

Fulcher's Bestiary at the Door of the Holy Sepulchre*

Avital Heyman
Independent scholar

El bestiario de Fulquerio en la portada del Santo Sepulcro

Resumen: La fachada sur del Santo Sepulcro estuvo decorada hasta 1929 con dos dinteles con relieves, los cuales, muy distintos en su iconografía, se exhiben desde entonces en el Rockefeller Museum. Mientras que el arquitrabe occidental –de temática cristológica–, representa la narración de los últimos días de Jesús en Jerusalén –aunque con una alteración de la secuencia narrativa–, el arquitrabe Este, un *scroll* habitado de figuras, se adorna con una representación no narrativa, caracterizada con una serie de bestias, pájaros y figuras masculinas humanas desnudas, algunas de las cuales están señalando obscenamente a sus genitales. La desconcertante iconografía de este mundo salvaje incluye las reconocibles imágenes de un pájaro-sirena y un centauro. Si bien hasta ahora la historiografía ha pasado por alto la significación de dicho imaginario, no puede ser plausible que el lugar sagrado más importante de la Cristiandad y una gran iglesia de peregrinación hubiesen sido decorados sin intención. Este artículo pretende contextualizar el dintel Este dentro de los conceptos cruzados de historia y mitología, simbolismo bíblico, liturgia y patronazgo. Cabe recordar que el ingreso Este da acceso a la capilla funeraria de los reyes cruzados, ubicada bajo la capilla del Calvario. Un examen de este contexto funerario revela que las sirenas forman parte de tal esquema, al dotar dicho arquitrabe de una función apotropaica. Un remarcable capítulo de la crónica escrita por Fulcher de Chartres, en la que ilustra las curiosidades de las Tierras de los Sarracenos, se presenta como el mejor referente conceptual para la comprensión del dintel sin narración, el cual se inscribe plenamente en la tradición del Bestiario. De esta manera, dicho arquitrabe se convierte en un lugar liminar, donde convergen distintas capas polivalentes que están destinadas a mostrar la oposición de las fuerzas del Bien y del Mal. Dicho antagonismo se conforma al instalar un dintel historiado, de temática cristológica, hacia el Oeste, que encarna la visión litúrgica de la Nueva Jerusalén recientemente establecida por los francos, mientras que al Este se presenta una imagen de las sometidas bestias de los sarracenos, condenadas al infierno, que, por un parte, señalan la victoria latina y, por otra, son la promesa de una protección apotropaica

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para los difuntos. El patronazgo de la reina Melisenda, conjuntamente con el de la Iglesia Cruzada, son también objeto de análisis del presente trabajo.

Palabras clave: Santo Sepulcro, Jerusalén Cruzada, centro del mundo, cultura de la peregrinación, escultura románica, Santiago de Compostela, St.-Sernin de Toulouse, dintel con *scroll* habitado de figuras, dintel cristológico, bestias, bestiario, sirena, centauro, Odisea, Pueblo de Israel, cruzados, Fulcher de Chartres, tierras de los sarracenos, contexto funerario, capilla del Calvario, capilla de Adán, fuerzas del Bien y del Mal, imaginario apotropaico, imagen liminal, procesión del Domingo de Ramos, liturgia, francos, reina Melisenda.

Fulcher's Bestiary at the Door of the Holy Sepulchre

Abstract: The southern façade of the Holy Sepulchre was adorned until 1929 with two carved lintels, distinct in their iconographies (exhibited ever since in the Rockefeller Museum). Whereas the western Christological lintel represents the narrative of the last days of Jesus in Jerusalem (albeit in breach with the narrative sequence), the eastern peopled-scroll lintel is a non-narrative representation of a variety of beasts, birds, and naked male figures, some of whom are obscenely pointing to their genitalia. The puzzling iconography of this bestial world includes the conspicuous images of a bird-siren and a centaur. Rather overlooked by past scholarship, it would seem implausible that the most important holy site in Christendom and a meta-pilgrimage church would have been decorated with meaningless imagery. This paper contextualizes the eastern lintel within crusader concepts of history and mythology, biblical symbolism, liturgy and patronage. The eastern door gave way to the funerary chapel of the crusader kings, located beneath the Calvary Chapel. An examination of the funerary context reveals that sirens played part in such schemes, endowing the lintel with an apotropaic vitality. A remarkable chapter in the chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres, illustrating the curiosities of the Lands of the Saracens, is suggested as a major conceptual notion for the understanding of the non-narrative lintel, which actually stands within the Bestiary tradition. The lintel thus becomes a liminal site, where all polyvalent layers meet, meant to show the opposition of good and evil forces. This opposition is established by installing a historiatised Christological lintel to the west, embodying a liturgical vision of the New Jerusalem recently established by the Franks and, to the east, an image of the conquered beasts of the Saracens, doomed to hell, signaling Latin victory, on the one hand, and promising an apotropaic protection for the departed, on the other. The patronage of Queen Melisende, in collaboration with the crusader Church, is then analyzed.

Key words: Holy Sepulchre, Crusader Jerusalem, Center of the world, Pilgrimage culture, Romanesque sculpture, Santiago de Compostela, St.-Sernin of Toulouse, Peopled-scroll lintel, Christological lintel, Beasts, Bestiary, Siren, Centaur, Odyssey, Children of Israel, Crusaders, Fulcher of Chartres, Lands of the Saracens, Funerary context, Calvary Chapel, Chapel of Adam, Good and evil forces, Apotropaic imagery, Liminal imagery, Palm Sunday Procession, Liturgy, Franks, Queen Melisende.

O bestiario de Fulquerio na portada do Santo Sepulcro

Resumo: A fachada sur do Santo Sepulcro estivo decorada ata 1929 con dous linteis con relevos, os cales, moi distintos na súa iconografía, exhibense desde entón no Rockefeller Museum. Mentres que o arquitrabe occidental –de temática cristolóxica–, representa a narración dos últimos días de Xesús en Xerusalén –aínda que cunha alteración da secuencia narrativa–, o arquitrabe leste, un *scroll* habitado de figuras masculinas humanas, adórnase cunha representación non narrativa, caracterizada cunha serie de bestas, paxaros e figuras humanas núas, algunhas das cales están sinalando obscenamente os seus xenitais. A desconcertante iconografía deste mundo salvaxe inclúe as recoñecibles imaxes dun paxaro-serea e un centauro. Aínda que ata o de agora a historiografía pasou por alto a significación da devandita imaxe, non pode ser plausible que o lugar sagrado máis importante da Cristiandade e unha grande igrexa de peregrinación tivesen sido decorados sen intención. Este artigo pretende contextualizar o lintel leste dentro dos conceptos cruzados de historia e mitoloxía, simbolismo bíblico, liturxia e padroado. Cómpre lembrar que o ingreso leste dá acceso á capela funeraria dos reis cruzados, situada baixo a capela do Calvario. Un exame deste contexto funerario revela que as sereas forman parte de tal esquema, ao dotar o arquitrabe dunha función apotropaica. Un salientable capítulo da crónica escrita por Fulcher de Chartres, na que ilustra as curiosidades das Terras dos Sarracenos, preséntase como o mellor referente conceptual para a comprensión do lintel sen narración, o cal se inscribe plenamente na tradición do Bestiario. Deste xeito, o devandito arquitrabe convértese nun lugar liminar, onde converxen distintas capas polivalentes que están destinadas a amosar a oposición das forzas do Ben e mais do Mal. O devandito antagonismo confórmase ao instalar un lintel historiado, de temática cristolóxica, cara ao Oeste, que encarna a visión litúrxica da Nova Xerusalén recentemente establecida polos francos, mentres que ao Leste preséntase unha imaxe das sometidas bestas dos sarracenos, condenadas ao inferno, que, por un banda, sinalan a vitoria latina e, pola outra, son a promesa dunha protección apotropaica para os defuntos. O padroado da raíña Melisenda, conxuntamente co da Igrexa Cruzada, son tamén obxecto de análise do presente traballo.

Palabras clave: Santo Sepulcro, Xerusalén Cruzada, centro do mundo, cultura da peregrinación, escultura románica, Santiago de Compostela, St.-Sernin de Toulouse, lintel con *scroll* habitado de figuras, lintel cristolóxico, bestas, bestiario, serea, centauro, Odisea, Pobo de Israel, cruzados, Fulcher de Chartres, terras dos sarracenos, contexto funerario, capela do Calvario, capela de Adán, forzas do Ben e do Mal, imaxinario apotropaico, imaxinario liminal, procesión do Domingo de Ramos, liturxia, francos, raíña Melisenda.



Fig. 1. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Southern Façade, actual state. Photo: Author.

Introduction

When Saladin ordered that the eastern doorway of the southern façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Figs. 1-3) be blocked up,¹ he had before his eyes on its eastern lintel (Figs. 4-6), a whole menagerie of beasts captured in stone and intertwined within scrolls. Was Saladin aware of their significance? If at all, the bestial creatures and obscene gestures of the figures (Figs. 7-18) might have been considered by him just another fancy of the Franks.² How were these figures perceived of by the Franks?

1 Entry to the church is only by the western door. VINCENT, H. and ABEL, F. M., *Jérusalem nouvelle*, Paris, 1914, p. 283. FOLDA, J., *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187*, Cambridge, Mass., 1995, p. 227 and n. 92, notes that the date of the walling up is uncertain, and that an archeological analysis of the mortar and stones of both the blocked door and the modern stairs leading to the Calvary Chapel, located behind the blocked door, is needed. He cites one pilgrim's account (c. 1170) that refers to a walled-up door (though it is unclear which door is being referred to); this predates the conquest of Jerusalem in 1187 by Saladin: "Next to the place of the Skull is the place of the blocked-up door, in which Jerome says that Adam is buried". See WILKINSON, J. (ed.), *Jerusalem Pilgrimage: 1099-1185*, London, 1988, p. 239.

2 For an interesting cross-cultural reference by Imad-ad-Din, the Muslim chronicler of Saladin, to the Christian decoration of the Dome of the Rock (the crusader *Templum Domini*), see CAMILLE, M., *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge New Art History and Criticism, ed. BRYSON, N., Cambridge, Mass., 1989, repr. 1991, p. 137. Probably misinterpreting the Christian symbol of the lamb or an evangelist symbol, Imad-ad-Din describes "a species of pig". See GABRIELLI, F., *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, Berkeley, 1969, p. 169.



Fig. 2. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Southern Façade with both lintels in situ. Before 1929. Photo: Private Collection.



Fig. 3. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Southern Façade with both lintels in situ. Before 1929. Photo: Private Collection.

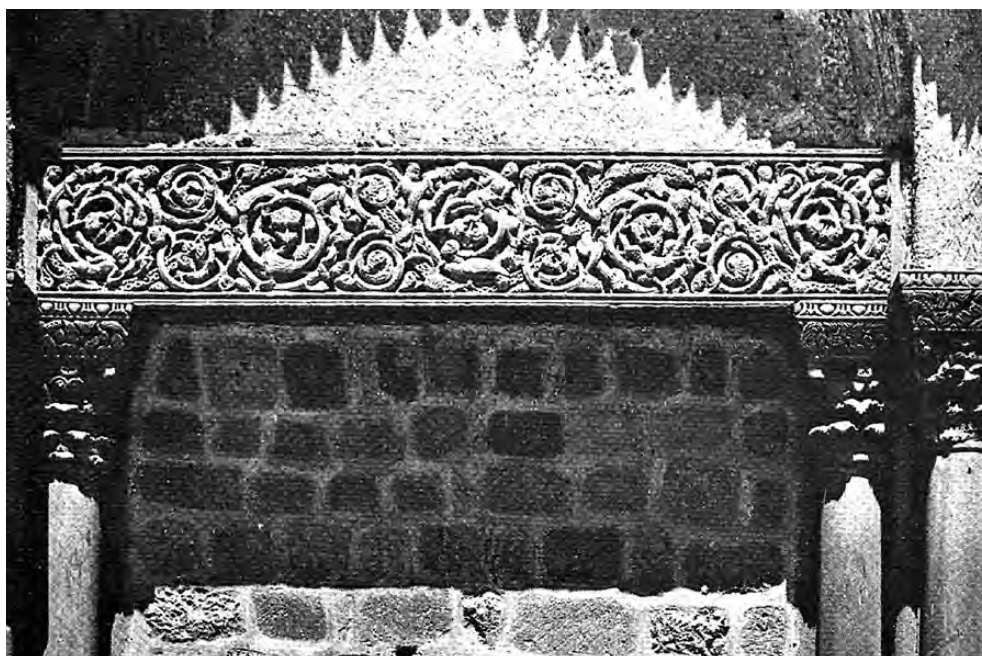


Fig. 4. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Southern Façade, Eastern scroll lintel in situ. Before 1929. Photo: British Mandate/Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 5. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Eastern scroll lintel. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem.
Photo: Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 6. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Eastern scroll lintel. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem.
Photo: Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 7. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Eastern scroll lintel, left side. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Photo: Israel Antiquities Authority.

Past scholarship was mainly preoccupied with the iconographic problems posed by the scenes rendered on the historiated western lintel (Figs. 3, 19-20), which could easily be understood as introducing congregants to the major events in the last days of Jesus in Jerusalem.³ Molly Lindner took this path further, showing that the break in the narrative sequence of the western lintel reflects the liturgical topography of crusader Jerusalem during the Palm Sunday procession. Thus the representation of the Resurrection of Lazarus, a scene naturally occurring after the plea of Martha and Mary Magdalene to Jesus upon their meeting in Bethany (Fig. 20), to the left, before the meeting and in breach with the consecutive order of the evangelic narrative (John, 11:1-44), is meant to reflect the topography of the actual Palm Sunday procession, thus creating a liturgical vision at the door.⁴ In what way could this vision be linked with the figures caught within the scrolls of the eastern lintel, which were sometimes interpreted as purely decorative—an interpretation to be rejected?

As for the eastern lintel, which has as its major theme scrolls peopled by a variety of beasts, birds, and naked male figures, some of whom are obscenely pointing to their genitalia (Figs. 5-6, 8-9, 18), most scholars agree that in contrast to the Christological western lintel (Fig. 19), it represents a sort of metaphorical struggle between good and evil forces. However, the striking appearance of this bestial world, metaphorically tamed by being knotted within inescapable scrolls, was rather overlooked, in comparison to the serene Christological iconography of the western lintel.

