

A New Reading of a Pilaster Capital from St.-Guilhem-le-Désert at The Cloisters

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THE CAPITAL (Figure 1)¹ that will be examined in this essay belongs to the *claustrum novum*, the new cloister, from St.-Guilhem-le-Désert, major portions of which are exhibited in the St.-Guilhem gallery at The Cloisters (Figure 2).² Principal elements from this abbey came to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1925 and have been an integral part of The Cloisters since it opened in its present location in 1938.

The Benedictine abbey of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert³—situated about twenty-five kilometers northwest of Montpellier—was founded in 804 by Guilhem (Guillaume) au Court-Nez, duke of Aquitaine, a member of the court of Charlemagne. Referred to at the time as the abbey of Gellone, the site was named after the secluded valley in which it is located. Guillaume retired to this abbey in 806 and was buried there in 812.

By the twelfth century the abbey was known as St.-Guilhem-le-Désert, a name still used today. The oldest part of the present monastery church dates from the first half of the eleventh century,⁴ although the transepts and apse were executed at the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. Apparently, the lower galleries of the cloister also date from this period,⁵ and a narthex was added between 1165 and 1199. A local document dated 1206 mentions a *claustrum novum* on the second floor of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert.⁶ This offers a reliable *terminus ante quem* for our pilaster.

The capital under discussion, permanently installed in the northeast corner of the St.-Guilhem gallery at The Cloisters, is featured as part of a group of architectural sculpture that approximates its medieval cloister setting (Figure 3). Over a band of acanthus leaves, which extends to the back of this pilaster like a border, there is a figural composition (Figure 4). On each lateral end a lion is depicted,

and on the front side a seated man is rendered in full frontality (Figures 4–6). He has a mustache and goatee and is dressed in a tunic over which he wears a *paludamentum*.⁷ He holds a staff in his left hand, and his body is delineated in a rather peculiar manner: the space for the lower body is truncated so that he is literally squeezed between the band of leaves and the console in the pilaster's top portion. Whereas his face and torso have been fully carved, the man's legs must be imagined, and his feet appear to be mere appendixes to the rest of his body. The elongated head, the use of the drill for his pupils, and the treatment of the hair in vertical striations are similar to some of the heads from the same group, such as those on an abacus (Figure 7) and especially on a capital (Figure 8).

The lion on the proper dexter is badly damaged (Figure 5); however, he is covered with a distinctly curled mane and has fierce-looking fangs. The fur—which covers the other beast's entire body with puffy curls—has been worked differently, and a certain delight in decorative patterning is apparent (Figure 6).

The way in which the lions' tails curl around their bodies lends them an almost ornamental appearance, giving them a life of their own. Both the animals and the man appear to be standing on tiptoe. This decorative treatment indicates that a "realistic" rendering of the figures was not one of the artist's primary concerns. The surface of the background area consists of vivid, almost coarse zigzag lines. In some places these are covered with the familiar striations that may be observed in various other elements from St.-Guilhem-le-Désert (Figures 9, 10).

This pilaster has at times been referred to as a depiction of Daniel in the Lions' Den.⁸ According to the precise and finely differentiated iconography used for Daniel,⁹ the bearded male is found frequently in medieval representations of the story. None of the other illustrations that are often represented in connection with the Daniel scene—such as

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Figure 1. Pilaster capital from the Abbey of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert. French, end of 12th century. Limestone, H. 29 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1925, 25.120.117

