faith that the current state of knowledge does not support.[30]

Conclusion. At this juncture, it is possible to advance preliminary conclusions as to the sources, method, and original reception of a little-known phenomenon.

Various roots were proposed here, both in ancient and contemporary art (Romanesque sculpture, Mosan metalwork, and Burgundian developments). With points of view, these elements fused to create a new aesthetic. Despite their many continuities, however, Burgundian and Cluniac sculpture were not synonymous, as shown in the contrast between Autun and Vézelay (Figures 1-5). This dichotomy is all the more striking as Gislebertus of Autun probably trained in a Cluniac atelier.[31]

Furthermore, many of the sculptural ensembles displaying points of view (*e.g.*, Vézelay) do so in a sporadic way. On the other hand, points of view also occur in different regions, such as Western France. Therefore, the phenomenon is neither unique to a single workshop tradition, nor consistent within that tradition. It developed in the early-twelfth century in a Cluniac context, with Burgundian roots, but had parallel manifestations elsewhere whose interrelationships and chronology remain unclear.

As has been seen, all architectural members were subject to innovative reinterpretations of their functions. Consoles and capitals were attacked from an angle, lintels and tympana were hollowed out: in every instance the ground was transformed. This transformation was accompanied by an animation of figures which resulted in constant reorientations of direction. If we think of the sculptured surface as a picture plane, the figure depicted is always turned at an angle to us, captured in mid-movement. A basic formula of three principle views was devised. The type of architectural support affected the images' visibility: figures carved at the corner of a capital allowed for a wider arc of vision than those on a single side.

Points of view also offer a new way of assessing the relationship between the work of art and its audience. Over the past decade, reception theory has attracted considerable attention among medievalists.[32] The phenomenon studied here expands on the type of evidence produced, by introducing arguments of a technical nature; at the same time, it shifts the focus by examining the methods employed *by the creator* to reach his audience.

The principal precondition for points of view may indeed be the changed status of the artist, no longer a craftsman, but a professional. Subjectively, this can be sensed in the subtlety of form, the gradations in relief, or the mastery of composition, among other features. The emergence of the professional sculptor is also consistent with a broader historical context in its reflection of the division of labor, arguably the signal achievement of the Romanesque period.[33] In this light the virtuosity implicit in points of view can be interpreted as the product of a different type of worker.

Corresponding to this new sculptor was a new observer; the "virtuoso" found his counterpart in the "connoisseur."[34] Thus the implications for the spectator must be addressed, too. Despite the emotional power of much Romanesque sculpture, there is nothing in the sculpture itself which invites a viewer to approach it from different angles. The standpoint is dictated from the outset. Points of view elicit a more participatory response from the spectator, who had to circulate around the image to comprehend it fully.

Indeed, no art was more public than sculpture, particularly the church portals designed to reach the whole community. Manuscript illumination, by contrast, was the preserve of the few. Church treasures were available to all, but on rare occasions. Frescoes, mosaic, and stained glass were also eminently public. When images were possessed by spirits good or evil, however, they tended to be sculptures—doubtless because,

being more corporeal, they seemed more lifelike.[35] Sculpture braved even the Bible in its injunction against idolatry ("non facies tibi *sculptile*," in the Vulgate's wording of the Second Commandment, Ex. 20:4).

The appeal of sculpture was thus immediate and public to an extent no other art could rival.[36] Points of view reflect this cultural context by directly engaging the audience in the act of looking. The emotional charge of Romanesque art, often poised between threat and promise, joy and anguish, offered another means toward achieving the same end.

The emergence of points of view is not just another transformation in style, then; it is the perception of the possibilities of sculpture which has changed.

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[1]   Henri Focillon, *L'Art des sculpteurs romans: recherches sur l'histoire des formes* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1931).

[2]   Jurgis Baltru aitis, *La stylistique ornementale dans la sculpture romane* (Paris: Leroux, 1931).