3 BORG, A., "Observations on the Historiated Lintel of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 32, 1969, pp. 25-40; idem, "The Holy Sepulchre Lintel", *ibid.*, 35, 1972, pp. 389-390; PRAWER, J., "The Lintels of the Holy Sepulchre", *Qadmoniot*, 1, 1968, pp. 47-49 (in Hebrew) (revised in *Jerusalem Revealed*, Jerusalem, 1975, pp. 111-113); idem, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, London, 1972, pp. 433-434; PICCIRILLO, M., "Basilica del Santo Sepolcro, i lintelli medievali del portale", *La Terra Santa*, 45, 1969, pp. 106-117; KENAN, N., "Local Christian Art in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem", *Israel Exploration Journal*, 23, 1973, pp. 221-229, esp. pp. 225-227; eadem, "The Figurative Western Lintel of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem", in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, Kalamazoo, 1986, pp. 123-131; eadem, "The Crusader Lintels in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre – Suggestion for a New Reading", in *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, ed. KEDAR, B.Z., Jerusalem, 1979, pp. 316-326 (in Hebrew); eadem, "The Two Lintels of the Portals of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem", in *The Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Exhibition Cat., Israel Museum, ed. ROSENBERG, S., Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 149-155 (in Hebrew; curiously, the illustration of the eastern lintel on pp. 151-152, is mistakenly inverted); KÜHNEL, B., *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century. A Geographical, an Historical, or an Art-Historical Notion?* Berlin, 1994, pp. 42-44 and 162; eadem, "Der Rankenfries am Portal der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem und die romanische Skulptur in den Abruzzern", *Arte Medievale*, 2, Serie 1, 1987, pp. 87-125; FOLDA, *The Art of the Crusaders* (as in n. 1), pp. 226-227; LINDNER, M., "Topography and Iconography in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem", in *The Horns of Hattin, Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, Jerusalem and Haifa, July 1987, ed. KEDAR, B.Z., Jerusalem and London, 1992, pp. 81-98. See also BUSCHHAUSEN, H., "Die Fassade der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem", in FOLDA, J. (ed.), *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 71-96; ROSEN-AYALON, M., "The Façade of the Holy Sepulchre", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 59, 1985, pp. 289-296.

4 LINDNER, "Topography and Iconography" (as in n. 3), pp. 81-98.

The purpose of this study is to raise questions drawn from the puzzling iconography of the eastern lintel. Why did the patrons of the sculptural program⁵ of the most important church in Christendom, recently liberated from the hands of the infidels and solemnly dedicated in 1149 (the lintels were probably carved soon afterward), choose such contrasting schemes of representation for the two lintels (Fig. 3), which adorned the southern façade until 1929?⁶ Is it possible to establish a connection between the two poles-apart iconographies? The location of the lintels on the threshold of the Holy Sepulchre must also be taken into consideration.

This was the most important holy site in Christendom, signifying the main goal of the first crusade – a holy site that the crusaders reached after enduring all kinds of hardships. Having achieved their goal—namely, the conquest of Jerusalem and the liberation of the holy sites, they immediately set about reconstructing and decorating a new crusader church at the site of the Holy Sepulchre, meant to serve as a meta-pilgrimage church to attract pilgrims to what was considered the center of the world (*omphalos*). It seems highly implausible that the crusader patrons would then negligently decorate its lintel with a meaningless ornamentation. Though

5 According to LINDNER, "Topography and Iconography" (as in n. 3), pp. 81-98, esp. pp. 95-98, the patrons were probably the Augustinian canons. FOLDA, *The Art of the Crusaders* (as in n. 1), Part II, "The Era of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem", pp. 119-330, esp. p. 228, refers to Queen Melisende as patroness; so does KÜHNEL, *Crusader Art* (as in n. 3), p. 162, on the basis of the Davidic iconography of the Psalter of Queen Melisende (London, British Library, Egerton 1139). In her view, the medallion showing Nathan summoning King David to build an altar (*ibid.*, Figs. 71, 73-75) is analogous to King Fulk and Queen Melisende as the patrons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (compared thus to the Temple), who were also the first crusader rulers to have been crowned in it. HUNT, L.A., "Artistic and Cultural Inter-Relations between the Christian Communities at the Holy Sepulchre in the Twelfth Century", in *The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land*, ed. O'MAHONY, A., London, 1995, pp. 79-82, observes a joint commission of both the royal realm and the Augustinian canons. For the patronage of Queen Melisende, see also: FOLDA, J., "Melisende of Jerusalem: Queen and Patron of Art and Architecture in the Crusader Kingdom", in: MARTIN, T. (ed.), *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, Leiden and London, 2012, pp. 465-467; GAUDETTE, H.A., "The Spending Power of a Crusader Queen: Melisende of Jerusalem", in: EARENIGHT, T. (ed.), *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe*, New York, 2010, pp. 135-148; TRANOVICH, M., *Melisende of Jerusalem. The World of a Forgotten Crusader Queen*, London, 2011, esp. Chapter 5, "Power and Patronage," pp. 115-138. For Queen Melisende's patronage regarding a fresco painting of the Abbey of the Virgin Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, discovered in 2002 by the Israel Antiquities Authority (now in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem), see my forthcoming paper: HEYMAN, A., "The Deësis of the Valley of Jehoshaphat: Melisende and the Monumental Sacred Deësis Topography of Crusader Jerusalem", Israel Museum Publications, Jerusalem. A shorter Spanish version of my article will appear in the forthcoming Acts of the November 2014 conference of the research project, directed by Manuel Castiñeiras, "Artistas, patronos y público. Cataluña y el Mediterráneo. Siglos XI-XV. Magistri Cataloniae" (MICINN HAR2011-23015).

6 Both lintels were removed in 1929 for preservation and have since been housed in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. There is no prospect whatsoever of their being reinstalled *in situ*. For their dating, see FOLDA, *The Art of the Crusaders* (as in n. 1), pp. 227-229; HUNT, "Artistic and Cultural Inter-Relations" (as in n. 5), p. 75; BOASE, T.S.R., "The Arts in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 2, 1938/9, p. 6, suggests a dating to the 1149 consecration. BORG, "Observations" (as in n. 3), p. 40, refers to 1187, the date of the conquest by Saladin, as a *terminus ante quem*. RAHMANI, L.Y., "The Eastern Lintel of the Holy Sepulchre", *Israel Exploration Journal*, 26, 1976, p. 128, provides the broad dating of 1150-1180. KÜHNEL, "Der Rankenfries am Portal der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem" (as in n. 3), pp. 120-121, dates the lintels to the third quarter of the twelfth century.



Fig. 8. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Eastern scroll lintel, left side, detail of a naked male figure. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Photo: Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 9. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Eastern scroll lintel, left medallion. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Color plate. Photo: Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 10. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Eastern scroll lintel, left side. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Color plate. Photo: Israel Antiquities Authority.

lacking direct documentation, I will discuss the possibility of a collaborative commission on the part of Queen Melisende and the crusader Church. Regarding the double portal format (Figs. 1-3), Manuel Castiñeiras convincingly showed that, apart from the well-recognized citation of the double Golden Gate of Jerusalem (known as the Gate of Mercy in Jewish tradition; c. 520. Fig. 21), the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, dedicated in 1149, established a firm reference to the gate of the Platerías of Santiago de Compostela Cathedral (1103-1111. Fig. 22). This would have operated as a deliberate notion, sharing the mutual evolvement of the pilgrimage culture taking the lead in western Christendom, particularly in principal pilgrimage centers such as Santiago and St.-Sernin of Toulouse (Porte des Comtes, 1080-1090. Fig. 23). The erection of the double Jerusalemite portal (Figs. 1-3) in apparent reference to the exalted pilgrimage churches model resulted in the commission of two very distinct lintels, adorning the double portal, the Christological lintel to the west (Fig. 19) and the so-called "ornamental" one to the east (Figs. 3-6).⁷

Levy Rahmani asserts: "It would be strange if this lintel ... had no meaning or relation to its western neighbor."⁸ T.S.R. Boase remarks that although the lintel carries "some allegorical meaning, it is yet a somewhat pagan piece with which to greet the pilgrim at the climax of his journey."⁹ The lintel's imagery is, in fact, striking and surprising. Though some scholars have sensed a symbolic message in the eastern lintel, it has been treated in rather general terms: some found no more

7 For the relations between Santiago and Jerusalem, see: CASTIÑEIRAS GONZÁLEZ, M.A., "Compostela, Bari and Jerusalem: in Search of the Footsteps of a Figurative Culture on the Roads of Pilgrimage", *Ad Limina*, 1, 2010, pp. 15-51, esp. pp. 46-53; idem, "Puertas y metas de la peregrinación. Roma, Jerusalén y Santiago hasta el siglo XIII", in *Peregrino, ruta y meta en las peregrinaciones mayores*, VIII Congreso Internacional de Estudios Jacobeos, Santiago de Compostela, 13-15 Octubre 2010, ed. CAUCCI VON SAUCKEN, P., Santiago de Compostela, 2012, pp. 327-377, esp. pp. 336-351. In discussing the ornamentation of the cloister of Santo Domingo of Silos, VALDEZ DEL ALAMO, E., "The Saint's Capital, Talisman in the Cloister", in *Decorations for the Holy Dead. Visual Embellishments on Tombs and Shrines of Saints*, International Medieval Research, Art History, Vol. 8, eds. LAMIA, S. and VALDEZ DEL ALAMO, E., Turnhout, 2002, pp. 111-128, esp. pp. 118-119, the author relates to the question of whether the ornamentation was purely decorative or was symbolic, obviously favoring the latter. For instance, Emile Mâle, opted for "simple decoration" with regard to certain animal images, maintaining that "monsters have no symbolic meaning" (*Religious Art in France. The Twelfth Century: A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography*, Princeton, 1978, pp. 339-341, 363, 347, 350). According to the aesthetic conception of Meyer Schapiro, Romanesque sculptors followed their personal caprices and fantasies, and did not necessarily endow their images with doctrinal implications ("From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos", in *Collected Papers*, I. *Romanesque Art*, New York, 1976, pp. 6-7). Schapiro's view was challenged by WERCKMEISTER, O.K., "Jugglers in a Monastery", in Meyer Schapiro, ed. CRAVEN, D., special issue of *Oxford Art Journal*, 17, 1994, pp. 60-64. See also CAMILLE, M., *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*, Cambridge, Mass., 1992, pp. 68-69; RUDOLPH, C., *Violence and Daily Life: Reading, Art, and Polemics in the Cîteaux Moralia in Job*, Princeton, 1997, pp. 10-12.

8 RAHMANI, "The Eastern Lintel" (as in n. 6), p. 124.

9 BOASE, T.S.R., "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria. A. Architecture and Sculpture", Chapter 3 in SETTON, K.M. (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 4, *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. HAZARD, H.W., Madison, Wis., 1977, p. 82.



Fig. 11. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Eastern scroll lintel, left side, detail of a bestial bird. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Color plate Photo: Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 12. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Eastern scroll lintel, left side, detail of a bird knotted within the medallion. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Photo: Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 13. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Eastern scroll lintel, central medallion, showing a bird-siren and an arrow-shooting centaur. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Photo: Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 14. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Eastern scroll lintel, central medallion, showing a bird-siren and an arrow-shooting centaur. Color plate. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Photo: Israel Antiquities Authority.

than scrolls and flowers in the lintel's imagery,¹⁰ thus negating the possibility of a particular choice of subject matter that was meant to define its obscure meaning.

Scholars who have dealt with the topic have been mainly concerned with the stylistic stemmata of both lintels, suggesting such varied origins as Provence, Berry, Languedoc, Tuscany or southern Italy.¹¹ The successful career of inhabited scrolls, from Antiquity¹² to the Romanesque period has tended to overwhelm scholars. Among those who sought comparable and no less magnificently fashioned Romanesque lintels, those shown by Bianca Kühnel in the Abruzzi are the most compelling, though they were carved later than the Jerusalem lintel. Another captivating similarity with regard to the carving of the winged siren and centaur (the latter is shown aiming an arrow) of the eastern lintel is to be seen on a double-column capital from the ruined cloister of La Daurade, Toulouse (Fig. 25).¹³

- 10 DE VOGÜÉ, M., *Les églises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1860, pp. 203-205, for an intended symbolic significance. Prawer in "The Lintels of the Holy Sepulchre" (as in n. 3), and *Jerusalem Revealed* (as in n. 3), pp. 111-113, esp. p. 112, and *The Latin Kingdom* (as in n. 3), pp. 433-434, negated any correlation with the western lintel, nor did he discuss any kind of symbolism. Neither does ENLART, C., *Les monuments des Croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem*, Vol. 2, Paris, 1928, pp. 128, 166. DESCHAMPS, P., "La sculpture française en Palestine et en Syrie à l'époque des Croisades", *Fondation Eugène Piot*, 31, 1931, pp. 91-118, and idem, *Terre Sainte romane*, La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1964, pp. 94-96, 244, likewise does not refer to the subject. DE SALUCY, F., *Jérusalem*, Paris, 1882, p. 20, believed that the eastern lintel shows no more than "des rinceaux de feuillages et de fleurs". VINCENT and ABEL, *Jérusalem nouvelle* (as in n. 1), p. 152, acknowledged the symbolical portent, but did not specify.
- 11 BOASE, "Ecclesiastical Art" (as in n. 9), p. 82, suggests a Toulousan origin, without being specific. JACOBY, Z., "The Provençal Impact on Crusader Sculpture in Jerusalem: More Evidence on the Temple Area Atelier", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 48, 1985, pp. 442-450, relates to Provençal origins, though she does not refer to the eastern lintel in particular. With regard to the western lintel, BORG, "Observations" (as in n. 3), pp. 25-40, and "The Holy Sepulchre Lintel" (as in n. 3), pp. 389-390, refers to possible Provençal and Tuscan models. Folda, on the other hand, in *The Art of the Crusaders* (as in n. 1), p. 226 and n. 77, remarks that "the problem that these Tuscan examples date later than the lintel has yet to be resolved". KÜHNEL, "Der Rankenfries am Portal der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem" (as in n. 3), pp. 87-121; eadem, *Crusader Art* (as in n. 3), pp. 42-43 and Fig. 31, makes a convincing claim for lintel models in the Abruzzi for the eastern lintel. Kühnel specifically refers to the following churches in Abruzzi: Sts.-Rufino and Cesidio in Tarasco, and the Church of the Carmine in Celano (with a reused portal from the Church of San Salvatore in Paterno). FOLDA, *The Art of the Crusaders* (as in n. 1), p. 227 and n. 90, notes that Kühnel's comparisons are helpful; however, "the chronological relationship of the Jerusalem lintel and these churches in the Abruzzi remains to be studied further and determined with greater precision". On the other hand, KENAN, "Local Christian Art" (as in n. 3), pp. 225-227, believes that the main source of inspiration for the sculptor working in the service of the crusaders was the local tradition of Syria-Palestine. RAHMANI, "The Eastern Lintel" (as in n. 6), pp. 120-124, suggests stylistic sources as varied as Coptic and European art, especially English, though he also refers to French and Scandinavian sources. PRAWER, "The Lintels of the Holy Sepulchre" (as in n. 3) and *Jerusalem Revealed* (as in n. 3), pp. 111-113, esp. p. 113, refers to various possible stylistic models. It should be noted that the reverse side of the right plaque of the eastern lintel is a reused Fatimid decoration (Fig. 24). See FOLDA, *The Art of the Crusaders* (as in n. 1), p. 226 and Plate 7.9r; RICHMOND, E.T., "Church of the Holy Sepulchre: Note on a Recent Discovery", *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, 1, 1931, p. 2 and Plate I.2.
- 12 DAUPHIN, C., "The Development of the 'Inhabited Scroll' in Architectural Sculpture and Mosaic Art from Late Imperial Times to the Seventh Century A.D.", *Levant*, 19, 1987, pp. 183-212. For the dispersion of the motif in Israel during the Roman period, see OVADIAH, A. and TURNHEIM, Y. (eds.), "Peopled" *Scrolls in Roman Architectural Decoration in Israel: The Roman Theatre at Beth Shean, Scythopolis*, Rome, 1994. See also TOYNBEE, J.M.C. and WARD PERKINS, J., "Peopled Scrolls: A Hellenistic Motif in Imperial Art", *Papers of the British School at Rome*, new series, 5, 1950, pp. 20-25.
- 13 See n. 11 above for the lintels of the Abruzzi. For Toulouse, see: ENLART, *Les monuments des Croisés* (as in n. 10), Vol. 2, p. 128; DESCHAMPS, "La sculpture française en Palestine et en Syrie" (as in n. 10), pp. 91-118; idem, *Terre Sainte romane* (as in n. 10), pp. 94-96. But KENAN, "Local Christian Art" (as in n. 3), p. 226, shows the stylistic and thematic differences.