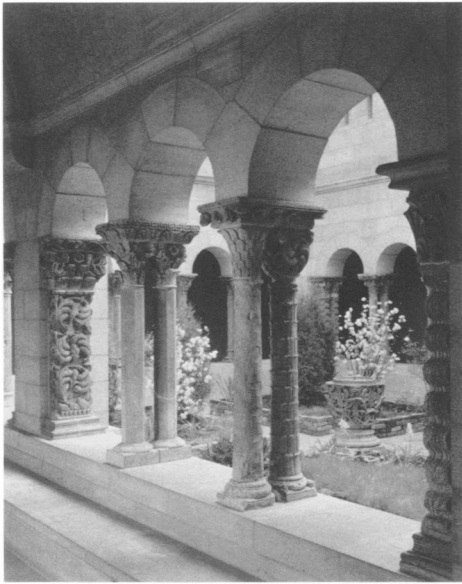


Figure 2. View of the St.-Guilhem gallery as installed at The Cloisters

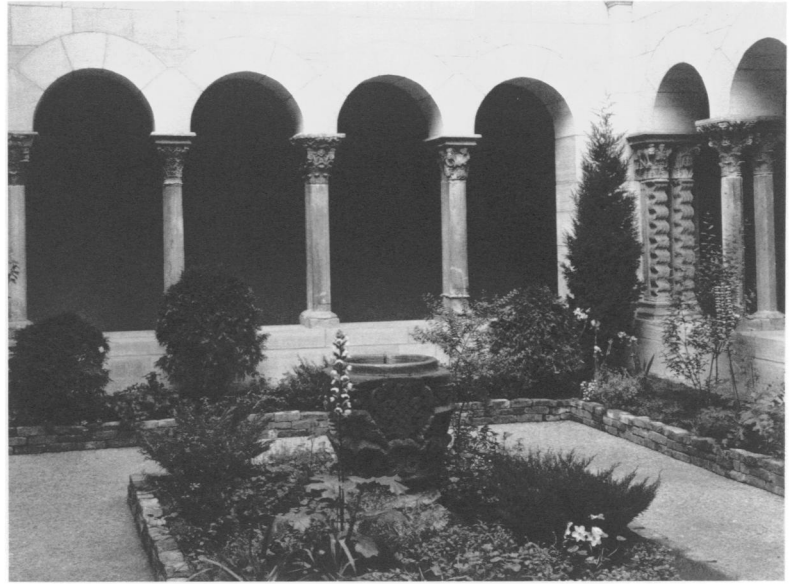


Figure 3. View of the northeast corner of the St.-Guilhem gallery



Figure 4. Detail of St.-Guilhem capital in Figure 1

the story of Susannah or the Three Men in the Furnace—is represented in the St.-Guilhem cloister.

Another feature contradicting the Daniel identification is that the man on our pilaster does not wear a halo or a Jewish beret, an increasingly popular convention in French art of the twelfth century.¹⁰ In the majority of Daniel scenes, the Old Testament prophet holds a codex or a scroll in his hand. However, the figure on this pilaster holds in his left hand a stafflike object, also known as a *main de justice*.¹¹ While it closely resembles an emperor's scepter, this attribute bears multilayered references to imperial iconography. Upon closer inspection it becomes evident that the object held by the man is definitely not characteristic of a prophet. In the context of biblical prophets, the book or scroll refers to the learned man, the philosopher, while the staff

(as seen on the pilaster) was reserved for aristocrats or rulers.

In addition, the fibula that fastens the *paludamentum* warrants detailed scrutiny. Significantly, the man's frontal posture and the attachment of the fibula on his right shoulder are literal quotes from antique imperial iconography. It was in such prominent mid-sixth-century monuments as the apse mosaics in San Vitale in Ravenna that the positioning of the fibula on the proper dexter was adopted for use in Christian iconography (Figure 11).¹² Recent scholarship has revealed that a fibula—especially when decorated with precious stones and worn on the side—may help identify an individual as a high-ranking aristocrat.¹³ As on our pilaster, the *paludamentum* of Emperor Justinian in the mosaic in San Vitale is held by a fibula on his proper right shoulder (Figure 11). Dress and ornament are thus indicators of the rank of the person represented; the figure's dress, posture, and attributes suggest that we are looking at a high-ranking aristocrat and not the prophet Daniel.

