

# **The Art and Patronage of Saint Louis of France**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This Exhibition focuses on the iconography Louis IX of France (Saint Louis) established in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris and how this was reflected in other works he may have commissioned. This is placed in the context of the artistic and stylistic developments of the period. It also examines the role his iconography played in manuscripts in the hundred years after his death. The exhibition closes by showing that the image of Saint Louis, *le roi-juste*, is still relevant to France today.

**CONTAINS 14,572 WORDS**

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# The Art and Patronage of Saint Louis of France

## Chapter 1. Introduction

Louis IX inherited the throne on the unexpected death of his father in 1226. He inherited the Ile-de-France and territories which his grandfather and father had acquired outside the Ile-de-France, largely at the expense of their vassals. During his minority Louis's mother, Blanche de Castille, (d. 1252) had resisted the Barons and the Plantagenets and on his majority, had handed her son a united domain.<sup>1</sup> In the first few years of his rule Louis overcame challenges from his senior vassals. This may have encouraged his interest in asserting the Capetian inheritance from the kings of the Bible, and in making France a new Holy Land with Louis as Christ's representative on earth, proving his absolute legitimacy and right to the throne. (Louis had not been crowned in his father's own lifetime as was customary, and this may also have made him want to legitimise his lineage.) This is one of the themes set out in great richness and splendour in the Sainte-Chapelle, dedicated in 1248 before Louis set off on the Seventh Crusade. (Figure 1) On his return from this terrible failure, in which his favourite brother was killed and he himself taken prisoner, Louis's tastes became simpler, under the influence of the mendicant orders. However his interest in exposing the prestige of his lineage remained, as demonstrated in the tombs at St Denis c.1263-4. The function of art under Saint Louis was not just to glorify God but to promote the message of the divine and sacral legitimacy of the Capetian kings.

The growing wealth and prosperity of France combined with Louis's fame as a pious and just king meant that Louis was considered the premier Christian king of Europe, *rex christianissimus*.<sup>2</sup> The prestige of the French monarchy was enhanced by the use of holy chrism in the coronation ritual. This had been given to Clovis I, (d. 511) the first Christian king of France, at his baptism. The prestige was also enhanced by the French kings' ability to cure scrofula, the "king's evil".

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<sup>1</sup> Pierre de Dreux, Count of Brittany and Hugh de la Marche, helped by the Plantagenets in England challenged Blanche and Louis from 1226 when he came to the throne, to 1234 when he reached his majority. Raymond, Count of Toulouse had also threatened Blanche but his territories were conquered in 1229. In 1241-2 Louis finally overcame the Barons, who had been joined by Henry III of England in their attempt to gain Poitou from Louis. See Richard, J., Saint Louis, Paris, 1983, pp.87-120

<sup>2</sup> Paris, M., *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, H., London 1872-1883, Vol 5. p. 480, described Saint Louis as 'king of earthly kings, both because of his heavenly anointment and because of his power and military prominence'.

Louis's canonisation in 1297 was important to his successors as proof of their divine lineage. It was achieved under Philippe IV (le Bel), 1285-1314, after a campaign of propaganda including manuscripts, a silver tomb at St Denis and the *Montjoies* which were the inspiration for Edward III's Eleanor crosses.<sup>3</sup> Philippe tried to emulate Louis's behaviour towards the Byzantine Relics in his treatment of Louis's own relics. The *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*<sup>Jean Pucelle</sup> c.1325-1328 (New York, Metropolitan Museum, Cloisters acc 54.1.2) include an illumination of Philippe carrying the relics of Saint Louis, echoing the scenes of Louis carrying the Relics in the Sainte-Chapelle. (Figure 3) It creates a link to the earlier translation processions, shown in the original Relics window, in which their ancestors such as Charlemagne had taken part.<sup>4</sup>

Works written shortly after Louis' death took different approaches. Joinville's *La Vie de St Louis* (Bib Nat Ms Fr 13568), 1330-40 was written at the request of Jeanne de Navarre. It concentrated on Louis's saintly deeds and on Joinville's time with him on Crusade. Joinville himself had been called to give evidence in the canonisation process. De Saint-Pathus' *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis* (Bib Nat Ms Fr 5716) 1330-40 was hagiographic, its illuminations concentrating on episodes from Louis's life giving an example of how life should be lived.<sup>5</sup> (Figure 2)

The *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* contain the first known cycle of the Hours of Saint Louis, written at the time of his canonisation. (Figure3) Although the image of Louis remained popular among the French royal family until the Revolution, as a spiritual model rather than a model of ideal kingship, it was not always free from political overtones. The *Hours of Jeanne de Navarre* c, 1336-40 (Bib. Nat. Nouv. Aquis. Lat. 3145) contain a cycle of illuminations emphasising Louis's participation in the Crusades, interpreted by some as an allusion to Philippe VI's own crusading projects.<sup>6</sup> (Catalogue 1)

The iconography of Louis in the fourteenth century emphasised the hagiographic whereas, as is only logical, the iconography of his own time emphasised the regal. The *Grandes Chroniques de France*, were initiated by Louis as a history of France, starting from the siege of Troy. Like the stained glass in the Sainte-Chapelle the *Grandes Chroniques* emphasise the continuity of the Capetian line and ideal

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<sup>3</sup> Baxter Ron Lecture on Gothic Sculpture at Christie's Education on 28/2/00.

<sup>4</sup> Jordan, A. Transcript of a lecture given to the Corpus Vitrearum 20<sup>th</sup> International Colloquium, July 12<sup>th</sup>, 2000, in Bristol, p. 5. Professor Jordan very kindly sent this to me. Unfortunately I only received it on September 18th.

<sup>5</sup> Gousset, M-T., Avril, F., and Richard, J., *Saint Louis Roi de France*, Paris, 1990, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> *La France de Saint Louis*, Paris 1970, p. 120.



kingship. The moralising text emphasises France's role as defender of the Church and summarizes the concerns of sacral kingship and the Biblical antecedents of Louis.<sup>7</sup> In order to appear more authentic the *Chroniques* were written in prose, reflecting the narrative structure of the Sainte-Chapelle.<sup>8</sup> The first was *le Roman des roys* written in Latin by Primat in 1274 which was later translated into French. The cult of Saint Louis was promoted by his successors in later *Grandes Chroniques* as a glorification of French royalty and a catching up with France's two rivals, England with Edward the Confessor, c.1003-1066, canonised 1161, and the Holy Roman Empire with Charlemagne c.742-814, canonised 1165. The *Chroniques* developed into exploitations of royal history justifying the current ruler's divine right. The Valois kings felt a particular need to prove their royal legitimacy given the threat from Edward III of England, 1327-77, who also claimed descent from Saint Louis

The *Grande Chronique of Charles V* ( Bib. Nat. Ms. fr. 2813) 1375-1379 emphasises Charles's descent from St Louis citing him as a model of what a good king should be.<sup>9</sup> (Figure 4) It is one of the first manuscripts to contain illuminations of Louis's reign rather than the traditional acts of devotion. The frontispiece includes the new scene of Louis's birth which has been interpreted as a reference to the birth of Charles V's own son and underlines the theme of Capetian genealogy. The composition of this scene is very similar to the birth scene originally in the Relics window , an example of the way the iconography Louis created in the Sainte-Chapelle was used in the fourteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Hedeman, A., *The Royal Image*, Berkeley 1991, p 3.

<sup>8</sup> Jordan, A., *Transcript* , op. cit.p.7.

<sup>9</sup> Hedeman, A., *The Royal Image*, op. cit. p. 140.

<sup>10</sup> Jordan, A., *Transcript*, op.cit. p. 8.

## Chapter 2: The Sainte Chapelle- a Capetian Manifesto

The Sainte-Chapelle was built between 1241 and 1248 to house the Relics Louis acquired from Baudoin of Constantinople, the most important of which were the Crown of Thorns and a piece of the True Cross. Their presence was seen as a sign from God that He was crowning France herself. Relics had traditionally been kept in the abbey churches in France. Louis's decision to keep them in his own specially built chapel may have been to emphasise his independence from the Church.<sup>11</sup>

The Sainte-Chapelle has been explained in structural terms by writers such as Viollet-le-Duc, the nineteenth century rationalist French architect and in symbolic terms by writers such as Panofsky in the 1950s.<sup>12</sup> In the 1980s it was interpreted in politico-socio-economic terms by Kimpel and Suckale. Recent research has taken a semiotic approach, explaining its religious and political message, rather than its structure and style. This has been extended to its architecture, as well as the decorative and iconographical programme.<sup>13</sup> Although much has been done to explain the intentions of the patron, its effect on the viewer provides new areas for research. The Sainte-Chapelle's structure and iconographic programme can be read as a Capetian manifesto and it is clear that it was more than just a private family chapel. It had huge significance, both religious and political. It was designed to show the sacred nature of the French monarchy, and the status of France as God's chosen nation.

The building was designed as a giant reliquary. The architecture was not innovative but the idea of creating a giant reliquary was. Earlier palatine chapels had functioned as metaphorical reliquaries but this was the first consciously to try to look like one. The structure of the Sainte Chapelle was of western origin, but its high degree of decoration, where "the workmanship surpassed the material" may have been inspired by the Byzantine Boukoleon

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<sup>11</sup> Louis's relations with the Church were not always easy and at times he was in conflict with the Church authorities, for instance at Beauvais in 1231. Although deeply religious he was not prepared to rescind any of the Royal authority which he believed to be so strongly vested in him by God. See Richard, J., Saint Louis, Paris, 1983, pp77-86.

<sup>12</sup> Viollet-le-Duc, E.E., Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'architecture française du XI<sup>ème</sup> au XVI<sup>ème</sup> siècle, Paris, 1854-1869, and Panofsky, G., Gothic Art and Symbolism, New York, 1951.

<sup>13</sup> Stephen Murray has explained the structure in terms of number symbolism in "The Architectural Envelope of the Sainte-Chapelle", Avista Forum, 10/1 (Fall 1996-Winter 1997) p.p.21-25.

Chapel in Constantinople, where the Relics had been kept.<sup>14</sup> Its ornateness signified holy space, and knowledge of this may have influenced the iconographers of the Sainte-Chapelle where every possible surface was painted, gilded or in some way decorated.<sup>15</sup> (Figure 5)

The Sainte-Chapelle is perceived as a small, delicate building, yet the two chapels combined are as tall as the nave at Amiens.<sup>16</sup> This shows how successful the architect was in creating the impression of a reliquary. Earlier architecture had borrowed from precious metalwork and applied it on the outside. Here, for the first time, the effect was extended to the inside, with medallions and small-scale sculpture emulating metalwork. Similarly, outside, gables and crocketed pinnacles give the same effect. The creators of the Sainte-Chapelle may have been influenced by coffin-shrines such as the *Châsse of Saint Potentin*, c.1220-1240, repoussé silver-gilt with enamel medallions, Musée du Louvre, OA 153, with its relief statues of Apostles and medallions of martyrs. (Figure 6)

Louis also wished to associate his lineage with great earthly rulers such as the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, c.575-641, and Charlemagne, c.742-814, as well as Christ. His appropriation of elements associated with these rulers is apparent in the models for the Sainte-Chapelle. It is also seen in his instigation of gold coinage. His coins bore a fleur-de-lis which had been used by Byzantine emperors as sign of their devotion to the Virgin Mary.<sup>17</sup>

The chapel is two storeyed, the lower dedicated to the Virgin for soldiers and servants, and the upper to the Holy Relics for the King and his entourage. This structure originated at San Vitale in Ravenna c.526-47 and was used at Charlemagne's chapel at Aachen at the turn of the eighth century, which were both developments from early Christian martyria.<sup>18</sup> Krautheimer has shown how buildings in the Middle Ages often carried a meaning over and above their

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<sup>14</sup> Pope Innocent IV, 1243-1254, used the phrase "*opere superante materium*", referring to the Sainte-Chapelle. The phrase was taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where it had been used for the doors Vulcan had made for Apollo. It was commonly used in the Middle Ages for metalwork and jewellery but rarely for architecture. See Weiss, D., *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis*, Cambridge, p.30.

<sup>15</sup> Weiss, D., *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis*, op.cit., pp.31-2, and Branner, R., "The Painted Medallions in the Sainte-Chapelle", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S. 58, 1968, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Murray, S., "The Architectural Envelope of the Sainte-Chapelle", *Avista Forum*, 10/1 (Fall 1996-Winter 1997) pp.21.

<sup>17</sup> *Le Siècle de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1970, p. 87 and p.229. Although he was the first to make such extended use of it in France, the fleur-de-lis had been the emblem of Charles the Bald and Hughes Capet, the first Capetian.

<sup>18</sup> Hacker-Suck, I., 'La Sainte-Chapelle de Paris et les Chapelles Palatines du Moyen Age en France', *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 13, 1962, p.1.

function.<sup>19</sup> Louis must have been conscious of the resonances of imperial power and splendour in this design. Other influences include the Camara Santa at Orviedo, the Capella Palatina in Palermo and the Bishop's chapels at Laon and Noyon. It has also been suggested that the Sainte-Chapelle was an appropriation of the triforium and clerestory of a cathedral where the architecture symbolically lifts the worshippers to Heaven.<sup>20</sup>

The Rayonnant has been described as a style where 'the main creative effort was channeled into ornament and proportion rather than into more basic aspects'.<sup>21</sup> This perfectly describes the Sainte-Chapelle. Little is known about its architect and no accounts or drawings for it survive. Pierre de Montreuil was traditionally believed to be the architect but this is now disputed. Robert de Luzarches, the architect at Amiens, has been suggested by Suckale and Kimpel.<sup>22</sup> The Sainte-Chapelle shows the influence of the high thin walls and richness of Amiens, and Branner believes that Luzarches's successor at Amiens, Thomas de Cormont, built it. Murray believes it to be someone unknown, trained at Amiens.<sup>23</sup>

Like the new choir at St Denis all the supporting elements of the building were placed outside, keeping the internal space clear. The internal structure was reduced to a minimum creating a huge expanse for the windows. The upper chapel had a simple design of a nave of four bays and a seven-sided apse. Louis called together a group of counsellors to discuss the programme for the Sainte-Chapelle.<sup>24</sup> This "royal art advisory committee" may have wanted a simple but impressive building to allow for all the decorative schemes they desired.<sup>25</sup>

The increase in population and the growth of trade meant Louis had more money than his predecessors. This allowed work to be carried out fast, unlike many medieval buildings where work stopped and started. Joinville tells us that Louis was closely involved in the building of Royaumont which was built in a single period of twenty-five years.<sup>26</sup> There is every reason to believe that he was

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<sup>19</sup> Krautheimer, R., 'Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture', Warburg and Courtauld Institute Journal, V, 1942 p. 20.

<sup>20</sup> Davis, M., 'The Literal, the Symbolic and Gothic Architecture', Avista Forum, 10/1 (Fall 1996-Winter 1997) pp. 25-30.

<sup>21</sup> Wilson, C., The Gothic Cathedral, London, 1990, p125.

<sup>22</sup> Kimpel, D., and Suckale, R., Die Gotische Architektur, Munich, 1985, p. 402-5.

<sup>23</sup> Murray, S., "The Architectural Envelope of the Sainte-Chapelle", op. cit. pp.21-23.

<sup>24</sup> Leniaud, J-M. and Perrot, F., La Sainte-Chapelle, 1991, p. 86.

<sup>25</sup> Davis, M.T., 'The literal, the symbolic and Gothic Architecture', Avista Forum, 10/1, Fall 1996/Winter 1997, p.25.

<sup>26</sup> de Joinville, Histoire de Saint Louis, ed N de Wailly, Paris, 1872, p.291 "*Il memes, dit-on, en sa propre personne aloit veoir les oevres et ordenoit et dispoit comme ed sales des mesons et les chambres et les officines fussent fetes*"

closely involved in the construction of the Sainte-Chapelle given its importance to him.

The Sainte-Chapelle encapsulates many of the themes closest to Saint Louis's heart; sacral kingship, Holy War, justice. It represented Solomon's Temple, in Christian and Capetian terms helping establish France as the new Holy Land, a concept on which Louis was particularly keen.<sup>27</sup> In allowing Louis to buy the relics God had bestowed the crown on France confirming it as Europe's leading nation.<sup>28</sup>

The Sainte-Chapelle iconography represents world history, combining Old and New Testament narrative, the Capetian present, the history of the Relics, and the end of the world, the Apocalypse. It glorifies the Passion of Christ to which the Apostles, the martyr medallions and spandrel angels are witnesses. The iconography was inspired by a theologian, possibly Matthieu of Vendome or Vincent de Beauvais.<sup>29</sup>

The Relics were kept in the *Grande Châsse*, the focus of the chapel, made between 1239-41 when the Relics were received, and 1248 when the chapel was dedicated. It disappeared during the Revolution. (Figure 7) Its iconography represented the Flagellation, the Resurrection and the Crucifixion reflecting the relics within, and the Redemption, the culmination of the programme of the chapel.<sup>30</sup> The crucifixion face may have been used as a backdrop for the altar before the Châsse was put on the tribune. It may have been made by the same atelier as the covers to the Sainte-Chapelle Evangeliaries.<sup>31</sup> (Figure 8)

After Louis's return from the Crusades a tribune was added, and the Grande Châsse placed on it. (Figure 9) This may have been done for the new Feast of the Fête-Dieu, honouring the Eucharist.<sup>32</sup> Eucharistic devotion was central to the Franciscans and Louis had returned to France after the humiliations of the Crusades even more devoted to them. The ornate architectural style of the tribune suggests a date after 1260. A *terminus post quem* could be provided by the Fête

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<sup>27</sup> Weiss, D., 'Architectural Symbolism in the Decoration of the Sainte-Chapelle', *Art Bulletin*, 77/2, 1995, pp.308-318.

<sup>28</sup> S. Dormer, V&A Museum Year Course lecture, 3/11/98.

<sup>29</sup> Grodecki, L., and Brisac, C., *Stained Glass 1200-1300*, London, 1985, p. 100.

<sup>30</sup> Branner, R., 'The Grande Châsse of the Sainte-Chapelle', *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Vol 77, 1971, p.8.

<sup>31</sup> Branner, R., 'The Grande Châsse', *Ibid.* p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> Weber, A., 'Les Grandes et Petites statues d'Apôtres de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris', *Bulletin Monumental*, CLVII, 1997, p. 95.

Dieu, 1264 and a *terminus ante quem* of 1267 when Joinville mentions Saint Louis climbing it to get the relics.<sup>33</sup>

The tribune has been interpreted as a symbolic throne of Solomon, based on its similarity to the Biblical description, and on established medieval iconography.<sup>34</sup> Louis wished to be associated with Solomon, the wise and just king of the Bible, and the builder of God's House on Earth.<sup>35</sup> As so often in the Sainte-Chapelle the association with Solomon has a multiple meaning. It alludes to his justice and also glorifies the Capetians, emphasising Solomon the King. By the thirteenth century the iconography of Solomon was associated with the Virgin and the Incarnation. This is particularly apt as the tribune contained the Relics representing the culmination of the Incarnation.<sup>36</sup>

#### Martyrs of the Faith : Saints and Angels

Around the arcade of the chapel are forty-four painted medallions of martyrs. They are the only paintings known from the circle of Saint Louis and are essential to our knowledge of painting of the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>37</sup> Churches of the period had large windows with little wall space. Only a few small romanesque style village churches which contained wall painting remain and these surviving paintings have little in common with the medallions.<sup>38</sup> The medallions were restored in 1845 and the only evidence of their original state is the restorer's watercolours. (Catalogue II)

The censuring and crown bearing angels in the arch spandrels may have been inspired by small-scale metalwork and were part of the attempt to create the impression of a reliquary. (Figure 10) They are also found in ivories such as the *Diptych of the Last Judgement and the Coronation of the Virgin*, Paris, c.1250-70, ivory, h. 12.7cm., w. of each panel 6.5cm., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Cloisters Collection, 1970.324.7a-b.<sup>39</sup> (Figure 11) Above the royal niches

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<sup>33</sup> Joinville, J de, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. J. Monfrin, Paris 1995, pp. 364-365. *Quant je oi oye la messe a la Magdeleine, a Paris, je alai en la chapelle le roy, et trouvai le roy qui estoit monte en l'eschafaut ua reliques et fesoit apporter la vraie Croix aval.*

<sup>34</sup> Weiss, D., 'Architectural Symbolism in the Decoration of the Sainte-Chapelle', *Art Bulletin*, 77/2, 1995, p. 310.

<sup>35</sup> This desire must also have been felt by Louis XIV who described himself as the new Solomon.

<sup>36</sup> Wormald, F., *Collected Writings*, London, 1972, p.66.

<sup>37</sup> Branner, R., 'Medallions', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, loc.cit, p.5.

<sup>38</sup> Deschamps, P., *La Peinture Murale en France au debut de L'Epoque Gothique*, Paris, 1963, p.99.

<sup>39</sup> *Images in Ivory*, ed. by P. Barnet, p. 44.

are busts of Christ with flying angels which may be an appropriation of Carolingian symbols of power arising from Roman victories as on the *Lorsch Gospel Book Cover*, Aachen, c. 810, ivory, h.38.1cm., w.26.7cm., V & A Museum, London, 138-1866.<sup>40</sup> (Figure 12) This is another example of Louis's use of symbols associated with earlier earthly rulers.

#### The stained glass; mirror of the King's world

Ironically, given the justification of kingship in the Sainte-Chapelle, it was turned into a political club during the 1789 Revolution. In 1803 it became an archive depot and the lower third of its windows were blocked up. (Some glass was kept for repairs but the bulk was destroyed or sold, accounting for the quantity of Sainte-Chapelle glass now in museums.) After further damage in the 1830 Revolution it was restored from 1837-1855. The restorations were carefully documented as part of the nineteenth century interest in restoration of medieval monuments, influenced by Viollet-le-Duc. The restorers aimed to use as much thirteenth century glass as possible and to fill in the gaps with new panels, indistinguishable from the originals.

The windows consist of round, square, diamond and quatrefoil panels showing narrative scenes, similar to the lower windows in earlier cathedrals such as Chartres. In the cathedrals the upper registers had consisted of larger panels, often a figure, such as *La Belle Verriere* at Chartres, but here the panels go to the top.

The panels are set into a mosaic patterned background and are bordered by innovative narrow edge-panels decorated with single leaves rather than the more usual scrolls of foliage. The predominant colours are dark blue and red, already old fashioned as most contemporary glass was lighter. The glass is supported by iron armatures which reflect the shape of the panels. There is no relationship between the shape of the panels and the workshop producing the glass. The Judith and Job window with its very traditional medallion armatures and the Esther window with its complex quatrefoil panels, were both made by the third workshop but have very different structures. (Figure 13 and Catalogue III)

Unlike much Biblical illustration of the Middle Ages the approach is largely narrative rather than typological. Mâle described the Sainte-Chapelle glass as purely narrative but research has shown the complexity of its iconography.<sup>41</sup> There

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<sup>40</sup>Paul Williamson in *The Medieval Treasury*, London, 1986, p 65, suggests that the top plaque of the book cover is in fact Late Antique

<sup>41</sup> Mâle, E., *L'Art Religieux du XIIIe Siecle en France*, Paris, 1923, p.134.

are two separate but connected cycles representing the history of Redemption. The Old Testament cycle, following the order of the Vulgate, is the life of the Jewish tribes from Genesis to the Book of Revelations. It was unusual for contemporary events to be included in glass but this includes the translation of the Relics connecting it to the Capetian present. Louis is shown in the line of the Biblical kings, emphasising the divine descent of the Capetians. On the south side the order is interrupted by placing the Book of Kings after the Book of Esther. This is explained by the desire to show Louis in the Relics window in succession to the Biblical kings, and leading on from them to Redemption in the Apocalypse window. (Figure 14)

The Relics window may have been redesigned in the nineteenth century restorations. It has traditionally been read as a series of donor portraits including images of Louis and Blanche in a history of the translation of the Relics from Constantinople to Paris. It may originally have been a history of the kings of France, reflecting the history of Biblical kings shown in other windows.<sup>42</sup> This fits well with the Capetian emphasis on sacral kingship. Louis himself is the only Christian king included in the glass today and it is interesting that others, such as Clovis or Charlemagne, are absent. This, and the fact that only nineteen of the sixty-seven panels in the window are originals, lends support the latter view.