[3]   Louis Grodecki, "Problèmes de l'espace dans la définition de la sculpture gothique," *Archives de l'art français* 25 (1978): 77-85. The same opposition between Romanesque frontality and Gothic diagonality is common in architectural theory. See Paul Frankl, "Der Beginn der Gotik und das allgemeine Problem des Stilbeginnes," in *Festschrift Heinrich Wölfflin: Beiträge zur Kunst-und Geistesgeschichte zum 21. Juni 1924 überreicht* (Munich: Schmidt, 1924) 107-25; *id., The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries*, trans. Priscilla Silz (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1960) 792-826; *id., Gothic Architecture*, trans. Dieter Pevsner, Pelican History of Art (Baltimore: Penguin, 1962) 10-14. On this problem, also see Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm: Almqvist, 1960) 60-62; and Jean Bony, "Diagonality and Centrality in Early Rib-Vaulted Architectures," *Gesta* 15 (1976): 15-25. Erwin Panofsky, *Die deutsche Plastik des elften bis dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Wolff, 1924) 17 defined Romanesque style as "massenmässig aufgehöhte Flächenform."

[4]   Over time Focillon's theories have of course been challenged. The only frontal attack, however, was developed by Joseph Gantner, *Romanische Plastik: Inhalt und Form in der Kunst des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Schroll, 1941). Gantner's thesis has had little influence among non-German scholars.

[5]   For Mannerist sculptors, see especially the work of Cellini and Giambologna, who executed the first sculptures truly designed in the round, *i.e.*, capable of offering equally successful views from many angles. For Gothic sculpture, see Robert Suckale, "Die Bamberger Domskulpturen: Technik, Blockbehandlung, Ansichtigkeit und die Einbeziehung des Betrachters," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3rd ser., 37 (1987): 27-82.

[6]   For a fuller exposition of the evidence on dating, see my upcoming dissertation: "The Romanesque Sculpture of Montceaux-l'Etoile: Crossroads of Cluny and the Brionnais," diss., NYU (Institute of Fine Arts), 1994.

[7]   Friezes and archivolts are excluded because they were less common in Burgundy. The frieze at Perrecy-les-Forges and the Cluniac-style archivolt of Anzy-le-Duc (nave portal) show the same approach, however.

[8]   This unification was visual and contrasts with other means that were more intellectual in nature. For instance, the sides of capitals might be linked in terms of their iconography, turning heads, gesture, or other means.

[9]   Also *cf.* the angel in the Sacrifice of Isaac capital from Cluny.

[10]   For more on this type of capital, see Georg Weise, "Vorbemerkungen zu einer Formengrammatik der vegetabilischen Grundmotive romanischer Kapitelldekoration," in *Das Werk des Künstlers: Studien zur Ikonographie und Formengeschichte: Hübert Schrade zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Fegers (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1960) 72-100.

[11]   The merging of capitals and consoles on the nave portal of Perrecy-les-Forges can be interpreted in the same light.

[12]   Wilhelm Vöge, *Die Anfänge des monumentalen Stiles im Mittelalter: eine Untersuchung über die erste Blütezeit französischer Plastik* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1894) 58ff. Also *cf.* Panofsky, *Renaissance* 60f; and Raymond Oursel, *Floraison de la sculpture romane*, vol. 2 (La Pierre-qui-vire: Zodiaque, 1976) 387f.

[13]   For a recent interpretation of these capitals, see Peter Diemer, "What Does *Prudentia* Advise?: On the Subject of the Cluny Choir Capitals," *Gesta* 27 (1988): 149-173.

[14]   Mandorlas rarely appeared on lintels. One exception was the church of Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier at Bourges (Cher).

[15]   Several medieval examples are illustrated in Günther Binding *et al., Der mittelalterliche Baubetrieb Westeuropas*, 32. Veröffentlichung der Abteilung Architektur des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität zu Köln (Cologne: U of Cologne, 1987). On medieval eurythmy, see Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*, trans. Hugh Bredin (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1986) 65f. For Renaissance technique, see Marie-Therésè Baudry *et al., La sculpture: méthode et vocabulaire*, Inventaire général des monuments et des richesses artistiques de la France: Principes d'analyse scientifique (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1978) 156.

[16]   Important collections of Gallo-Roman sculptures survive in the museums of Autun and Dijon. See Simone Deyts, *Sculptures gallo-romaines mythologiques et religieuses, Dijon, Musée Archéologique* (Paris: Musées nationaux, 1976).