Before attempting to identify the person depicted, the logical step would be a closer investigation of the lions. These felines have been the basis for identifying this as a Daniel scene. The iconography of the lion is, nevertheless, multilayered, its significance varies, and it is not at all restricted to Daniel.¹⁴ If one were to insist that the man depicted is an aristocrat, then his portrayal with lions could equally well signify his personal strength or power.¹⁵ In funerary art, the lion often accompanies, pro-



Figure 5. Detail of Figure 1 showing lion on left side



Figure 6. Detail of Figure 1 showing lion on right side



Figure 7. Abacus from the Abbey of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert. French, end of 12th century. Limestone, H. 10.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1925, 25.120.5



Figure 8. Pilaster capital from the Abbey of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert. French, end of 12th century. Limestone, H. 30 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1925, 25.120.120



Figure 9. Pilaster capital from the Abbey of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert. French, end of 12th century. Limestone, H. 29.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1925, 25.120.66



Figure 10. Pilaster capital from the Abbey of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert. French, end of 12th century. Limestone, H. 29.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1925, 25.120.67



Figure 11. Emperor Justinian (detail). Byzantine, mid-6th century. Mosaic. Ravenna, Presbyterium of San Vitale (photo: Fotometalgrafica Emiliana, Ravenna)

fects, and guards the deceased; at the same time it may be a sign and guarantor of the departed's personal power, strength, and authority.¹⁶

Presumably, the interpretation of this pilaster as Daniel in the Lions' Den has never been questioned because—especially in twelfth-century French art—the episode was so popular and widespread.¹⁷ Yet, with a total of some fifty surviving capitals from the upper cloister of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert, this one is the only figural example that can, with all certainty, be attributed to the original ensemble: it is thus too prominent and distinguished a piece for it to be a poorly understood rendering of Daniel or a piece without any distinctive significance.

Instead, a more plausible interpretation is that the person portrayed on the Cloisters pilaster is St. William himself. Shown with a patrician hairstyle and goatee, and dressed with a *paludamentum* fastened by a fibula on the right side, the saint and founder of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert, assuming the identification is correct, is seen holding his *main de justice*.¹⁸

He is depicted as a ruler, sitting in total frontality on a throne-bench. A grandson of Charles Martel and a member of Charlemagne's court, St. Guillaume d'Aquitaine would or could be vested with these attributes.¹⁹ In the original location, this historiated image of a founder and donor was appropriately placed on the second story of the new cloister. The image of the saint, thus located within the monastery that was dedicated to him, watched and safeguarded the abbey.

Some features of imperial iconography include the strictly frontal position of the individual on a throne-bench, the cloak with fibula on the side, and the scepter. Percy Ernst Schramm, in his encyclopedic opus on medieval rulers, has documented each feature with a plethora of images and sources.²⁰ To cite but a few of the similarities between Schramm's examples and our pilaster, we may refer to twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century illustrations, all of which offer striking similarities with the Cloisters object (Figures 18–20). Beyond the resemblances in dress and its presentation, all of Schramm's examples show a seated man displaying his regalia, with the scepter especially noteworthy in this context. Schramm has published extensively on the scepter and points out its changing significance and the variants.²¹ Schramm's evidence also suggests that the object held by the man in our pilaster is one of the many variants of this medieval scepter.

Although most of the comparative material stems from the realm of seals and medals, one stone relief (Figure 20) of about 1200 depicts a contorted king similar to the contemporaneous figure on the Cloisters pilaster.²² This seems to imply that perspectively contorted renderings were not in fact restricted to coins and medals; rather, comparable compositions would appear to have been adopted by stone masons for sculptural purposes. An influence from the minor arts in this instance is likely because miniature images are portable and can easily be carried, for example, by pilgrims.²³ However, the gradual adaptation of imperial imagery from Carolingian times to later examples drawn from antiquity is best illustrated by illuminated manuscripts.²⁴