The New Testament cycle of glass is in the liturgical choir reserved for the canons and the King. It shows Christ's Childhood and Passion, with John the Baptist, the last prophet to tell of the coming of Christ, and John the Evangelist, who announces the future through his visions of the Apocalypse. The prophets, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah and Daniel link it to the Old Testament theme in the nave.<sup>43</sup>

The composition and iconography of the glass may reflect contemporary storytelling methods. The theory of literary composition was of great interest to scholars in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The *Ars poetriae* is a group of treatises written on the composition of narrative in verse and prose. The Old Testament windows of the Sainte-Chapelle contain many panels similar in iconography and composition, of battles scenes, idolatry or conversation between Israelite leaders and their peoples. This may be an example of the medieval

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<sup>42</sup> Jordan, A., transcript of lecture given to the Corpus Vitrearum 20<sup>th</sup> International Colloquium, July 12<sup>th</sup>, 2000, in Bristol, which Professor Jordan very kindly sent to me. Unfortunately I only received this on September 18<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> The Apocalypse representing the end of time and the culmination of Christ's suffering is shown in the rose window c.1485-98, replacing the original window. The iconography is known to be correct from surviving pieces of glass.



literary technique of *expolitio*, i.e. saying the same thing in as many ways as possible.<sup>44</sup>

Several themes are emphasised in the glass; coronation and unction of kings, battles representing Holy War, and idolatry, creating a sort of typology for Louis himself. The first two have been much analysed, representing Louis's justification of his line and sacral kingship, and his Crusading ambitions. The Sainte-Chapelle was built while Saint Louis was preparing to go on Crusade, having taken a vow to do so on his sick bed in 1244. Many of his entourage, including his mother, tried to dissuade him from keeping his vow. However he would not be dissuaded and it may be that he used the programme of the Sainte-Chapelle to justify his decision.

Despite the largely narrative approach several of the scenes are typological. The Daniel window includes Daniel's vision of a four-horned beast charging a man, understood in typological terms as a vision announcing the coming of a king who was to persecute the Jews. (Figure 15) It announces the coming of Christ but can also be applied to Louis who was very keen to convert Jews but aggressive towards those who would not convert.

There are many other examples of scenes illustrating themes important to Louis. The Exodus window emphasises Moses as spiritual leader and as God's elected, with seven panels showing God speaking to him. (Figure 16) Louis may be citing him as a model of the ideal leader and ruler. The Judges window concentrates on the Chiefs of Israel whose role is to look after their tribes. Did Louis and his iconographers include this as a model of ideal kingly behaviour? The Book of Numbers was chosen for the window above the king's niche in the Sainte-Chapelle. It shows the crowning of the Princes of Israel, battle scenes and Moses' problems in his attempt to reach the Promised Land, perhaps reflecting Louis's ambition to recreate the Holy Land in France.

Louis's interest in idolatry has been less widely studied. In the Kings window Solomon is shown worshipping idols but in the adjacent Relics window Louis adores the Relics. (Figures 20 and 14) This has been interpreted as a contrast between Solomon who jeopardised God's blessing of his people by praising idols, and Louis, who in bringing the Relics to France guaranteed God's blessing for the Capetians and France.<sup>45</sup> Louis may have been using this as evidence of how good

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<sup>44</sup> Jordan, A., More is better : Amplification and Design Theory in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, 19<sup>th</sup> International Colloquium, Krakow, 14-16 May, 1998, p 147.

<sup>45</sup>Weiss, D., 'Architectural Symbolism', Art Bulletin, loc. cit. p.317.

a king he was. The theme of idolatry was particularly relevant since he was about to leave France to fight the Moslem infidels.

The glass was made between 1241 and 1248, the year of consecration, by a group of between twenty to thirty artists. Given the importance of its iconography the glass was probably all in place by the dedication in 1248. Traditionally it had been criticized as being rather rushed but this is now considered part of the style. Despite the speed with which it was made the quality is good and there is little of the corrosion typical of glass of this period. It reflects the developments in Paris in its new canon of proportions. The figures are longer and more elegant, with small heads. Many figures show the first signs of the gothic sway. Three ateliers, with divisions within them, have been identified but despite this there is an iconographic and stylistic unity to the glass. The main workshop, represented here in the Passion window had little use for architectural devices, filling the panels with its figures. (Figure 18) The folds are long and soft and the modelled and expressive faces can be compared to those in the *Saint Louis Psalter*, Paris, c. 1255-70, parchment 260 ff., h.20cm., w.14cm., Bib Nat. Ms. Lat. 10525. (Catalogue XI) Individuals can be identified within this main workshop, for example the "Isaiah Master" whose figures are more squat and whose painting style is generally heavier. (Figure 17) His work contains more green than any other. The second atelier, that of the "Ezekiel Master", has more advanced drapery with stiff angular folds similar to the *Maciejowski Bible*, Paris, c. 1250, parchment 43 ff., h .40cm., w. 31cm., Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York, Ms. M638, and Bib Nat, Paris, Nouv. Acq. Lat. 2294. (Figure 19 and Catalogue X) The third workshop produced the Judith and Job window, and the most advanced window, the Esther window, which makes much use of architecture. (Figure 13 and Catalogue III) Several of the scenes reuse the same cartoon with different colours.

#### Witnesses of the Passion: the Apostles

The Apostles have a symbolic, structural, visual and liturgical function. There has been great debate over their style and date but they are striking as an early example of free-standing sculpture inside a church. Monumental sculpture had previously been concentrated outside on church portals, and like the Sainte-Chapelle Apostles was polychromed. Inside the Sainte-Chapelle the Apostles are placed around the edge, with Christ, represented by the Relics, in the apse. They are innovative as the first "materialisation" of the theology of their role as the pillars of the Church in

both structural and symbolic terms.<sup>46</sup> This innovation quickly became popular. The Apostles also function as Christ's companions and the witnesses to his Passion. They hold consecration crosses, implying that they were all part of the original concept, and all in place for the 26<sup>th</sup> April 1248 dedication.<sup>47</sup>

Historically the view was that the Apostles were carved in two stages by different masons, one before the consecration and one after. They were interpreted in the 1930s as two different groups, produced concurrently.<sup>48</sup> Grodecki divided them into a classicising workshop, and a more modern artist working in the newer more precious style.<sup>49</sup> Gnudi in 1969 attributed ten to a Master of such great skill that his style had developed over the period to produce work spanning the two different styles. The remaining two statues were made by a more modern, almost mannerist artist working at the same time.

Weber returned to the older theory of two ateliers, at a gap of twenty years. She interprets the six smaller, "classic", statues as symbols of individual interior contemplation promoted by the mendicants and models of humility for a good king. The mendicants were particularly attached to the Apostles, seeing themselves as their heirs. The use of an antiquising style makes the 'portraits' of the Apostles more authentic as first century A.D. individuals.<sup>50</sup> (Figure 21) The six larger, more mannered, Apostles are symbols of the Heavenly Kingdom, their new style being part of the iconography of scholastic ideas of sacred kingship.<sup>51</sup> (Catalogue IV) Analysis of the statues *in situ* is difficult because of the restorations, however examination of the Apostles in the Musée du Moyen Age confirms the existence of two distinct styles supporting Grodecki's view.

The Apostles were removed in 1797. They suffered again during the 1830 Revolution but were reinstated in 1840. It has recently been questioned whether the earliest damage was not due to architectural changes in Louis's own time when the tribune was added. He was known to constantly alter buildings, even new ones.<sup>52</sup>

The Sainte-Chapelle is much more than a simple palatine chapel, setting out the iconographical themes of Louis's reign. Its style became the fashionable style of mid-thirteenth century France, the Rayonnant, and spread to all media. It

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<sup>46</sup> Grodecki, L., *La Sainte-Chapelle*, op. cit. 1962, p.67.

<sup>47</sup> Gebelin, F., *La Sainte-Chapelle et la Conciergerie*, Paris, 1931, p. 40.

<sup>48</sup> Gebelin, F., *Idem*, p.43.

<sup>49</sup> Grodecki, L., *La Sainte-Chapelle*, op. cit 1962. p. 71.

<sup>50</sup> Weber, A., 'Apôtres de la Sainte-Chapelle', *Bulletin Monumental*, loc. cit. p. 91.

<sup>51</sup> Weber, A., *Ibid.* p.98.

<sup>52</sup> Weber, A., *Ibid.* p.6.

culminated in the *Saint Louis Psalter* and the *Isabelle Psalter*, Paris, 1255-70, Fitzwilliam MSS 300, with their Rayonnant architectural arcades, and in metalwork reliquaries such as the *Châsse de Nivelles* c.1272-1298, silver, Nivelles, resembling a miniature Sainte-Chapelle. (Catalogue XI and Figure 22)

### Chapter 3: Sculpture; the most influential medium of the century

#### Funerary sculpture

Exactly how closely Louis was involved in the commemorative effigy-tombs of his royal ancestors at St Denis, c.1263-1264 is not known, although they are referred to as '*La Commande Saint Louis*'. (Figure 23) St Denis had been the Capetian burial-ground but Louis had buried his brother and children at his new abbey at Royaumont. It is possible that the Church, rather than the Crown, may have ordered the St Denis effigies to reinforce Saint Denis's royal status against the threat of Royaumont.<sup>53</sup> Dagobert, famous as the founder of St Denis, was given a different, much more elaborate tomb, supporting the view of a Church commission. (Figure 24) Had Louis chosen one king to emphasise it is more likely to have been Clovis, the first Christian king. The effigies emphasised the continuity of the Capetian line and glorified past royalty. Louis exalted the Capetian monarchy and designated St Denis a burial ground for consecrated kings and their wives only, so he is likely to have been responsible for the effigies, given his interest in establishing a dynastic model.

The effigies are all similar in style. Less refined and elegant than the Sainte-Chapelle Apostles, they lie on a low stone slab. Their faces are expressionless and show no attempt at individuality. The main interest is in the symbols of royalty; all are crowned and carry a sceptre. Pierre de Montreuil modernized Suger's choir at St Denis so it is not surprising to see similarities between the effigies and sculpture on the south transept of Notre-Dame. (Figure 25) It was originally thought that the effigies had been made to stand, supported on a platform as if designed as jamb figures.<sup>54</sup> Like the Sainte-Chapelle Apostles there are varying views as to how many sculptors were involved, although less research has been done on this subject.

The tomb of Louis de France is very different, commemorating a child rather than developing a dynastic message. (Catalogue V) The tomb plaques of the touchingly small monument to two of Louis's children, Jean and Blanche, contain many heraldic references but are also very personal. (Catalogue VI)

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<sup>53</sup> Baxter, Ron, Lecture on Gothic Sculpture at Christie's Education on 28/2/00.

<sup>54</sup> Vitry, French Sculpture during the reign of Saint Louis, New York, 1931, p. 80.

## Notre-Dame de Paris

Around 1230 the Bishop of Paris ordered changes to be made to Notre-Dame in order to have a more fashionable light-filled building. The Last Judgement on the west front c.1210-1220 was altered and shows the new stylistic developments. (Figure 26) It maintains the old iconography, but it has been described as the 'flowering of the new style.'<sup>55</sup> The Apostles on either side of the central portal at Notre-Dame were made by several sculptors in the classic style of the early thirteenth century. The *Torso of an Apostle*, Paris, c. 1200-10, stone, h. 89cm., Musée du Moyen Age, Paris, Cl 24.897, evokes antique sculpture in the carving and fall of its draperies. (Figure 27) The *Torso of St Andrew*, Paris, c. 1200-10, stone, h.1.8m, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, 1876.47, by another artist, has fine crepe-like drapes enveloping the body. (Figure 28) The lintel shows the contrast between the classic style and the new approach of the mid-century with new broadfolds instead of the earlier antiquising parallel folds. (Catalogue VII) The move towards the later more elegant style starts here, with a change in the canon of proportion from 1:6 to 1:7 giving rise to longer figures with smaller heads. As the leading site of its period Notre-Dame must have influenced sculptors in Paris and it is not surprising to see similarities between the head of Christ in the Judgement tympanum and the first group of Apostles in the Sainte-Chapelle. (Figure 21)

The new style of elongated elegant figure is also seen in the statue of *King Childebert*, Paris, c. 1239-44, stone trumeau figure, some polychromy, Musée du Louvre, Paris, OA 349, from St Germain-des-Prés refectory. (Figure 29) The head with its curly beard, elegant neat hair and pointed nose is similar to the Judgement Christ at Notre-Dame. His sophisticated attitude makes one see him as a representation of the courtly values of his time. Sauerlander believes that the "exaggeration and pointedness" of sculpture from the second quarter onwards may result from the influence of court etiquette.<sup>56</sup> This greater degree of sophistication is also seen in the Apostles of the Sainte-Chapelle.

The transepts of Notre-Dame were started by Jean de Chelles in c.1245-1250 and completed by Pierre de Montreuil on de Chelles' death. The cathedral's status may have been threatened by the success of the Sainte-Chapelle, encouraging the Bishop of Paris to update it by adding the transepts to the traditional bullet plan cathedral.<sup>57</sup> The addition of small chapels between the buttresses may also have

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<sup>55</sup> Erlande-Brandenburg. A., Le Roi est mort; Etudes sur les funérailles, les sépultures, et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Geneva, 1975, p. 124.

<sup>56</sup> Sauerländer, W., Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1270, London, 1972, p. 59.

<sup>57</sup> Dormer. S., V & A Year Course lecture on 3/11/98.

led to these changes. The design of the transepts reflects the Rayonnant style of the Sainte-Chapelle.

The Virgin and Child, Paris, c. 1250, stone, *in situ*, on the north transept is one of the most influential sculptures of its time, showing how by the mid-century the earlier soft drapery style had been replaced by fuller drapes with crisp voluminous folds of the broadfold style. (Figure 30) The triangular shape of the Virgin, and the deep folds of her robes gathered high up on her hip, take advantage of the play of light on the north side of the building and the small delicate head is typical of the new style. She may be the model for many ivory and wood Virgins made in Paris in the second half of the thirteenth century, which, because they were easily transportable, spread the style outside France. Although the influence of the Antique can be seen in the *contraposto* stance of Giovanni Pisano's *Virgin and Child*, Italy, c. 1298, ivory, h. 53cm. Pisa, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, he is believed to have modelled it on the Virgin and Child of Notre-Dame.<sup>58</sup> (Figure 31)

The tympanum shows the Life of the Virgin and the legend of Theophilus, whose soul she saved. (Figure 32) Although this was a well known story, this is the only place it is shown on a thirteenth century tympanum. It is used here as a lesson to the canons using the portal.<sup>59</sup> The two master sculptors working on the north façade created statues *en ronde bosse* projecting in front of the wall, continuing the trend of the second quarter where sculpture gained independence from its earlier architectural function, also shown by the Sainte-Chapelle Apostles.

The north transept has richly carved and ornate gables with detailed tracery standing free of the wall. (Figure 33) De Chelle's innovations such as the tall pointed crocketed gables were very influential. The throne in Simone Martini's *Maesta*, Siena, c. 1315, fresco, Palazzo Publico, Siena, was modelled on the canopies of the north façade.<sup>60</sup> (Figure 34)

De Montreuil placed an inscription on the south transept recording de Chelles' death which dates the south transept to 1258. The two facades are similar but de Montreuil's transept is more ornate. De Chelles had organised the north façade into horizontal layers and had probably planned a similar design for the south transept, but de Montreuil linked the layers by continuing the mullions into the blind arcade. Another of de Montreuil's innovations was to place the jamb figures in niches spread across the façade tying them into the architecture, more closely

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<sup>58</sup> Williamson, P., *Gothic Sculpture 1140-1300*, London, 1995, p. 150.

<sup>59</sup> Williamson, P., *Gothic Sculpture 1140-1300*, op. cit., p. 152.

<sup>60</sup> Christopher Wilson lecture at Christie's Education on 3/2/00.

than de Chelles may have originally planned, resulting in what has been described as 'perfect balance between sculpture and architecture'.<sup>61</sup>

The south tympanum is devoted to St Stephen with the jamb figures representing Apostles and local saints. Reliefs on the buttresses may show scenes of university life. (Figure 35) Alternatively, like the legend of Theophilus on the north façade, they may be site-specific scenes of justice of relevance to those visiting the Bishop's court, as the south transept faced the bishop's palace. Here some see the work of the "Master of the Childhood scenes" from the north facade while others see no overlap of craftsmen at all.<sup>62</sup> The style of the sculpture is more developed, outlining the shape of the body in shallower carving. The composition is also new with conversational groups within the layers of the tympanum.

The less ornate Porte Rouge was added to the north transept c. 1260-70 for the everyday use of the canons. (Figure 36) It is said to show Saint Louis and Marguerite de Provence and if so would be the only example of secular figures in a sacred scene. Its composition, draperies, facial features and style encourage attribution to the "Master of the Virgin" on the north façade.<sup>63</sup>

The sculpture at Notre-Dame demonstrates the qualitative hierarchy which had developed over the first half of the century. On the west façade the quality of the sculpture is uniform but on the transepts it varies; the lower levels are very fine whereas the voussoir sculpture is quite ordinary.<sup>64</sup> It can be seen as a summary of the stylistic developments in sculpture over the thirteenth century.

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<sup>61</sup> Erlande-Brandenburg, A., *De pierre, d'or et de feu*, Paris, 1999, p. 294.

<sup>62</sup> Erlande-Brandenburg, A., *Notre-Dame de Paris*, Paris, 1991, p.184 and a review by F. Joubert of D. Kimpel's doctoral thesis 'Die Querhausarme von Notre-Dame zu Paris und ihre Skulpturen,' Bonn, 1971, which appeared in the *Bulletin Monumental* CXXIX, p. 165-6.

<sup>63</sup> Erlande-Brandenburg, A., *Notre-Dame de Paris*, op. cit. p. 189.

<sup>64</sup> Erlande-Brandenburg, A., *Notre-Dame de Paris*, op. cit. p. 179.



#### Chapter 4: Ivories; the carriers of the style

Carved elephant ivories are rare in Europe from the twelfth to the mid-thirteenth century. Elephant tusks started to be brought to Europe by Italian merchants from the Horn of Africa and by the 1230s ivories started to be produced in Paris. Large-scale expensive pieces for private devotion such as the *Sainte-Chapelle Virgin and Child*, Paris, c. 1250-60, h. 41cm., ivory with gems, polychromy and gilding, start to be found from this period on. (Catalogue VIII) Large numbers of ivories survive; it cannot be recycled and therefore suffered less than metalwork. Ivories can generally only be dated on stylistic grounds as few are documented or have inscriptions.<sup>65</sup> Stylistic parallels with monumental sculpture, which can be more easily dated, are therefore important.

By the mid-century Paris had become the major artistic centre of Europe and it was the leading producer of ivories. The little that is known about method of ivory working comes from Boileau's *Livre des Metiers*, written in the 1260s on Saint Louis's orders, recording Paris guild regulations. It mentions that ivory statues of the Virgin were popular, as were crucifixes, although unlike ivory Virgins few survive. Few secular ivories are known in this period, but there are many examples of Islamic ivories imported through the Crusades.

From the mid-century ivories reflected the influence of monumental sculpture; the drapes of the *Sainte-Chapelle Virgin* reflect those of the Notre-Dame Virgin. This flow of influence was a two-way process. The source of the gothic sway is probably the natural curve of the elephant tusk, since this only becomes established in monumental sculpture in the second half of the century.<sup>66</sup> It is difficult to make large objects using one piece of ivory without reflecting the curve of the tusk and larger pieces showing the gothic sway, such as the Sainte-Chapelle Virgin, exist from the second quarter onwards. The gothic sway in other media such as monumental sculpture and manuscripts probably developed from this.

Ivories demonstrate the thirteenth century stylistic changes. The *Soissons ivories* reflect the architectural style of the Sainte-Chapelle, showing how successful and fashionable the Rayonnant had become. (Figure 37) These have much in common with the *Saint Louis Psalter* demonstrating how important architectural designs were in the second half of the century. (Catalogue XI)

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<sup>65</sup> Neil Stratford lecture at Christie's Education on 24/2/00.

<sup>66</sup> Williamson, P., in *Images in Ivory*, ed. by P. Barnet, Detroit, 1997, p. 42.

The Cloisters ivory has been described as the “distillation of French cathedral Gothic” in terms of iconography, style, and composition.<sup>67</sup> (Figure 11) It was probably commissioned by a French monk. The left hand plaque features a king, leading some to connect it to Saint Louis. It distils all the features of the façade of a cathedral into miniature for the use of an individual in his private devotions. Many objects for private devotion were produced in the thirteenth century as the visual became more important as a stimulus to prayer.<sup>68</sup>

### Metalwork

Metalworkers were slower to respond to change in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Little early thirteenth century goldsmiths’ work exists, but what does, such as the *Châsse of St Potentin* is in the *muldenfaltenstil*. (Figure 6) This may be for technical reasons as the loops and curves were ideal for engraving having no sharp edges.<sup>69</sup> Our view of metalwork may be affected by the fact that little has survived, as it is so easy to melt down.

In the 1240s, later than other media, Parisian metalwork began to show the influence of architecture and to echo the style of contemporary buildings. (This was a reversal of the trend of the 1180-1220s when the exteriors of cathedrals such as Chartres were decorated with elements borrowed from goldsmiths’ work as reminders of the richness associated with altars and relics.<sup>70</sup>) The *Reliquary of Saints Maximien, Julien and Lucien*, Paris, c.1261, engraved and chased silver-gilt, h. 19cm., w. 12.5cm., d. 2.4cm., Musée du Moyen Age, Paris, Cl 10746, (Catalogue IX) emulates architecture, possibly the Sainte-Chapelle, although more simply than the *Châsse of Saint-Taurin*, c. 1240-55, silver-gilt, h. 70cm., l. 105 cm., w. 45cm., St Taurin, Evreux. (Figure 38) This shows the new approach in moving from figures in high relief to figures in *ronde-bosse*, inspired by architecture’s use of independent sculpture.<sup>71</sup> (Figure 38) The influence of Notre-Dame c.1240s is felt in the figure style and drapery. The mannered, somewhat precious figures on the *Châsse de Nivelles* show the continued influence of the Sainte-Chapelle Apostles and of the Notre-Dame Virgin.<sup>72</sup> (Figure 22)

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<sup>67</sup> Williamson, P., in *Images in Ivory*, op. cit. p. 44.

<sup>68</sup> Williamson, P *Images in Ivory*, op. cit. p.95.

<sup>69</sup> Erlande-Brandenburg, A., *Gothic Art*, New York, 1989, p. 82.

<sup>70</sup> Wilson. C., *The Gothic Cathedral*, op. cit., p.130.

<sup>71</sup> Erlande-Brandenburg, A., *De Pierre, d’or et de feu*, op. cit., p. 299.

<sup>72</sup> Williamson, P., ‘The Nivelles Shrine in Cologne and Paris’, *Apollo* CLXIII, 1995, May, p.54.

## Chapter 5: Manuscripts

The production of manuscripts is well documented and they have been analysed by atelier, something which has proved impossible with ivories.<sup>73</sup> The demand from new patrons such as universities and the new merchant and administrative classes in Paris led the production to move from monasterial scriptoria into secular town ateliers. Paris became the centre and a sophisticated system of book production developed. French illuminators had close contacts with stained glass designers as shown by the similarities between the *Bibles Moralisées*, and certain Sainte-Chapelle windows, such as the Genesis window. (Figure 39 and 40) It is difficult to confirm the direction of influence.

The *Psalter of Blanche de Castille*, c. 1200-1210, Paris, Arsenal MS. Fr. 1186 is typical of the early thirteenth century Parisian style. (Figure 41) It shows the predominant use of red and blue, with thin rather awkward figures deriving from works such as the *Ingeborg Psalter*, Northern France or England, c. 1200, Latin ms. 9 Musée Condé, Chantilly.

The *Bibles Moralisées* are the most important commissions of the early century. All must have had had some form of royal connection as they have a picture of a king at the end, but it is not proven that Saint Louis commissioned any of the four which survive today. The main colours are blue and red, reflecting the colour of contemporary stained-glass windows and they are painted in the older *muldenfaltenstil* of the turn of the twelfth century.

Two manuscripts c.1230-40 relate to the style of the Sainte-Chapelle medallions. The *Livres des Serments* of the Bishops of Paris, Paris, late 1230s, Archives Nationales Paris LL 79, shows the beginning of a new style. (Figure 43) The traditional hairpin loops start at the edge of Christ's body and curve round in wide strips, giving a real sense of the body underneath. The *Maciejowski Bible*, also known as the *Shah Abbas Bible* (M638 Pierpoint Morgan and Bib. Nat., nouv. acq. lat. 2294) reflects the new broadfold style. (Catalogue X) The architectural canopies above each scene may be precursors of the more ornate architectural arcading in the *Saint Louis Psalter*. No connections have been proven between these and the Sainte-Chapelle and there is not enough overlap to suggest that the

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<sup>73</sup> John Lowden has recently written on the *Bibles Moralisées* and Harvey Stahl is writing a book on thirteenth century French manuscripts but unfortunately neither has yet been published.

two ateliers were related despite similarities.<sup>74</sup> They are the first examples in manuscripts of the new style of the mid-century.