[17]   On classicism in Burgundian art, see Rudolf Kautzsch, "Werdende Gotik und Antike in der burgundischen Baukunst des zwölften Jahrhunderts," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 1924-25: 331ff; Jean Adhémar, *Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen âge français: recherches sur les sources et les thèmes d'inspiration*, Studies of the Warburg Institute 7 (London: Warburg Institute, 1939) 241-248; and Willibald Sauerländer, "Abwegige Gedanken über frühgotische Architektur und 'The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century'," in *Etudes d'art offertes à Louis Grodecki*, eds. Sumner McK. Crosby *et al.*, International Center of Medieval Art, Association des Publications près les Universités de Strasbourg (Paris: Ophrys, 1981) 170ff.

[18]   Some exceptions include Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (Gard), east end, capital representing an angel; and Saint-Trophîme of Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône), cloister corbels #69 and 75 (numbering of author).

[19]   There were also heraldic capitals in Burgundy, including some at Vézelay. Other conventions of Romanesque sculpture, which may have influenced the development of points of view, include the frieze capital and the three-quarter view. In the former, the composition is predicated on the viewer's physical displacement, *e.g.*, a Passion sequence from the cloister of La Daurade at Toulouse. The figures, however, remain embedded in their respective sides; what movement there was resulted from a succession of static forms.
    Another convention arose from the need to suggest space in an aesthetic inimical to naturalistic reprentation. One approach was to create three-quarter profiles, as on the tympanum of Conques

(Aveyron). The figures can thus be perceived from various angles; yet only one view, parallel to the picture plane, remains effective. The back sides of the figures are artistically neutral.

[20] For the roots of this conception, see the classic article of Wilhelm Koehler, "Byzantine Art in the West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 1 (1940): 61-87.

[21] *E.g.*, the Portable Altar of Liborius and Kilian by Roger of Helmarshausen (*c.* 1100), illustrated in Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art: The Art of Church Treasures in North-Western Europe*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1967) fig. 234.

[22] The problem of the sculptural ground has long interested scholars. See for instance, Emanuel Loewy, *The Rendering of Nature in Early Greek Art*, trans. John Fothergill (London: Duckworth, 1907), 34-44; Alois Riegl, *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Oesterreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1927) chapter two; Willibald Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1270*, trans. Janet Sandheimer (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972). On the ground in Burgundian Romanesque sculpture, see Martin Gosebruch, "Über die Bildmacht der burgundischen Skulptur im frühen XII. Jahrhundert: Beiträge zu einer Bestimmung des Stiles," diss., U Ludwig-Maximilian, 1950; Wilhelm Messerer, *Das Relief im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Mann, 1959) 52-59; *id.*, *Romanische Plastik in Frankreich*, DuMont Dokumente, part I, Kunstgeschichte (Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1964) 37-42; Meyer Schapiro, *The Parma Ildefonsus: A Romanesque Illuminated Manuscript from Cluny and Related Works*, Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts 11 (n.p.: College Art Association of America, 1964) 56; Bernhard Kerber, *Burgund und die Entwicklung der französischen Kathedralskulptur im zwölften Jahrhundert*, Münstersche Studien zur Kunstgeschichte 4 (Recklingshausen: Bongers, 1966) 15ff.
As far as I know, scholars have not examined the interesting solution of the nave facade of Charlieu (Loire; *c.* 1094?), where the top molding of the lintel was cut back at its center, possibly to enhance the visibility of Christ in the tympanum for those passing under the portal. Equally unorthodox is the *Majestas Domini* portal, where figures in the tympanum project beyond those in the lintel.

[23] Neil Stratford, "Le portail roman de Neuilly-en-Donjon,"*Congrès Archéologique de France* 146 (1988): 332.

[24] For a dating of the "séries brionnaises," which include hieratic capitals, to a pre-Cluniac phase of sculpture, see Eliane Vergnolle, "Recherches sur quelques séries de chapiteaux romans bourguignons: I. Le bloc et son décor," *L'Information d'histoire de l'art* 20 (1975): 55-79. For early examples of the calligraphic line, see the capitals of Saint-Germain-des-Prés of Paris (now in the Musée de Cluny in Paris). For the experimentation with grounds, see the "crypt" capitals of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon (1002-1018), which already employed deep undercutting.