The iconography for St. William has not been previously established or confirmed for examples predating 1410.²⁵ Furthermore, beginning in the sixteenth century, a mixup of St. Guillaume d'Aquitaine with St. Guillaume de Maleval occurred. This confusion has never been rectified in French scholarship.²⁶

The manner in which the saint is characterized on our pilaster fits the description offered by Wolfram



Figure 12. Man entangled in sin. French, 12th century. Limestone. Arles, Musée la Lapidaire d'Art Chrétien

von Eschenbach in his epic *Willehalm*, which dates from the first quarter of the thirteenth century.²⁷ The hero—the names Willehalm, William, Guilhem, Guillaume, and Guglielmo are interchangeable—corresponds to the stereotypical description of the medieval knight. Willehalm was the fearless aristocrat who followed the Christian creed and who—thanks to his unfailing faith and his courage—won some major battles against the Saracens. After a successful military career, the highly decorated warrior Willehalm retired to the secluded valley in the Hérault, where he founded the monastery that later took his name.

One of the foremost attractions in the abbey was the relic of the true cross, which, according to legend, was given to Guillaume by Charlemagne himself.²⁸ In short, this air of nobility and distinction appears to distinguish St. William on the Cloisters pilaster. In accordance with the ancient origin of the meaning and significance of some of his attributes, the sculptor has portrayed an individual who—upon first inspection—would seem to be Daniel, and the male depicted can easily be taken for Daniel in the Lions' Den; however, several signs suggest that the artist intended to portray St. William in the guise of Daniel. Such appropriations of existing imagery were not at all uncommon. This holds espe-

cially true in late antiquity, when an entire canon of Christian imagery was coined from and after Roman iconography. A striking example may be seen in the representation of Roman victories that eventually evolved into images of Christian angels.

A new interpretation similar to the one suggested here has been proposed in conjunction with another twelfth-century capital from Arles (Figure 12), which had previously been called Daniel. Werner Weisbach was able to demonstrate that the scene is indeed an illustration of Man entangled in sin instead of the Old Testament prophet in the den of lions.²⁹

As there was clearly no precedent, the sculptor in St.-Guilhem-le-Désert invented an iconography for Guillaume d'Aquitaine that was to remain a solitary example for a number of centuries. When the Boucicaut Master painted the saint in about 1400 he established the imagery that was followed thereaf-



Figure 13. Boucicaut Master, *St. Guillaume d'Aquitaine as a Monk* (of Gellone). Miniature from a book of hours, ca. 1410. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, Ms. 2, fol. 43v (photo: Musée Jacquemart-André)



Figure 14. Abacus with classical meander ribbon from Abbey of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert. French, end of 12th century. Limestone, H. 12 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1925, 25.120.88 (photo: C.T. Little)



Figure 15. Abbot Durandus. French, ca. 1100. Limestone. Moissac, east gallery in the cloister



Figure 16. Donor Gregorius. French, mid-12th century. Limestone. St.-Michel-de-Cuxa



Figure 17. St. Trophimus. French, ca. 1180. Limestone. Arles, north gallery in the cloister of St. Trophime

ter. William was depicted as a monk and not as the aristocrat and knight he had been before he opted for monastic solitude and seclusion (Figure 13).³⁰

The interpretation of the figure on the Cloisters pilaster as St. William necessitates a fresh look at the significance of the *claustrum novum* from St.-Guilhem-le-Désert. Its patron and founder, whose grave was also venerated in this place,³¹ watched from an elevated perspective on the second floor, safeguarding the pilgrims who came to the site. In evaluating the meaning of this sculpture and its relationship to the cloister as a whole, we see that the recourse to Roman garments has the same significance as the classical ornamentation of some of the sculpture within the same ensemble (Figure 14). It is in this same traditional vein that Daniel served as an appropriate model. The prophet demonstrated the strength of his religious faith when he was in the lions' den. This characteristic may have been transposed onto St. William: his faith made him strong and victorious and, according to Christian tradition, ultimately led to the salvation of his soul. As much as posture and dress refer to his dignity, the lions on either side of William allude to a further layer of meaning that originated in pre-Christian times.³²