The transformation of style in the 1230-40s is also seen in the *First Sainte-Chapelle Evangeliary*, Paris, c.1238, Bib Nat lat 8892. (Figure 44) Folios 1-28 are in the *muldenfaltestil* and the illuminations are in the dark, predominantly red and blue tones of the *Bibles Moralisées*. However folios 29-31 c.1255-60 are in the new broadfold style. (Figure 45) The additional folia resemble to the *Third Sainte-Chapelle Evangeliary*, Paris, c. 1255-60, Bib. Nat. Lat. 17326 which is in the new style, with paler colours and architectural canopies and diapered backgrounds. (Figure 46) These two and the *Saint Louis Psalter* which they resemble were probably made in the same atelier.<sup>75</sup> Their style is similar to Christ the Judge at Notre-Dame and the Judith and Job glass in the Sainte-Chapelle. (Figure 13) The colour schemes also change to lighter, almost pastel, colours which may have been inspired by the Sainte-Chapelle medallions. The *Second Sainte-Chapelle Evangeliary*, Paris, c.1240-45, Bib. Nat. lat. 9455 is simpler and was probably for everyday use. Its cover also shows the influence of monumental sculpture with the more angular folds and grace of the Sainte-Chapelle Apostles. (Figure 8) No evidence connects Saint Louis directly to the Evangeliaries but it is logical to believe he had some involvement with them as all reflect developments in court taste.<sup>76</sup>

The *Arsenal Old Testament*, Acre, c.1250-54, parchment 368 ff. h. 28.5cm. w. 20cm., Bib. de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS. 5211, has not been proven to be commissioned by Louis either, but it contains many of the themes in which he was interested. (Catalogue XII) It was produced between 1250 and 1254 in the Holy Land while Louis was there on Crusade.

*The Saint Louis Psalter* c.1255-70 represents the culmination of the mid-century style and forecasts the end-of-century changes with its banana-shaped bodies and softer drapery style. (Catalogue XI) It shows the Rayonnant architectural devices which had become common in manuscripts and in metalwork in the second half of the century.

Analysis of the flow of style throughout Louis's reign is complex. Architecture and the sculpture which adorned it dominate in terms of influence. This may be a

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<sup>74</sup> Branner, R., 'Medallions', Transactions of the American Philosophical Society loc. cit. pp. 17-19.

<sup>75</sup> Branner, R., 'Le Premier Evangeliere de la Sainte-Chapelle', Revue de l'Art, 3, 1969, p 38.

<sup>76</sup> Haseloff, A., in Michel, A., Histoire de l'Art, Paris, 1905-29, p.341.

reflection of the growing prestige and influence of the architect.<sup>77</sup> Ivories, a miniaturised form of sculpture, were also influential, as the source of the gothic sway. Manuscripts, stained glass and metalwork all show these influences and given their common use of the drawing technique must have influenced each other. It is difficult to tell which way round the flow of influence was. (Most experts believe their own medium to be the dominant influence!)

The style which developed in Paris in the second half of the 13th century has been given various names, The Court Style, le style précieux, le style Saint Louis, all describing the sophistication and elegance of the style which developed after the Sainte-Chapelle in the 1240s, and reached its height in the *Saint Louis Psalter* in 1260s. It was to prove very influential and spread right across Europe.

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<sup>77</sup> Bucher, F., 'Micro-architecture as the "Idea" of Gothic Theory and Style', *Gesta*, 15/1-2, 1976.

## Chapter 7: Conclusion

Louis's motivation as King was more than deeply religious. He was concerned to be wise and just, and despite the humiliation and failure of the Crusades, history has judged him to be so, the *roi-juste*, the essence of what a medieval king should be. The French philosopher Roland Barthes, 1915-1980, has shown how layered messages are created in objects, both consciously and unconsciously.<sup>78</sup> Louis and his advisors were prime users of this semiotic system loading their images with meaning and message. His concerns with Biblical genealogy, justice and Christian kingship are expressed in the iconography of his reign and these concerns reflect his political and religious ambitions for France.

In France today, where the Church is separated from the State, Saint Louis remains a key figure in the national psyche, as a founder of modern France; it was under him that the term *Francia* was first used.<sup>79</sup> He is seen as a just and powerful king who made his country great. All French schoolchildren know the story of Saint Louis dispensing justice under an oak tree at Vincennes. (Catalogue 13) Louis's image suffered during the Revolution as it represented two of the most hated aspects of the Ancien Regime, monarchy and religion. Napoleon revived Louis's image in his attempt to create his own legitimacy by association with his saintly predecessor. In the twentieth century Louis's image was of less interest until just before the seven-hundredth anniversary of his death in 1970, when several exhibitions were held and books published and conferences held.<sup>80</sup> This revival was particularly interesting in the light of the revolt of 1968 in France and shows Saint Louis's role as a unifying cultural icon for radicals and reactionaries alike.

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<sup>78</sup> Barthes Mythologies, Paris, 1957.

<sup>79</sup> Hallam, E.M., Capetian France 987-1328, London, 1980, p 189.

<sup>80</sup> The success of the series of commemorative exhibitions led to the creation of several other exhibitions dealing with the late Middle Ages in France, for example and Les Fastes du Gothique in 1981 and L'art au temps des Rois Maudits in 1998.

## **CATALOGUE**

## CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS

(Photo source in brackets)

- I. The Hours of Jeanne de Navarre.**  
(Leniaud et Perrot 1991, p50)
- II. Watercolour of St Clement medallion in the Sainte-Chapelle.**  
(Leniaud et Perrot 1991, p105)
- III. Stained glass from the Esther window in the Sainte-Chapelle.**  
(Leniaud et Perrot 1991, p177)
- IV. Sainte-Chapelle Apostle.**  
(Weiss 1998, p43)
- V. Tomb of Louis de France.**  
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- VI. Limoges tomb of Jean and Blanche de France.**
  - a. The enamel plaques**  
(Enamels of Limoges, 1996, p. 403)
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(Branner, 1968, p 38)
- VII. Fragments from Notre-Dame west façade.**
  - a. the lintel,**
  - b. right hand fragment,**
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(J.Collins)
- VIII. a. Sainte-Chapelle Ivory Virgin and Child.**  
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(Gaborit-Chopin, 1972, p. 221)
- IX. Reliquary of Saints Lucien, Maxien and Julien.**  
(Leniaud et Perrot 1991, p59)



- X. The Maciejowski Bible**  
(Weiss 1998, p128)
- XI. The Saint Louis Psalter.**  
(Leniaud et Perrot. 1991, p95)
- XII. The Arsenal Old Testament.**
- a. folio 269 r.**
  - b. folio 307 r.**  
(Weiss 1998, PLs VII & VIII)
  - c. The Paris Psalter, folio 307 r.**  
(Rice, 1963, p78)
- XIII. Twentieth century stamp.**  
(J.Collins)

## I. The Hours of Jeanne de Navarre

Paris c. 1330-40,  
271 folios on vellum, h. 18 cm.x w 13.5 cm.,  
Bibliothèque Nationale MS latin 3145. Folio 102.

Illustration I

This was made for Jeanne de Navarre, d.1349, Saint Louis's great-grand-daughter, in the workshop of Jean Pucelle and although larger, is similar to the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux. (Figure 3) The details of faces and figures are modelled but there is not yet any sense of perspective.

The text is based on de Saint-Pathus' Life of Saint Louis. The Hours of Saint Louis contain a scene for each of the eight hours of the Office. The iconography concentrates on his biography, in contrast to the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, which concentrate on his holy deeds. All the episodes here predate his departure on Crusade in 1248. Three illuminations are of coronation scenes emphasising the sacral nature of Louis and the Capetians. This emphasis may connect these Hours to the Sainte-Chapelle where the many coronation scenes were modelled on the French rite.<sup>81</sup> This folio shows Saint Louis carrying the Relics to the Sainte-Chapelle before its consecration. Legend recounts that Louis, in his humility, was bare-foot, but this is not shown here.

### Provenance

1349 given to the duc d'Alençon, younger brother of Philippe VI of Valois,  
15<sup>th</sup> century in England ( based on its English frontispiece),  
early 17<sup>th</sup> century to 1789, Couvent des Cordelières, Paris,  
Henry Yates Thompson collection, Oxford,  
Rothschild collection, Paris,  
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

### Literature

Longnon 1882, p131, Yates Thompson 1899, p 151-183, Delisle 1902, No X, Thomas in Colloques 1970, p 209-231, Jordan 2000, p. 1-12.

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<sup>81</sup> Jordan, A., Transcript, op. cit., p9.

## II. Watercolour of Sainte-Chapelle Martyr Medallion The Martyrdom of Saint Clement.

Paris, 1845,

watercolour on paper, copies of medallions on stone of c.1248,  
diameter approx 71 cm.

Paris, Archives de la Commission des Monuments Historiques, Sainte-Chapelle  
Dossier 1227.

Illustration II

Saint Clement was Pope at the end of the first century and is counted as the first Apostolic Father. His relics were believed to be at the churches of St Marcel or St Séverin in Paris, although there is no evidence that he was actually martyred. The story of his sentence to hard labour in the Crimea and death by being tied to an anchor and thrown into the sea was popular in the Middle Ages.

Before undertaking the restoration of the medallions in 1845 Louis Steinheil made watercolour copies. None of the medallions now in the Sainte-Chapelle has any original paint in them and many are impossible to identify. Inscriptions on the medallions were legible when restoration started in the nineteenth century but are no longer any help. They were copied before the restoration work but then muddled up. Iconography and tracings of the inscriptions rediscovered in 1961 are now the only means of identification. Martyrs included are St Lucie, St Sebastian, and St Margaret. Their positions do not help as the programme of the medallions and that of the windows do not relate.

The medallions were painted onto the stone. The background patterns were either chiselled in or made of small inset pieces of glass mimicking the enamels on metal reliquaries. Four artists working within one atelier have been identified. Their style shows the developments of the mid-century and derives from monumental sculpture of the 1230s such as that at Notre-Dame. The drapery is in the new broadfold style and the bodies seem energetic and full of movement. However they do not yet have the mannered elegant stance of the *Saint Louis Psalter*. The colours are lighter, presaging those of the second half of the century. The new colour schemes of the medallions may have inspired the illuminator of the last three folios of the *First Sainte-Chapelle Evangelary*, one of the earliest manuscripts to favour these new tones. (Figure 45) The style can also be compared to the *Maciejowski Bible* c.1250 and was to be developed in manuscripts of the 1260s such as the *Saint Louis Psalter* and the *Isabelle Psalter*.<sup>82</sup> (Catalogues X and XI)

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<sup>82</sup> Leniaud J-M, and Perrot, F., *La Sainte-Chapelle*, Paris, 1991, p 104.

The medallions have been interpreted as Saints whose relics were in the Chapel of St Nicholas, which the Sainte-Chapelle replaced, and also as the Saints from the calendar of the oldest existing Sainte-Chapelle service book. These theories do not have wide support. It is more likely that the medallions represent martyrs whose relics were in churches in and around Paris.<sup>83</sup> When Louis went to meet the Relics on their arrival in France, he ordered all the Parisian churches to join the procession with their own relics. While the new Relics lay at St Antoine-des-Champs during the construction of the Sainte-Chapelle they had been surrounded by these lesser relics.

The medallions enhance the impression of a reliquary. The presence of the martyrs may also reflect the martyrrium as an architectural source for the Sainte-Chapelle. They resemble enamel plaques found on reliquaries such as the *Châsse of Saint Potentin*, a deliberate appropriation helping to create the impression of a giant reliquary. (Figure 6)

#### Provenance

Musée des Monuments Francais, Paris  
(original medallions all in situ in the Sainte-Chapelle)

#### Literature

Guilhermy 1889, 38-39, Branner 1968, pp 1-42, Leniaud et Perrot 1991, p87.

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<sup>83</sup> Branner, R. 'The Painted Medallions in the Sainte-Chapelle', Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, N.S. 58, 1968, pp. 13-14.

### III. Stained Glass from the Sainte-Chapelle Esther Window

Paris, c.1248,  
Sainte-Chapelle, (bay 10) Paris,  
height of window 15.05m.

Illustration III

The window is above the Queen's niche on the right-hand side of the chapel. (It is not known whether the niche was used by both Blanche and Marguerite at the same time or whether they worshiped separately.) The panel features Esther, a heroine of the Bible. In typological terms she is seen as a pre-figuration of the Virgin and the Church. She kneels at King Ahasuerus's feet pleading with him to spare the Jews from massacre by the Persian army, pre-figuring the Virgin's appeal on man's behalf to Christ at the Last Judgement. Esther and other Biblical queens such as Judith were well established models for medieval queens. The panel is taken from one of the most unusual windows in the chapel in terms of iconography, composition and style, with its juxtaposition of semi-circular medallions.

The panel was made by the third workshop identified by Grodecki, along with the Judith and Job window where the composition is more traditional, and like the Genesis window resembles the *Bibles Moralisées*. (Figures 13 and 39) The faces are expressive and finely drawn. The men have neatly curling hair like that of *King Childebert* c.1239-1244. (Figure 29) The soft broadfold structure, and the occasional banana shaped figure presage the style of the *Saint Louis Psalter*. (Catalogue XI) Grodecki has compared the style of the Esther window to that of the *Maciejowski Bible*.<sup>84</sup> (Catalogue X) The initial creative technique, drawing, is the same for glass and manuscripts so it is likely that there should be a certain amount of overlap between ateliers but there is much debate over the direction of influence.

Esther's role in the Bible is small, but over one hundred scenes tell her story in this window. This may be in homage to Blanche, Louis's mother, who had managed to keep all Louis's inherited lands until his majority. She was to be Regent when he left for the Crusades six weeks after the dedication.<sup>85</sup> The window contains large heraldic devices of gold castilles on a background of gules as well as the smaller castilles and fleur-de-lis found in other windows. It is the only window to give such prominence to Blanche's heraldic symbols alone. There are no heraldic references to Marguerite de Provence in the Sainte Chapelle. Although Blanche had arranged Louis's marriage to Marguerite she and Louis came to mistrust the king's wife.<sup>86</sup> Marguerite was

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<sup>84</sup> Grodecki, L., and Brisac, C., *Stained Glass 1200-1300*, London, 1985, p. 108.

<sup>85</sup> Leniaud, J-M, et Perrot, F., *La Sainte-Chapelle*, 1991, p193.

<sup>86</sup> Blanche had arranged the marriage hoping to extend France's influence to Provence. But in 1236 Marguerite's sister, Eleanor, married Henry III of England. Blanche believed Marguerite to be a political threat because of the growing contact between

excluded from all matters of state and in 1241 she was made to sign a declaration that she would not undermine Capetian rule. The first heraldic references to Marguerite, the pales of Provence, appear only in the *Saint Louis Psalter* by when she had fulfilled her function and had given Louis an heir.

It has also been suggested that the bolder more aggressive Judith window may represent Blanche rather than Marguerite. (Figure 13) Judith was a mature upper-class widow and her story is largely set around battle scenes. Esther however is a more docile, young queen whose story takes place in a courtly setting. The differing style of the two windows may reflect the differing characters and positions of Blanche and Marguerite.<sup>87</sup> The composition of both windows reflects medieval writings on the theory of storytelling. The mirroring of narrative form and narrative content helped the viewer to see characterisation more easily.<sup>88</sup> (Although Judith's life compares better to Blanche than Marguerite this argument does not take into account the very predominant arms of Castille in the Esther window).

#### Provenance

Sainte-Chapelle, Paris

#### Literature

Grodecki 1959 p270, Branner 1968 p21, Jordan 1994 p80, Jordan 1999 p.p.337-347.

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England, where Eleanor's influence over Henry III was believed to be strong, and Eleanor's native Provence.

<sup>87</sup> Jordan, A., Material girls: Judith, Esther, narrative modes and models of queenship in the windows of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, Word and Image, Vol 15, No 4, 1999, pp. 337-341

<sup>88</sup> Jordan, A., Eadem, pp342-3.

#### IV. Apostle from the Sainte-Chapelle.

Paris, 1241-1248,  
Sainte-Chapelle, fifth pillar on the north,  
h. 192 cm.

Illustration IV

This statue, possibly St James the Greater identified by his pilgrim's staff, is one of the larger mannered Apostles. The peanut shaped head shows signs of individuality and was to become predominant in the second half of the century, for example in the *Saint Louis Psalter*. (Catalogue XI) The broad metallic looking draperies give a sense of the body beneath and pool on the ground covering the feet. The cascade of heavy v-folds down the side of the body is also found in the Virgin and Child c.1250 of Notre-Dame. (Figure 30) Although much restored, the mannered sophistication of the work is evident. The beginning of the gothic sway can be seen.

The Apostles created a visual link between the windows and the blind arcade below.<sup>89</sup> Their shape was similar to that of jamb figures but they were free of the stone column behind them and are typical of their period in their architectural independence, a trend which developed over the first half of the thirteenth century. Given the prestige of the site the statues must have been designed for the Sainte-Chapelle on which work started in 1241 giving a *terminus ante quem*. Despite the architectural changes caused by the building of the tribune, it seems inconceivable that all twelve Apostles were not in place for the consecration in 1248 providing a *terminus post quem*.

Figures on the Châsse of St Romain of Rouen c.1250-75 show similarities to the mannered Apostles.<sup>90</sup> (Figure 46) It is more likely that the Sainte-Chapelle Apostles inspired the metal work than vice-versa.

#### Provenance

1797 removed from Sainte-Chapelle to Musée des Monuments Historiques,

1816 to churches round Paris ( it is not known which statue went where,)

1841 returned to Sainte-Chapelle.

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<sup>89</sup> S.Dormer, V&A lecture, 3/11/98.

<sup>90</sup> Weber, A., "Les Grandes et les Petites statues d'Apôtres de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris", *Bulletin Monumental*, CLVII, 1997, p. 96, uses this to support her view that six Apostles were made 20 years later.

### Literature

Courajod 1863, pp.152-163, Gebelin 1931, p.40, Salet 1951, pp. 135-57, Grodecki 1962, pp. 43-44, Sauerländer 1972, pp. 150-51, Weber 1997, pp.81-100.



## V. Tomb of Louis de France

St Denis, c. 1260,  
white marble with blue glass,  
l. 1.2m. x h. 0.76 m x w. 0.63m.,  
Basilique Saint Denis.

Illustration V

Unlike the '*Commande St Louis*' the tomb of Louis's heir d.1260 shows no interest in dynastic symbolism. It was made straight after his death and shows a young innocent boy, and although not an actual portrait it attempts to endow character. The tomb of Louis's brother Philippe-Dagobert d.1235 had standing figures under arcades but this is probably the first representation of a funerary procession. The contemporary tomb of Gauthier de Sully in the Val-St-Benoit monastery also shows one.<sup>91</sup> This theme was to become extremely popular, Sluter's weeper figures around the tomb of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, d. 1404 being one of the most famous examples.

The effigy lies on the top of a stone tomb chest decorated with mourners in procession. These weepers are in relief stone with a dark blue glass background. Two sculptors were involved; one was responsible for the design and executed the effigy, the two long sides and the bottom end. The other was responsible for the head end which although much restored is in the more sophisticated elegant Paris style of the second half of the century. It depicts two thuriferary angels welcoming the boy into the after-life. The angel on the right has the almost mannered smile of the Virgin at Notre-Dame. (Figure 30)

### Provenance

Abbaye de Royaumont,  
1791 taken to St Denis,  
1783 Musée des Monuments Historiques,  
Soon after returned to St Denis.

### Literature

Vitry 1929 p 90, Aubert 1946 p 67, Sauerländer 1972 p271, Erlande-Brandenburg 1975 p 45.

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<sup>91</sup> Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi est Mort*, op. cit., p. 117.

## VI. Limoges tomb effigies of Jean and Blanche de France

Limoges region c.1250.

Copper champlevé enamel on wooden core, with repoussé figures, heraldic devices and turquoise enamel beads, and engraving and mercury gilding.

h. 105.5cm. x w. 126.5 cm. x d. 13 cm.,

(original width of unattached panels 53.5cm. and 55cm.)

Basilique of Saint Denis.

Illustration VI a and b.

The plaques depict Jean d.1248 and Blanche d.1243, two of Saint Louis's eleven children. Their innocent placid faces stare out, creating a rather sad funerary monument. Although not Louis's direct heir Jean holds a fleur-de-lis sceptre. This has been explained, as it has for queens, as a sign of being of the royal family, although Blanche does not hold one.<sup>92</sup> Both are dressed in robes patterned with heraldic devices of fleur-de-lis and castilles. This may be another example of Blanche de Castille's influence as there are no pales of Provence, their mother's arms. This may be explained by the fact that their mother was away on Crusade when they died. These plaques are thought to be the earliest surviving Limoges tombs. The use of Limoges work tombs was reserved for the Royal family and their entourage.<sup>93</sup>

The children were buried at the newly built Abbey of Royaumont which Louis had designated as his family necropolis. Originally each effigy had been on top of a stone sarcophagus, inside a tomb recess with a painted portrait on the back wall. (Catalogue VI b)

The effigies consist of a high relief copper plaque for the body and another for the head surrounded by champlevé border plaques. They are decorated with heraldic devices and small turquoise beads.

### Provenance

Abbaye de Royaumont,

1791 St Denis,

1794 Musée des Monuments Historiques,

Restoration returned to St Denis.

### Literature

Montfaucon 1730 Vol II pp 160-62, Viollet-le-Duc 1868 p222, Erlande-Brandenburg 1975 p117, L'Oeuvre de Limoges, 1995, p 402.

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<sup>92</sup> Erlande-Brandenburg 1975, *Le Roi est Mort* op. cit. 1975, p.122-23.

<sup>93</sup> Beatrice de Chancel-Bardelot in *L'Oeuvre de Limoges*, Paris, 1995, p 404.

## VII. Fragments from the lower lintel of the Last Judgement portal of the west front of Notre-Dame de Paris

Paris, c. 1230-40,  
limestone, approx. h. 1.5 m x w. 1.8 m.,  
Musée du Moyen Age, Cl. 18564.

Illustration VII

These fragments from the west façade of Notre-Dame de Paris show angels blowing trumpets for the Resurrection. (Figure 26) Although originally identified as the work of an innovative member of a workshop of the 1220s they are now recognised as dating from 1230-40.<sup>94</sup> The alterations visible in the tympanum and vousoirs allowed for the fitting of the new sculpture.<sup>95</sup>

The portal was devoted to the Last Judgement, with Christ enthroned with two angels with the Instruments of the Passion and two intercessors, the Virgin and John the Evangelist, kneeling at his side. (This iconography was new and became canonical in northern French Last Judgements.<sup>96</sup>)

The fragments show the difference between the “classic” style of the early thirteenth century with its antique aspect and trough folds and the new style which developed towards the mid-century. The angels on the right are in the older style. Their drapery resembles that of *St Andrew* at the Carnavalet, with long parallel folds in the fabric, seeming to be carved only on the surface of the stone. (Figure 28) The bodies are solid and poorly defined, and the faces are fixed and expressionless. The angels on the left are very different. The system of proportions has changed from 1:6 to 1:7 giving a more elegant style. The drapery is broadfold and rather than just a covering it outlines it and gives the sense of a real body beneath. The faces are modelled and more expressive with deeply cut features. The hair falls in neat little curls presaging the elegant *King Childebert* curls. (Figure 29)

### Provenance

Central portal of the west front of Notre-Dame de Paris,  
Discovered 1839, attributed 1887,  
Musée du Moyen Age, Paris.

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<sup>94</sup> Williamson, P., Gothic Sculpture, op. cit. p. 52.

<sup>95</sup> Erlande-Brandenburg, A., Notre-Dame de Paris, op. cit. p. 110.

<sup>96</sup> Sauerlander, W., Gothic Sculpture in France, op. cit. p. 452.

## Literature

Vitry 1929 p.77, Sauerländer 1972 p.452, Erlande-Brandenburg 1989 p.110,  
Williamson 1995 p.52.

## VIII. Sainte-Chapelle Ivory Virgin and Child (The Soltykoff Virgin)

Paris c.1250-60,  
h. 41 cm, carved ivory with gems, polychromy and gilding,  
Musée du Louvre, Paris, OA 57.

Illustration VIII

Most now agree that this is the *Virgin of the Sainte-Chapelle* although despite much research there is no proof of its provenance. Louis must have wanted the Sainte-Chapelle to contain only the best objects. Given the quality and its similarity to the various inventory descriptions it is likely to be that of the Sainte-Chapelle<sup>97</sup>.

The Virgin is the only one known on a decagonal plinth. She is dressed in a long-sleeved robe tucked into a gilded belt. Her dress falls straight to the ground with her mantle falling in v-folds on one side and vertical pleats on the other. Her shoulder length wavy hair is covered in a veil which falls down her back. There are holes around the top of her head where her crown would have been attached. (The nineteenth century crown she usually wears is being restored.) The Virgin holds out an apple to the Christ Child in her arms and looks towards Him with a mother's tender smile. His feet rest on her hips in a very natural manner and He rests His hand on her shoulder to balance. Red glass gems are placed on the chest of the Virgin and the Child. The Virgin used to have an emerald on her middle finger and another in a gold flower on her chest but these are missing.

Like most gothic ivories very little polychromy has been applied to the figures. The borders of the Virgin's clothes are gilded in a pseudo-kuffic pattern and the edge of the veil has a gilded scallop pattern. Her eyes are painted with precious lapis-lazuli blue and it is still possible to see a very faint tinge of red on her lips. The faces have no other colour as the carver used the whiteness of the ivory to represent the symbolic purity of the subject.