[25] On the dating of Vézelay (nave facade), see Francis Salet, "La Madeleine de Vézelay et ses dates de construction," *Bulletin Monumental* 95 (1936): 5-25; *id.*, *La Madeleine de Vézelay* (Melun: d'Argences, 1948) 40; Peter Diemer, *Stil und Ikonographie der Kapitelle von Ste.-Madeleine, Vézelay*, diss., U Ruprecht-Karl (Heidelberg), 1975, 33ff; Lydwine Saulnier and Neil Stratford, *La sculpture oubliée de Vézelay: catalogue du Musée lapidaire*, Bibliothèque de la société française d'archéologie 17 (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1984) 76f.
If there were multiple viewpoints, there was, however, no coordinating standpoint. At Montceaux-l'Etoile, for instance, Christ is the most plastic figure, followed by the angels surrounding him, and finally by the figures in the lintel. Many of the angles so carefully conceived by the sculptor(s) were subsequently obscured by a projecting impost block. The same phenomenon occurred at Perrecy-les-Forges.

[26] Jochen Zink, "Zur dritten Abteikirche von Charlieu (Loire), insbesondere zur Skulptur der Vorhalle und ihrer künstlerischen Nachfolge," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 44 (1983): 128 dates this campaign to the second third of the twelfth century. A brief summary of earlier opinions is given in Elizabeth Read Sunderland, *Charlieu à l'époque médiévale* (Lyon: Lescuyer, 1971) 52.

[27] On the iconography of these figures, see Zink, 77ff.

[28] Pierre Dubourg-Noves, *Guyenne romane* (La Pierre-qui-vire: Zodiaque, 1969) 300 dates Blasimon to *c.* 1160-70. Jacques Mallet, *L'art roman de l'ancien Anjou* (Paris: Picard, 1984) 146 dates Angers to *c.* 1180. Whether these pieces were influenced by Burgundian sculpture—as suggested by their "starched folds" and sinuous line—remains an open question. If so, points of view may have been imported, too. On the other hand, it is possible there was no direct influence, only a set of similar conditions. For instance, the placement of figures on archivolts, *i.e.*, at a corner, recalls the Cluniac approach to capitals. Other examples of points of view outside Burgundy include the Three Maries capital of Mozac (Puy-de-Dôme) and several capitals from Nazareth.

[29] The dates given here for Senlis, Reims, and Strasbourg are adopted from Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*.

[30] Kenneth J. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800 to 1200*, Pelican History of Art, 2nd ed. (revised) (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987) 185ff made a similar claim for the Cluniac roots of Gothic architecture.

[31] Denis Grivot and George Zarnecki, *Gislebertus: Sculptor of Autun* (London: Trianon, 1961) 174f; Saulnier and Stratford, 34, 172f.

[32] Major contributions to the literature of medieval art and its public include Hans Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter: Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin: Mann, 1981); and Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989). For Romanesque sculpture, more specifically, see Walter Cahn, "Romanesque Sculpture and the Spectator," in *The Romanesque Frieze and its Spectator*, Lincoln Symposium Papers, ed. Deborah Kahn (London: Miller, 1992), 44-60.

[33] *Cf.* Jacques Le Goff, "Métiers licites et métiers illicites dans l'Occident médiéval," in *id., Pour un autre moyen âge: temps, travail et culture en Occident*, Bibliothèque des Histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 1977) 97 (originally published in *Etudes historiques, Annales de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes de Gand* 5, 41-57): "Une révolution économique et sociale se produit dans l'Occident chrétien [entre le XIe et le XIIIe siècle], dont l'essor urbain est le symptôme le plus éclatant, et la division du travail l'aspect le plus important." The rise of the professional sculptor has yet to be studied in a systematic way by art historians.