Whatever the Romanesque inspiration of the sculptors, the major problem posed by the iconography of the eastern lintel remains unsolved. Before the door was blocked up, it gave access to the Chapel of Adam (Fig. 26), located underneath the Golgotha (Calvary. No. 6 on ground plan, Fig. 27).¹⁴ Probably representing their wish for salvation and resurrection, the crusader kings chose this very place, more precisely the space in front of the Chapel of Adam, as their burial place (No. 24 on ground plan, Fig. 27). In fact, William of Tyre indicates that the royal burial place was “at the foot of Mount Calvary”, and he adds that in the case of Fulk of Anjou (d. 1143), it was “by the gate as one enters on the right”¹⁵ (unfortunately, the royal tombs were destroyed by the Greek Orthodox in the nineteenth century, and the only surviving remnants are held in the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem Museum, nowadays closed to the public. See the drawing of the pilgrim Giovanni Zuallardo, Fig. 28, for the location of two of the royal tombs, marked E and F, in 1595).¹⁶ Given this particular location, it is hard to believe that the eastern lintel, adorning as it did the entrance to the crusader kings' burial chapel, bore no meaning.

14 Evidence for the location of the tomb of Adam underneath Calvary is known from as early as the sixth century, as in the Breviarius de Hierosolyma of A.D. 530. See BALDI, D., *Enchiridion locorum sanctorum*, Jerusalem, 1935, No. 931.4, pp. 636-637, and n. 6.. Epiphanius Monachus (ninth century) also relates to Adam's tomb: *ibid.*, No. 940.1, p. 648, and later Saewulf (A.D. 1102-1103): *ibid.*, No. 945.5, p. 655, as well as Abbot Daniel (A.D. 1106-1107): *ibid.*, No. 946.6, p. 658. See DE VOGÜÉ, *Les églises* (as in n. 10), p. 157.

15 For the English translation, see WILLIAM ARCHBISHOP OF TYRE, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, bk. 15.27, transl. BABOCK, E.A. and KREY, A.C., New York, 1976, Vol. 2, p. 135. For the original Latin, see WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, bk. 15.27, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens occidentaux* (=RHC, HOcc), Vol. 1.1, p. 702. See the critical edition: GUILLAUME DE TYR, *Chronique*, bk. 15.27, ed. HUYGENS, R.B.C., CCCM, Vol. 63A, Turnhout, 1986, p. 711: “in ecclesia Dominici Sepulchri sub monte Calvarie, introeuntibus ad dexteram secus portam, inter alios felicis memorie reges, eius predecessores ... regia magnificentia sepultus est”. Baldwin I (d. 1118) is known to have been buried “with royal splendor next to his brother in the place called Golgotha below Calvary”. See WILLIAM ARCHBISHOP OF TYRE, *A History*, bk. 11.31, Vol. 1, p. 516. For the Latin version see WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Historia*, bk. 11.31, in RHC, HOcc, Vol. 1.1, p. 509; GUILLAUME DE TYR, *Chronique*, bk. 11.31, CCCM, Vol. 63, p. 544: “iuxta fratrem sub Calvaria, in loco qui Golgotha dicitur, regia magnificentia sepultus est”. Other crusader kings were buried in the same place; a similar phrasing is used to indicate the burial below Calvary. For Baldwin II (d. 1131), see WILLIAM ARCHBISHOP OF TYRE, *A History*, bk. 13.28, Vol. 2, p. 46: “He was buried with his predecessors, those kings of pious memory, at the foot of Mount Calvary, before the place which is called Golgotha”. See the Latin version in RHC, HOcc., Vol. 1.1, bk. 13.28, p. 602, and CCCM, Vol. 63, bk. 13.28, p. 625: “sepultus est autem inter predecessores suos pie recordationis reges sub monte Calvarie, ante locum qui dicitur Golgotha”. For the kings Baldwin III (d. 1162) and Amaury I (d. 1173), see, respectively: WILLIAM ARCHBISHOP OF TYRE *A History*, bk. 18.34 and bk. 20.31, Vol. 2, pp. 293 and 395-396; RHC, HOcc., Vol. 1.2, bk. 18.34 and bk. 20.31, pp. 880 and 1001; CCCM, Vol. 63A, bk. 18.34 and bk. 20.31, pp. 860 and 957. For the kings Baldwin IV (d. 1185) and Baldwin V (d. 1186), see the source from the period of Emperor Frederick II: DE MAS LATRIE, L., *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, Paris, 1871, pp. 118-119. See also JACOBY, Z., “The Tomb of Baldwin V, King of Jerusalem (1185-1186), and the Workshop of the Temple Area”, *Gesta*, 18 (1979), pp. 3-14; HUNT, “Artistic and Cultural Inter-Relations” (as in n. 5), pp. 65-66.

16 GIOVANNI ZUALLARDO, *Il devotissimo viaggio di Gerusalemme*, Roma, 1595, p. 186. After a fire that caused extensive damage to the church in 1808, only the Greeks were allowed by the Ottoman authorities to carry out restorations; shortly after, they are reported to have destroyed the tombs of the Latin kings, removed their epitaphs, scattered their bones and inserted fragments of the tombs into the walls of the Greek section of the church (most of the inserted fragments were removed during the restorations to the church in the 1940s and 1970s). Thanks to the drawing of the tombs made by the Franciscan father ELZEAR HORN (*Iconographiae locorum et monumentorum veterum Terrae Sanctae*, ed. GOLUBOVICH, H., Rome, 1902, pp. 50-56), and some fragments, Zehava Jacoby was able to reconstruct the style and iconography of the tomb of King Baldwin V: “The Tomb of Baldwin V” (as in n. 15), pp. 3-14.



Fig. 15. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Eastern scroll lintel, central medallion, detail of a bird-siren. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Photo: Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 16. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Eastern scroll lintel, Right side. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Photo: Israel Antiquities Authority.

The location by the door, a liminal entity, might have had a particular Christian meaning, following the words of Jesus: "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out, and find pasture" (John, 10:9). In the context of entry into the church as a means of salvation and the posthumous entry into heaven of the buried kings, the lintel's iconography depicts a special vision that should be explored not only in relation to the royal burial chapel but also to the western lintel and to the church as a whole.

The struggle between good and evil forces

In the phrasing of Jacques Le Goff, Christian tradition identified the "good" with unity and the "evil" with diversity.¹⁷ Gregory the Great (540-604), for instance, linked the half-human, half-bestial, nature of hybrids with the irrational and with grave sin.¹⁸ By extension, any exception to the rule of unity was considered monstrous and sinful. Thus, for example, Alain of Lille (1128-1202) described the improper insertion of two or three offices into the mass (*missa bifaciata* or *trifaciata*) as a monstrous spectacle belonging to Cerberus, lamenting that the mass resembled a tripartite diabolical head.¹⁹ I will show below how the sculpted lintel hybrids embody in their diversity and diabolical nature the forces of evil, to be tamed and doomed.

From time immemorial, the representation of fighting animals symbolized potent powers of destruction or the combat between good and evil forces.²⁰ Indeed the installation of two very different lintels, a Christological-liturgical one to the west (Fig. 3, 19), and a bestial-mythological one to the east (Figs. 3-4), lends itself to the interpretation of apparent opposition between good and evil. Analyzing the various components of the eastern lintel (Figs. 5-18), Levy Rahmani, in his article of 1976, drew attention to the overt opposition between the western and eastern lintels. Referring first to the winding scroll, Rahmani, following Joshua Prawer, observes an "artichoke-like" flower, or cone-like fruit (Figs. 9-10, 15), which represents the forbidden fruit of Eden in

17 LE GOFF, J., *La civilisation de l'Occident médiéval*, Les Grandes Civilisations, Vol. 47, Paris, 1964, repr. 1982, p. 244.

18 GREGORY THE GREAT, *Moralia in Job*, bk. 7.28.36, ed. ADRIAEN, M., CCSL, Vol. 143, Turnhout, 1979, pp. 359-360 (see also PL, Vol. 75, col. 786): "Pilosi ergo nomine cuius libet peccati asperitas designatur, quod, etsi quando ab obtentu rationis incipit, semper tamen ad irracionales motus tendit, et quasi homo in bestiam desinit". See the discussion in VOISENET, J., *Bêtes et hommes dans le monde médiéval. Le bestiaire des clercs du Ve au XIIIe siècle*, Turnhout, 2000, pp. 21-27, esp. p. 24.

19 D'ALVERNY, M.T., *Alain de Lille. Textes inédits. Avec une introduction sur sa vie et ses œuvres*, Etudes de Philosophie Médiévale, Vol. 52, Paris, 1965, p. 151.

20 VALDEZ DEL ALAMO, "The Saint's Capital" (as in n. 7), pp. 118-119; KLINGENDER, F.D., *Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages*, ed. ANTAL, E. and HARTMAN, J., Cambridge, Mass., 1971, pp. 36, 47, 266, 302-304, and passim. For the allegorical signification of various animals, see ZIOLOKOWSKI, J.M., "Literary Genre and Animal Symbolism", in *Animals and the Symbolic in Mediaeval Art and Literature*, ed. HOUWEN, L.A.J.R., *Mediaevalia Groningana*, ed. MACDONALD, A.A., Vol. 20, Groningen, 1997, pp. 1-23; DEBIDOUR, V.H., *Le bestiaire sculpté du Moyen Âge en France*, Mulhouse, 1961.



Fig. 17. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Eastern scroll lintel, Right side. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Color plate. Photo: Israel Antiquities Authority.

Romanesque art.²¹ Then comes a close examination of the beasts: the centaur, the harpy or siren (Figs. 13-15), the dragon, the birds (Figs. 6-7, 11-12), and the naked male figures (Figs. 6-9, 17-18), all indicating vices and perdition. Thus the representation symbolizes sinful men caught in the twists of hell; all surrounded by beasts evoking evil. This symbolism, Rahmani notes, stands in sharp contrast to the Christological western lintel, which, for virtuous men, directs the way to the Eucharist and the Resurrection (to which the whole church is dedicated). The eastern lintel complements the western one, in that it, leading as it does to the burial chapel of Adam, carries a message of warning against wicked behavior. Rahmani believes that this imagery is linked with the no-longer-extant Byzantine apse mosaic (transferred by the crusaders to their new apse), known to have shown the Harrowing of Hell (Anastasis in Greek) and the Exaltation of Adam. The hellish implications of the lintel are thus hinting at the main themes of the interior decoration of the church.²² Though referring to the Chapel of

21 RAHMANI, "The Eastern Lintel" (as in n. 6), p. 122; PRAWER, *The Latin Kingdom* (as in n. 3), p. 433. See the twelfth-century comparable representations in MAZURE, A., *Le thème d'Adam et Ève dans l'art*, Paris, 1967, Figs. 81, 93, 99. See also the frieze from the cloisters of St-Sernin in Toulouse, decorated with cone-like fruit, in FOCILLON, H., *The Art of the West*, I. *Romanesque Art*, London, 1963, Fig. 124.

22 RAHMANI, "The Eastern Lintel" (as in n. 6), pp. 124-129. For the Byzantine apse mosaic, removed from the apse of the Anastasis rotunda and relocated in the crusader choir apse, see FOLDA, *The Art of the Crusaders* (as in n. 1), pp. 230-231; BORG, A., "The Lost Apse Mosaic of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem", in *The Vanishing Past: Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy, and Metrology Presented to Christopher Hohler*, ed. BORG, A. and MARTINDALE, A., Oxford, 1981, pp. 7-12; HUNT, "Artistic and Cultural Inter-Relations" (as in n. 5), pp. 66-67; ZEITLER, B., "Cross-Cultural Interpretations of Imagery in the Middle Ages", *Art Bulletin*, 76, 1994, pp. 680-694, esp. pp. 690-694. The conventionally Orthodox mosaic was described by the pilgrim THEODORICUS, *Libellus de locis sanctis*, ed. BERSCHIN, W. and BULST, W., Heidelberg, 1976, pp. 15-16, trans. in WILKINSON, *Jerusalem*

Adam, Rahmani, curiously, does not mention the burial chapel of the crusader kings and does not link the eastern lintel's imagery to any funerary context.

Nurith Kenaan-Kedar refers briefly to the siren and centaur (Fig. 14), symbols of sin and temptation, which thus stand in opposition to the western lintel. Kenaan-Kedar draws attention to the vine-scroll tympanum adorning the (now-closed) entrance to the Chapel of Calvary (Fig. 29) from the Chapel of the Franks (Figs. 1-2, 30), apparently representing the Eucharist and the idea of the sacrifice of Christ. The lack of any human figures on this tympanum testifies to a deliberate choice of peopled and non-peopled scrolls, to signify opposing meanings. Thus the eastern lintel's evil menagerie (Figs. 5-6) stands in opposition not only to the western lintel's salvation imagery (baixst Figs. 3, 19) but also to the Eucharistic vocabulary of the vine-scrolled tympanum of Calvary.²³

The type of scrolls employed on the eastern lintel (Figs. 9-10) differs vastly from the vine-scrolled Calvary tympanum (Fig. 29). The latter represents the celebrated Eucharistic symbolism, based on the words of Christ to the apostles, "I am the true vine" (John, 15:1), and "ye are the branches" (John, 15:5), as well as on his precept in the Last Supper: "But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom" (Matthew, 26:29). In establishing the Eucharist in the Last Supper, Christ continually maintains this symbolism while he and the apostles drink the cup of wine: "This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many" (Mark, 14:24). The Eucharistic vine and wine metaphor was elaborated by, among others, Augustine, symbolically locating the suffering of Christ in a wine press: "But the pressure in the wine press is terrible ... Christ was crushed in the press as the first grape."²⁴

Together with the Dionysian element of Antiquity, vine scrolls appeared on many art works from early Christian times onward. The grapes of the Calvary tympanum (Fig. 29) are unmistakable, whereas the eastern lintel scrolls bear no grapes (though mistakenly referred to as vine-scrolled by Molly Linder and others). Instead, a cone-like fruit (Fig. 7), probably signifying the forbidden fruit, as mentioned earlier, separates the background plants from the vine-scroll tradition, a distinction that most likely has a negative meaning. Stylistically, however, the eastern lintel scroll (Fig. 6)

Pilgrimage (as in n. 1), pp. 15-16. Other pilgrim accounts also make mention of this no-longer-surviving mosaic, an example being John of Würzburg (c. 1165), in TOBLER, T., *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, Leipzig, 1874, repr. Hildesheim, 1974, p. 150, trans. in WILKINSON, p. 262. The apse iconography recurs in Queen Melisande's Psalter, as well as on the seal of Amaury, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1158-1172). For illustrations, see FOLDA, *The Art of the Crusaders* (as in n. 1), Pls. 6.8r and 7.10a, respectively.