The dating of ivories is difficult. The statue is carved *en ronde bosse* and her gothic sway indicates the beginning of the banana shape which was to become ubiquitous in the third quarter of the century. The posture and deeply carved v-folds of her robe resemble those of the Virgin and Child at Notre Dame c.1250, allowing us to date the ivory after the mid-century. (Figure 30) It shares features with the effigy of Constance of Arles, dated before 1264, one of the "*Commande Saint Louis*" at St Denis. (Catalogue VIII b) Both have the same costume, pointed triangular face and v-fold drapery structure. The Virgin's smile resembles that of the thuriferous angel on Louis de France's tomb, *King Childebert*, and the more mannered of the Sainte-Chapelle

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<sup>97</sup> See Vidier, A., *Le Trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle: Inventaires et Documents*, p97 and pp.156-157.

Apostles all of which date from around the mid-thirteenth century. (Catalogues IV and V. Figures 29 and 21) The sharp folds are also found on the Sainte-Chapelle Apostles, c.1248. A few experts still date her to the fourteenth century because of her mannerist traits such as the twist of her posture.

The statue establishes the intimate human relationship between Mother and Child. The thirteenth century saw a move away from the frontal hierarchical Virgins, such as that on the Portal Royal at Chartres, to a more natural image, in both large and small scale sculptures. The *Sainte-Chapelle Virgin* has the charm and elegance of the ladies of the court of Saint Louis, and one can sense the affection between Mother and Son.

The details have a symbolic value. The Virgin was the Mother of all men, loving them and interceding on their behalf with God. The apple in Christ's hands is the fruit picked by Eve and a symbol of the Fall. The Virgin's crown shows her as Queen of Heaven, an iconographic detail found only in western art, and her ring symbolises her eternal union with God.

Figures such as this were important private devotional aids in the thirteenth century, reflecting the growth of the cult of the Virgin. Twelfth century iconography had focused more on Christ and God. The writings of Bernard of Clairvaux, 1090-1153, and the influence of the Cistercians, whose churches were dedicated to the Virgin, helped promote the cult. St Bernard's sermons on the Song of Songs praise the Virgin in very intimate and personal terms. Mary was seen as an accessible and approachable mediator and represented Christ made flesh, the Incarnation. The possession of a statue such as this helped the owner enter into a much more intimate relationship with the Virgin, and through her with Christ. Many similar smaller ivory Virgins were made for the rich for their daily prayers at home.

#### Provenance

Duval sells it to Alexandre Lenoir Collection,  
1793 enters Debruge-Dumenil Collection,  
1850 enters Soltykoff Collection,  
entered <sup>Musée du</sup> Louvre in 1861.

#### Literature

Koechlin 1968 p230, Grodecki 1947 p 120, Gaborit-Chopin 1972, de Laubier-Rhally 2000.

## **IX. Reliquary of Saints Lucien, Maxien and Julien.**

Paris c.1261,

engraved and chased silver-gilt, inscribed with the martyrs names in Latin.

h. 19cm. x w. 12.5cm. x d. 2.4cm.,

Musée du Moyen Age, CL 10746.

Illustration IX

This was made to hold the relics of Lucien, Julien and Maxien, third century martyrs, and was given to Saint Louis in 1261 when their bodies were transferred into new châsses at the Abbey in Beauvais. It is the only reliquary associated with the Sainte-Chapelle which was not destroyed during the Revolution. The rock crystal on the front is missing as is the platform. The holes to each side of the pinnacles show that it was probably suspended at one time. The sloping roof and steeples (one missing) emulate architecture, possibly the Sainte-Chapelle.

The back panel shows the three beheaded martyrs, carrying their heads in their hands, standing on little mounds signifying holy ground. The strong outlines, crisp folds and tubular pleats of the robes, executed in low relief carving, give an impression of volume, enhanced by the way the necks of the three have been treated. This work can be compared to the sculpture on the south transept of Notre-Dame de Paris of c.1258, for example the statue of St Stephen on the south transept. (Figure25)

### Provenance

Soltykoff Collection, Paris,

Musée du Moyen Age.

### Literature

Art of the Courts 1968 p. 129, Souchal 1960 p.181, St Louis à la Sainte-Chapelle 1970 p.104, Williamson 1995 p.145.

## X. The Maciejowski Bible

Paris, c. 1250,  
43 parchment f.f.,  
h. 40cm. x w. 31cm.,  
Pierpoint Morgan MS M638, folio 2 recto,  
Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. acq. lat. 2294.

Illustration X

The *Maciejowski Bible* was made in Paris by six or seven artists. A note at the start tells us that it was given by Cardinal Maciejowski, Bishop of Krakow, to Shah Abbas the Great in 1604, who had explanations to the text added in Persian and Hebrew. The fourteenth century explanatory inscriptions in Italian show that it had been in Italy possibly in the French court in Naples.

Grodecki compared its style to the Sainte-Chapelle's "Esther Master". (Catalogue III) Although some similarities can be seen in the long parallel tubular folds, in general the style is much crisper than in the Esther glass and the broadfold style is even more evident. It may have been made by wall painters rather than illuminators, explaining why there so few points of stylistic overlap with any other manuscripts and accounting for its monumental style.

The scene shows the Denial and Expulsion of Adam and Eve. The colours are paler than earlier manuscripts possibly reflecting the influence of the Sainte-Chapelle medallions.

### Provenance

Jean Athanasiou, Paris,  
bought in London by Thomas Phillips 1834,  
two leaves now in Paris (not known when removed) bought by Jules Maciet in 1883,  
Pierpoint Morgan Library New York and Bibliothèque Nationale Paris.

### Bibliography

Laborde 1911-27 p. 80, Cockerell 1927 pp. 260-271, Plummer & Cockerell 1969 p. 58,  
Branner 1968 p. 34, Weiss 1998 p. 128.



## XI. The Saint Louis Psalter

Paris, c.1255-70,  
Parchment, 260f.f., h. 20cm. x w. 14 cm.  
Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms Lat 10525, folio 6 verso.

Illustration IX

The *Saint Louis Psalter* contains one of the most complex prefatory cycles of miniatures, all of which, unusually, are from the Old Testament. It is similar to that of the *Maciejowski Bible*. The seventy-eight illuminations follow the Bible text very accurately. Some folios may be missing as it starts with the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel rather than the more usual Creation and it finishes halfway through the first Book of Samuel with the Coronation of Saul. The illuminations pay particular attention to Joseph who has been interpreted as a metaphor for Saint Louis himself.<sup>98</sup> The *Isabelle Psalter* (Fitzwilliam MSS 300) with six similar miniatures can be seen as continuing the *Saint Louis Psalter* and may originally have been part of it. It was made for a royal Isabelle, but there is no proof that she was Louis's sister. It could have been his daughter Isabelle.

A fifteenth century inscription (folio A.v) states that it belonged to Saint Louis and the calendar contains obits of Louis's grandfather, father, mother and brother supporting the view it was made for him. The Psalter represents the summit of artistic developments under Saint Louis. The manuscript is extremely refined and elegant, perhaps reflecting the influence of Saint Louis and his circle.

Most pages have the gold background typical of the second half of the century. Scenes are set under an architectural canopy reflecting the Rayonnant architecture of the Sainte-Chapelle. The use of architectural frameworks was not new having been used for example in the Cannon tables in the *Soissons Gospel* in the early ninth century. The colours are still dominated by reds and blues but are softer than in earlier manuscripts such as the *Bibles Moralisées*. The folds are made softer by shading, presaging the changes of the end of the century. The full page compositions have abandoned the now old-fashioned example of stained glass windows. The figure style is delicate and svelte in the new curved, "banana" figure style, first seen in the Sainte-Chapelle glass which may reflect the shape of ivories. The posture and movement of the figures echoes that of the Sainte-Chapelle medallions but are much more delicate.

This scene shows Abraham and Melchisedec. The priest-king raising the host and chalice wears both an Episcopal mitre and a crown. The two represent an idealisation of royal power.

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<sup>98</sup> Jordan, W.C., 'The Psalter of St Louis: The Program of the Seventy-eight Full Page Illustrations,' *Acta: The High Middle Ages* 7, Binghampton, New York, 1983.

### Provenance

Library of Charles V at Vincennes,

Given to Louis XVIII by Grand Duke Michel Galitzin, brother of Alexander I of Russia,

shortly after to the Bibliothèque Nationale.

### Literature

Delisle 1902 No XI, Omont 1905, Leroquais 1940 41 vol II p101-105, Graz Akademische Druk, 1970, Branner 1968 p22 and 140, Jordan 1980 pp65-79, Calkins 1983 p214, .

## XII. Arsenal Old Testament

Acre c. 1250-54,  
368 parchment .ff.,  
h. 28.5 cm. x w. 20 cm.,  
Bibliothèque de L'Arsenal, MS 5211, folio 269 recto.

Illustration XII, a, b, and c.

This was made in Acre while Louis was trying to rebuild the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem following the failure of the Crusade and may have been commissioned by Saint Louis to take back to France.<sup>99</sup> The text is an abbreviated translation into Old French of the first twenty books of the Old Testament. The choice of Bible passages reflects ideas Louis had established in the Sainte-Chapelle, concentrating on the conquest of the Holy Land, and the story of David and Solomon. The illuminations echo these by continuing the theme of sacral kingship and showing the anointment scenes in the Book of Kings in terms of the French coronation. The presence of crusaders in contemporary costume shows them as soldiers supporting their ruler, and thus Christ.

The illuminations combine features found in manuscripts associated with Saint Louis, such as the *Bibles Moralisées* and the *Maciejowski Bible*, but which are not found combined in any other surviving manuscript. (Figure 39 and Catalogue X) It also relates to earlier high quality Byzantine manuscripts associated with the Court at Constantinople of the ninth and tenth centuries which Louis might have obtained at the same time as the Relics. The lavishness of this manuscript and its prestigious models support the idea of a patron of high status, such as Louis. The details of local life such as camels and Arab dress suggest that the manuscript was made in the Latin Kingdom.

The Byzantine influence is seen in the painting technique. Solomon's face is subtly modelled. (Catalogue XII b) The personification of Wisdom whispering in Solomon's ear comes from the tenth century *Paris Psalter* (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS gr. 139, fol.1v). (Catalogue XII c) This again supports an association with Louis. As in the Sainte-Chapelle, inspired in its level of decoration by the Boukoleon Chapel, imitation of Byzantine richness in the west enhanced the religious prestige of an object because Byzantium was seen as the protector of Christianity.

It cannot be proved that Louis commissioned the *Arsenal Old Testament* but it seems likely. It has also been suggested that it was a present from the Templars to Louis, as the original text from which it was copied belonged to the Templars.

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<sup>99</sup> Buchthal., H., Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Oxford, 1957, p. 66.

Provenance

15<sup>th</sup> century Louis de Grolee,  
18<sup>th</sup> century d'Argenson collection,  
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

Literature

Buchthal pp.54 and 146, Martin 1889 p.301, Berger 1884 p.109, Pacht 1943 p. 61,  
Weiss, pp. 81-195.

### XIII. Stamp depicting Saint Louis

Paris, 1967,  
3cm. x 5 cm.

Illustration XIII

This stamp is included in this exhibition as an example of an object relevant to everyday life in modern France. De Joinville in his *Life of Saint Louis* records how Louis would sit under a oak tree at Vincennes so that people from every level of society might approach him equally to ask for justice.<sup>100</sup> It shows how the image Louis and his iconographers created of a wise and just king has remained relevant over seven hundred years.

#### Provenance

P.T.T. de France

#### Literature

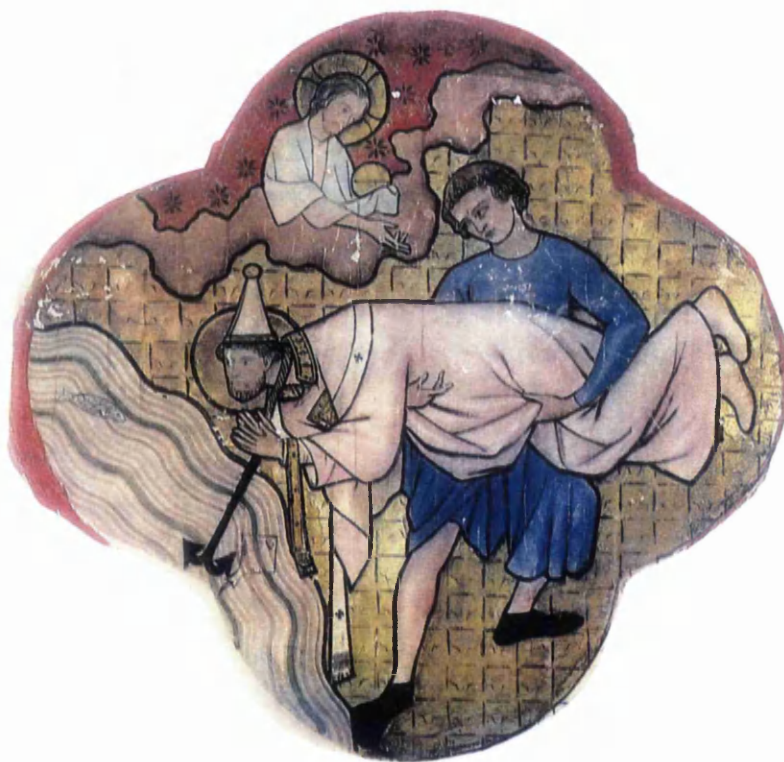
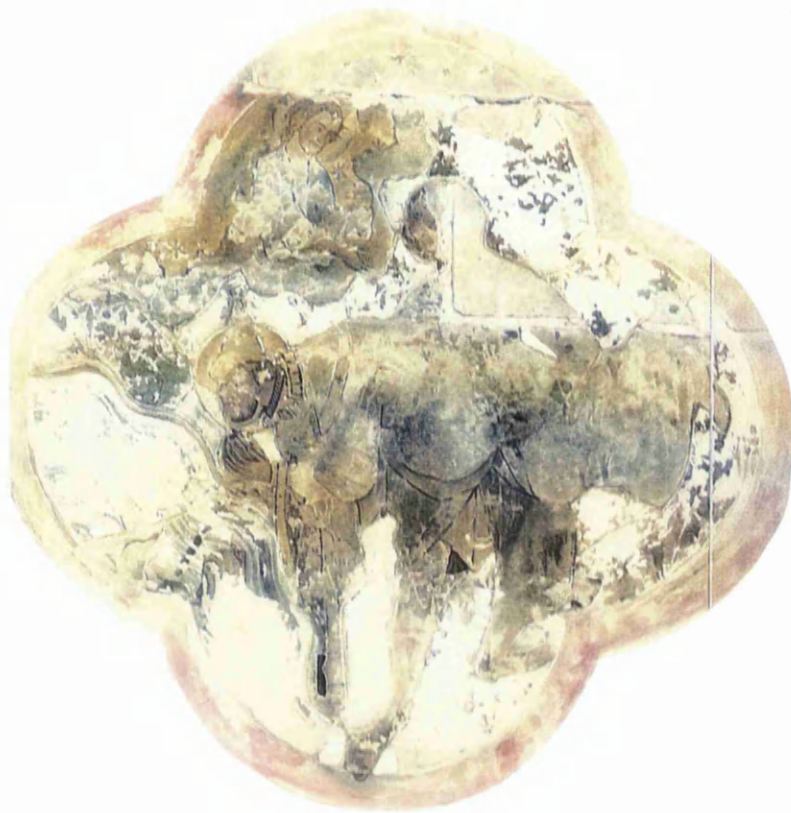
Annuaire des P.T.T., 1967.

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<sup>100</sup> de Joinville, J., Histoire de Saint Louis, op. cit. p. 25. '*Maintes foiz avint que en estei il se aloit seoir ou bois de Vinciennes après sa mess, et se acostoioit a un chesne, et nous fesoit seoir entourli. Et tuit cil qui avoient afaire venoient parler a li, sanz destoubier de huissier ne d'autre.*'



Catalogue I  
**Hours of Jeanne de Navarre,**  
Bib Nat., lat. 3145 folio 102,  
Saint Louis carrying the Relics.

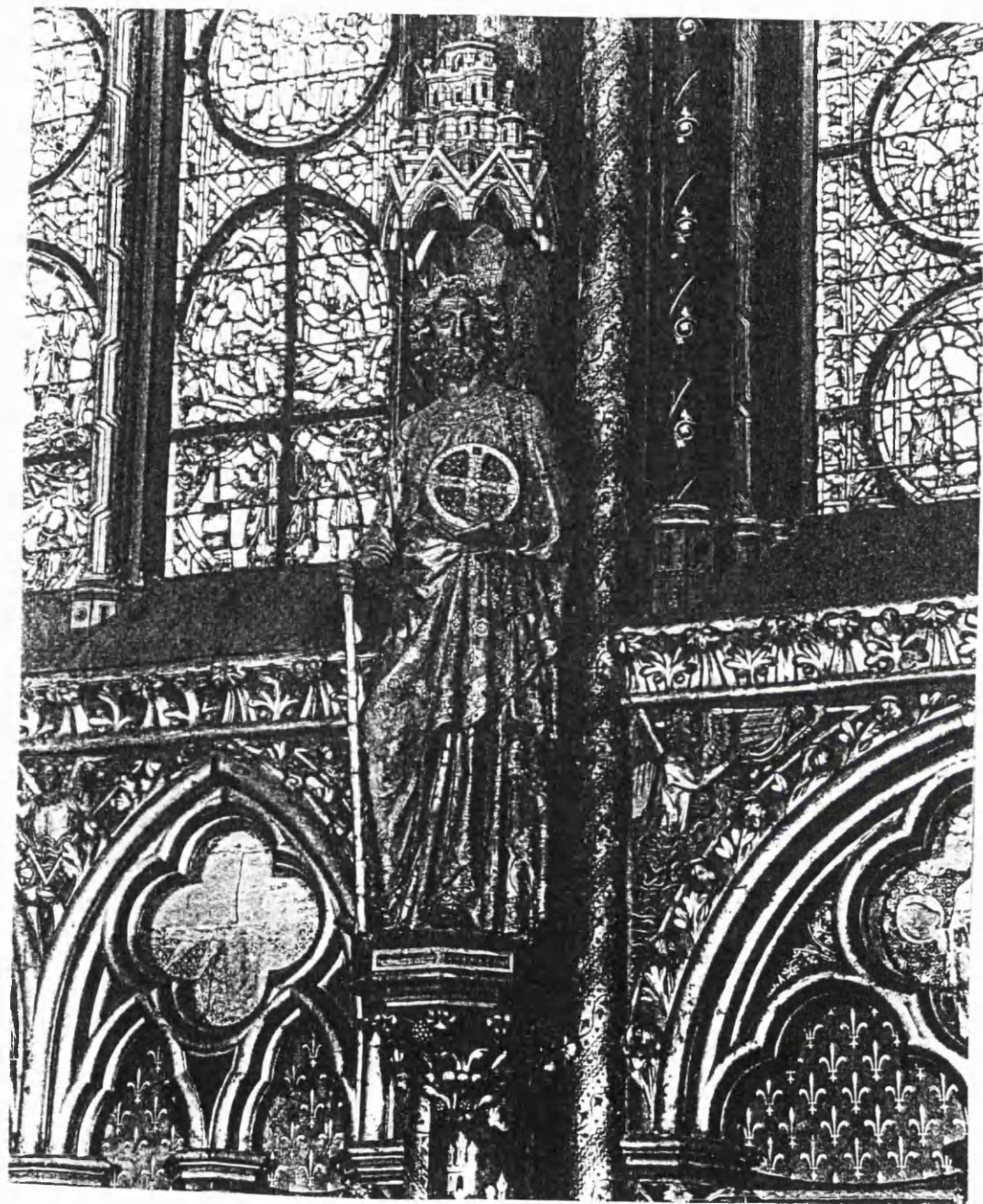


*Catalogue II*  
Watercolours of Saint Clement medallion from the Sainte-Chapelle,  
above- original state,  
below-restored,  
Paris, 1845,

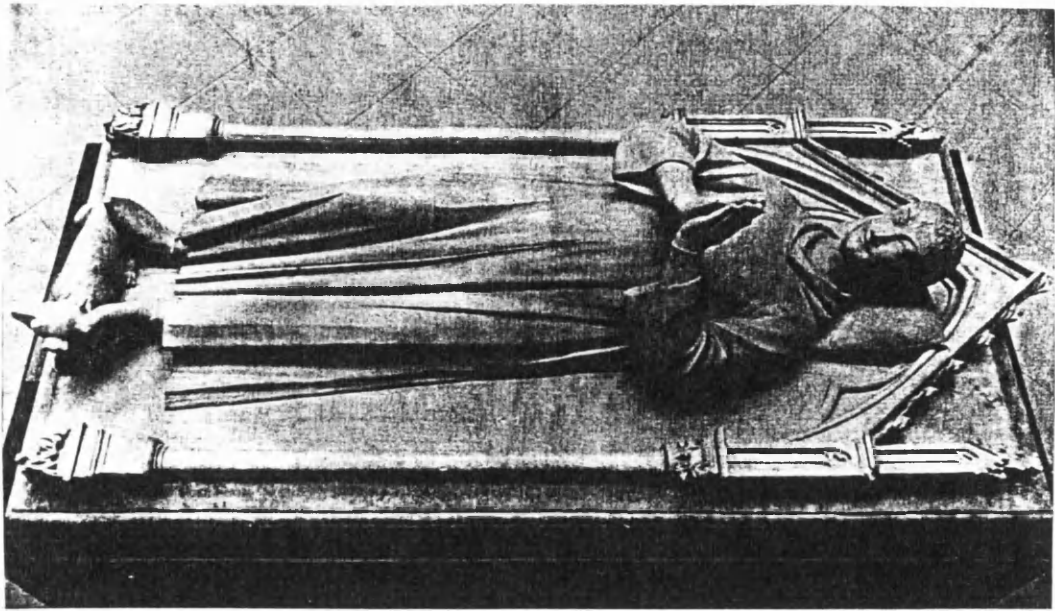


Catalogue III  
**Stained Glass from the Sainte-Chapelle Esther Window,**  
Paris, c.1248,  
Sainte-Chapelle, (bay 10) Paris.





Catalogue IV,  
**Apostle from the Sainte-Chapelle.**  
Paris, 1241-1248,  
Sainte-Chapelle, fifth pillar on the north.



Catalogue V  
Tomb of Louis de France,  
above- the effigy  
below- the weeper figures  
c.1260, Basilique de Saint Denis



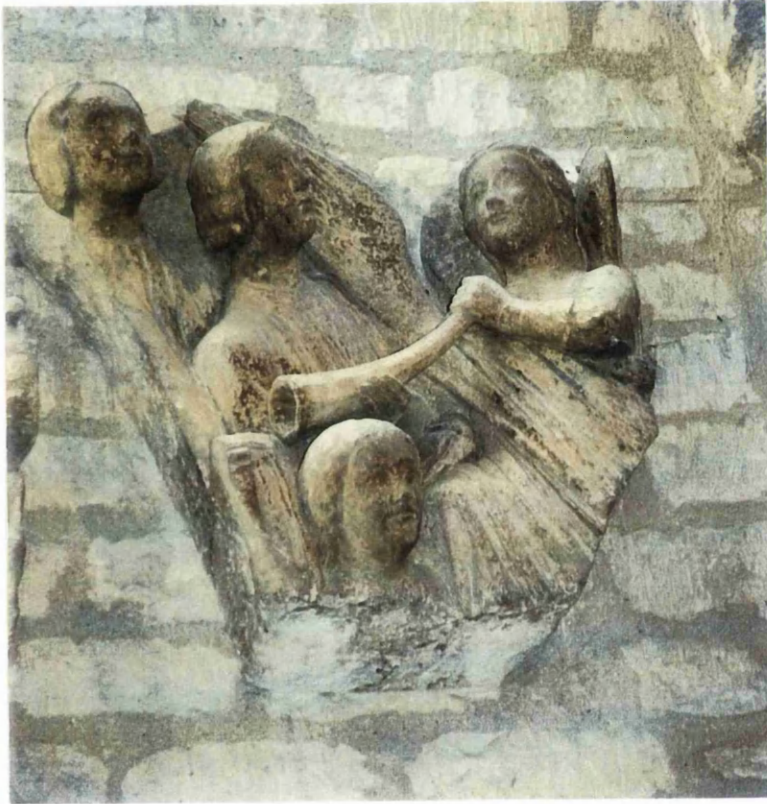
Catalogue VI a,  
**Limoges tomb effigies of Jean and Blanche de France,**  
Limoges region c.1250,  
h. 105.5cm. x w. 126.5 cm. x d.13 cm.,  
(original width of unattached panels 53.5cm. and 55cm.)  
Basilique of Saint Denis.