[34] *Cf.* the comments of Theophilus in his *De Diversis Artibus* (preface to book three), cited and discussed in Conrad Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance": Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia; U of Pennsylvania P, 1990) 66: "For the human eye is not able to consider on what work first to fix its gaze: if it looks at the ceilings, they glow like brocades; if it considers the walls, they are a likeness of paradise; if it regards the profusion of light from the windows, it marvels at the inestimable beauty of the glass and the variety of the most precious craftsmanship." Also see Meyer Schapiro, "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art," in *Art and Thought: Issued in Honor of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. K. Bharatha Iyer (London: Luzac, 1947) 130-150.

[35] A systematic study of possessed statues in Romanesque Europe has yet to be made. The phenomenon, better known in Byzantium, was recently examined by Liz James, "Gods, Demons, and Antique Statues in Byzantine Constantinople," CAA Convention, Seattle, Feb. 1993.

[36] On sculpture as public art, see Willibald Sauerländer, "Romanesque Sculpture in its Architectural Context," in *The Romanesque Frieze* 16-43.

Figure 1. Autun, Saint-Lazare: south nave arcade, pier 6, east face (frontal). Two Virtues and Two Vices.

Figure 2. Autun, Saint-Lazare: south nave arcade, pier 6, east face (from left). Two Virtues and Two Vices.

Figure 3. Vézelay: nave facade, S.XI. Saint Michael and the Devil.

Figure 4. Vézelay: nave facade, S.XI (corner view). Saint Michael and the Devil.

Figure 5. Vézelay: nave facade, S.XI (from rear). Saint Michael and the Devil.

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Figure 6. Perrecy-les-Forges: narthex capital (frontal). Foliage.

Figure 7. Perrecy-les-Forges: narthex capital (from left). Foliage.

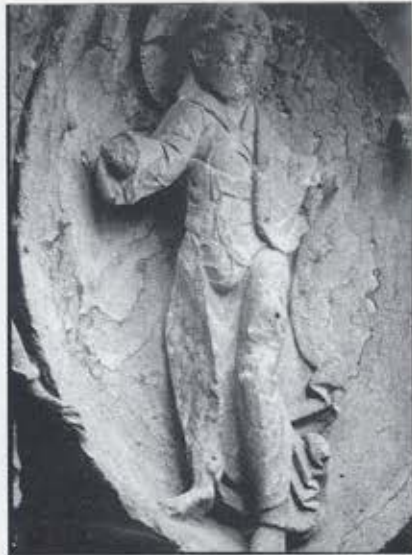Figure 8. Cluny: capital #7 (from right). Fourth Tone.

Figure 9. Montceaux-l'Etoile: tympanum (frontal). Ascension of Christ. Detail.

Figure 10. Montceaux-l'Etoile: tympanum (from left). Ascension of Christ. Detail.

Figure 11. Perrecy-les-Forges: lintel (from above). Betrayal of Christ (Arrest). Detail.

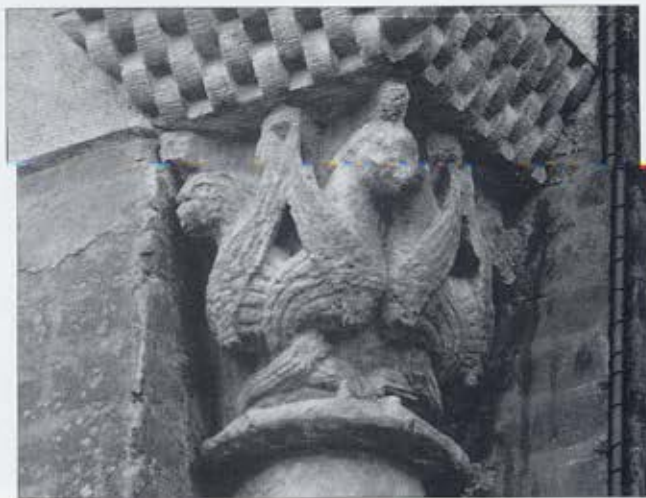Figure 12. Arles, Musée d'art chrétien: "Imago" sarcophagus. Detail.

Figure 13. Saint-Rustice: apse capital.