The interpretation proposed here can be supported by the presence of other patron saints strategically placed in other twelfth-century cloisters in southwestern France. The earliest precedent is the abbot Durandus on the central pillar of the east gallery in the cloister of Moissac (Figure 15), dated to about 1100.³³ A plaque from St.-Michel-de-Cuxa, which has recently been identified as the image of the donor Gregorius, has been dated to the middle of the twelfth century (Figure 16).³⁴ This piece, now exhibited in a museum, was also originally placed in a cloister. A third example is the famous rendering of St. Trophimus from the pillar in the north gallery in the cloister of the cathedral at Arles, which is dated to about 1180 (Figure 17).³⁵ These three monuments are not sepulchral monuments or tomb slabs but commemorative plaques. Each of these individuals was given a memorial within the cloister, the nucleus of his activity, veneration, and power. In the case of these comparisons, the identification is secure because each image bears an identifying inscription. In the case of the pilaster with St. Guillaume d'Aquitaine from the *claustrum novum* in St.-Guilhem-le-Désert, his identification is secure because of the attributes that help establish him as patron saint in the guise of an historiated portrait.



Figure 18. Seal of Frederick I (Barbarossa). Meuse Valley (Liège), ca. 1150. Wax. Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Kl. Ahnaberg (photo: Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, fig. 206)



Figure 19. Pfennig of Frederick I (Barbarossa). German, Gelnhausen(?), ca. 1150. Metal. Berlin, Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (photo: Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, fig. 210, no. 28)



Figure 20. Seated king. German, ca. 1200. Stone. Speyer, Historisches Museum der Pfalz (photo: Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, fig. 217)

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NOTES

1. MMA, acc. no. 25.120.117. Measurements: H.: 11½ in. (29 cm), W.: 9¼ in. (23.5 cm), D.: 12⅞ in. (31.5 cm). Robert Saint-Jean, *Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert. La sculpture du Cloître de l'Abbaye de Gellone* (Montpellier, 1990) ill. pp. 91, 92; Whitney S. Stoddard, *The Facade of St. Gilles-du-Gard* (Middletown, Conn., 1973) p. 324, ill. p. 467; Jack L. Schrader, "The Cloisters and The Abbaye," *MMAB* (Summer 1979) p. 9, color ill. on title page; Robert Saint-Jean, "Le cloître supérieur de Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert," *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa* 7 (June 1976) pp. 54, 55; Daniel Kletke, *Der Kreuzgang aus St.-Guilhem-le-Désert in The Cloisters in New York* (Berlin, 1995) pp. 163, 165–167, 271.

2. For the most recent discussion with extensive references and comparisons, see Kletke, *Der Kreuzgang aus St.-Guilhem-le-Désert*, esp. pp. 3–15.

3. The most comprehensive study and documentation regarding the history of the site remains that of Émile Bonnet, "L'Église abbatiale de St.-Guilhem-le-Désert," *Congrès archéologique* (1906) pp. 384–440.

4. J. Vallery-Radot, "L'Église de Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert," *Congrès archéologique de France, 108e session tenue à Montpellier en 1950* (Paris, 1951) p. 179.

5. Bonnet, "L'Église abbatiale," p. 405.

6. Cf. Dom J. Sort, *Annales Gellonensis seu monasterii Sti. Guillelmi de Desertis ordinis Sti. Benedicti congregationis Sti. Mauri*, 1705, p. 190; quoted in Bonnet, "L'Église abbatiale," p. 418.