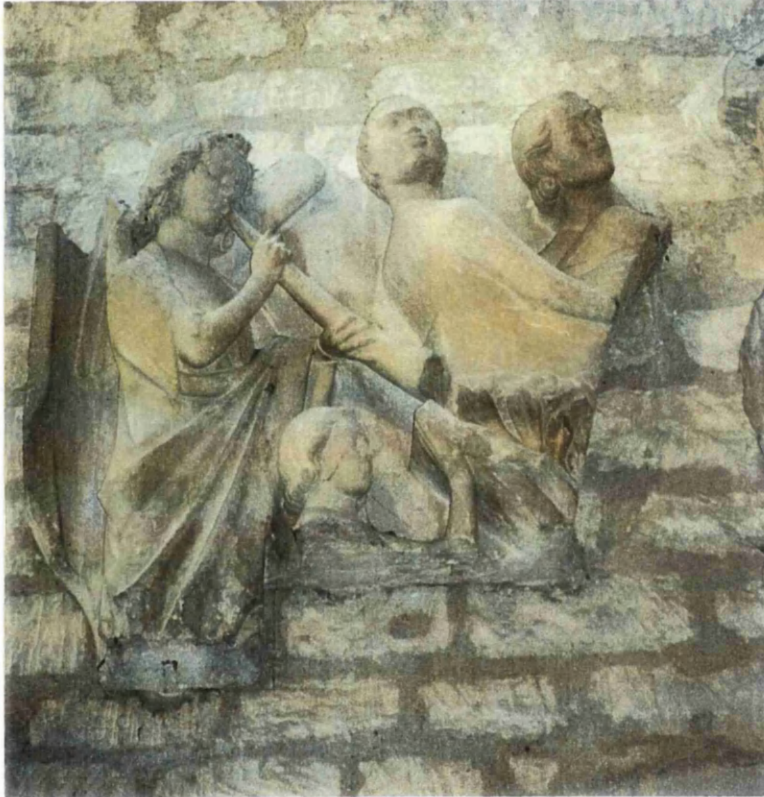
Catalogue VI b,  
**Engraving from Gagnieres,**  
showing the original state of the tomb of Jeanne de France,



Catalogue VII, a.  
**Fragments from the lower lintel of the Last Judgement Portal of the west front of  
Notre-Dame de Paris,**  
c.1230-40.



Catalogue VII, b.  
**Right hand fragment from the lower lintel of the Last Judgement Portal of the  
west front of Notre-Dame de Paris,**  
c.1230-40.



Catalogue VII, c.

**Left hand fragment from the lower lintel of the Last Judgement Portal of the  
west front of Notre-Dame de Paris,  
c.1230-40.**



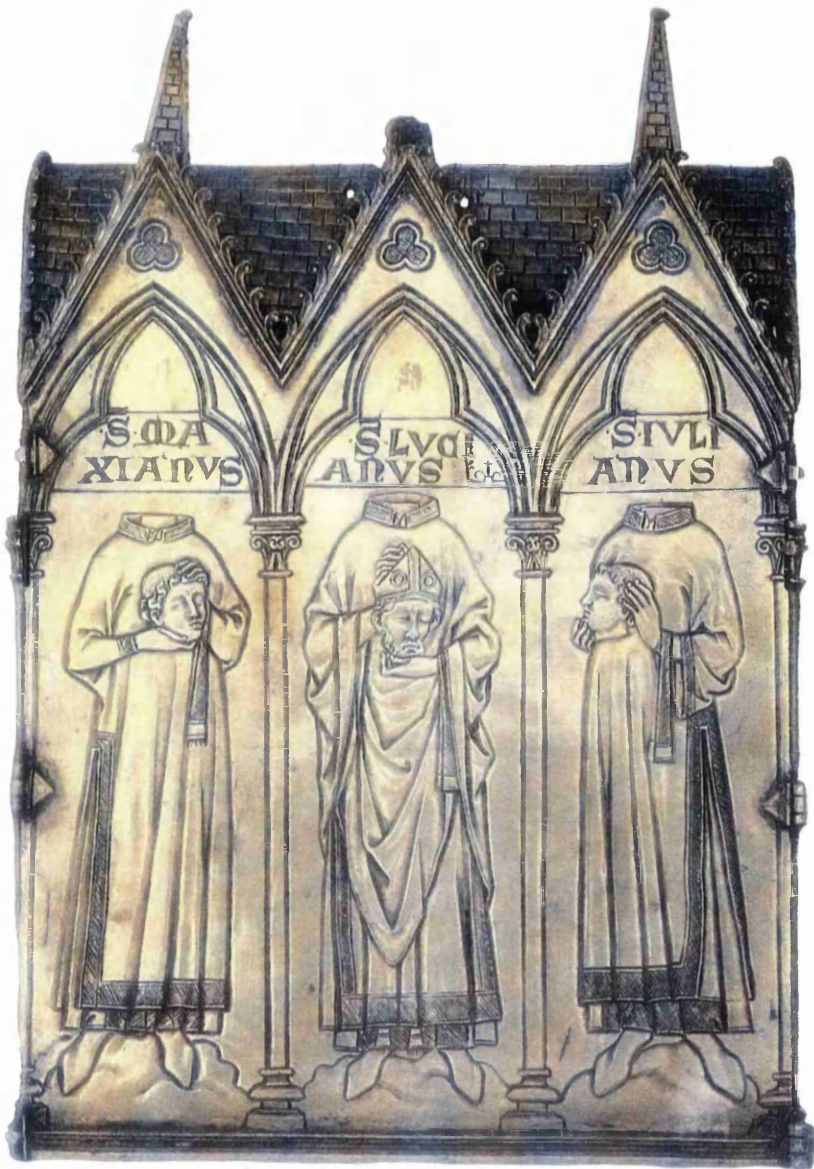
Catalogue VIII, **a**,  
**Sainte-Chapelle Ivory Virgin and Child,**  
**(The Soltykoff Virgin),**  
Paris c.1250-60,

h. 41 cm., carved ivory with added gems and polychromy and gilding.





Catalogue VIII b,  
**Effigy of Constance of Arles,**  
Paris, c. 1263-64,  
Basilique de Saint Denis.



Catalogue IX,  
**Reliquary of Saints Lucien, Maximien and Julien,**  
Paris, c.1261,  
engraved and chased silver-gilt,  
h. 19cm. x w. 12.5cm. x d. 2.4cm.

le quali Adam e uxor ei conseruati in paradiso  
paradisus inueniunt ad se per somnata et non dicit  
et deinde nomen dicitur peccati et non sicut in  
paradisus si per se culpa in reuoluerit et per dicit  
et in multis comminationibus sunt exulsi postquam  
amato angelo ad paradisi ostium ne redirent.

Valle aduersus paradisi rationem di  
uinitate inuenit per paradisi querens  
et exulsi sunt de paradisi hinc et laboriosa  
uicini ducunt.



Vertical marginal text in Arabic script on the left side of the miniature.

Vertical marginal text in Arabic script on the right side of the miniature.

Et dicitur Cain et Abel filii. ite ann sacrificare  
et deus non ad caym s. ad abel sacrificium  
repperisset. Ita et inuidia motus Caym fratrem  
interficiat.

Et dicitur Lamech senio cecus. et ob hoc te  
scenem inuis ducenti habens eodem indi  
citate dum in uenatione sagittam dirigit et  
cadit Caym inter fructus Lamechem.

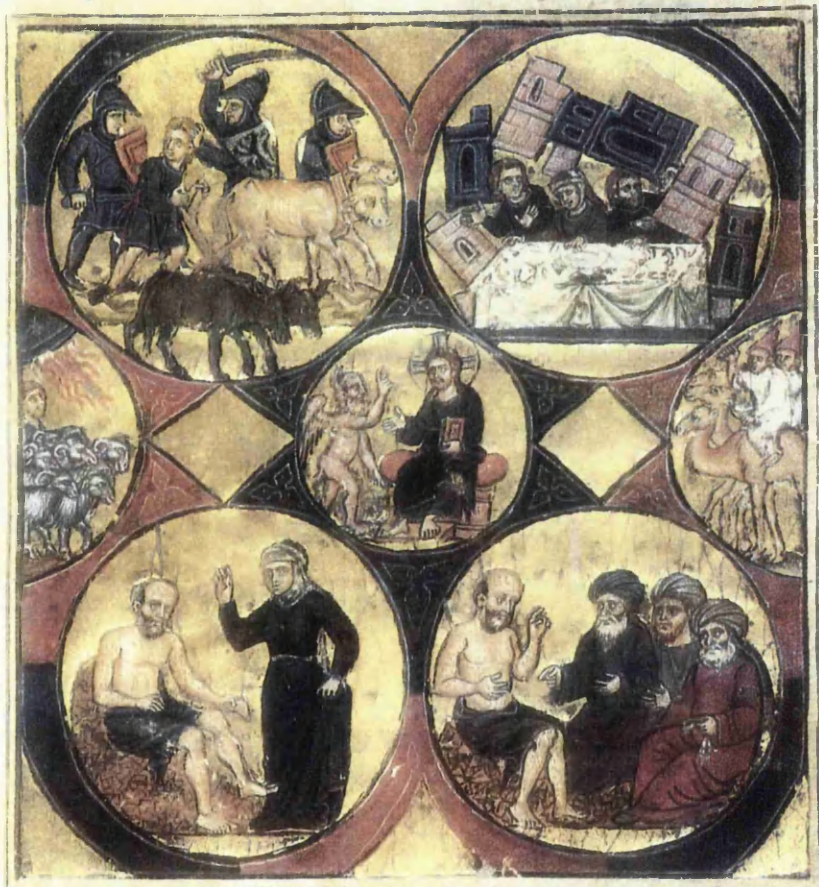
Catalogue X,  
The Maciejowski Bible,  
folio 2 recto,  
Paris, c. 1250,  
h. 40cm. x w. 31cm.



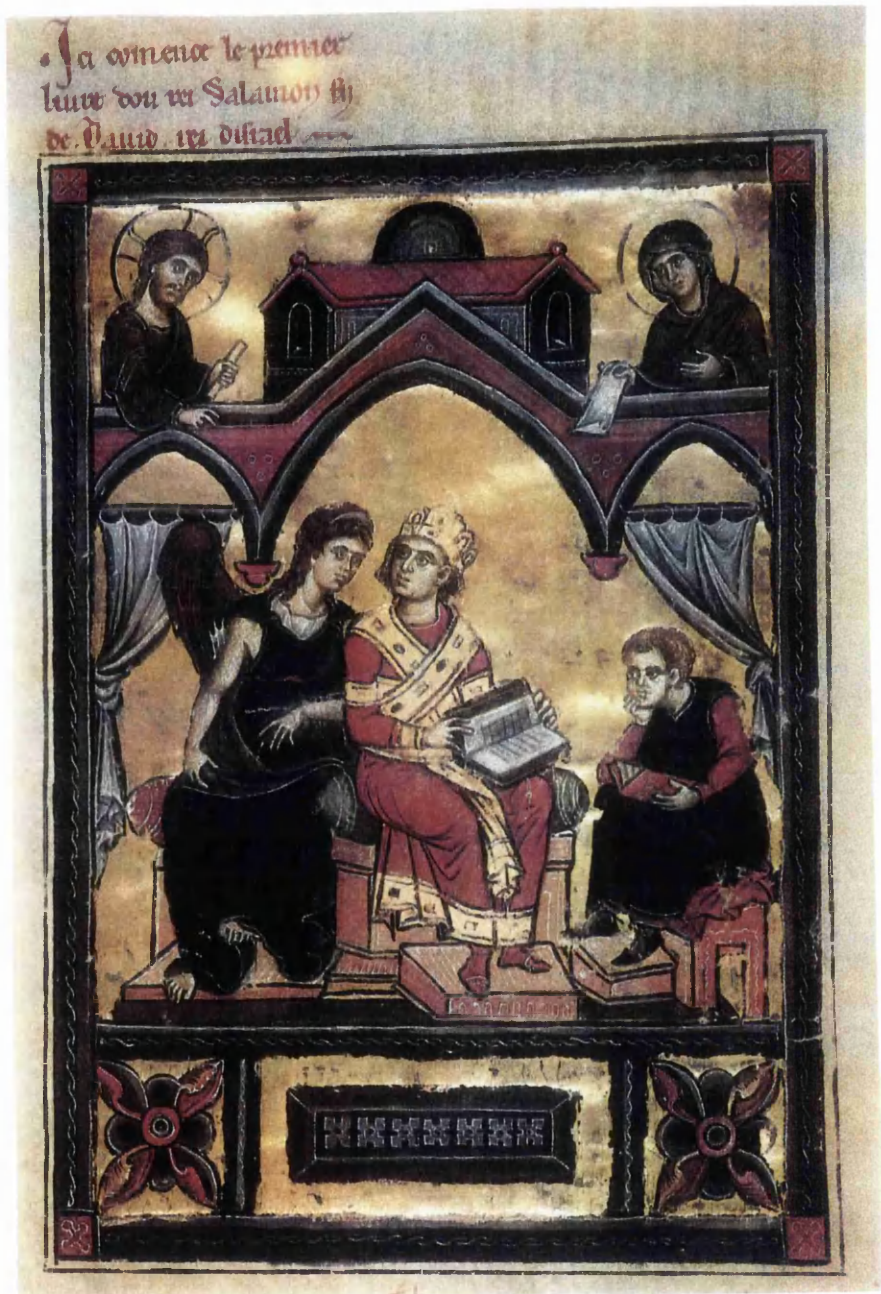
Catalogue XI,  
**The Saint Louis Psalter,**  
Folio 6 verso, Paris, c.1255-70,  
Parchment, 260f.f., h. 20cm. x w. 14 cm.

nos par que la ou nos ma  
 rez qui soient devant. la  
 hay corromment. que cil  
 qui iurent apres. non est  
 el uolunté des hebreus. mais  
 la ou nos uerrez l'ymage  
 de lebrale. s'unt choses a offe  
 es del hebreu. en nre samo.

entli. que c'est tunc. en  
 ent corumpues. qui volent  
 le sei a ceus qui h'ont  
 ne le tendent. Mais  
 par nos prieres se la  
 amende o grant travaux.  
 Ja amence le liure a  
 Job. J. Capitulum.



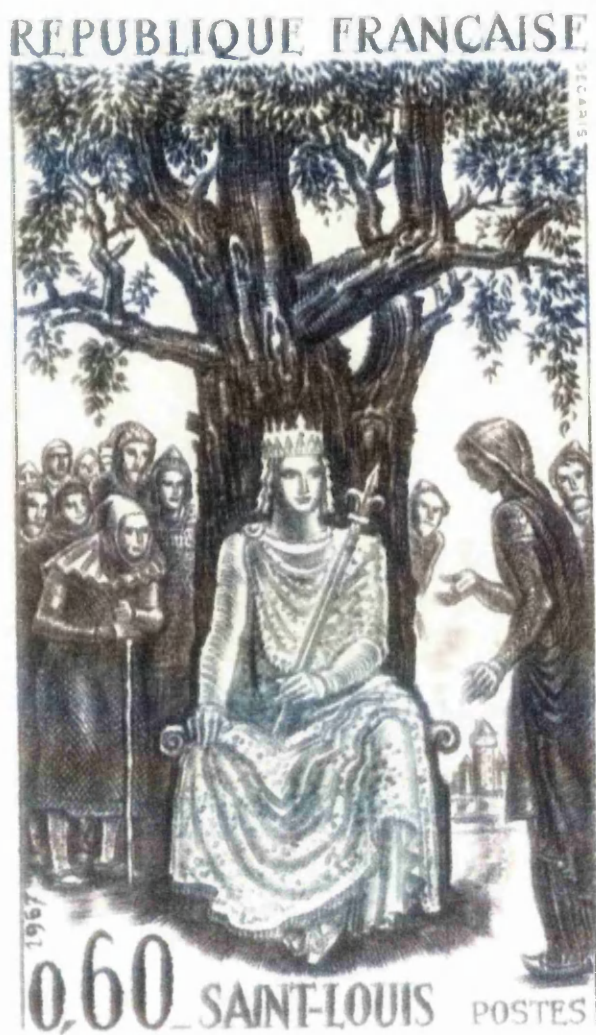
Catalogue XII a,  
 Arsenal Old Testament,  
 folio 269 recto,  
 Acre c. 1250-54,  
 h. 28.5 cm. x w. 20 cm.



Catalogue XII b,  
Arsenal Old Testament,  
folio 307 recto,  
Acre c. 1250-54,  
h. 28.5 cm. x w. 20 cm.



Catalogue XII c,  
**Paris Psalter**,  
folio 307 recto,  
10<sup>th</sup> century.



Catalogue XIII,  
Stamp depicting Saint Louis,  
Paris, 1967,  
h. 3cm. x w. 5 cm.



## COMPARATIVE ILLUSTRATIONS

(Photo source in brackets)

1. **The Sainte-Chapelle,**  
Paris, 1241-48  
(J. Collins)
  
2. **Guillaume de Saint-Pathus *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis,***  
Paris, c. 1330-40, 650f.f. parchment, 22.5cm x 18cm,  
Paris Bib Nat Ms Fr 5716.  
(La France de Saint Louis, 1970-71, p249)
  
3. ***Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux,***  
Paris, c.1325-1328, 209 parchment ff, 90mm x 60mm.  
NY Met, Cloisters acc 54.1.2  
(Art and the Courts, 1972, p 78 )
  
4. ***Grandes Chroniques of Charles V,* folio 265**  
Paris,1375-1379, parchment 450ff, 33cm x 21 cm,  
Bib Nat Ms fr 2813.  
(Hedeman, 1991 Pl. 24)
  
5. **The King's niche on the north side of La Sainte-Chapelle,**  
Paris, 1241-48  
(Leniaud and Perrot, 1991, p. 90)
  
6. ***Châsse of St Potentin,***  
c. 1220-40, repousse silver-gilt with enamel medallions,  
Musée du Louvre, OA 153  
(J. Collins)
  
7. **Engraving of the *Grande Châsse,***  
Bib. Nat., Paris Est. Va 9. f.54 bis,  
original 1239-48, silver-gilt, destroyed in Revolution 1789.  
(Branner, 1971, p6)

8. **Second Sainte-Chapelle Evangeliary Cover,**  
Paris, c.1248, silver repousse, with amethyst intaglio (frame c.1536)  
Bib Nat lat 9455, Paris  
(Branner 1971, p 13)
9. **Eighteenth Century Engraving of the Tribune,**  
original c.1255-60 destroyed and restored in nineteenth century,  
drawing from Morand, 1790  
(Weber, 1997, p93)
10. **Angels,**  
Paris, c.1240-48, painted and gilded plaster,  
Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, in situ  
(J. Collins)
11. **Ivory Diptych with the Last Judgement and Coronation of the Virgin**  
Paris, c. 1250-70, ivory, h.12.7cm, w. of each panel 6.5cm,  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection, (1970.324.7a-b)  
(Randall, 1993 p 62)
12. **Front Cover of the Lorsch Gospels,**  
Aachen, c 810, ivory, h. 38.1cm x w. 26.7cm,  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 138-1866.  
(Williamson 1995, p65)
13. **Judith and Job window,**  
Paris, c.1240-48, Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, bay 8, *in situ*  
(Leniaud et Perrot, 1991, p174)
14. **Relics window,**  
Paris, c.1240-48, Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, bay 14, *in situ*  
(Leniaud et Perrot, 1991, p 189)
15. **Daniel window,**  
Paris, c.1240-48, Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, bay 2, *in situ*  
(Leniaud et Perrot, 1991, p 162)
16. **Exodus window,**  
Paris, c.1240-48, Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, bay 11, *in situ*  
(Leniaud et Perrot, 1991, p 136)

- 17. Isaiah window**  
Paris, c.1240-48, Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, bay 3, *in situ*,  
(Leniaud et Perrot, 1991, p 149)
- 18. Passion window,**  
Paris, c.1240-48, Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, bay 0, *in situ*,  
(Leniaud et Perrot, 1991, p158)
- 19. Ezekiel window,**  
Paris, c.1240-48, Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, bay 4, *in situ*,  
(Leniaud et Perrot, 1991, p167)
- 20. Kings window,**  
Paris, c.1240-48, Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, bay 12, *in situ*,  
(Leniaud et Perrot, 1991, p179)
- 21. Apostle Statue,**  
Paris.c.1240-48, limestone, slight traces of polychromy,  
h. 1.65 m., Musée du Moyen Age, Paris. Cl 18667  
(Leniaud et Perrot, 1991, p 103)
- 22. Châsse de Nivelles,**  
c.1272-98, silver, destroyed in W.W.II  
only fragments remain, Nivelles.  
(La France de Saint Louis , 1970, p200)
- 23. Tomb of Clovis II and Charles Martel,**  
c.1260, stone, l. 1.8m x w. 0.68m  
Basilique de St Denis, *in situ*  
(Erlande-Brandenburg 1975, Pl II)
- 24. Tomb of King Dagobert ,**  
c.1260, stone, approx. h. 2.8m  
Basilique de St Denis, *in situ*  
(J. Collins)
- 25. South transept facade of Notre-Dame,**  
c.1258-65  
(J. Collins)

26. **Central tympanum, west façade of Notre-Dame,**  
 c. 1230,  
 (J. Collins)
27. **Apostle from Notre-Dame west façade,**  
 Paris, c.1200-10, stone, h. 89cm,  
 Musée du Moyen Age, Paris, Cl 24.897  
 (Sauerlander 1972, p 453)
28. **St Andrew from Notre-Dame west façade,**  
 Paris, c, 1200-10, stone, h. 1.8m,  
 Musée Carnavalet, Paris, 1876.47  
 (Sauerlander 1972, p 453)
29. **King Childebert**  
 Paris, c.1239-1244, stone trumeau figure, h. 1.2m,  
 from the Refectory of St Germain-des-Prés,  
 Musée du Louvre, (OA 128)  
 (J.Collins)
30. **Virgin and Child from trumeau of North transept of Notre-Dame**  
 c. 1245-50, limestone, in situ, Child restored.  
 (J. Collins)
31. **Virgin and Child by Giovanni Pisano,**  
 Italy c.1298, ivory, h. 53cm  
 Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Pisa,  
 (L'Art au Temps des Rois Maudits, p41)
32. **Detail from the Virgin tympanum of North transept of Notre-Dame**  
 c.1245-50, limestone, *in situ*  
 (J. Collins)
33. **North transept portal of Notre-Dame,**  
 c.1245-50  
 (Erlande-Brandenburg 1991, p244)

34. **Maesta by Simone Martini**,  
c. 1315, fresco, *in situ*, Palazzo Publico, Siena.  
(Janella 1989, p14)
35. **University reliefs on south transept of Notre-Dame**  
c.1260-65, *in situ*  
(Williamson 1995, p 153)
36. **Detail from tympanum of the Porte Rouge of Notre-Dame**  
c. 1260-70, *in situ*  
(Sauerländer 1972, Pl 271)
37. **Diptych with Scenes from the Passion**,  
c. 1250-70, ivory, h. 20.4 cm x w. 17.3 cm.  
(Images in Ivory, p 135 )
38. **Châsse of St Taurin**,  
c.1240-55, , silver-gilt with enamelled plaques,  
h.70cm x l. 105cm x w. 45cm.  
St Taurin, Evreux  
(Bucher 1976, p 76)
39. **Oxford Bible Moralisée**,  
Paris c.1230s,  
Bodleian Library MS 270b, fol 4  
(Weiss, 1998, p106)
40. **Genesis window**,  
Paris, c.1240-48,  
Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, bay 13, *in situ*  
(Leniaud et Perrot, 1991, p 131)
41. **Psalter of Blanche de Castille**,  
Paris, early 13<sup>th</sup> century,  
Arsenal MS Fr 1186  
(Leniaud et Perrot, 1991, p 83)

- 42. *Livre des Serments***  
Paris, late 1230s,  
Archives Nationales LL 79,  
(Branner 1968 p. 18)
- 43. *First Sainte-Chapelle Evangeliary,***  
Paris, c.1230-40s, folio 4,  
Paris, Bib. Nat., ms. lat. 8892  
(Leniaud et Perrot, 1991, p 72)
- 44. *First Sainte-Chapelle Evangeliary,***  
Paris, c.1255-60, folio 29,  
Paris, Bib Nat, ms lat 8892  
(Leniaud et Perrot, 1991, p 73)
- 45. *Third Sainte-Chapelle Evangeliary,***  
Paris, c.1260,  
Paris, Bib Nat, ms lat 17326  
(Branner 1977, Fig 377)
- 46. *Châsse de Saint Romain,***  
c. 1265, silver gilt with enamel,  
Musée du Louvre, OA 36,  
(Trésors des Eglises de France, 1965, pl 210)