23 KENAAN-KEDAR, "Local Christian Art" (as in n. 3), pp. 228-229; eadem, "The Figurative Western Lintel" (as in n. 3), p. 129; eadem, "The Crusader Lintels in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre" (as in n. 3), pp. 316-326; eadem, "The Two Lintels" (as in n. 3), p. 155. For the Calvary tympanum, see ROSEN-AYALON, M., "Une mosaïque médiévale au Saint-Sépulcre", *Revue Biblique*, 83, 1976, pp. 237-253.

24 SAINT AUGUSTINE, *Ennaratio Psalmorum*, bk. 55.3-4, ed. DEKKERS, E. and FRAIPONT, J., CCSL, Vol. 39, pt. 3, Turnhout, 1956, p. 876f. See the discussion in LADNER, G.B., *God, Cosmos, and Humankind. The World of Early Christian Symbolism*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1995, Stuttgart and Zurich, 1992, pp. 148-149.



Fig. 18. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Eastern scroll lintel, Right side, detail of a male naked figure. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Color plate. Photo: Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 19. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Western Christological lintel in situ. Before 1929. Photo: Private Collection.

should be defined as an acanthus scroll, resembling very much the beautifully painted acanthus frieze from the remains of a hall (probably used as almshouse; Figs. 31-33) of the Abbey of the Tomb of Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which I assign to the patronage of Queen Melisende. As I will show later, and in view of this exceptional similarity (though in two distinct media, namely painting and carved relief), the involvement of Queen Melisende as patroness of the newly-constructed Holy Sepulchre immediately comes to mind. This evident comparison might pave the way in the future for a more specific dating of the artistic campaigns conducted by Queen Melisende along the ecclesiastical establishment of crusader Jerusalem in various holy sites during her effective government in the years 1135-1152²⁵.

While the negative connotations of the eastern lintel's imagery (Figs. 5-6) are widely accepted, Bianca Kühnel sees the scroll, winding around a bough, as an allusion to the creative force of the Tree of Life. In her view, this imagery symbolizes the creation and the world redeemed through the sacrifice of Jesus on the cross. Relating to the now-lost mosaic that adorned the tympanum of the eastern door, showing the Meeting of Christ with Mary Magdalene after the Resurrection, Kühnel endows the bestial imagery of the eastern lintel with a rather positive and promising message of salvation,²⁶ which cannot therefore be acceptable.

Classical pagan art, where beasts are imaginatively depicted as finding refuge among entwining scrolls, were considered to be the motif of *oikoumene*, which is the world. Entering the Christian world, the notion of *oikoumene* represented the domain of God, resembling an ancient *latifundium* or great estate, in that it was populated by all the creatures of the divine creation. Born in God's image, man controls the world of animals by the superiority granted him by God (Gen. 1:26-28).²⁷ This explains the recurrent Byzantine imagery of the animal hunt—for example, in the fifth century, Saint Nilus of Sinai thus instructed the prefect of Olympiodorus on how to decorate the large church in honor of the holy martyrs:

... fill the walls, those on the right and those on the left, with all kinds of animal hunts so that one might see snares being stretched on the ground, fleeing animals, such as hares, gazelles and others, while the hunters, eager to capture them, pursue them with their dogs; and also nets being lowered into the sea, and every kind of fish being caught and carried on shore by

25 See n. 21 above and HEYMAN, "The Deësis of the Valley of Jehoshaphat" (as in n. 5).

26 KÜHNEL, "Der Rankenfries am Portal der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem" (as in n. 3), pp. 93-121; eadem, *Crusader Art* (as in n. 3), pp. 43-44, 162. For the lost mosaic decoration, see n. 31, below.

27 GRABAR, A., "Recherches sur les sources juives de l'art paléochrétien, II. Les mosaïques de pavement. C. Les panneaux de la nef", *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 12, 1962, pp. 115-162; MAGUIRE, H., *Earth and Ocean. The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art*, University Park and London, 1987, pp. 21-24 (with regard to the Church of Dumetios at Nikopolis), pp. 28-30 (with regard to the beams of Ste.-Catherine at Mount Sinai), pp. 69-72 (with regard to the Churches of the Priest John and of St.-George at Khirbat Al-Makhāyyat); CAILLET, J.P., "Et magnae silvae creverunt... Observations sur le thème du rinceau peuplé dans l'orfèvrerie et l'ivoirerie liturgiques aux époques ottonienne et romane", *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 38, 1995, pp. 23-33, esp. pp. 30-33.



Fig. 20. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Western Christological lintel, detail of the Raising of Lazarus (left), and Mary Magdalen and Martha before Christ in Bethany. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Color plate. Photo: Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 21. Jerusalem, Eastern wall: the Golden Gate (Gate of Mercy), c. 520. Photo: Author.

the hands of the fishermen; ... and lastly, to set up in the nave a thousand crosses and the pictures of different birds and beasts, reptiles and plants.²⁸

Indeed many Byzantine mosaic pavements in the Mediterranean portray Earth and all her gifts, symbolizing the domain of God as well as the mastery of man over the world of animals and beasts. Portrayals of the natural history of the terrestrial world vary. The cohabitation of rival beasts alongside one another fulfilled the pacific vision of Isaiah, 11:6-7, thus endowing the peopled scrolls with the eschatological prophecy of the world to come. Yet already in the Ottonian period, hostility overtook this pacific vision. Instead, peopled scrolls came to be identified with the results of the divine punishment of the Deluge. Whereas humans and beasts had lived in peace prior to the Deluge, the torrential rains brought about chaos and rivalry, manifested in the emergence of the forest, where chaos and disorder reign. Though still reflecting divine omnipotence and the cosmic order, the degenerated beasts are alienated from their divine origin,²⁹ and the animal world becomes more savage, more sinful and more violent. This animal world deprived the former ecumenical *latifundium* from its peaceful inhabitants, who had now to be disciplined symbolically by coils, loops and scrolls that determined the moral need for a reordering of the world. Thus, the Romanesque eastern lintel (Figs. 5-18) cannot be conceived of as alluding to anything other than evil, vice and immorality.

Lucy-Anne Hunt, however, rejects the interpretations of both Rahmani and Kühnel. In her view, had the intention been to depict hell-fire imagery, as suggested by Rahmani, a Last Judgment scene would have been chosen.³⁰ Yet allusions to the battle between good and evil, between Paradise and Hell, between the Blessed and the Damned, could be rendered in a more sophisticated, allegorical manner, and not necessarily by a Last Judgment scenario. Besides, how can we ever know what might have been chosen to express this or that notion, if we find difficulty in interpreting the existing puzzling imagery?

In Hunt's attempt to reconstruct the *modus vivendi* at the church in the twelfth century, she proposes interpreting the lintel's imagery as implying the medieval view of sexuality, linked with the mortality of the human body. Developing this rather

28 PG, Vol. 79:577-580. The English translation is by MANGO, C., *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453*, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching, Vol. 16, Toronto, 1986, pp. 32-33. See MAGUIRE, *Earth and Ocean* (as in n. 27), p. 5; CAILLET, "*Et magnae silvae creverunt*" (as in n. 27), p. 33.

29 MAGUIRE, *Earth and Ocean* (as in n. 27), p. 30 (with regard to the beams of Ste-Catherine at Mount Sinai), pp. 69-72 (with regard to the Churches of the Priest John and of St.-George at Khirbat Al-Makhāyyat); CAILLET, "*Et magnae silvae creverunt*" (as in n. 27), pp. 30-33. Caillet refers to the meaning of *silva* in the treatise of HILDEGARD OF BINGEN, *Causae et curae* (*Hildegardis Causae et Curae*, ed. KAISER, P., Leipzig, 1903, pp. 47, 49). See MOULINIER, L., "L'ordre du monde animal selon Hildegarde de Bingen (XII siècle)", in *L'homme, l'animal domestique et l'environnement du Moyen Âge au XVIII siècle*, Actes du colloque de Nantes, 1992, Nantes, 1993, pp. 50-65; O'DONNELL, J. R., "The Meaning of *silva* in the Commentary on the Timaeus of Plato by Chalcidius", *Mediaeval Studies*, 7, 1945, pp. 1-20. See also GOUGH, M., "The Peaceful Kingdom: An Early Christian Mosaic Pavement in Cilicia", in *Mélanges A.M. Mansel*, Ankara, 1974, p. 418.

30 HUNT, "Artistic and Cultural Inter-Relations" (as in n. 5), p. 78.

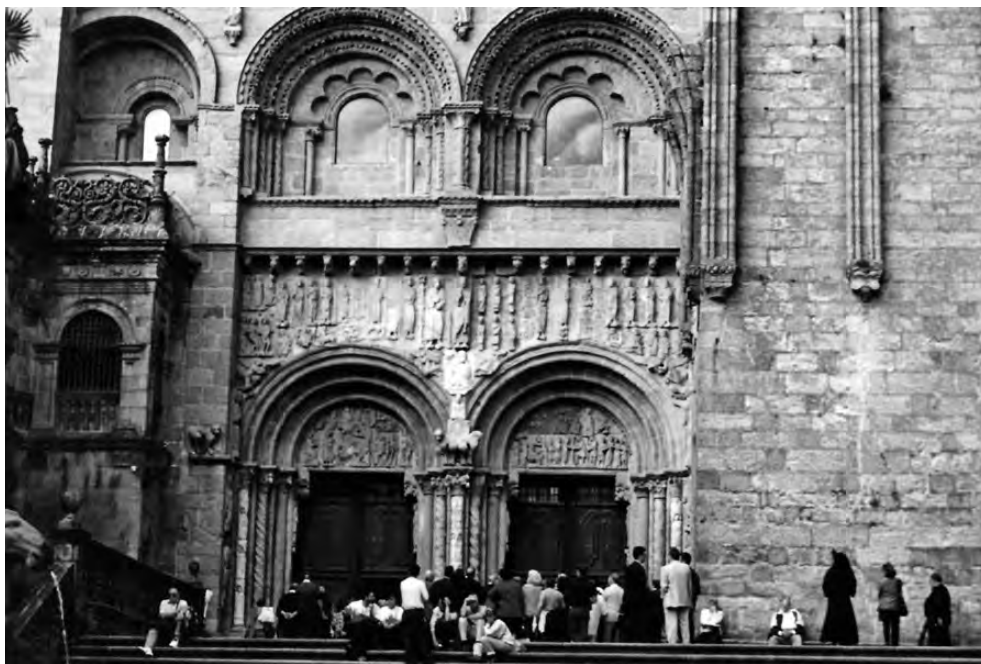


Fig. 22. Santiago de Compostela Cathedral: South transept portal of the Platerías, 1103-1111. Photo: Author.



Fig. 23. Toulouse, St.-Sernin: Porte des Comtes. 1080-1090. Photo: Author.

ambiguous interpretation, Hunt agrees that the eastern lintel is opposed to the western Christological one; while the divine nature of Christ is reinforced on the western lintel, linked with the now-lost left tympanum mosaic of the Virgin and Child, the eastern lintel introduces the idea of mortal genealogy through human reproduction, supported, in Hunt's view, by the proximity to the Chapel of Adam below the Chapel of Calvary (Figs. 26-28). Hunt believes that the congregants, to enter the church, used the right, eastern door, adorned by the eastern lintel (and the now-lost mosaic of the *Noli me tangere*), whereas to exit, they used the left, western door, adorned by the Christological western lintel (Figs. 3, 19-20). The imagery of the eastern entrance relates to mortal salvation at the very point of the creation of man, the world and its inhabitants. Hunt identifies the dragon on the lower left of the eastern lintel (Figs. 7, 11) as the Leviathan of Psalm 74, 12-14, whose heads are broken into pieces by God "in the midst of the earth." The omphalos, the central point of the world, where all things began, is located within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and together with the eastern lintel's symbolism, thus embodies in Hunt's view, a message of salvation.³¹

The center of the world undoubtedly represents a message of salvation; however, the lintel's dragon is not being torn apart as in Psalm 74, and its evil companions—the siren, centaur, other beasts and naked male figures (Figs. 5-18)—could not be associated with such a providential scheme. It is also indisputable that the naked male figures clearly allude to the medieval concept of sexuality, which was by no means a leveler, as Hunt claims. Moreover, Hunt ignores a whole Romanesque tradition of coupling naked figures shown in obscene postures and knotted with beasts within scrolls. This context, in particular the pairing of a siren with a centaur and other beasts (Figs. 13-14), does not allow us to accept Hunt's interpretation of mortal salvation. The riddle is indeed an intricate one; however, a careful look into the tradition and the semiotics may prove helpful in resolving it.

The animal symbolism of the eastern lintel

To make sense of the animal symbolism of the eastern lintel (Figs. 5-7, 10-17), let us try turning to medieval semiotics. Though Isidore of Seville connects monsters with a certain kind of sign in his *Etymologies*, he does not offer any decoding method.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 69-70, 74, 77-79. In n. 100 Hunt mentions the description of a dragon by Fulcher of Chartres, to be discussed below (see nn. 57 and 60 below); however, she does not link it either with the Bestiary tradition or with the implications of this crusader text for understanding the eastern lintel. For the omphalos, see FOLDA, *The Art of the Crusaders* (as in n. 1), pp. 213-214. For the lost mosaics of both the Virgin and Child of the western doorway, and the *Noli me tangere* of the eastern one, see *ibid.*, pp. 73, 225; VINCENT and ABEL, *Jérusalem nouvelle* (as in n. 1), p. 282; BOASE, "Ecclesiastical Art" (as in n. 9), p. 82; CORBO, V.C., *Il Santo Sepolchro di Gerusalemme*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Maior, No. 29, Jerusalem, 1981, Vol. 1, p. 193.



Fig. 24. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Eastern scroll lintel, reverse side, Fatimid reused relief. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Photo: British Mandate/Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 25. Toulouse, La Daurade, Cloister capital: Siren and centaur. Musée des Augustins. Photo: Author.

Isidore argues that “monsters and prodigies are called omens and portents because they seem to foretell and to disclose, to show and to predict some future things” (XI, 3:2). Accordingly, Isidore underscores them as either portents or allegorical figures. However, the Isidorian semiotics lacks any interpretive indication or scheme that might have helped us understand the meaning of these “monstrous signs.”³² Representation, sign and allegory are defined by Augustine as “a thing which causes us to think of something beyond the impression the thing itself makes on the senses.”³³ Signs and allegories demand the cognitive process of shifting thought from the thing itself to the meaning it signifies. Our lintel's beasts became rather common in Romanesque Europe, so they must have carried a well-established import, albeit a multilayered one, to the crusader patrons and congregants entering the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Let us then examine these “monstrous signs.”

Among the beasts rendered, special attention should be paid to the mythological couple of the siren and centaur (Figs. 13-15). In history, the first heroic appearance of sirens occurs in the celebrated encounter of Odysseus with these deadly creatures, who entice sailors toward shipwreck with their alluring singing. Unlike former navigators lured to their destruction by the enchanting sirens, Odysseus emerges unscathed, having successfully withstood the temptation of their singing.³⁴ It is rather surprising that Homer did not provide any physical description of these creatures, though later generations of Greeks did so. The Greek world knew only bird-sirens (otherwise known as harpies), whereas the Romanesque world rendered fish-tailed sirens (otherwise known as mermaids) interchangeably with harpies. Our eastern lintel siren is definitely an avian hybrid.