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Figure 14. Renier of Huy, Baptismal font (Liège, Saint-Barthélemy). John baptizing the publican. Detail.
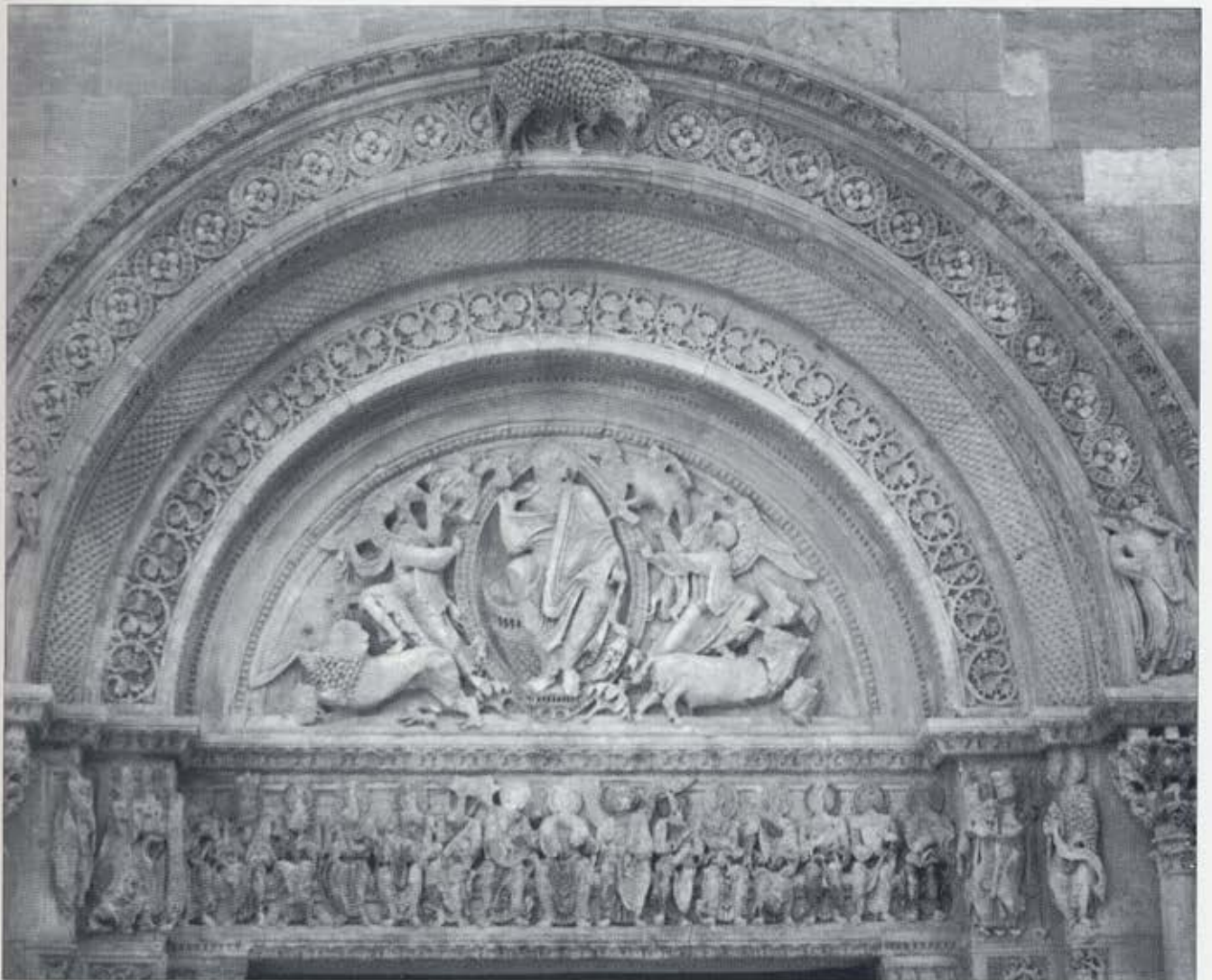

Figure 15. Charlieu: narthex portal. *Majestas domini*, apostles, King David, John the Baptist, King Boso, St. Stephen?, Bishop Ratbert, St. Fortunatus?

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