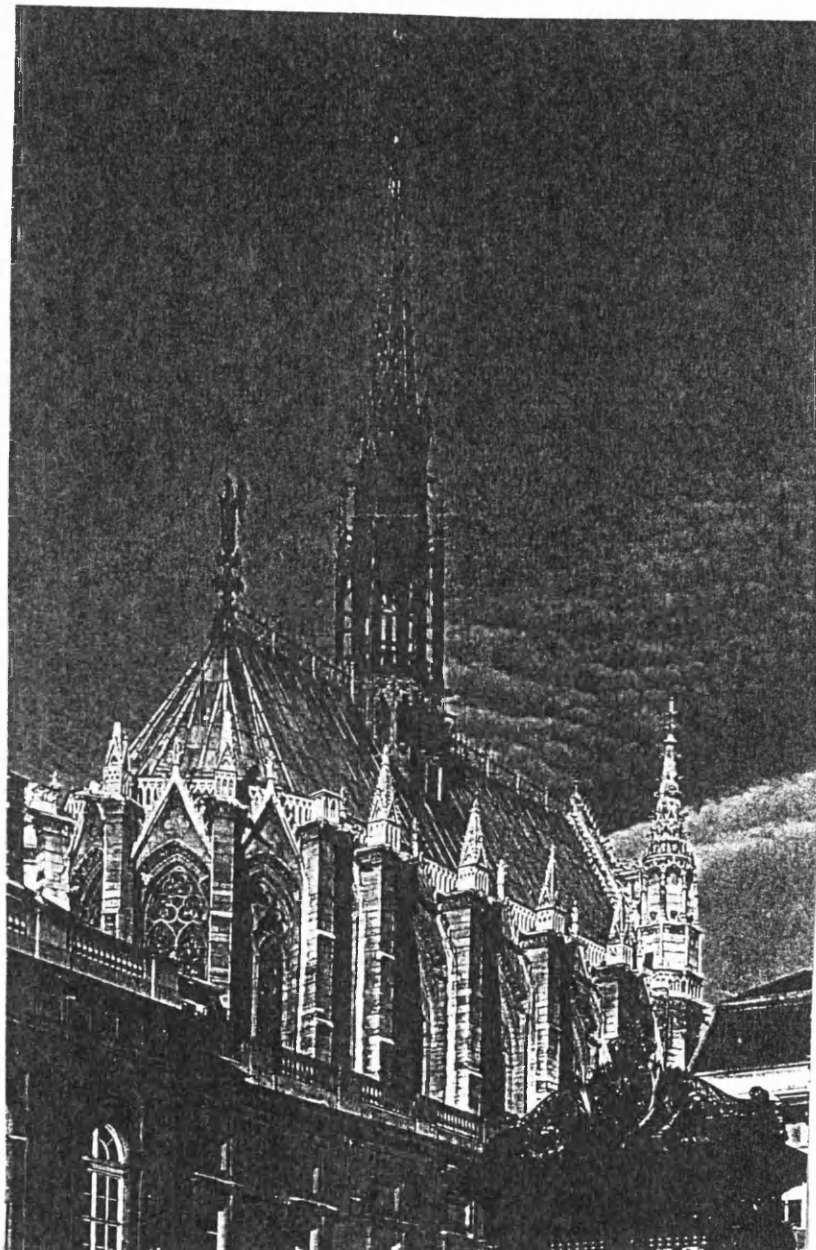


Figure 1  
The Sainte-Chapelle



Figure 2

Guillaume de Saint-Pathus *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis*,  
 folio 48

Paris, c. 1330-40, 650f.f. parchment, 22.5cm x 18cm,

Paris Bib Nat Ms Fr 5716

(*La France de Saint Louis*, 1970-71, p249)



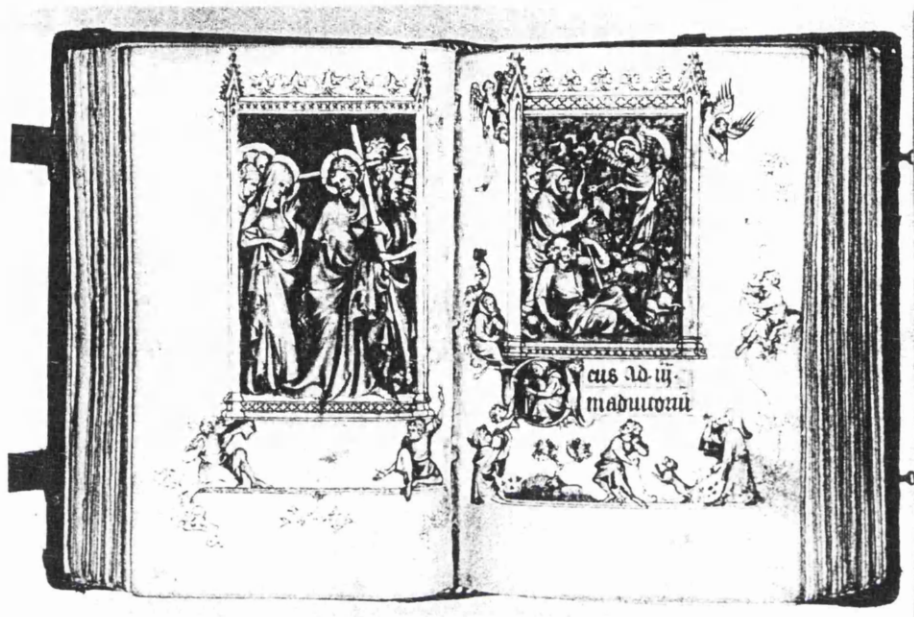


Figure 3

**Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux,**

by Jean Pucelle active Paris 1320-34

Paris, c.1325-1328, 209 parchment ff, 90mm x 60mm.

NY Met, Cloisters acc 54.1.2

(Art and the Courts, 1972, p78 )

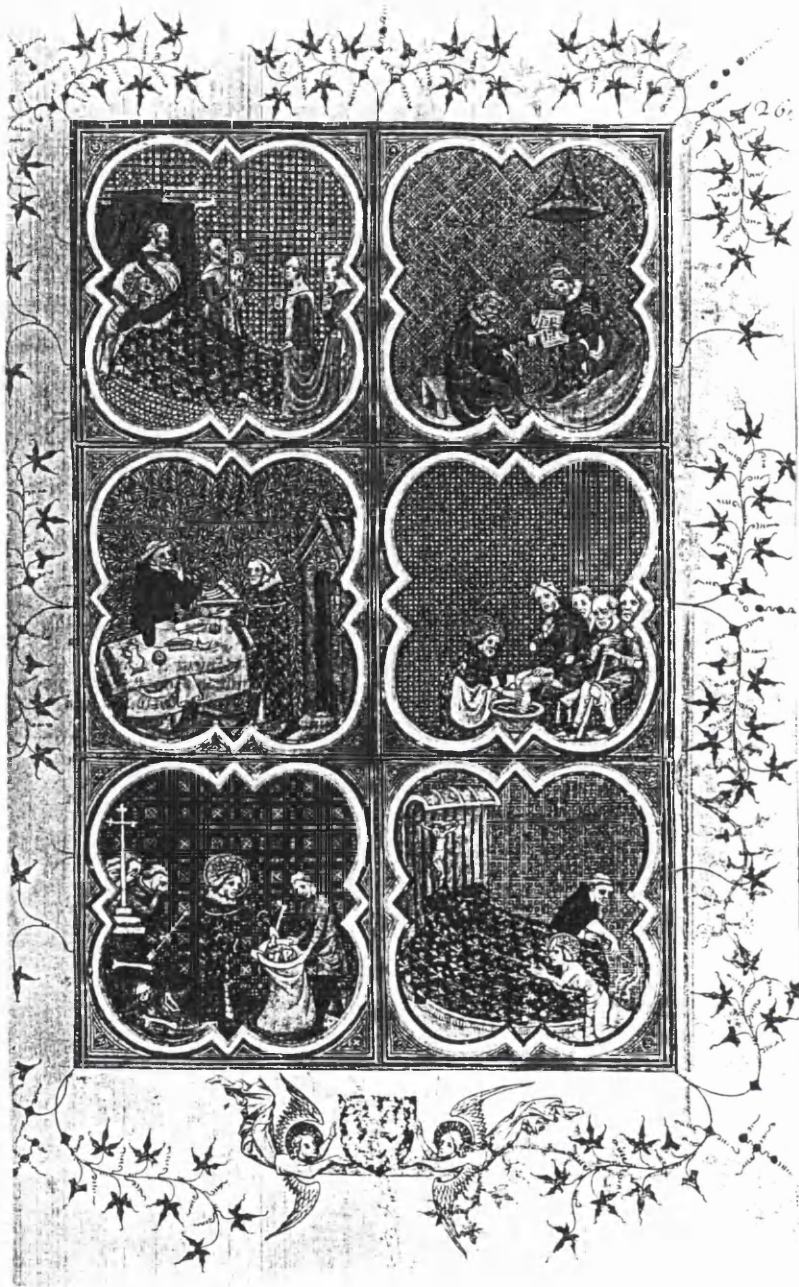


Figure 4

**Grandes Chroniques of Charles V**, folio 265

Paris, 1375-1379,

parchment 450ff, 33cm x 21 cm,

Bib Nat Ms fr 2813.

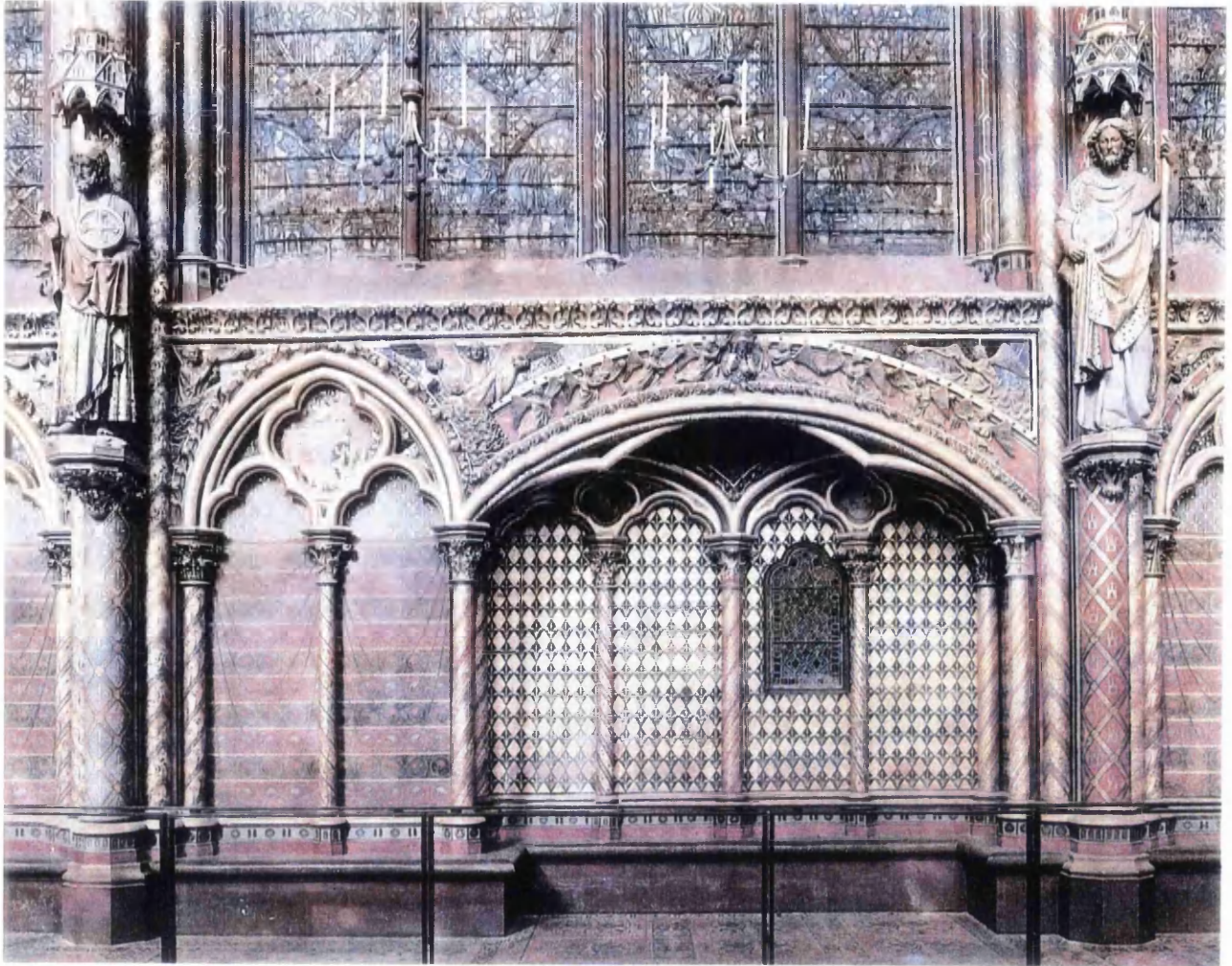


Figure 5  
The King's niche on the north side of the Sainte-Chapelle

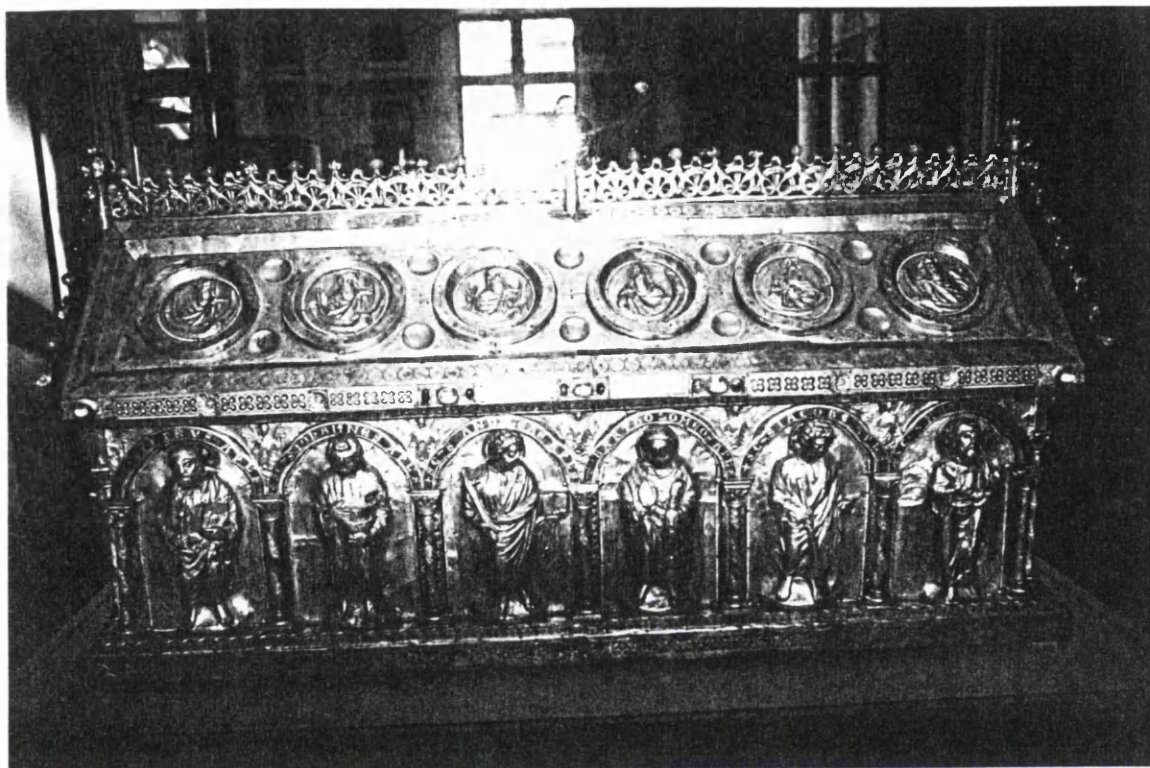


Figure 6,  
**Châsse of Saint Potentin,**  
c. 1220-40, repoussé silver-gilt with enamel medallions.

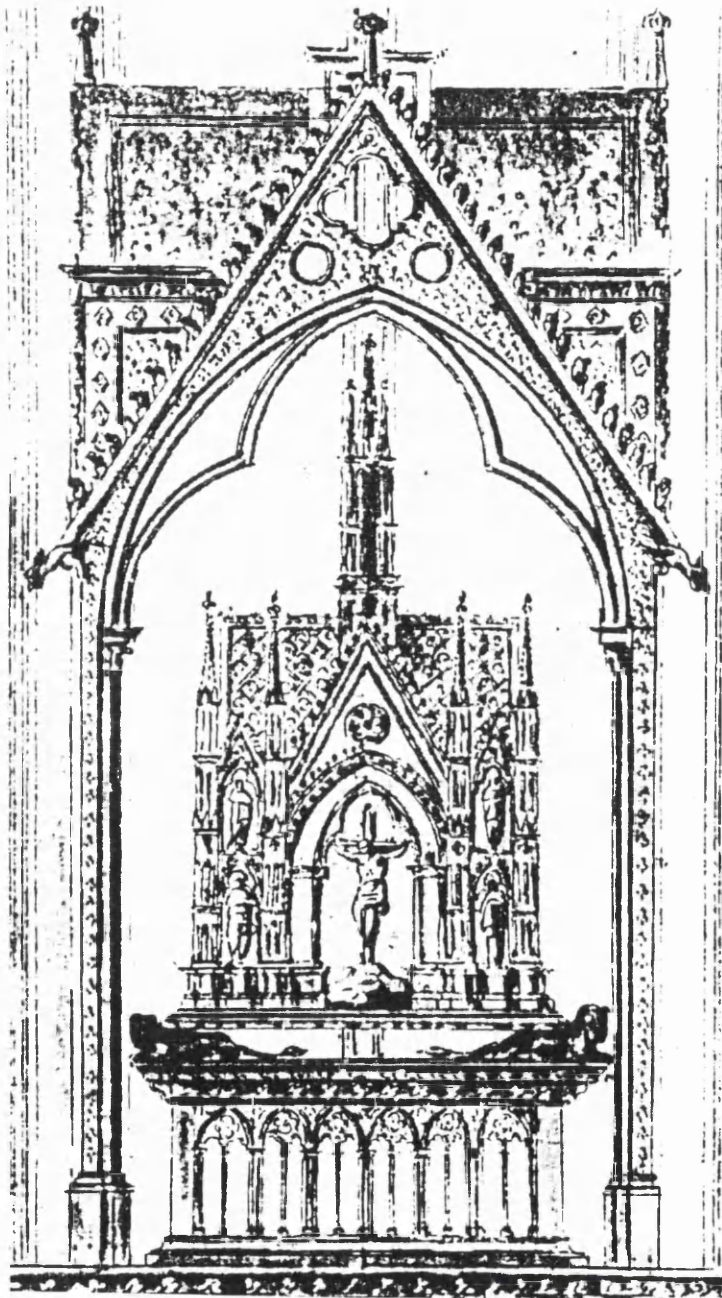


Figure 7,  
Engraving of the *Châsse* of the Sainte-Chapelle,  
17th century.



Figure 8

**Second Sainte-Chapelle Evangeliary Cover,**

Paris, c.1248, silver repoussé, with amethyst intaglio (frame c.1536)

Bib Nat lat 9455, Paris

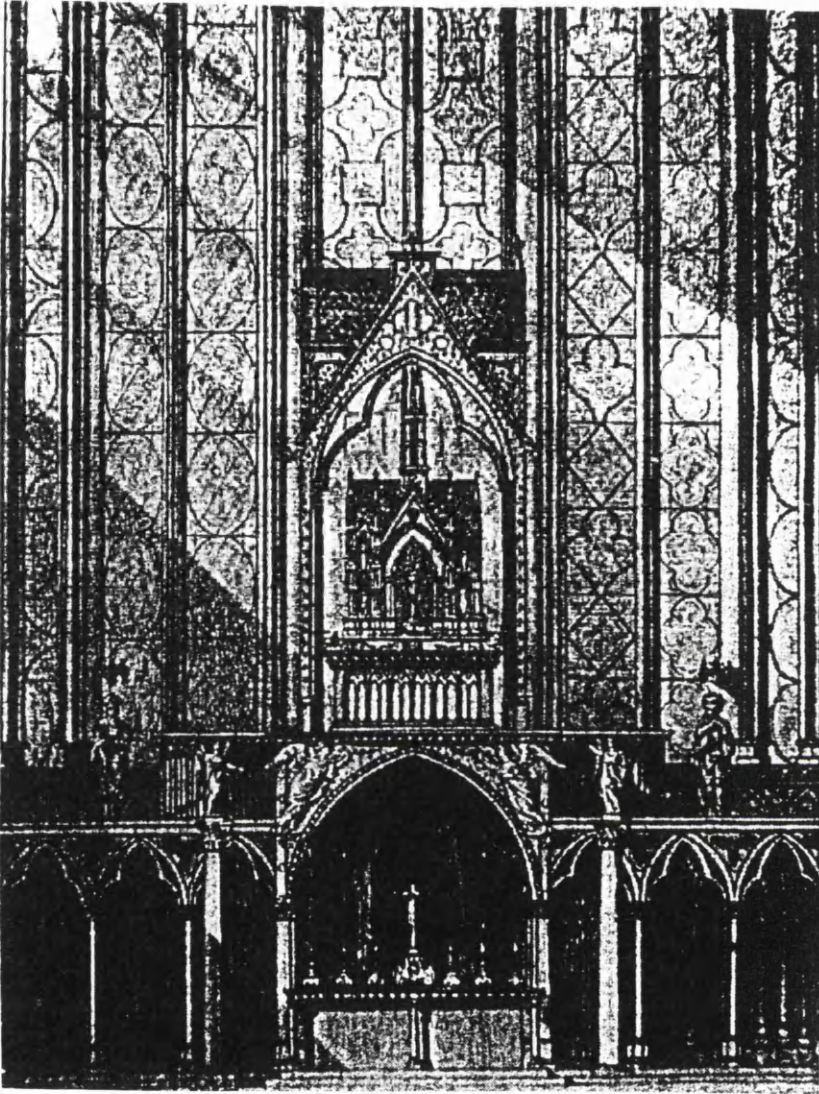


Figure 9,  
Engraving of the Tribune of the Sainte-Chapelle,  
18<sup>th</sup> century.

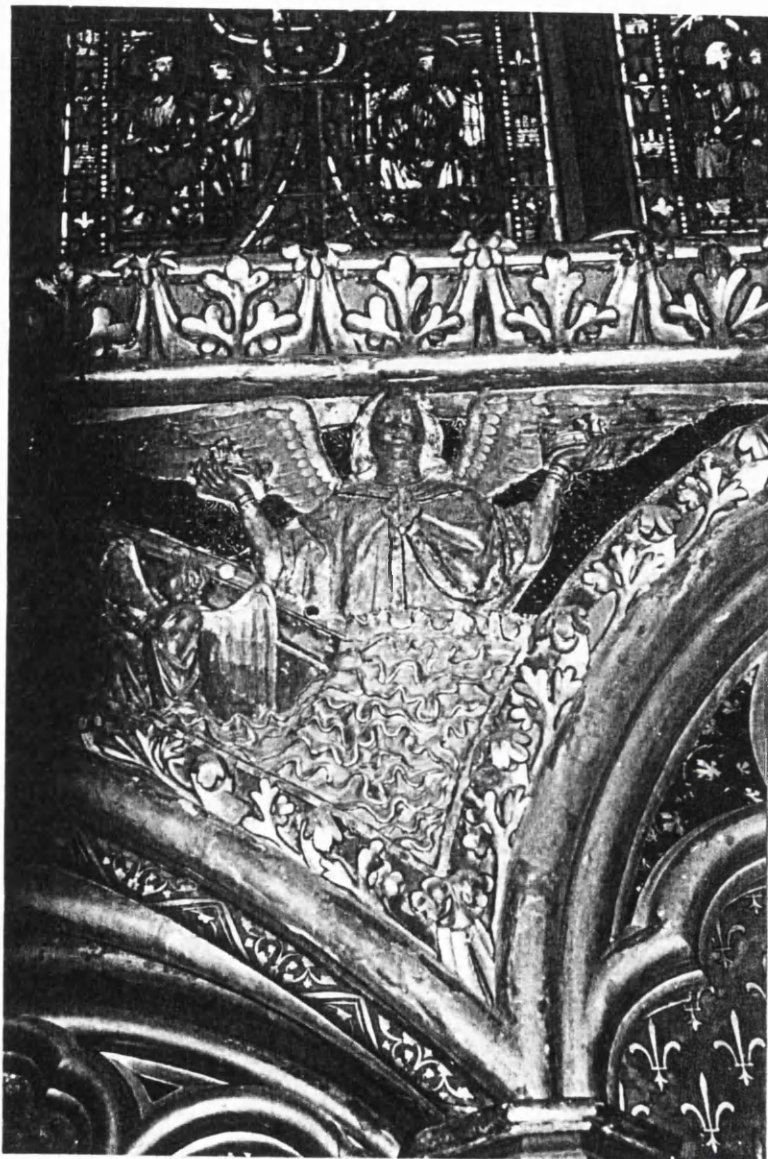


Figure 10,  
**Angels,**  
c. 1240-48, polychromed and gilded plaster.





Figure 11

**Ivory Diptych with the Last Judgement and Coronation of the Virgin**

Paris, c. 1250-70,  
Height 12.7cm, Width of each panel 6.5cm,



Figure 12,  
Front cover of the Lorsch Gospels,  
c 810 , ivory.