Yet in addition to their Homeric origin, sirens invaded the Bible by way of translation, first in the Septuagint and then in the Vulgate. Their mythical destructive nature lent itself both to the Septuagint translators and to Jerome, who instead of the rather exotic Hebrew Bible beasts, located sirens in Babylon, the sinful town to be destroyed. The Septuagint reads:

32 See the discussion in KIM, S.M., “Man-Eating Monsters and Ants as Big as Dogs. The Alienated Language of the Cotton Vitellius A.XV ‘Wonders of the East’”, in *Animals and the Symbolic* (as in n. 20), pp. 39-51, esp. pp. 42-43. For Isidore, see SAN ISIDORO DE SEVILLA, *Etimologías. Edición bilingüe*, XI, 3:2, ed. and trans. RETA, J.O. and CASQUERO, M.A.M., 2 Vols., Madrid, 1983.

33 SAINT AUGUSTINE, *On Christian Doctrine*, trans. ROBERTSON, D.W., New York, 1958, p. 34. See the discussion in KIM, “Man-Eating Monsters” (as in n. 32), pp. 44-45. See also the discussion in ZIOLKOWSKI, J.M., “Literary Genre and Animal Symbolism” (as in n. 20), pp. 1-23.

34 *The Odyssey of Homer*, bk. 12.36-54, and bk. 12.165-200 trans. LATTIMORE, R., New York, 1967; repr. 1975, pp. 186, 189-190. Odysseus follows the instructions of Circe (bk. 12.36-54); he orders his crew to tie him to the mast, while they stop their ears with wax. Sirens appear also in the *Argonautica*: APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Jason and the Golden Fleece (the Argonautica)*, bk. 1.23-25, 4.892, trans. HUNTER, R.L., World's Classics, Oxford, Eng., 1993; repr. 1995, pp. 3 and 119. However, the Odyssey had the stronger influence on the dissemination of the myth in Classical and, later, in Christian culture. See LECLERCQ-MARX, J., *La Sirène dans la pensée et dans l'art de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age. Du mythe païen au symbole chrétien*, Brussels, 1997, pp. 1-4. For the sirens adorning multiple Romanesque churches in Auvergne, see HEYMAN, “Sirens Chanting in Auvergne-Velay: A Story of Exegetical Pilgrimage on the *Via Podiensis*”, *Ad Limina*, 4, 2013, pp. 69-115.



Fig. 26. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Chapel of Adam, located beneath the Golgotha (Calvary) Chapel. Photo: Author.

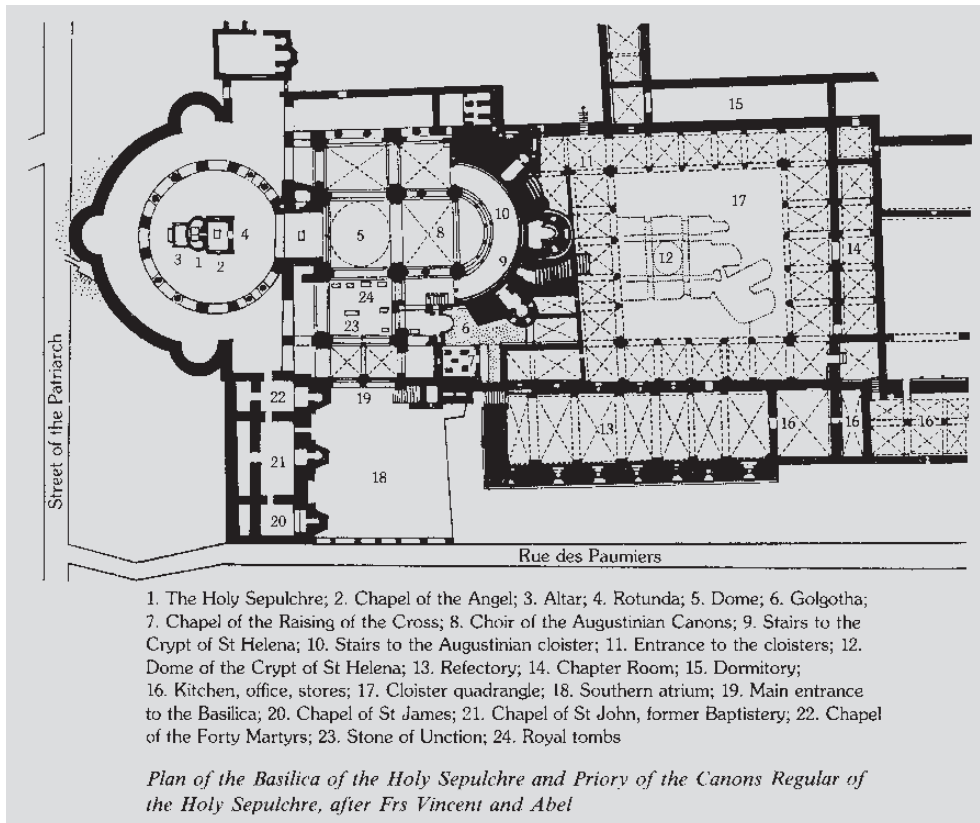


Fig. 27. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Crusader church ground plan, after Vincent and Abel.

Now beasts make their home there and an empty echo is heard in the houses. *Sirens* [my italics] have their habitation there and demons dance. Onocentaurs dwell there and hedgehogs breed in the halls (Isa. 13:21-22).³⁵

Jerome, too, located wailing sirens, as well as wild beasts, dragons, ostriches, the hairy ones and owls, in Babylon's wrecked "temples of pleasure" (Isa. 13:21-22).³⁶ Moreover, in his commentary of this passage from Isaiah, Jerome provides a semantic explanation: the sirens replace the Hebrew jackals, taking the form of big, plumed flying dragons.³⁷ The chant of the sirens haunted Jerome, who used them metaphorically time and again. Thus, in his commentary on the rather tedious biblical description of the sufferings the Children of Israel endured in their everlasting journeying in the desert (Numbers, 33:43), Jerome inserts a fantastic account of evil-boding sirens. But the Children of Israel, like Odysseus' crew, stop their ears and escape the moral shipwreck.³⁸

The association of the siren with a ruined town originates in mythology. Their malevolent chant of death, lamenting the demolition of Troy,³⁹ was also heard after the fall of the crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Syrian song, lamenting the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, makes use of the sirens' chant motif: "The siren wails among the people for the killing of the orphans, the peacock in the rushes laments the young dead."⁴⁰ Well before the fall of Jerusalem, in the crusader times of glory, the eastern lintel of the Church of the Anastasis was adorned with a lamenting siren. One should ask, then, over what kingdom was the siren grieving. This particular song of death, linked with the crusading notion of victory over the infidels, will be dealt with below.

Yet the sirens might signify another aspect of the crusader reality: like the Children of Israel in the commentary of Jerome, the crusaders too endured sufferings on

35 *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, ed. ZIEGLER, J., 3rd ed., Göttingen, 1983, p. 172. For the English translation, as cited here, see TRAVIS, W. J., "Of Sirens and Onocentaurs: A Romanesque Apocalypse at Montceaux-l'Etoile", *Artibus et Historiae*, 45 (23), 2002, p. 33, and n. 17. For the onocentaurs (ass-centaurs), see *ibid.*, pp. 32-35. For the Septuagint's sirens, see also LECLERCQ-MARX, *La sirène* (as in n. 34), pp. 41-43.

36 TRAVIS, "Of Sirens and Onocentaurs" (as in n. 35), pp. 32-34. For the various monsters (such as the dragon, the siren, the onocentaur, the griffin, etc.) populating the Vulgate, see KORDECKI, L., "Losing the Monster and Recovering the Non-Human in Fable(d) Subjectivity", in *Animals and the Symbolic* (as in n. 20), pp. 25-37, esp. pp. 30-32.

37 *Commentaires de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe*, bk. 5.20, Is. 13.20-22, ed. GRYSON, R. and COULIE, J., *Vetus Latina, die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel, aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel*, 27, Freiburg, 1994, Vol. 1, pp. 559-560: "dracones magnos interpretabimur, qui cristati sunt et uolantes".

38 JEROME, *Epistulae*, 78.38 (to Fabiola), ed. HILBERG, I., CSEL, Vol. 55, Vienna and Leipzig, 1996, p. 80: "non timebimus ab incursu et daemonio meridiano, sed obturabimus aures nostras, ne audiamus uoces incantantium, et sirenarum carmina neglegemus . . . sed nos qui habemus pretiosissimum thesaurum . . . omni custodia circumdemus cor nostrum".

39 When Odysseus arrives, the sirens greet him with the following words: "Come this way, honored Odysseus, great glory of the Achaeans, and stay your ship, so that you can listen here to our singing; for no one else has ever sailed past this place in his black ship until he has listened to the honey-sweet voice that issues from our lips; then goes on, well pleased, knowing more than ever he did; for we know everything that the Argives and Trojans did and suffered in wide Troy through the gods' despite" (*The Odyssey of Homer*, as in n. 34, bk. 12.184-190, p. 190).

40 WEICKER, G., *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Literatur und Kunst. Eine mythologisch-archäologische Untersuchung*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 78, cited by DE RACHEWILTZ, S.W., "De Sirenibus: An Inquiry into Sirens from Homer to Shakespeare", Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1983, Ann Arbor, 2003, p. 67, and n. 9.

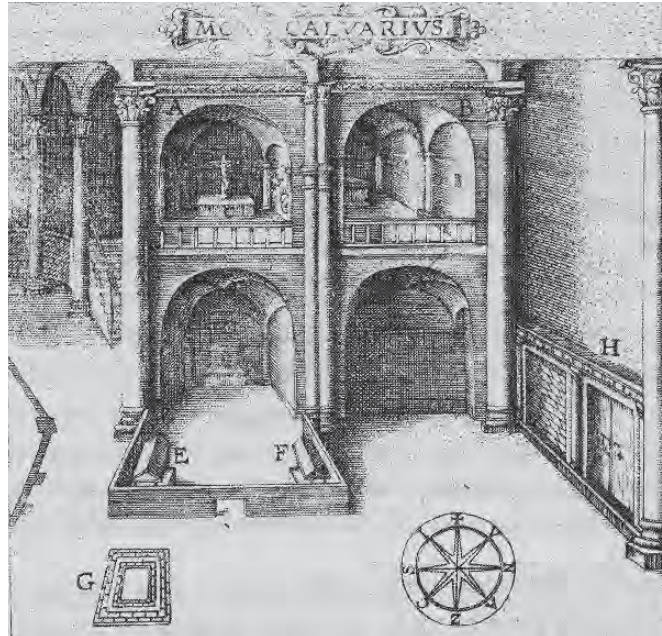


Fig. 28. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Calvary Chapel, Chapel of Adam and crusader royal tombs. Drawing of the pilgrim Giovanni Zuallardo, *Il devotissimo viaggio di Gerusalemme*, Roma, 1595, p. 186.



Fig. 29. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Chapel of the Franks (held by the Franciscans. Closed to the public), former entrance to the Chapel of Calvary, vine-scroll tympanum with mosaic. Photo: Author.

their road to Jerusalem, and overcame the dangers of the travel. Fighting a holy war at the behest of God, the crusaders were determined to take revenge on the infidels who had seized and desecrated the Holy Sepulchre. In their eyes, the crusaders were pilgrims, pledged in holy service to fight the infidel and restore the most sacred shrine of the Holy Sepulchre.⁴¹ As pilgrims, not only were they striving for the Promised Land, they might also have endured the dangers encountered along the way by the Children of Israel, as recounted by Jerome. As I showed elsewhere, Romanesque sirens were linked with the pilgrimage perils.⁴²

But let us turn to the siren's mythological and biblical mate, the lintel's arrow-shooting centaur (Figs. 13-14). Cast out at birth, centaurs were born of the evil Ixion through a rather unusual union with a cloud. The newly born Kentauros slept with Magnesians mares, giving life to a herd of one of the most infamous of mythological beasts, the half-man and half-horse centaur. Decorating, for example, the metopes of the Parthenon (in the scheme of the Centauromachy), centaurs, a feral and vicious lot, came to symbolize the conflict between classical civilization and barbarism.⁴³ The centaurs emerged in the Bible in ass-like, rather than horse-like, form (the onocentaur or ass-centaur). Sharing the destructive nature of their siren mates, it is not surprising to find centaurs in the debauched city of Babylon in the above-cited Septuagint version of Isaiah 13:21-22, as well as in Edom:

And in the land shall live birds and vipers, and ibises and ravens, and thorns shall be cast into that deserted land, and onocentaurs shall dwell there. There shall be no rules of the land; for its kings and its rulers and its grandees shall be destroyed. And nettles shall sprout up in their cities and in the securest places of the land and the hamlet shall be full of sirens and the house shall be full of sparrows. And spirits shall meet with onocentaurs and they shall call to each other; There shall the onocentaurs halt, for they shall have found rest for themselves.⁴⁴

Jerome separates the couple; his description of the desecraters of Babylon is attended only by sirens (Isaiah, 13:21-22), while "demons and onocentaurs shall meet,

⁴¹ See, for example, WILLIAM ARCHBISHOP OF TYRE, *A History* (as in n. 15), bk. 2.10-14, bk. 3.18, bk. 6.12-14, bk. 8.6, bk. 8.21, Vol. 1, pp. 129-136, 177, 278-282, 352, 373-374, respectively. For the Latin version, see WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Historia* (as in n. 15), bk. 2.10-14, bk. 3.18, bk. 6.12-14, bk. 8.6, bk. 8.21, in RHC, HOCC, Vol. 1.1, pp. 86-93, 138-139, 253-258, 331-332, 356-357, respectively; GUILLAUME DE TYR, *Chronique* (as in n. 15), bk. 2.10-14, bk. 3.18, bk. 6.12-14, bk. 8.6, bk. 8.21, CCCM, Vol. 63, pp. 173-180, 219-220, 322-325, 392-393, 413-415, respectively. See the discussion in EDBURY, P.W. and ROWE, J.G., *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series, ed. LUSCOMBE, D.E., Cambridge, Eng. 1988, repr. 1990, pp. 151-166. For the concept of the Crusade as a holy war, see ERDMANN, C., *Origin of the Idea of the Crusade*, Princeton, 1977, pp. 201-228; COWDREY, H.E.J., "The Genesis of the Crusades: The Springs of Western Ideas of Holy War", in *The Holy War*, ed. MURPHY, T.P., Columbus, 1976, pp. 9-32; THROOP, S., *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance, 1095-1216*, Farnham, Eng., 2011.

⁴² For Jerome, see n. 38 above. For the motif of sirens in pilgrimage shrines, see HEYMAN, "Sirens Chanting in Auvergne-Velay" (as in n. 34).

⁴³ For a survey of the genealogy of centaurs, see LEVENTOPOULOU, M. et al., "Kentauroi et Kentaurodes", in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zurich, 1997, Vol. 8/2, pp. 671-721.

⁴⁴ See the translation and discussion in TRAVIS, "Of Sirens and Onocentaurs" (as in n. 35), pp. 33-34.



Fig. 30. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Chapel of the Franks (held by the Franciscans. Closed to the public), former entrance to the Chapel of Calvary, exterior view. Photo: Author.