7. A military cloak worn by a general; the official imperial cloak. Cf. Theodor Klauser, "Pallium," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* VIII (1986) p. 7; Michael T. Davis, "Paludamentum," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (1987) IX, pp. 359–360 with ill. In reference to medieval dress codes, cf. Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751–1190*, Florentine Mütherich, ed. (Munich, 1983) p. 140: "Weitaus am meisten scheint der Herrscher . . . des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts in das Paludamentum gekleidet, einen der römischen Kaisertracht entlehnten losen Umhang, der, über die Schultern geworfen, lang herabhängt und über einer Schulter so lose zusammengehalten wird, daß er den Oberarm oder doch dessen Bekleidung freigibt."

8. Saint-Jean, "Le cloître supérieur," p. 54. "Sans doute le prophète Daniel"; on p. 55, called "Le Daniel entre deux lions." Idem, *Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert*, ill. 91, 92: "Le prophète Daniel entre les lions." See also note 1 and Kletke, *Der Kreuzgang aus St.-Guilhem-le-Désert*, pp. 162–163 n.373.

9. Cf. H. Schlosser, "Daniel," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Engelbert Kirschbaum, ed., I (Rome, 1968) pp. 469–473; Hans Feldbusch, "Daniel," *Reallexikon der deutschen Kunstgeschichte* III (1954) pp. 1033–1049. Recently there has been an extensive documentation for the depiction of Daniel, especially for twelfth-century French stone sculpture; see Eleanor L. Scheifele, "A French Romanesque Capital of Daniel in the Lions' Den," *The Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art* 81, no. 3 (March 1994) pp. 47–83, with numerous illustrations and a list of some sixty Daniel-scenes; further comprehensive studies include Günther Wacker, "Die Ikonographie des Daniel in der Löwen-grube," Ph.D. diss. (Marburg, 1954); Rosalie Green, "Daniel in

the lions' den as an example of Romanesque typology," Ph.D. diss. (University of Chicago, 1948).

10. Schlosser, "Daniel," p. 472.

11. Cf. A. Voretzsch, "Stab," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Engelbert Kirschbaum, ed., IV (Rome, 1972) pp. 193–198; contains historic and literary sources and bibliography.

12. For extensive coverage of the historic, art-historic, and iconographic meaning of the accessories, see Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes I* (Wiesbaden, 1969) pp. 248–249; II (Wiesbaden, 1976) pp. 180–182.

13. Cf. Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen, "Fibel," *Lexikon des Mittelalters* IV/1 (1989) p. 428; Viktor H. Elbern, "Fibel und Krone," *Festschrift W. Messerer* (1980) p. 47.

14. Peter Bloch, "Löwe," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, E. Kirschbaum, ed., III (Rome, 1971) pp. 112–119, contains extensive bibliography and illustrations.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 117–119; section D: "Der Löwe als Wächter"; section E: "Der Löwe als König"; section F: "Der Löwe als Sinnbild imperialer Macht."

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 113–114; ill. 4, 5.

17. Cf. Scheifele, "A French Romanesque Capital of Daniel," pp. 47–83.

18. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, pp. 139–144: Ikonographie.

19. L. Schütz and K.G. Kaster, "Wilhelm von Aquitanien (von Gellone)," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, E. Kirschbaum, ed., VIII (Rome, 1974) pp. 604–605; Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien* III/2 (Paris, 1958) pp. 624–627. For a comprehensive coverage of the saint's life, historic dates, and the connected legend with all further references, cf. Pierre Tisset, *L'abbaye de Gellone au diocèse de Lodève. Des Origines au XIIIe siècle*, Jacques Latscha and Jean-Claude Richard, eds. (n.p., 1992), esp. chap. 1, "Saint Guilhem," pp. 7–38. Additional references are E. Brouette, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, X (1965) p. 1126; J. Mabillon, ed., *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, new ed., IV/1 (Mâcon, 1935) pp. 67–83; Pontificia Università Lateranense, ed., *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VII (Rome, 1961) pp. 479–480.

20. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 57, what has been termed *main de justice* above is referred to as *Lilienszepter* by Schramm.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 268, with discussion and bibliography.