Figure 13,  
**Panel from the Judith and Job window,**  
showing Judith giving the head of Holofernes to her maid.  
Paris, c.1240-48,  
Sainte-Chapelle de Paris.



Figure 14  
**Relics window,**  
King Louis helps carry the Relics,  
Paris, c, 1240-48  
**Sainte-Chapelle**



Figure 15

**Panel from the Daniel window,**  
Daniel watches the four-headed beast charging a man,  
Paris, c.1240-48,  
Sainte-Chapelle de Paris.



Figure 16  
**The Exodus window,**  
Moses sees the Angel of God in the Burning Bush,  
Paris, c, 1240-48  
**Sainte-Chapelle**

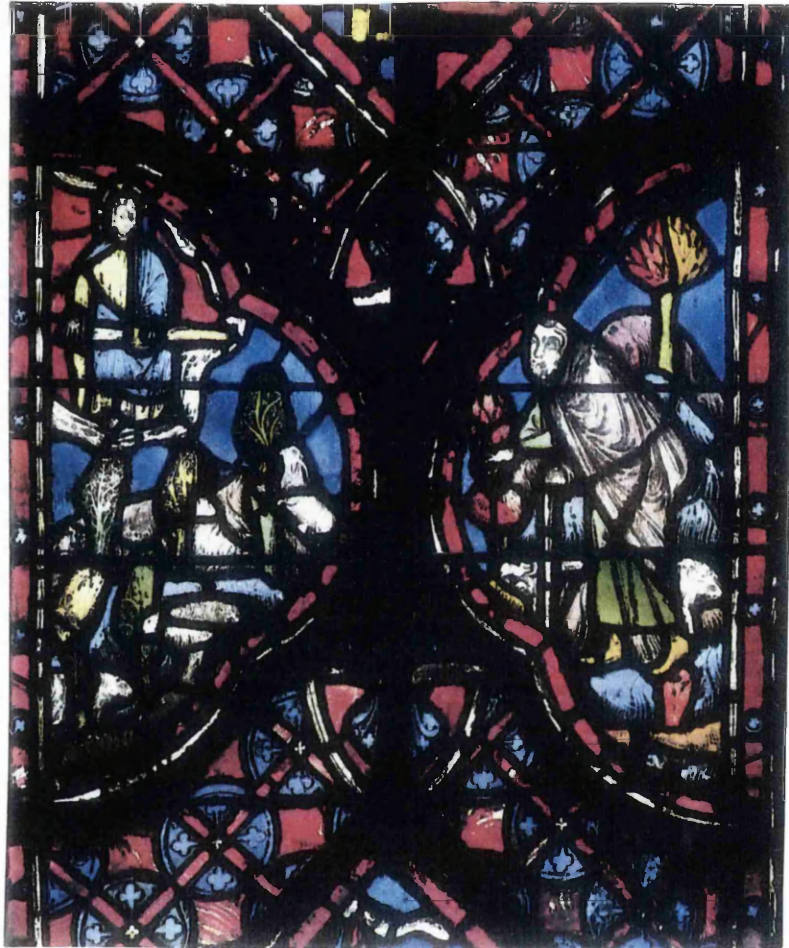


Figure 17

**Panel from the Isaiah window,**

God judges those who have eaten the fruit of the vine,

Paris, c.1240-48,

Sainte-Chapelle de Paris.



Figure 18  
**Panel from the Passion window,**  
Four thuriferary angels, with the arms of Castille below,  
Paris, c.1240-48,  
Sainte-Chapelle de Paris.





Figure 19,  
**Panel from the Ezekiel window,**  
Ezekiel foretells of the rebuilding of the Temple, represented by a tree,  
Paris, c.1240-48,  
Sainte-Chapelle de Paris.

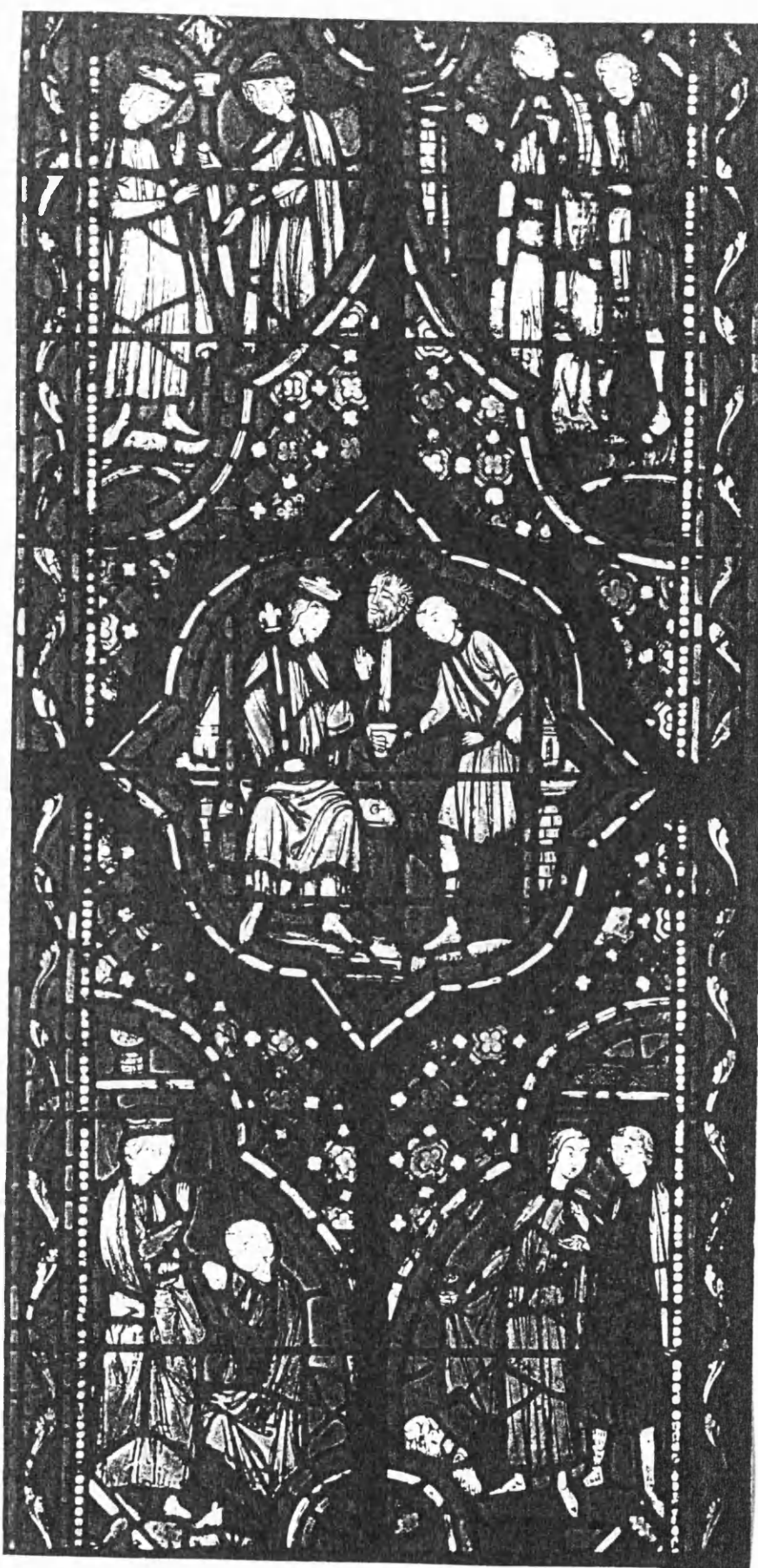


Figure 20  
The Kings window,  
Paris, c, 1240-48  
Sainte-Chapelle



Figure 21,  
Sainte-Chapelle Apostle statue from the Musée du Moyen Age,  
c. 1240-48, limestone with traces of polychromy.

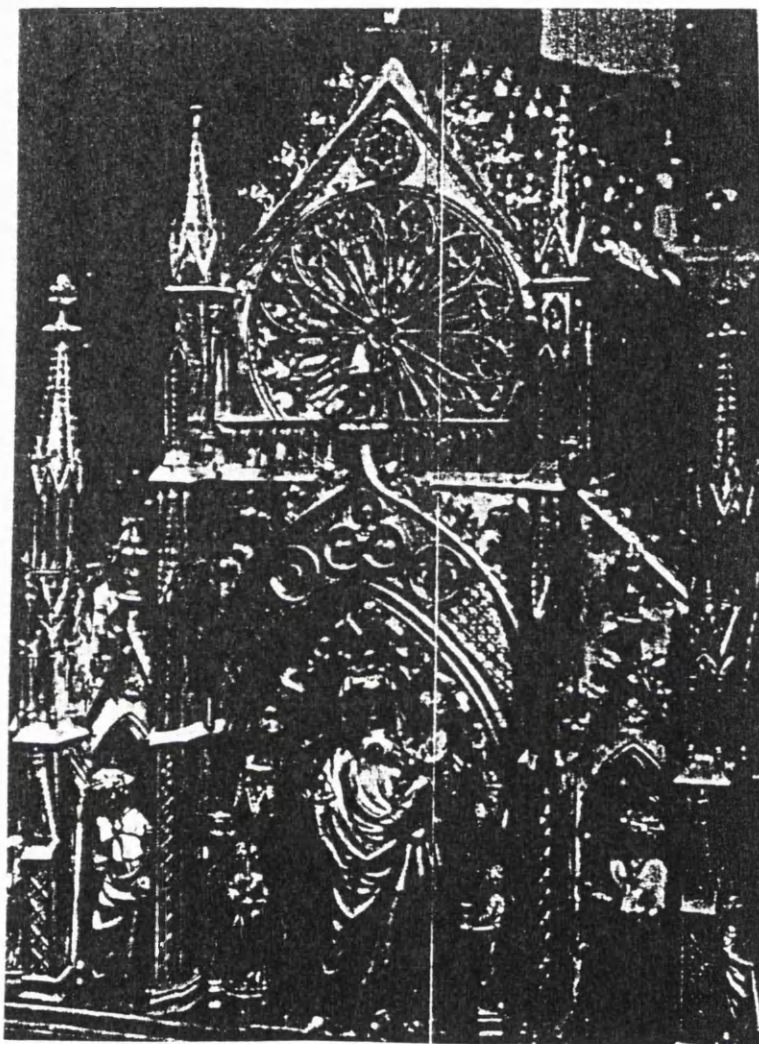


Figure 22,  
**Châsse de Nivelles,**  
silver, 1272-98.



Figure 23,  
Tombs of Clovis II and of Charles Martel,  
c. 1260,  
Basilique de Saint Denis

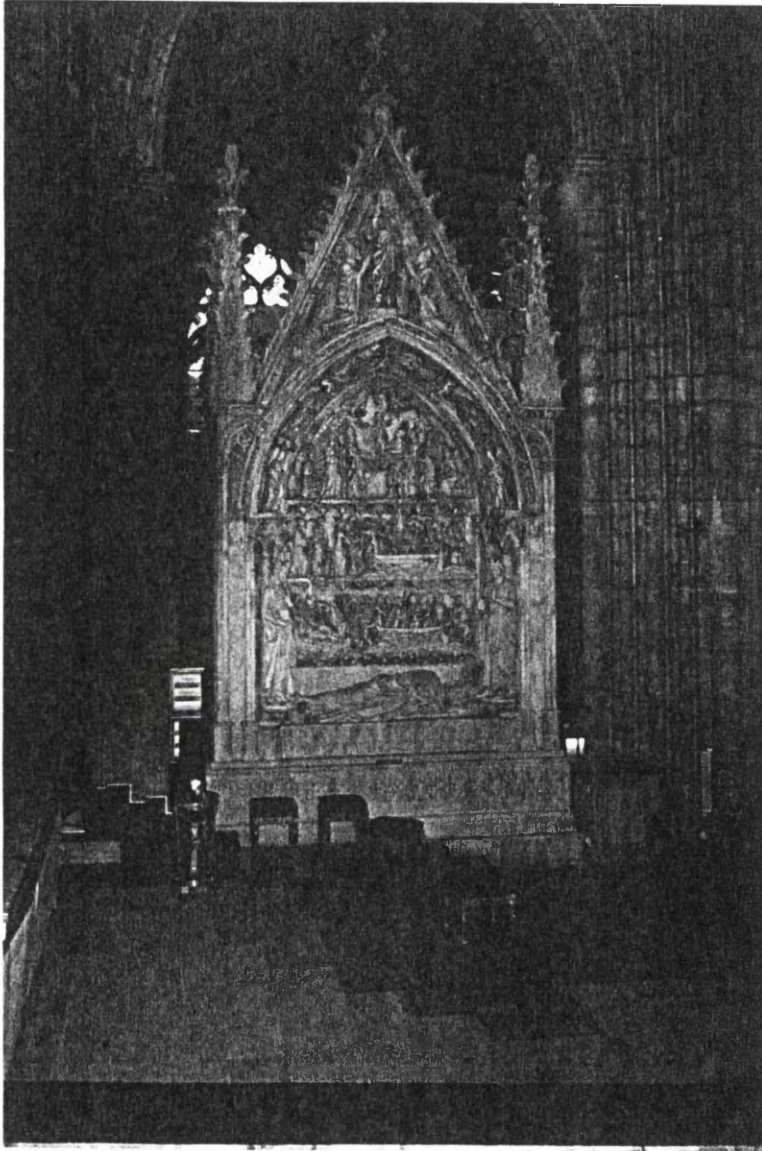


Figure 24,  
**Tomb of King Dagobert,**  
c.1260,  
Basilique de Saint Denis.

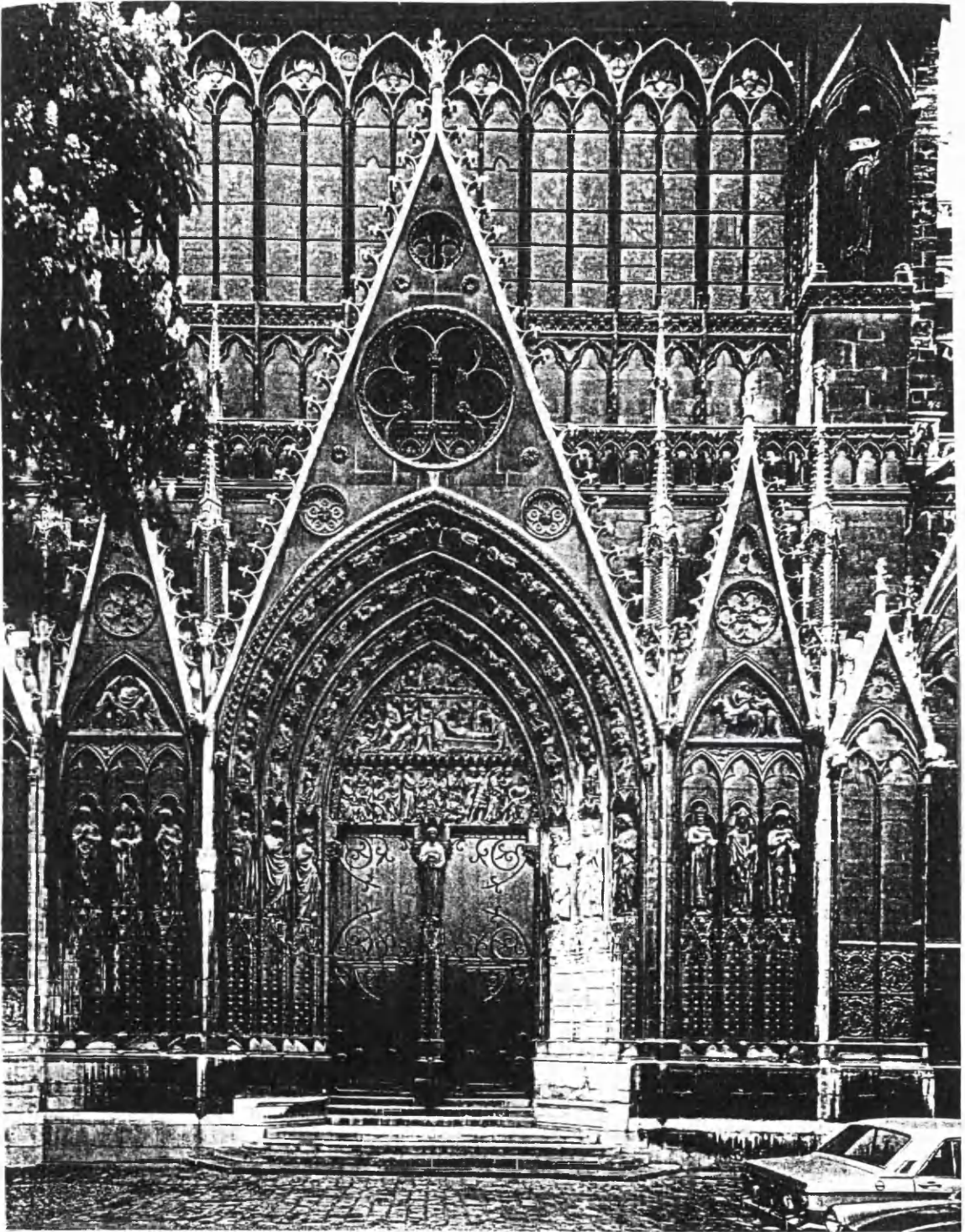


Figure 25  
South transept portal of Notre-Dame de Paris,  
c. 1258-65

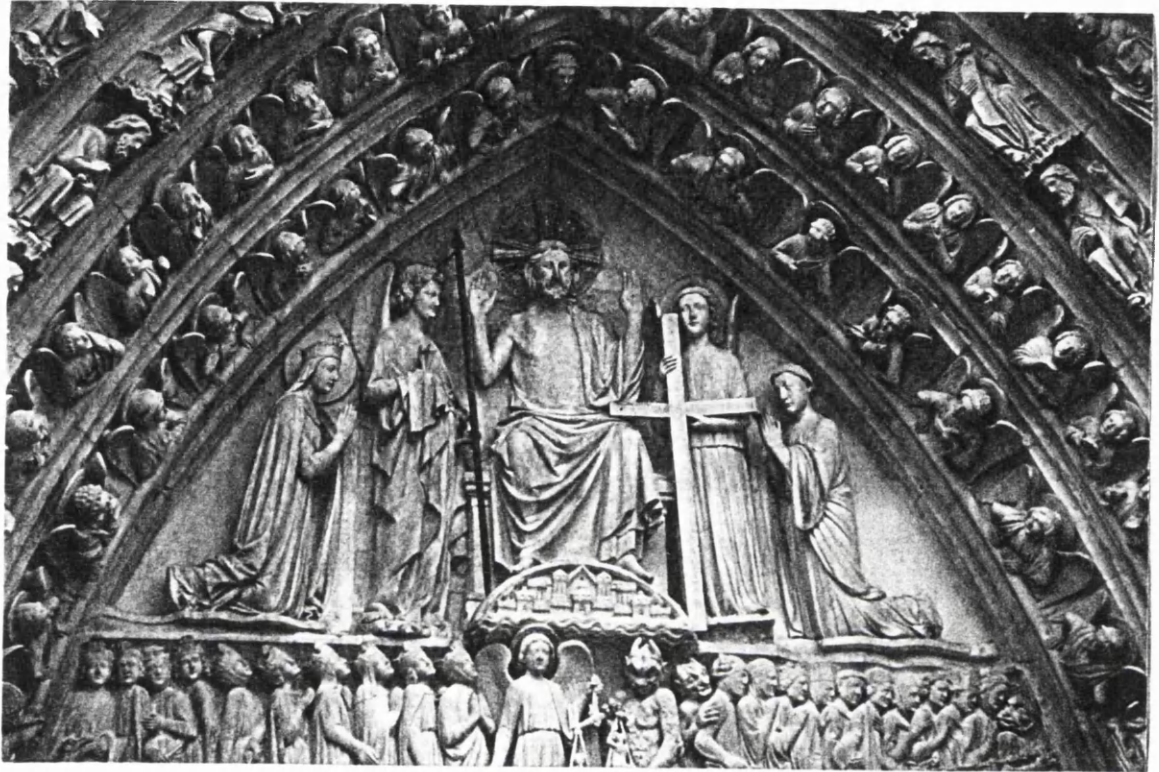


Figure 26,  
Tympanum from central portal of west façade of Notre-Dame,  
c.1230,





Figure 27,  
Apostle jamb figure from central portal of west façade of Notre-Dame,  
c.1200-10,  
Musée du Moyen Age



Figure 28,  
Saint Andrew jamb figure from central portal of west façade of Notre Dame,  
c.1200-10,  
Musée Carnavalet.



Figure 29

**King Childebert**

Paris, c.1239-1244, stone trumeau figure, h.1.2m, from the Refectory of  
Saint Germain-des-Prés,  
Musée du Louvre, (OA 128)

(J.Barnes)



Figure 30,  
**Virgin and Child from trumeau of North transept of Notre-Dame,**  
c.1200-10, in situ,  
Musée Carnavalet.



Figure 31,  
Virgin and Child by Giovanni Pisano  
c. 1298

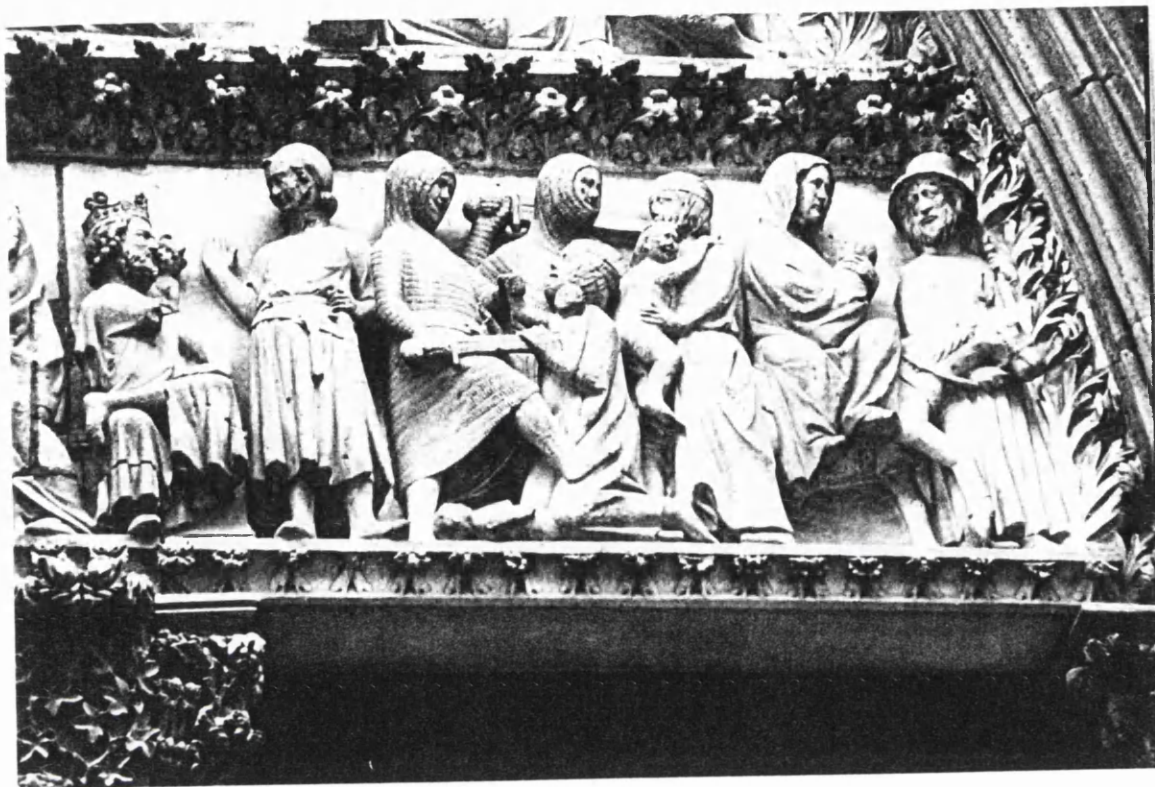


Figure 32,  
Scenes from the Infancy of Christ from the North transept portal of Notre-Dame,  
c.1245-50, in situ,

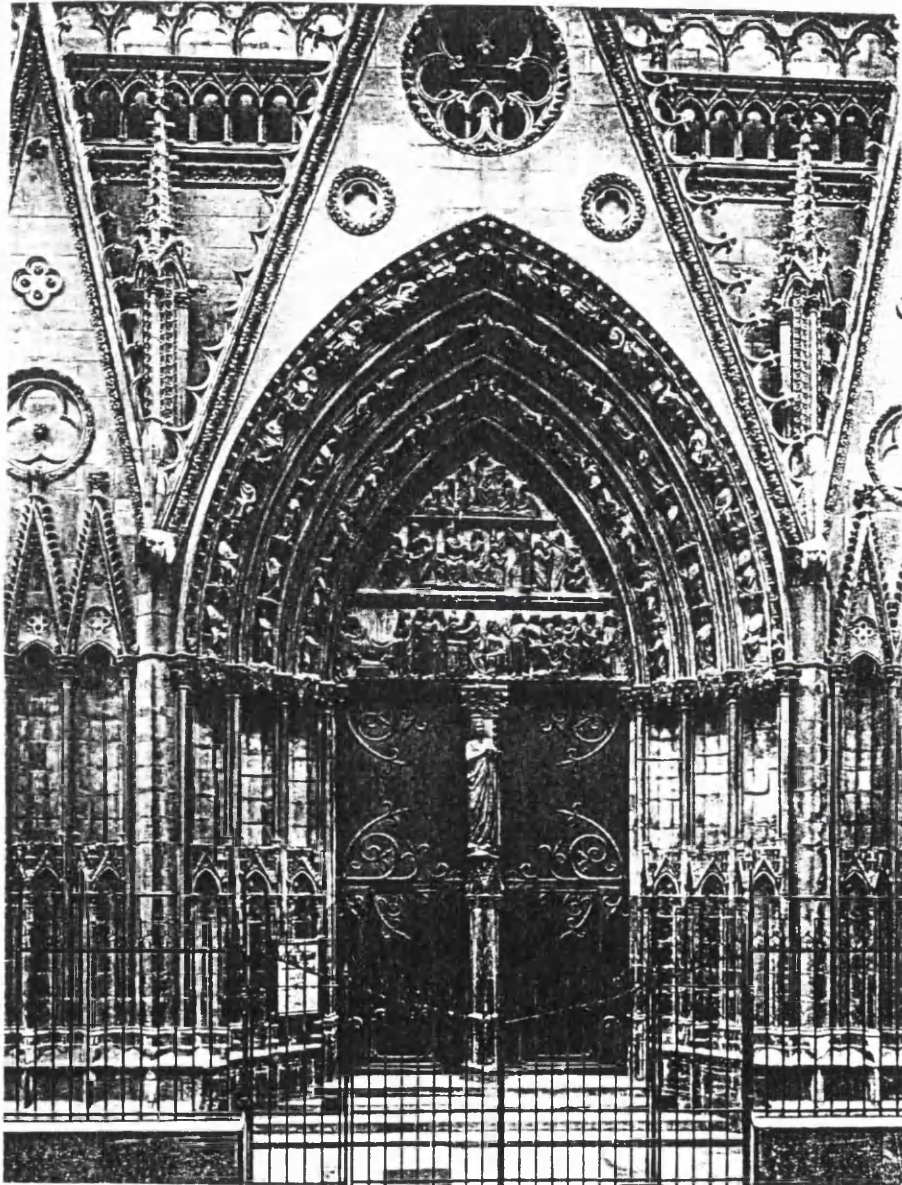


Figure 33  
North transept portal of Notre-Dame de Paris,  
c. 1245-50



Figure 34  
*Maesta* by Simone Martini (detail),  
fresco,  
Siena, Palazzo Pubblico.