Fig. 31. Abbey of the Tomb of Mary, Valley of Jehoshaphat, Jerusalem: Fresco of the abbey's almshouse, discovered in 2002. Remains of the scene of the Deësis and acanthus frieze. Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo: Avi Hay.

and the hairy ones shall cry out to one another" (Isaiah, 34:11-14) in the debris of Edom.⁴⁵ Though less entrancing than the fatal sirens, centaurs and their peculiar Septuagint and Vulgate mutation, the onocentaurs, likewise captivated the imagination of the church fathers.⁴⁶ Symbolizing the conflict between reason and moral turpitude, the couple enjoyed a splendid livelihood, especially in sinful heretic dwellings, destroyed for their sins.⁴⁷ I shall return to this connotation.

The twin settings of mythology and the Bible produced a magnificent afterlife for both sirens and centaurs in the literary body, known as the *Bestiary* tradition. The *Physiologus* (*The Naturalist*), a second-century Greek compilation, better known in its Latin version as the *Bestiary* (Book of Beasts), presents real and fabulous animals that reveal Christian truths and morals. Making headway together with the Vulgate, the colorful *Physiologus* grew to be a medieval bestseller. It was translated into Latin (as the *Bestiary*), Arabic, Syrian, Armenian and Ethiopian, and later into all the European vernacular languages. The *Bestiary* became a model text, studied in schools; conveying a moral lesson, it offered rich material for sermons and hymns.⁴⁸

The relevant passage in the *Bestiary* always opens with a citation from Isaiah 13:21-22, followed by a description of the imaginary beasts and their legend and concluding with a moral lesson.⁴⁹ In its portrayal of the onocentaurs, the sirens' companion hybrids, the *Bestiary* cites 2 Timothy 3:5: "Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof: from such turn away." The second Pauline epistle to Timothy is especially pertinent to the admonition of sin, for it reprimands those "lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud blasphemers ... traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God" (2 Timothy 3:2-4). The *Bestiary's* warning against the deadly creatures is further reinforced by a citation from Psalms 49:20: "Man that is in honour, and understandeth not, is like the beasts that perish." The half-human, half-bird sirens sing a sweet but fatal song. Men attracted to their chant

45 Ibid., pp. 34-36.

46 See, for example, GREGORY THE GREAT, *Moralia in Job*, bk. 8.28 and 36 (as in n. 18), Vol. 143, pp. 359f. Gregory the Great equated the onocentaurs with the perfidious Jews. See TRAVIS, "Of Sirens and Onocentaurs" (as in n. 35), p. 39. See also THOMAS OF CANTIMPRÉ, *Liber de natura rerum*, bk. 3.1, ed. BOESE, H., Berlin, 1973. For centaurs in late medieval literature, see JONGEN, L., "Do Centaurs Have Souls? Centaurs as Seen by the Middle Dutch Poet Jacob van Maerlant", in *Animals and the Symbolic* (as in n. 20), pp. 139-154.

47 TRAVIS, "Of Sirens and Onocentaurs" (as in n. 35), p. 39.

48 It is beyond the scope of the present study to discuss the versions of the *Bestiary*. See ORLANDI, G., "La tradizione del 'Physiologus' e i prodromi del bestiaro latino", in *L'uomo di fronte al mondo animale nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 7-13 aprile 1983, Spoleto, 1985, Vol. 2, pp. 1057-1106; MURATOVA, X., *The Medieval Bestiary*, Moscow, 1986; SCHUCHARD, B., "La vérité d'un bestiaire", *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 17, 1986, pp. 111-132; HASSIG, D., *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology*, Res Monographs on Anthropology and Aesthetics, ed. PELLIZZI, F., Cambridge, Eng., 1995; BAXTER, R., *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages*, London, 1998. For the role of the *Bestiary* in the ecclesiastical world, see VOISENET, *Bêtes et hommes dans le monde medieval* (as in n. 18). For medieval sculpted bestiary, see DEBIDOUR, *Le bestiaire sculpté du Moyen Age* (as in n. 20), esp. pp. 225-235 (for sirens and centaurs).

49 *The Book of Beasts, translated from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth-Century*, ed. and trans. WHITE, T.H., London, 1954; repr. Stroud, 1992, pp. 134-135. For a Latin version, see *Physiologus latinus: éditions préliminaires, versio B*, 12, ed. CARMODY, F.J., Paris, 1939, pp. 25-26. See Travis, "Of Sirens and Onocentaurs" (as in n. 35), pp. 36-38.



Fig. 32. Abbey of the Tomb of Mary, Valley of Jehoshaphat, Jerusalem: Fresco of the abbey's almshouse, discovered in 2002. Detail of the acanthus frieze. Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo: Avi Hay.



Fig. 33. Abbey of the Tomb of Mary, Valley of Jehoshaphat, Jerusalem: Fresco of the abbey's almshouse, discovered in 2002. Detail of the acanthus frieze. Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo: Avi Hay.



Fig. 34. Fragment: Hunting scene within an acanthus scroll. Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Museum, Jerusalem (closed to the public). Photo: Zehava Jacoby Collection, Haifa University.

on a long journey are ignorant and foolish, for they yield to the worldly and sensual temptations of the flesh, and enjoy spectacles, theater, and worldly songs. Half-beast, half-human, doubly menacing female hybrids, sirens are associated with onocentaurs, whose symbolism they share.⁵⁰

Exegetical writings enhanced the polyvalent symbolism of sirens and centaurs, reconciling scripture and mythology. William Travis discussed more than seventy such texts, concluding that there is almost no vice these creatures do not encompass, from lust to pride, hypocrisy, treachery, sluggishness, malice, and so on and so forth.⁵¹ Of this mass of exegesis, a sermon of Honorius of Autun, delivered on Septuagesima Sunday (the third Sunday before Lent), is of particular interest. Providing a mystical explanation for the enemies of Christ, Honorius parallels Odysseus facing the peril of the sirens with Christ. The deep sea signifies the world, while the three

⁵⁰ *Physiologus latinus* (as in n. 49), pp. 25-26. See TRAVIS, "Of Sirens and Onocentaurs" (as in n. 35), pp. 36-38; FARAL, E., "La queue de poisson des sirènes", *Romania*, 74, 1953, pp. 434-437; De Rachewiltz, "De Sirenibus" (as in n. 40), pp. 82-86; LECLERCQ-MARX, *La sirène* (as in n. 34), pp. 45-47, 62-65.

⁵¹ TRAVIS, "Of Sirens and Onocentaurs" (as in n. 35), pp. 38-40 and Appendix (which includes 81 references to both "Church Texts" and "The Physiologus and Its Derivatives"), pp. 56-58. See n. 46 above.



Fig. 35. Fragment found in a storage of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Animal fight within an acanthus scroll. Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Museum, Jerusalem (closed to the public). Photo: Zehava Jacoby Collection, Haifa University.

sirens chant the song of avarice, boastfulness, and lust. The remedy for such vices is benevolent and virtuous conduct, expressed in the restoration of churches, in sustaining the poor and in visiting the Holy Sepulchre ("et alia loca"). The preferable chant, which leads to salvation, is going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, distributing alms and praying in a high voice. Christians, following the model of Odysseus, navigate in the sea of life or, in other words, in the ship of the Church, averting their hearts from vice. The victorious journey of Odysseus, in his encounter with the malevolent sirens, offers an ultimate metaphor for pilgrimage.⁵² Replicating the text of

⁵² HONORIUS OF AUTUN, *Dominica in Septuagesima, Speculum ecclesiae*, Pt. 3, PL, Vol. 172, cols. 855-857. Odysseus, tied to the mast, signifies the crucified Christ: "Timore Dei se ad arborem navis, id est ad crucem Christi, ligat" (col. 857). The same phrasing recurs in WERNER OF ST-BLAISE, *Liber de florationes SS. patrum*, PL, Vol. 157, col. 849. See also MAXIMUS OF TURIN, *Sermones*, Sermon 37.1-2 ("De die sancto Paschae et de cruce Domini"), ed. MUTZENBECHER, A., CCSL, Vol. 23, Turnhout, 1962, pp. 145-146 (see also PL, Vol. 57, cols. 339-340). For an English translation, see *Sermons of St. Maximus of Turin*, trans. RAMSEY, B., *Ancient Christian Writers: the Works of the Fathers in Translation*, Vol. 50, New York, 1989, pp. 89-90. For the Odysseus-Christ parallel, see RAHNER, H., "Antenna Crucis. I. Odysseus am Mastbaum", *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 65, 1941, pp. 123-152, No. 106; idem, "Odysseus on the Mast", in his *Greek Myths and Christian Mystery*, London, 1963, Chapter 7, pp. 328-386.

Honorius in his sermon for Septuagesima Sunday, Werner of Saint-Blaise employs the same exemplary language.⁵³

It is noteworthy that several lines before the Septuagesima Sunday's sermon, both Honorius and Werner introduce sinful Babylon set against paradisiacal Jerusalem: "Hierusalem est paradisus, Nabuchodonosor est diabolus, Babylonia est hic mundus."⁵⁴ Taking the road to crusader Jerusalem, it appears that the multilayered perspectives of the Septuagint, the Vulgate and exegesis, situating sirens and centaurs in the devilish town of Babylon, played a major role in inspiring the obscure imagery of the eastern lintel, forming an antipode to the salvation scenario of the western one.

The crusader vision at the door (Figs. 2-6, 19)

According to the biblical tradition described above, sirens and centaurs reside in ruined towns. This connotation is highly suggestive with regard to the crusader vision of the New (Frankish) Jerusalem constructed upon the ruins of the Saracen regime in the Holy Land. The ultimate symbol to represent this notion is the Rotunda of the Anastasis, commemorating the Resurrection of Jesus from the dead and his victory over Satan (probably depicted in the now-lost mosaic of the Byzantine apse in the scene of the Harrowing of Hell).⁵⁵ Thus, the siren, centaur, dragon and other beasts, as well as the obscene naked figures, are caught in an ever-growing lamentation that represents the destruction of Muslim rule, symbolized by the biblical ruined towns of Babylon and Edom. The new crusader (earthly) kingdom is thus seen as prefiguring the celestial kingdom. This anagogical interpretation is suggested by Baldric of Dol who claims: "The Jerusalem which you see, to which you have come, and in whose presence you stand, prefigures and represents the heavenly city." At the same time, Baldric expresses the fear "that the heavenly city will be closed to us, and taken away from us, if our house is seized by malignant strangers as a result of our slothfulness."⁵⁶

This passage bears testimony to the two notions the eastern lintel (Figs. 5-18) might represent: that the earthly Jerusalem was conquered from "malignant strangers"—that is, the Saracens—and that the road to celestial Jerusalem has to be paved by chasing away those strangers (as well as sins). This brings us to yet another layer of meaning of the lintel, the funerary context—that is, the posthumous wish of

53 WERNER OF ST.-BLAISE, *Liber de florationes SS. Partum* (as in n. 52), cols. 847-850.

54 Ibid., col. 847; HONORIUS OF AUTUN, *Dominica in Septuagesima* (as in n. 52), col. 855.

55 For the lost apse mosaic, see n. 22 above.

56 BALDRIC OF DOL, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, in RHC HOcc, Vol. 4, p. 101, cited and translated by HOUSLEY, N., "Jerusalem and the Development of the Crusade Idea, 1099-1128", in *The Horns of Hattin* (as in n. 3), p. 29. For the juxtaposition of the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem in various crusader sources, see *ibid.*, pp. 35-37.



Fig. 36. Fragment of a frieze from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Animals within an acanthus scroll. Franciscan Museum of the Flagellation Monastery, Jerusalem. Photo: Zehava Jacoby Collection, Haifa University.



Fig. 37. Fragment of a frieze: Hunting scene within an acanthus scroll. Armenian Patriarchate Museum, Jerusalem (closed to the public). Photo: Zehava Jacoby Collection, Haifa University.



Fig. 38. Abbey of the Tomb of Mary, Valley of Jehoshaphat, Jerusalem: Fragment of a lintel, reused at the door of the Tomb of Mary. Human half-naked figure and animals within an acanthus scroll. Photo: Zehava Jacoby Collection, Haifa University.

the buried crusader kings to enter the heavenly kingdom after they accomplished the much desired conquest of the infidels—probably shown symbolically tamed and doomed forever on the scrolled lintel. I shall return to this point later.

Documentation as to the phases of the construction and decoration programs of the crusader Church of the Holy Sepulchre is lacking, as is the case with other major Romanesque buildings. The chronicles of the first crusade describe extensively the road to Jerusalem taken by the crusaders and the conquest of Jerusalem. Other sources relate to the date of the dedication of the new crusader church. However, there is no mention whatsoever of the sculptural programs of the lintels. As the eastern lintel represents a sort of bestiary, a characteristic rather overlooked by past scholarship, it is surprising to see that historians of the crusades, who studied every available record, did not pay attention to a particular chapter in the second version of the chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres that describes the species of beasts to be found in the Lands of the Saracens.⁵⁷ As the description does not treat any combat or conquest, and belongs to the long-enduring tradition of the *Bestiary*, it was of no interest to scholars of the crusades. I believe that Fulcher's account might offer a clue to the understanding of the eastern lintel decoration.

⁵⁷ FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, bk. 3.49, trans. RYAN, F.R., ed. FINK, H.S., Knoxville, 1969, pp. 284-288. For the Latin version, see FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *Historia Iherosolymitana*, in RHC HOcc., bk. 3.49, Vol. 3, pp. 475-476; HAGENMEYER, H. (ed.), *Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, bk. 3.49, Heidelberg, 1913, pp. 780, 783f.

It is quite astonishing the extent to which the fabulous *Bestiary* repertoire served such chroniclers as Fulcher of Chartres in illustrating the curiosities of the Lands of the Saracens, obviously from a negatively prejudiced viewpoint, based on the premises of the established rich tradition of European books of beasts. For this reason, this chapter is quite different from the flowing narrative of the historical events minutely portrayed by Fulcher, though it certainly enriches his account. While in this chapter Fulcher cites Solinus,⁵⁸ in a later chapter he dwells further on the "Marvels of the East," this time citing the legendary expedition of Alexander the Great to India.⁵⁹ If crusader historians did not refer to this bestiary-like chapter of Fulcher, art historians ignored it altogether in their attempt to decode the strange bestial imagery of the eastern lintel.⁶⁰

Though the beasts of the eastern lintel do not follow exactly the beasts mentioned in Fulcher's text, they share the explicit moral notion ascribed to this sort of imagery and are linked with the immorality of the Saracens. For example, when Fulcher describes the crocodile, he names it "an evil quadruped." Other quadrupeds residing "in one stream of Caesarea in Palestine ... were brought there recently from the Nile itself by malicious deceit. Hence now they often devour other animals and do much other damage." Among Fulcher's beasts appear "real dragons," which we can discern on the lintel to the left (Fig. 11). The identification could become more inclusive if we take into account the "certain beast the name of which no man has ever known or heard. It has a face like a he-goat, a hairy neck like a little ass, cloven hoofs, a tail like a calf, and it is larger than a ram." Then come "the griffins, extremely savage birds, mad beyond all insanity," and the mantichora, which "voraciously seeks after human flesh."⁶¹

Although Fulcher does not mention the hybrid figure of the siren, he shares his contemporaries' view of the hybrid as "other,"⁶² endowed with a particular Saracen flavor. With regard to Fulcher's sources, whatever the many versions and alterations of the original compilation of the *Bestiary*, the now biblical sirens and other beasts keep recurring in their original symbolism.