23. In 1165 St.-Guilhem-le-Désert was designated one of the seven minor pilgrimages imposed as penance on the Albigensian heretics and had thus become a regular stopping place for pilgrims on their way to Santiago de Compostela.

24. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, with numerous illustrations in chronological order.

25. Schütz and Kaster, "Wilhelm von Aquitanien (von Gellone)," ill. on p. 605: St. Guillaume d'Aquitaine as monk (of Gellone), miniature of a book of hours for Paris, ca. 1410, Boucicaut Master, Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, Ms. 2 fol. 43v; Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, p. 626.

26. Schütz and Kaster, "Wilhelm von Aquitanien (von Gellone)," p. 605; Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, p. 625, incidentally complies with this very confusion: "En réalité, il s'agit de Guillaume ou Guillem X, comte de Toulouse et de Poitiers, qui mourut trois siècles plus tard, en 1138."

27. A general study about Wolfram von Eschenbach with introduction and bibliography is by J. Bumke, *Wolfram von Eschenbach* (Stuttgart, 1981). For more specific information about Guillaume d'Aquitaine in relationship to literary sources and themes: J. Wathelet-Willem, *Recherches sur la Chanson de Guillaume* (Paris, 1975) pp. 507ff.

28. For a critical analysis of the sources and their historic evaluation, see Tisset, *L'abbaye de Gellone*, p. 22, esp. n.87.

29. Werner Weisbach, *Religiöse Reform und mittelalterliche Kunst* (Einsiedeln, 1945) p. 131, ill. 29.

30. Schütz and Kaster, "Wilhelm von Aquitanien (von Gellone)," ill. on p. 605.

31. St. William was sanctified by Pope Alexander II. "Confirmatio, quam dedit Alexander II Papa, privilegiorum quae jam antea ab apostolica fede concessa fuerant." *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Gellone*, fol. 1r, dated March 9, 1066, published in P. Alaus et al., *Cartulaires de Gellone* (Montpellier, 1897). The veneration of William had already started immediately after his death. Bonnet, "L'Église abbatiale," pp. 385–386, contains reference to the *Chronologia abbatum Sancti Guillelmi de Desertis* and a list of famous personalities who had undertaken a pilgrimage to the grave of the venerated William even before he had been sanctified.

32. Cf. Bloch, "Löwe," pp. 112–119. In addition to what has been said before, it ought to be pointed out that the lion can also become a symbol of justice (p. 118). Incidentally, the medieval monastery was one of the places where court was held. If one looks at the pilaster with this in mind, one might propose yet another layer of meaning: William the high-ranking aristocrat is accompanied by the epitome of the judge himself; he would thus, by extension, be viewed as the personification of lawfulness or justice itself.

33. For an extensive bibliography, illustrations, and discussion, see Raymond Rey, *La Sculpture Romane, Languedocienne* (Toulouse/Paris, 1936) pp. 96–111; Willibald Sauerländer, *Die Skulptur des Mittelalters* (Frankfurt, 1963) pp. 48–54; Bernhard Rupprecht, *Romanische Skulptur in Frankreich* (Munich, 1975) pp. 82–85; most recently under the aspect of patronage, see Daniel Cazes and Marcel Durliat, "Découverte de l'Effigie de l'Abbé Grégoire Créateur du Cloître de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa," *Bulletin Monumental* 145-I (1987) pp. 11–12, ill. LXXXVI.

34. For an extensive bibliography, illustrations, and discussion see Cazes and Durliat, "Découverte de l'Effigie de l'Abbé Grégoire," pp. 7–14, ill. LXXXVII.

35. For an extensive bibliography, illustrations, and discussion, see Rupprecht, *Romanische Skulptur in Frankreich*, pp. 132–135. For historic sources and quotes, see Jean-Maurice Rouquette, *Provence Romane, La Provence Rhodanienne* (Zodiaque, 1974) p. 300, ill. LXXXVIII.