Following the *Bestiary* tradition, Fulcher's portrayal of the beasts of the Saracens fits well into the setting of oriental horrors (not only beasts), described extensively by other crusader chroniclers, as well as into the *chansons de geste* of the period. The

58 FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem* (as in n. 57), bk. 3.49, p. 288. For the Latin version, see FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *Historia Iherosolymitana* (as in n. 57), bk. 3.49, Vol. 3, p. 476; HAGENMEYER, *Fulcheri Carnotensis historia* (as in n. 57), bk. 3.49, p. 783. For Solinus, a third-century writer, see WITTKOWER, R., "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters", in his *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols: The Collected Essays of Rudolf Wittkower*, London, 1977, repr. 1987, p. 49.

59 FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem* (as in n. 57), bk. 3.60, pp. 300-302. For the Latin version, see FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *Historia Iherosolymitana* (as in n. 57), bk. 3.60, Vol. 3, pp. 483-484; HAGENMEYER, *Fulcheri Carnotensis historia* (as in n. 57), bk. 3.60, p. 815.

60 Though HUNT, "Artistic and Cultural Inter-Relations" (as in n. 5), n. 100, mentions Fulcher's dragon, she does not link it to the possible implications for the lintel's bestiary. See n. 31 above. This chapter, forming part of the "Marvels of the East", is cited briefly in WITTKOWER, "Marvels of the East" (as in n. 58), pp. 58-60.

61 See n. 57 above.

62 See n. 81 below.

Saracens appear as pagan idolaters, indulging in promiscuous sexual habits. For the Franks, the moral perversion of the Muslims is beyond a shadow of a doubt.⁶³ Baudri of Bourgueil affirms that the Muslims worship idols in the Temple of the Lord.⁶⁴ Robert the Monk takes pleasure in describing the lamentations of the Muslims over their defeat, reproaching Mohammad for his ingratitude, after they did their best to venerate him in his temple, covering his tomb with gold.⁶⁵ Should we link these lamentations with the lintel's siren (Fig. 15), notorious for her everlasting dirge, especially over ruined towns?

Jean Flori contends that in Christian eyes, Islam was actually assimilated into ancient paganism, thus enabling the identification of the crusaders with biblical heroes, fighting like the Hebrews for the Promised Land or confronting the pagans like the apostles and martyrs. This was the war of the right religion against paganism and the Antichrist.⁶⁶ According to Baudri of Bourgueil the Muslims are far more impious than the biblical Jebusites of the Land of Kanaan.⁶⁷ The impiety, idolatry, immorality and iniquity ascribed to the Saracens recur time and again in the writings of the period. Perhaps the most convincing testimony as to the diabolical, heathen, and sinful nature of the Saracens as perceived by the crusaders is their equation with Babylon, the ultimate symbol of a sinning town, the birthplace of the Antichrist, condemned to perdition. Whereas terrestrial Jerusalem is the location of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, and the New Jerusalem to come at the end of time offers salvation, Babylon represents its decisive opposite, symbolizing moral corruption, idolatry and vice altogether.⁶⁸

The most fitting place to render this dichotomy, based on the crusader vision of both the terrestrial and New Jerusalem, was the holiest shrine of the Holy Sepulchre, whose lintels might reflect this disparate concept (Fig. 3). The crusaders identified

63 FLORI, J., "Oriens horribilis... Tares et défauts de l'Orient dans les sources relatives à la première croisade", in *Croisade et chevalerie, XIe-XIIe siècles*, Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, Vol. 12, Paris, 1998, pp. 179-194; idem, "La caricature de l'islam dans l'Occident médiéval. Origine et signification de quelques stéréotypes concernant l'islam", in *ibid.*, pp. 163-178; HERDE, P., "Christians and Saracens at the Time of the Crusades", *Studia Gratiana*, 12, 1967, pp. 361-376; HILL, R., "The Christian View of the Muslims at the Rise of the First Crusades", in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. HOLT, P.M., Warminster, 1977, pp. 1-7. For the negative image of Muslims in the *chansons de geste*, see MEREDITH-JONES, C., "The Conventional Saracen of the Song of Geste", *Speculum*, 17, 1942, pp. 201-225; DANIEL, N., *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the Chansons de Geste*, Edinburgh, 1984.

64 BAUDRI OF BOURGUEIL, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, bk.1.4, in RHC, HOcc., Vol. 4, p. 13, cited by FLORI, "Oriens horribilis" (as in n. 63), p. 181. For the idol of Muhammad venerated by Muslims according to crusader chronicles, see CAMILLE, *The Gothic Idol* (as in n. 2), pp. 142-151.

65 ROBERT THE MONK, *Hierosolomytana expedition*, bk. 9.21, in RHC, HOcc., Vol. 3, p. 877f, cited by FLORI, "Oriens horribilis" (as in n. 63), pp. 181-182.

66 FLORI, "Oriens horribilis" (as in n. 63), pp. 183-184. For the equation of Islam with ancient paganism, see also CAMILLE, *The Gothic Idol* (as in n. 2), pp. 139-140.

67 BAUDRI OF BOURGUEIL, *Historia Hierosolymitana* (as in n. 64), bk.1.4, p. 13, cited by FLORI, "Oriens horribilis" (as in n. 63), pp. 185 and 193.

68 FLORI, "Oriens horribilis" (as in n. 63), p. 194 and n. 69; idem, "Une ou plusieurs 'première croisade'? Le message d'Urbain II et les plus anciens pogroms d'Occident", *Revue Historique*, 285, 1991, pp. 3-27, repr. in *Croisade et chevalerie* (as in n. 63), pp. 217-241.

two Babylons: the historical one in Mesopotamia and a second, New Babylon in contemporary Egypt. The Mesopotamian Babylon, the place, it is said, where the Tower of Babylon was constructed, resulting in the confusion of languages, was considered a terrestrial Paradise. The important point for us is that the two Babylons were entirely destroyed and deserted; no man or woman lived there. In the Mesopotamian Babylon a serpent and a female serpent (probably reflecting the Vulgate siren or dragons), as well as other serpents resided among the ruined walls of the Tower of Babylon,⁶⁹ thus distilling Jerome's rich menagerie into one appalling monster, the serpent.

Originating in the biblical descriptions, it appears that the echo of the destruction of Babylon and its strange "serpentine" inhabitants is expressed in the peopled-scroll lintel of the Holy Sepulchre (Figs. 5-6). Though lacking the biblical connotation, it is interesting to note that Albert of Aachen, too, links deadly serpents with the Saracens in Sidon.⁷⁰ Curiously enough (and though postdating the lintel discussed here), Rothelin, in the *Continuation of William of Tyre*, basing himself on what he found in ancient books, describes the perils of the sea as including the bird-sirens among the other monsters of the sea swimming in the Nile River, thus again linking such monsters to a Muslim ambience. The good knight—that is the crusader—should be aware of such perils when he sets out on his journey.⁷¹

This sort of animal symbolism appears to have attained considerable success in the crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. Lucy-Anne Hunt draws attention to a centaur shooting a siren across the scrolls, atop the initial letter B in the illumination of the *Beatus Vir* Psalm 1, in the Psalter of Queen Melisende (dated 1131-1143). Hunt points out the connections among the crusader ateliers working on the sculptures and manuscripts in the Holy Sepulchre in twelfth-century Jerusalem.⁷² In Psalm 1:1 can be found the injunction to avoid sinful surroundings, phrased in the opposing-poles mode that characterizes both the sculpted lintels and the Psalter's illumination

69 *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin*, chapter 24 ("Quantes Babiloinnes sont"), in RHC HOCC., Vol. 2, pp. 536-537: "Ces ii Babiloinnes sont toutes destruites et desertes: il n'i habite homme ne fame. En cel leu de Mesopotamie habitent tant de serpent et de couleuvre et d'autrez serpentines es ruines des murailles qui sont en la Tour que li jaient firent, plus que en leu qui soit en cele terre". In n. a, p. 537, the editor cites Isaiah, 13:21, "sed requiescent ibi bestiae et replebuntur domus eorum draconibus".

70 ALBERT OF AACHEN, *Historiae*, bk. 5.40, in RHC HOCC, Vol. 4, pp. 458-459.

71 *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* (as in n. 69), chapter 45 ("Des perilz et des tormenz qui sont en mer"), pp. 571-573: "des tempests et des perilz qui sont en mer, et des manieres diversez de serpenz et de bestes, et de monsters des deserz qui la repairent, et de la nature dou flun de Nil ... desouz Egypte ... Une perilz est en mer de serainnes. Serainnes sont unz monstrez de mer, qui ont des le nombril en a mont semblances d'oisiaux". See also *ibid.*, chapter 46 ("De ce meismes"), pp. 573-574. For the measures to be taken by the knight against "des granz perilz de venz", see *ibid.*, chapter 47, pp. 574-575. See also *ibid.*, chapter 48 ("Des diverz perilz des serpenz"), pp. 575-576, and subsequent chapters ("De ce meismes"), pp. 576-581.

72 London, British Museum, Egerton 1139, Fol. 23v. See HUNT, "Artistic and Cultural Inter-Relations" (as in n. 5), pp. 77-78. For illustration, see BUCHTAL, H., *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, London, 1957, p. 12 and Pl. 13. See also RAHAMANI, "The Eastern Lintel" (as in n. 6), p. 123. It is interesting to note that a mermaid and a head of a demon decorate one of the crusader Temple area workshop's fragments of unknown provenance (now in the Islamic Museum in the Temple area, Jerusalem). See JACOBY, "The Workshop of the Temple Area in Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century: Its Origin, Evolution and Impact", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 45, 1982, pp. 343-344 and Fig. 46.

showing King David playing the harp: "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful."

Returning to the Christian view of Muslims, Debra Higgs Strickland observes that the Saracens, considered malicious by Christians, correspond closely in character, behavior and appearance to the Monstrous Races. Of prime importance is the description of some Saracens as savage beings, going around naked.⁷³ If the lintel's beasts stand for the feral ambience of the Saracens imbued with polyvalent mythological, biblical and exegetical symbolism, then the naked male figures could represent the hideous Saracens (Figs. 8-9, 18). The gesture of pointing at their genitalia may hint that they are circumcised Muslims (as, for instance, the Jews are represented on the portal of Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne, though clothed). Kenneth Stow observes that "Muslims in the East symbolized mythical unknowns."⁷⁴ As remarked by Higgs Strickland, the Christian image of the Muslim, which bore little resemblance to real Muslims, was actually an image of an "imaginary Muslim."⁷⁵ What could be more appropriate to depict the pagan, heretical and satanic enemies of God than naked figures, some are pointing at their genitalia (Figs. 8-9, 18), abiding in bestial scrolls in conjunction with mythical beasts (Figs. 5-6, 13-15), some of which are described by Fulcher of Chartres as those inhabiting the Lands of the Saracens?

The funerary context

Being non-narrative, in that it does not tell a simple story, the eastern lintel (Figs. 4-6), in contrast to the Christological western one (Fig. 19), may be understood as being in essence amuletic.⁷⁶ Employing the prevalent Romanesque bestial vocabulary, the imagery is neither rare nor in the least to be considered merely as a curiosity. A church represents a well-defined iconographic system of images. Whereas saintly figures and narrative cycles, such as the Christological one adorning the western

73 HIGGS STRICKLAND, D., *Saracens, Demons, Jews. Making Monsters in Medieval Art*, Princeton and Oxford, 2003, Chapter 4, "Saracens, Tartars, and Other Crusader Fantasies", pp. 157-209, esp. p. 159.

74 STOW, K.R., *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe*, Cambridge, Mass., 1992, pp. 106-107, referring to the crusaders' attack on the Jews. See the discussion in HIGGS STRICKLAND, *Saracens, Demons, Jews* (as in n. 73), pp. 162-163. For Beaulieu, see FRENCH, J.M., *The Innovative Imagery of the Beaulieu Portal Program: Sources and Significance*, Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor, 1972.

75 HIGGS STRICKLAND, *Saracens, Demons, Jews* (as in n. 73), p. 165. See her discussion, pp. 165-188, of the monstrous image of the idolatrous Saracens in medieval art (mainly in images that postdate the Holy Sepulchre lintel). For the idolatry of the Muslims, manifested for the most part in works of art postdating the lintel discussed here, see also CAMILLE, *The Gothic Idol* (as in n. 2), Chapter 3, "Idols of the Saracens", pp. 129-164.

76 For the role of amulets in medieval sculpture, see LOEWENTHAL, L.J.A., "Amulets in Medieval Sculpture: I. General Outline", *Folklore*, Vol. 89 (1978), pp. 3-12; SÜTTERLIN, C., "Universals in Apotropaic Symbolism: A Behavioral and Comparative Approach to Some Medieval Sculptures", *Leonardo*, 22, No. 1, *Art and the New Biology: Biological Forms and Patterns*, 1989, pp. 65-74.

lintel, are intelligible to anyone with firsthand knowledge of the Bible and other possible sources, the representations of the eastern lintel do not lend themselves to unambiguous interpretation. They thus form a hole in the representational system.⁷⁷

Bernard of Clairvaux took the path of characterizing such "unclean" images as "nonsense."⁷⁸ But these sculptures representing Satan and his gang should be considered in the context of their location at the entrance to the Chapel of Adam and the burial chapel of the crusader kings (Figs. 26-28). It is true that such "unclean" imagery violates Christian taboos, but it cannot therefore be seen as an outcome of arbitrary wild imagination. Notions of sin and vice as the antithesis of Christian morals serve to arrive at an unproblematic comprehension of the figures. The beasts and naked figures caught up in the twisting scrolls are unholy enough to show how sinning humans might end up if they fail to follow approved Christian ethics. Haunting the fathers of the Church in their repulsive "pagan," infidel and evil character, their subjugated position within the scrolls (Figs. 5-7, 9, 14, and 16) indicates their loss of power within the most sacred building of Christianity.

Nevertheless, the images' self-assured appearance might be linked with their apotropaic and amuletic power, intentionally located at the entrance to the royal burial chapel (No. 24 on ground plan, Fig. 27, and Figs. 26, 28) to signify the dismissal of evil forces from the heavenly world the dead crusader kings entered. Given the funerary context in which sirens played a part,⁷⁹ the beasts are thus endowed with an apotropaic vitality that ascertains the yearnings of the dead. By domesticating the untamed, the imagery provides a liminal protective threshold whose boundaries sharply define the "good" and the "evil," and separate the two. As with amulets, where representations of the genitalia recur,⁸⁰ this imagery of beasts and obscenely gesturing naked figures is meant to turn away the evil forces and spirits from both the living and the dead. Ritualizing and domesticating the beasts in the carved lintel marks the territory as sacred and protects its confines in terms of the Christian faith in the newly established crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem (Figs. 3-4).

Steve Baker contends that "prejudice constructs the animal as absolutely other, and by association those who identify with the animal themselves come

77 For the representational system employed in ecclesiastical settings, see the discussion of SÜTTERLIN, "Universals in Apotropaic Symbolism" (as in n. 76), pp. 65-67. My comment on the "system" and its "holes" is based on Sütterlin.

78 BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, *Apologia*, 28-29, in RUDOLPH, C., *The "Things of Greater Importance". Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude toward Art*, Philadelphia, 1990, pp. 10-12 (English translation), and pp. 278-282 (Latin). See the discussion in SÜTTERLIN, "Universals in Apotropaic Symbolism" (as in n. 76), p. 66.

79 DE RACHEWILTZ, "De Sirenibus" (as in n. 40), pp. 51-54. See the discussion in VALDEZ DEL ALAMO, "The Saint's Capital" (as in n. 7), p. 120, relating to the funerary context in which sirens appear in the cloister of Santo Domingo in Silos.

80 SÜTTERLIN, "Universals in Apotropaic Symbolism" (as in n. 76), pp. 70-73.

to be seen as other.”⁸¹ The inherently insubordinate beasts and naked beings are subordinated to the rule of the composition within the scrolls, thus establishing an overt hierarchy between the “good” images of the Christological lintel (Fig. 19) and the “evil” ones representing forces to be chased from the sacred precincts of the church. The antipodes, then, help define the border between heaven and hell in the afterlife. Carrying the baggage of centuries of polyvalent meanings, the beasts become a means to define the edges of human and historical existence in the newly established Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem. Knowing that the pagans and infidels, as rendered by the lintel's imagery, are symbolically restrained, the crusader kings could rest in peace.

The increasing esteem of this metaphoric linkage has made possible a redefinition of “good” and “evil.” Moreover, this redefinition becomes less generalized and more specific once we take into consideration the crusader identification of “evil” with the infidel regime in the Holy Land, whose destruction the crusaders so eagerly, actively and successfully, albeit cruelly, sought. The scrolls' capture of the beasts and sinners signifies a victory over malevolence—which is what the Saracen world represented to the Franks. In the concluding battle of the Apocalypse, the vaguest text of the New Testament, an angel is crying “with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God” (Revelation, 19:17). Thus, consumption of the evildoers by God endows the “good” forces with superiority and mastery. By implication, confining the evil forces within the scrolls signifies victory over sin and heresy.

Sirens, known to have chanted the song of death from the time of Antiquity, became an intrinsic funerary motif,⁸² and the association of the lintel's siren (Fig. 15) with the song of death stands in opposition to the song of life chanted in heaven. The idea of resurrection is thus reinforced: the Church of the Anastasis of the Lord uses a long enduring funerary vocabulary to mark the gap between holy reality and sacrilege. The death rituals involved in the funerals and burials of the crusader kings, as described by William of Tyre, forming the sacred chant of life, salvation and resurrection, stand in sharp contrast to the infernal chant of the siren and her bestial companions. A similar set of oppositions is mentioned by both Honorius of Autun and Werner of Saint-Blaise, mentioned earlier.⁸³ Thus, for example, the obsequies of King Baldwin II, who died in 1131 “were celebrated with great pomp and ceremony by his people, with all the magnificence befitting a king.” And “even unto the present time, his memory is held in veneration by all, because of his exemplary faith and illustrious deeds.”⁸⁴ The lamentation over the death of

81 BAKER, S., *Picturing the Beast: Animals, Identity and Representation*, Manchester, 1993, p. 123. See the discussion in KORDECKI, “Losing the Monster” (as in n. 36), pp. 26-29.

82 See n. 79 above.

83 See nn. 52-53 above.

84 WILLIAM ARCHBISHOP OF TYRE, *A History* (as in n. 15), bk. 13.28, Vol. 2, p. 46. See the Latin version: WILLIAM



Fig. 39. Architrave fragment found on the Temple Mount, Jerusalem, known as Block A (of Templar provenance): Naked male figures and animals within an acanthus scroll. Islam Museum of Temple Mount, Jerusalem (closed to the public). Photo: Zehava Jacoby Collection, Haifa University.



Fig. 40. Architrave fragment found on the Temple Mount, Jerusalem, known as Block B (of Templar provenance): Naked male figures and animals within an acanthus scroll. Islam Museum of Temple Mount, Jerusalem (closed to the public). Photo: Zehava Jacoby Collection, Haifa University.

King Baldwin III, who died in 1162, is said never to have been felt for any other prince. “For, in addition to the manifestations of grief and mourning displayed by the people of the cities through which the royal funeral train passed, there came down from the mountains a multitude of infidels who followed the cortege with wailing.”⁸⁵ Though we lack a description of the role the lintel’s imagery played in the obsequies of the crusader kings, it is plausible that the representation of the siren and her mates fitted well into this scenario. Curiously, even “a multitude of infidels” joined the funeral procession, completely unaware that the symbolic significance of the eastern lintel pointed an accusing finger directly at them.

OF TYRE, *Historia* (as in n. 15), bk. 13.28, in RHC, HOcc, Vol. 1.1, p. 602; GUILLAUME DE TYR, *Chronique* (as in n. 15), bk. 13.28, CCCM, Vol. 63, p. 625.

85 WILLIAM ARCHBISHOP OF TYRE, *A History* (as in n. 15), bk. 18.34, Vol. 2, p. 294. See the Latin version: WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Historia* (as in n. 15), bk. 18.34, in RHC, HOcc, Vol. 1.2, p. 880; GUILLAUME DE TYR, *Chronique* (as in n. 15), bk. 18.34, CCCM, Vol. 63A, pp. 860-861.

The question of patronage

To decode the symbolism of the eastern lintel a single text will not suffice; what is important is the manifold use of images in both Fulcher's chronicle and the sculpted lintel, which intertwine into a coherent image system, dependent on the interpretative attitudes of the epoch and on the burden of meanings, activated through the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the *Bestiary* tradition and exegetical writings.

The lintel becomes a liminal site where all polyvalent layers meet—that is, the *Bestiary* tradition in its crusader version, the funerary context, and the opposition of good and evil forces. This opposition is established from the start by installing a historiated Christological lintel to the west (Fig. 19), embodying a liturgical vision of the New Jerusalem recently established by the Franks and, to the east (Figs. 3-4), an image of the conquered beasts of the Saracens, doomed to hell, signaling Latin victory, on the one hand, and promising an apotropaic protection for the departed, on the other.

Yet if we examine the installation of the two-poled lintels (Fig. 3) from the perspective of its presumable patronage, we might reach an understanding of the motivations that brought about their erection from the first place. It is now agreed that Queen Melisende designed the topography of crusader Jerusalem anew, mainly in the years 1135-1152, which fall during the time-span of the most significant reconstruction of the Holy Sepulchre, dedicated in 1149. If we consider the two joint coronations of Queen Melisende and her husband, King Fulk of Anjou on 14 September 1131 (the significant feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in its new crusader context), and that alongside her son, Baldwin III on Christmas 1143, after the death of his father earlier in that year,⁸⁶ as two definitive dated events, we can assume that the queen developed her monumental vision for Jerusalem between these years up to the solemn dedication of the church in 1149.

Jaroslav Folda emphasizes the shift of the coronation rite location: whereas earlier coronations were performed in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (based on the biblical Davidic tradition), the patriarchal Church of the Holy Sepulchre fulfills the vision ascribed to it as state church of its monarchs. Not only that the crusader kings were buried at the foot of Golgotha, they were now also crowned in it. In order to realize the prosperous rank of a state church, flocked by hordes of pilgrims, it was only expected that the Holy Sepulchre would be expanded and renovated. In all probability, the great progress of this scheme took place after the death of Fulk

⁸⁶ The study of MAYER, H.E., "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 26, 1972, pp. 95-182 remains the most significant analysis of the politics of Melisende (though with no discussion of her art patronage). For the two coronations, see *ibid.*, p. 114. See also HAMILTON, B., "Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem (1100-1190)", in: BAKER, D. (ed.), *Medieval Women, Dedicated and Presented to Professor Rosalind M.T. Hill on the Occasion of her Seventieth Birthday*, Oxford, 1978, pp. 143-174; TRANOVICH, *Melisende of Jerusalem* (as in n. 5), Chapter 1, "Forgotten Queen", pp. 23-40.

in 1143, resulting in the coronation of Melisende and her son, Baldwin III.⁸⁷ The involvement of Melisende in state affairs, and her unwillingness to drop power in favor of her son when he came to the age of fifteen two years later, leading to his later assault on her,⁸⁸ would certainly prove her ever-growing patronage toward the Holy Sepulchre.

Molly Lindner who studied the western Christological historiated lintel (Fig. 19) assumes that the topographical emphasis bestowed on the holy sites represented on it and held by the Augustinian canons proves the latter's patronage of this lintel.⁸⁹ However, she did not take into consideration the activity of either Queen Melisende or the two patriarchs of Jerusalem, William I of Malines (1130-1145), and Fulcher (1145-1157). In view of the growing power of Queen Melisende in the years 1135-1152 and her close relations with both patriarchs, I would assume that the distinctive choice of sculpting two very different lintels, the narrative one to the west and the non-narrative one to the east, was the outcome of Queen Melisende's collaboration with both the aforementioned patriarchs and the Augustinian canons of the Holy Sepulchre. In this context, mention should be made of the revealing factor of Melisende's nomination of patriarch Fulcher in 1145,⁹⁰ coinciding with her insistence to stick to power despite Baldwin's III coming to age at the same year.

Hans Eberhard Meyer observes that after the resolution of the crisis between King Fulk of Anjou and Queen Melisende revolving over Fulk's refusal for a joint rule, emerging after the death of Melisende's father, King Baldwin II, Queen Melisende took on an exceptionally effective role in governing crusader Jerusalem. To reach power, she found an ally and supporter in the figure of Patriarch William who reconciled the furious queen with the reluctant king, who eventually agreed to a joint government.⁹¹ Melisende exercised patronage on monumentally-scaled buildings and their meticulous decoration as a means to obtain power.⁹² In order to exert authority, her investment was both devotional and manipulatively political. Her remarkable observance in the major state rituals held in the Holy Sepulchre from 1129 to the 1150's clearly expresses her desire to bestow a new unprecedented sense of order to the liturgical and ceremonial space of the holiest pilgrimage church of Christendom. Presumably, Melisende achieved this desired goal at the time she was at the peak of her powers, since 1145 to 1149. Folda suggests that the façade program should be read as an extraordinary statement of ecumenism. The combination of the various media (sculpture and mosaic), the clear reference to the Byzantine origins of the church, alongside the international Romanesque style in both architectonic design

87 FOLDA, "Melisende of Jerusalem" (as in n. 5), pp. 459-465.

88 MAYER, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende" (as in n. 86), pp. 111-115.

89 LINDNER, "Topography and Iconography" (as in n. 3), pp. 95-97.

90 FOLDA, "Melisende of Jerusalem" (as in n. 5), p. 463.

91 MAYER, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende" (as in n. 86), pp. 95-115. See also FOLDA, "Melisende of Jerusalem" (as in n. 5), pp. 433-438.

92 GAUDETTE, "The Spending Power of a Crusader Queen" (as in n. 5), pp. 135-148.

and sculptural decoration unmistakably discloses the queen's sensibility to the past and present, meant to construct the crusader future.

Given the funerary perspective I suggested as one of the possible cultural contexts of the eastern lintel, forming the gate leading to the burial chapel of the crusader kings, it should be recalled that King Fulk of Anjou died in 1143, namely only six years before the 1149 dedication of the Holy Sepulchre, already under Patriarch Fulcher, whose 1145 nomination was highly promoted by Melisende, as mentioned earlier. It would seem probable that Queen Melisende, collaborating with both the patriarch and the Augustinian canons of the Holy Sepulchre had a historical vision of how the gate leading to the royal pantheon of the crusader kings should be designed. By enhancing the double portal architectonic model of the façade as a whole (Fig. 2), based, on the one hand, on the Golden Gate (Fig. 21), from which Christ will re-enter Jerusalem upon his Second Coming, and on the second hand, on the foremost pilgrimage churches of Toulouse (Fig. 23) and Santiago (Fig. 22), the architectonic framework evidently expresses eschatological and international aspirations. The holy place of the Resurrection is thus constructed as a pilgrimage church, meant to commemorate past and more recent traditions. Additional architectonic details of the Holy Sepulchre façade articulation served later as a model for the workshop of Master Mateo of Santiago, designing the upper parts of the Platerías in the years 1188-1211. This observation testifies to the prestige of either pilgrimage churches for one another, as well as on a circular reciprocal pilgrimage culture: whereas the renowned Platerías double gate probably inspired that of the Holy Sepulchre in the first turn, the latter might have equally motivated the later design in the former.⁹³ Yet the Christological lintel (Fig. 19), representing a topographical liturgical path, proclaiming the strongholds of the Augustinian canons, should also be further studied in view of Melisende's patronage on Bethany,⁹⁴ the place of the Resurrection of Lazarus, conspicuously represented on the western lintel (Fig. 20), and from where the Palm Sunday procession departed.

Molly Lindner rightly remarks that the Christological "lintel has not yet been adequately studied in relationship to its neighbor ... or within its original context on the south portal of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher."⁹⁵ One should recall that the western Christological lintel was crowned with a mosaic of the Virgin and Child, whereas the eastern inhabited scroll lintel was adorned with a mosaic of the scene of the meeting of Mary Magdalen with Christ (the *Noli me tangere*).⁹⁶ The holy figures of the Mother of God, as well as Mary Magdalen and her sister Martha, who appear before

93 CASTIÑEIRAS, "Compostela, Bari and Jerusalem" (as in n. 7), pp. 15-51.

94 WILLIAM OF TYRE (as in n. 15), bk. 15.26. See FOLDA, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land* (as in n. 1), pp. 131-133, 166; idem, "Melisende of Jerusalem" (as in n. 5), pp. 441-445; GAUDETTE, "The Spending Power" (as in n. 5), pp. 137-142.

95 LINDNER, "Topography and Iconography" (as in n. 3), p. 97.

96 See n. 31 above.

Christ on the western lintel, all form the saintly model of Queen Melisende who became a type of Mary in her acts of generosity and art patronage.⁹⁷ Indeed a reconsideration of Melisende's collaborative patronage over the two lintels of the Holy Sepulchre is needed. Given the elaborated imagery derived from the *Bestiary* tradition and the written curious testimony of Fulcher of Chartres,⁹⁸ I believe that Melisende was aware of the multi-layered significations of the monumental representation at the door of the most important church of Christendom. She might also be assigned with a particular sensibility and responsiveness to cultural and historical circumstances, put either in writing (as in the case of Fulcher of Chartres) or in monumental stone sculpture, meant to welcome the hordes of pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre. Considered the center of the world, this kind of imagery probably amazed any passing visitor to the crusader state church, cultivating expectations for individual resurrection and salvation, as well as for the Second Coming.

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97 For Melisende's constant use of feminine saintly models, see HEYMAN, "The Deësis of the Valley of Jehoshaphat" (as in n. 5).

98 Another issue that awaits further consideration, is the conspicuous crusader use of acanthus scrolls, peopled by hunters and beasts or animals alone, as well as naked male figures, as in the fragmentary remains of some sculpted friezes of the Holy Sepulchre of unknown location (Figs. 34-37), the partial lintels of the Tomb of Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (another funerary context; Fig. 38), and other architraves, the product of the Temple Area Atelier (Figs. 39-40), active in the 1160's and 1170's until 1187, stylistically analyzed by the late Zehava Jacoby. See: JACOBY, "The Provencal Impact on Crusader Sculpture in Jerusalem" (as in n. 11); eadem, "The Workshop of the Temple Area in Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century" (as in n. 72).