Figure 35

University reliefs on south transept of Notre-Dame

c.1260-65

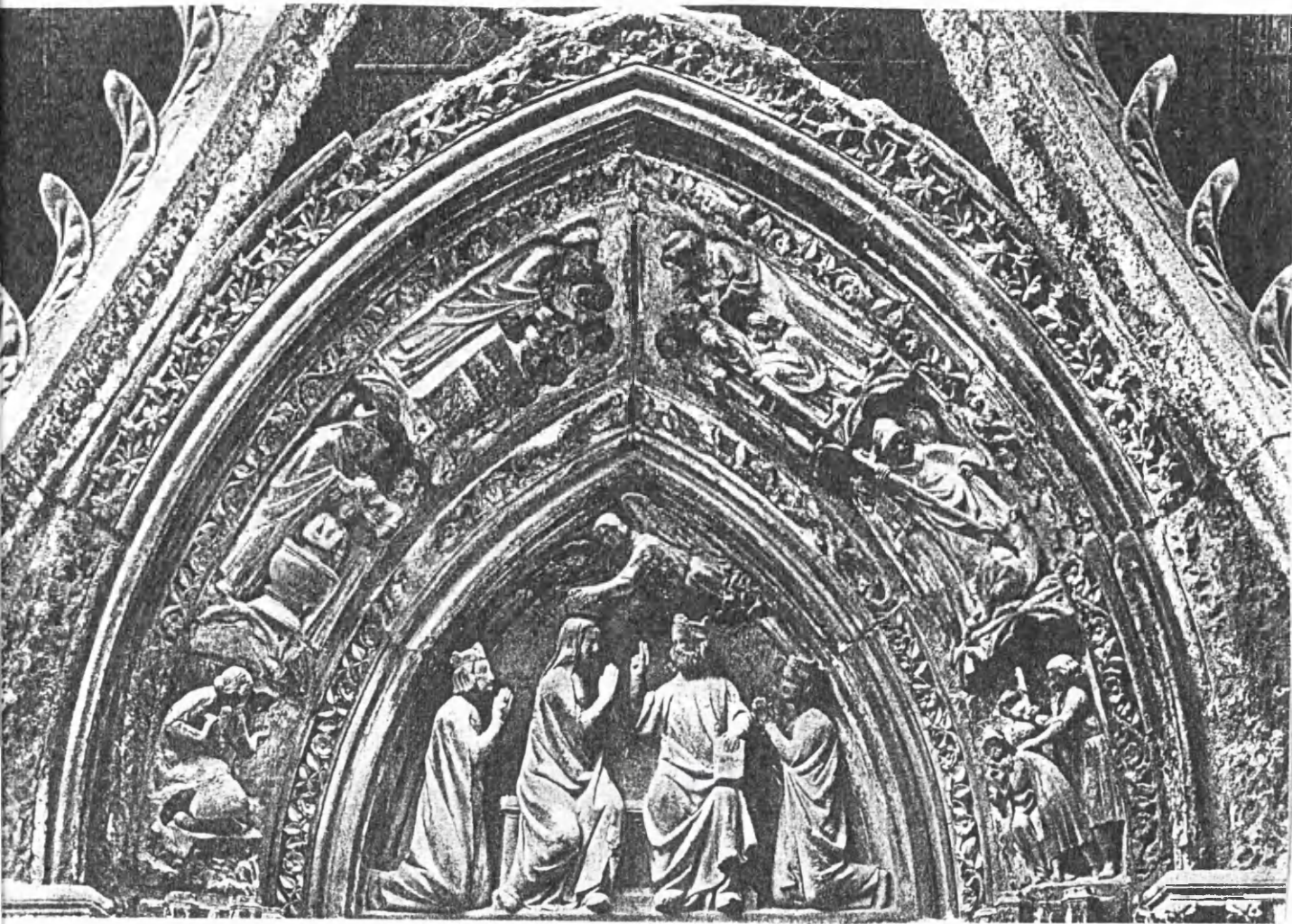


Figure 36  
Detail from the Porte Rouge of Notre-Dame,  
Paris, c. 1260-70

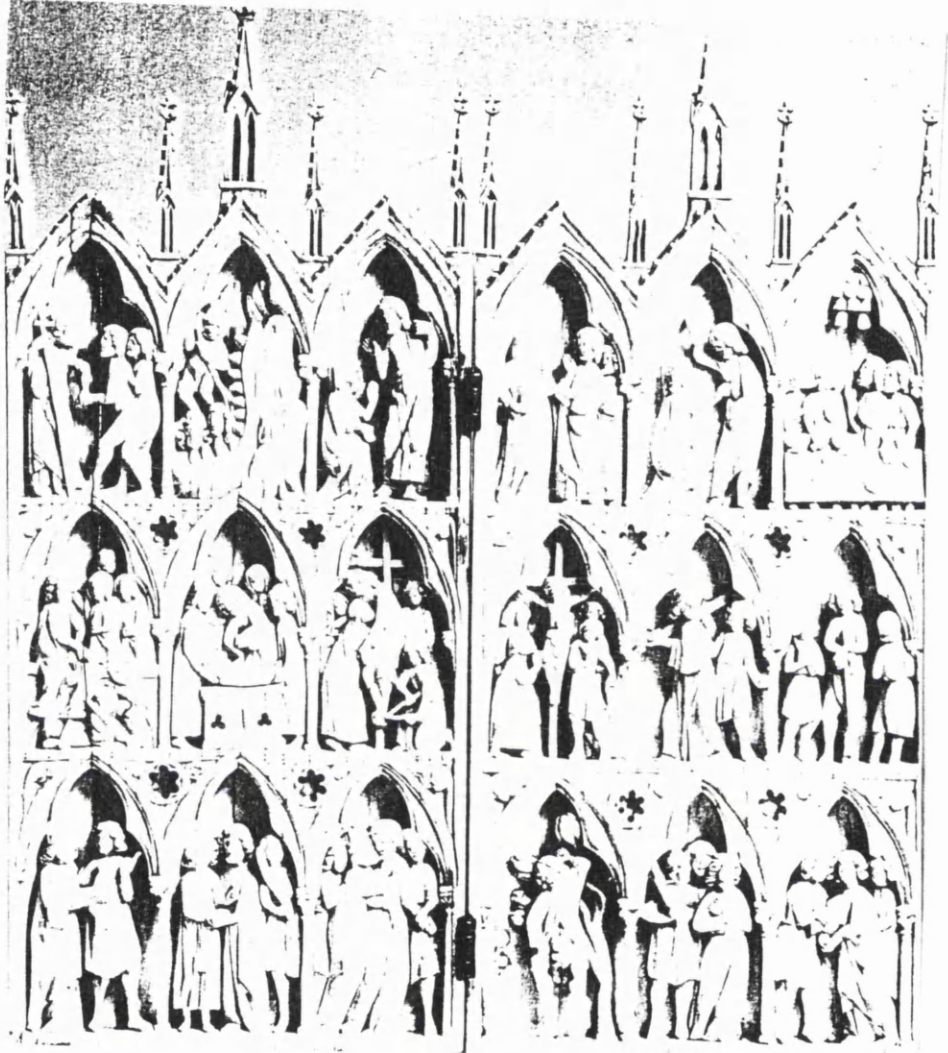


Figure 37

**Diptych with Scenes from the Passion,**

c. 1250-70, ivory,  
h. 20.4 cm x w. 17.3 cm

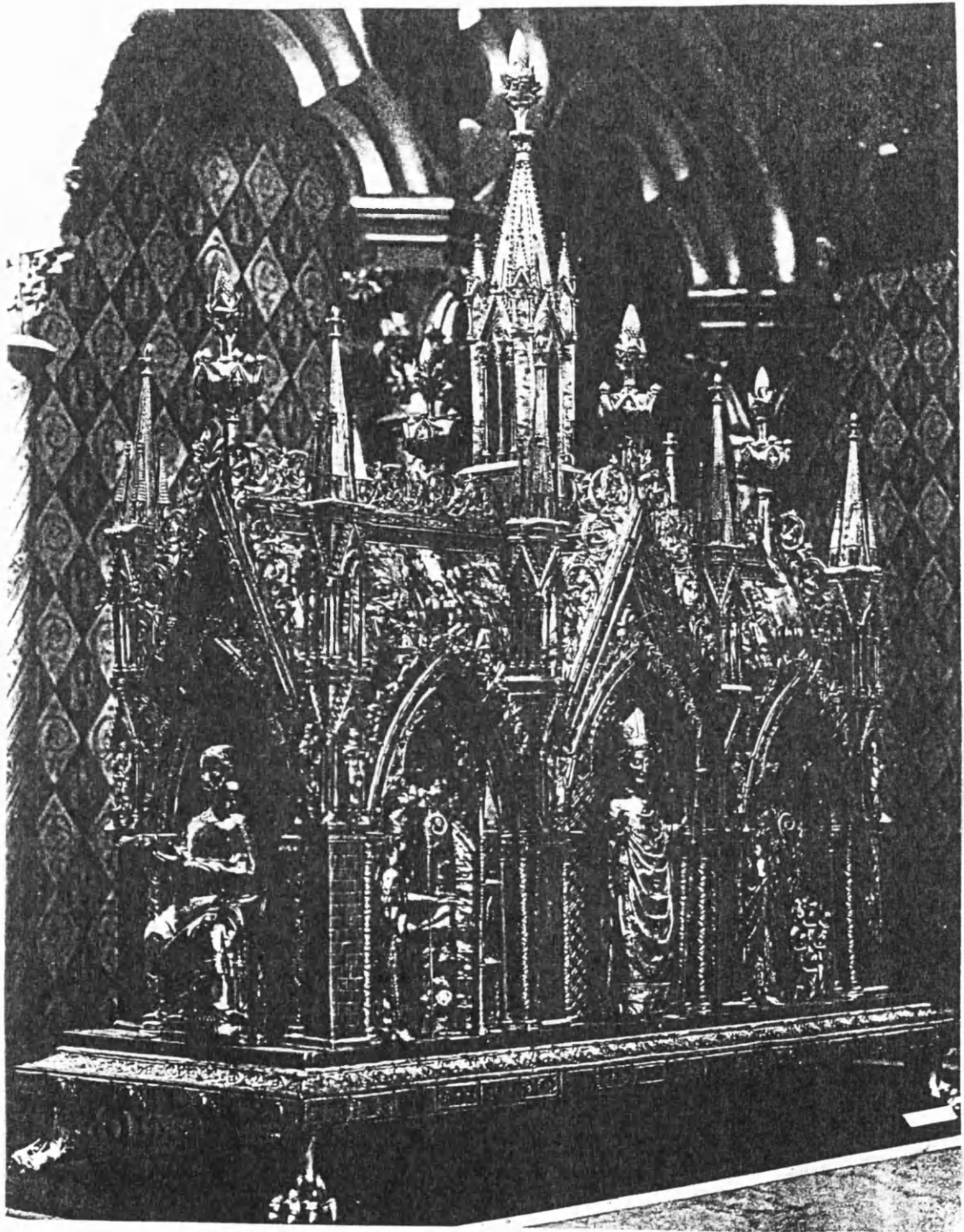


Figure 38

**Châsse of St Taurin,**

c.1240-55, , silver-gilt,

St Taurin, Evreux. h.70cm. x l.105cm. x w. 45cm.



Figure 39,  
Oxford *Bible Moralisée*,  
Paris c.1230s,  
(Bodleian Library MS 270b, fol 4.)



Figure 40,  
Genesis window,  
Paris, c.1240-48,  
Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, bay 13, in situ



Figure 41

**Psalter of Blanche de Castille, folio 16,**  
Paris, early 13<sup>th</sup> century, (Arsenal MS Fr 1186)



Figure 42,  
**Livre des Serments,**  
Paris, late 1230s,  
Archives Nationales LL 79.



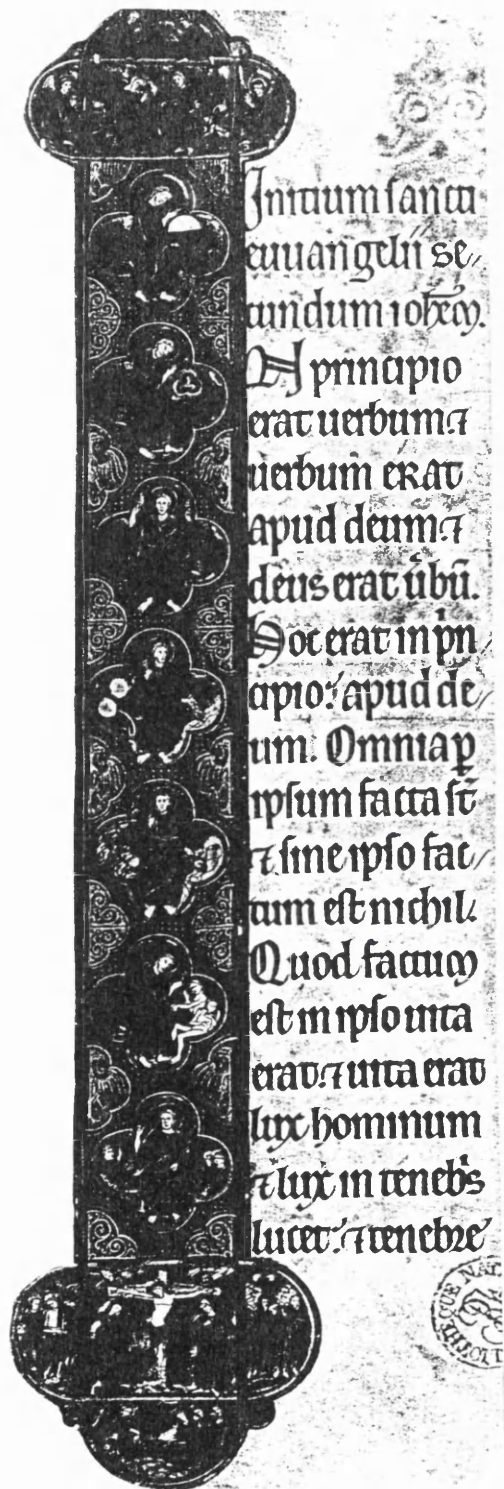


Figure 43.

First Sainte-Chapelle Evangeliary,  
Paris, c.1230-40s, folio 4,  
(Paris, Bib. Nat., ms. lat. 8892)



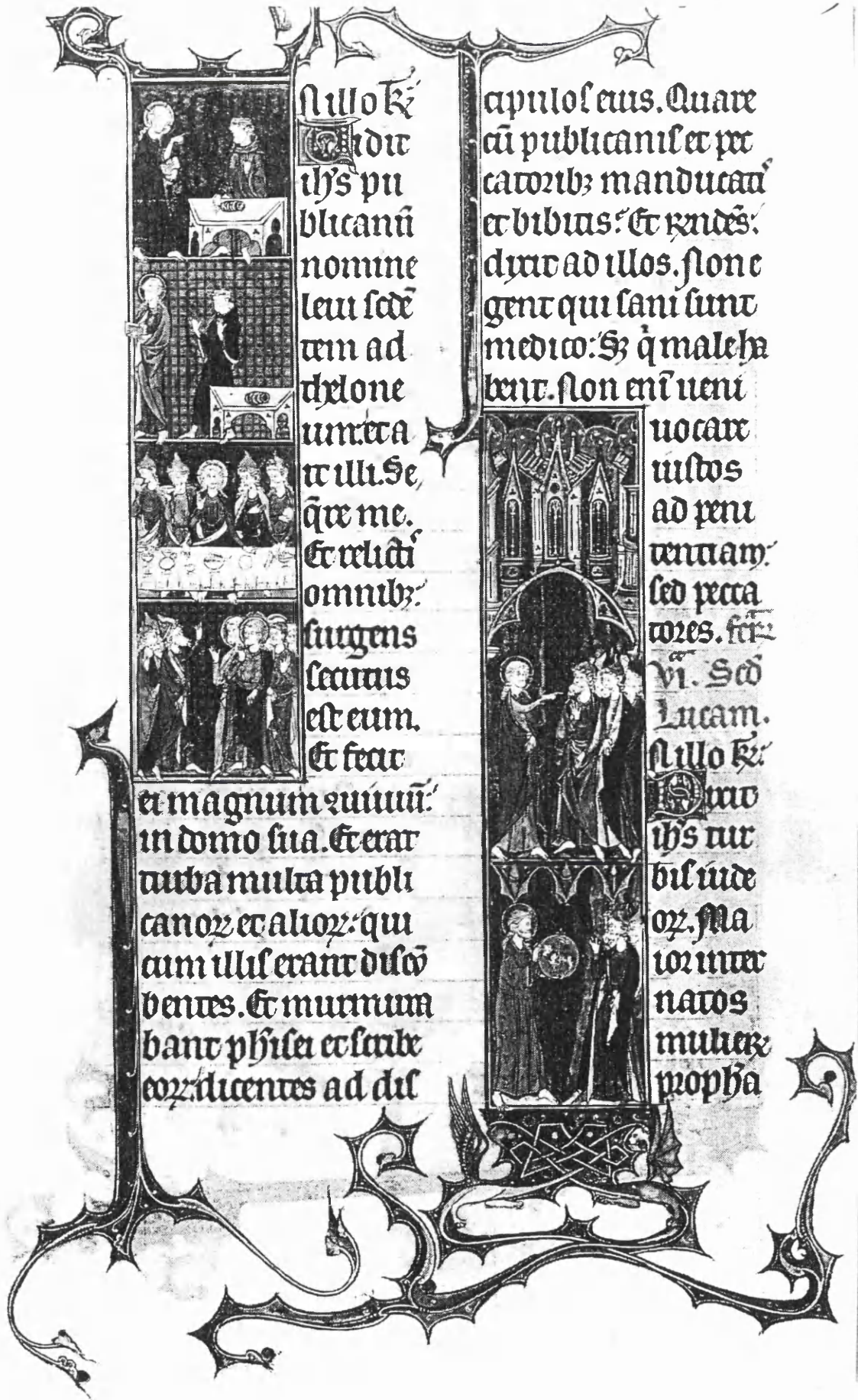


Figure 45,

Third Sainte-Chapelle Evangeliary,

Paris, c.1255-60,

(Paris, Bib Nat, ms lat 17326 folio 130)

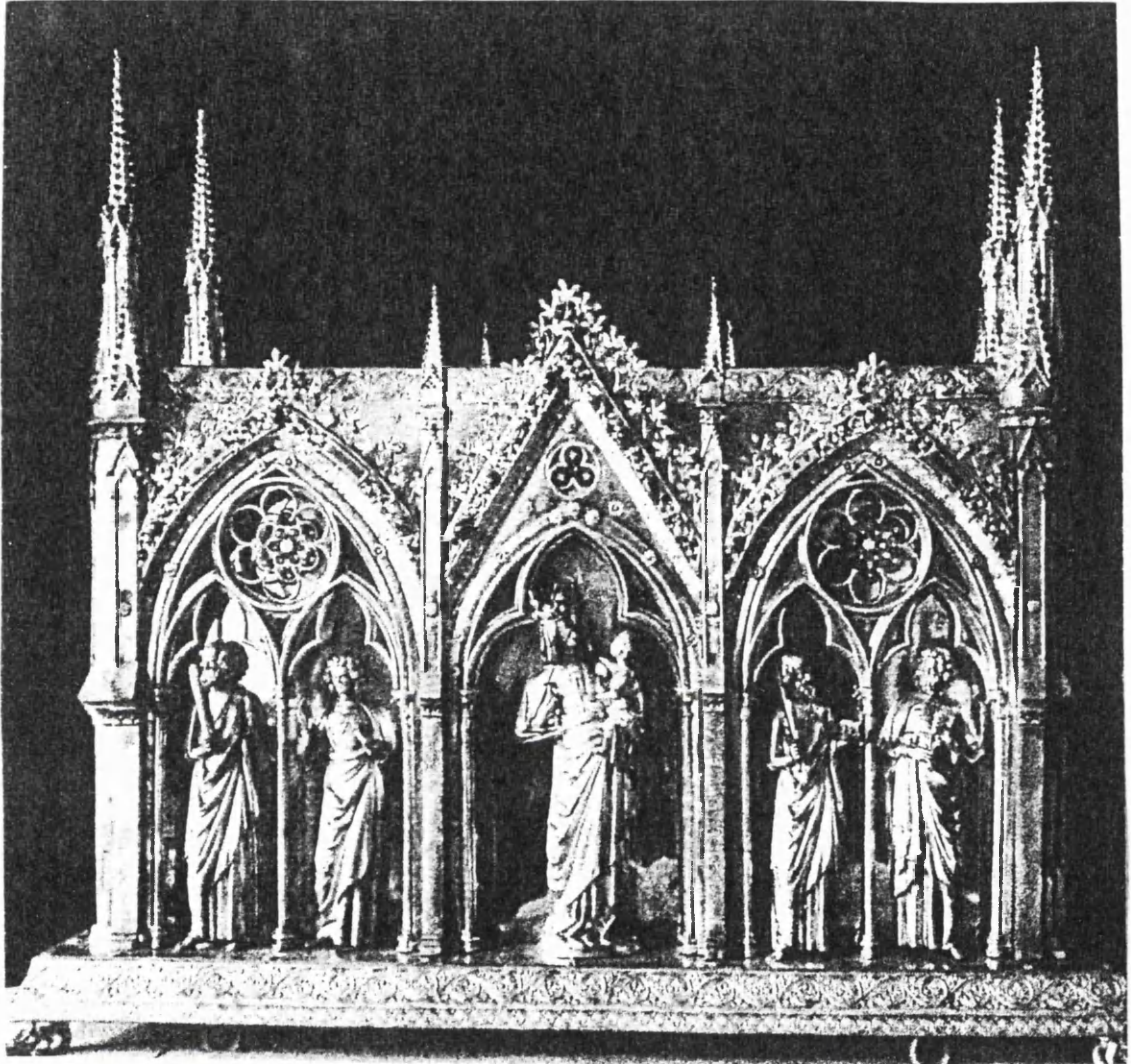


Figure 46,  
**Châsse of Saint Romain,**  
France, c. 1265, silver-gilt with enamel,

## GLOSSARY

<b><i>Bible Moralisée</i></b>	The <i>Bibles Moralisées</i> contain a complete cycle of over 5000 Old Testament illustrations accompanied by a moral or allegorical interpretation. They were produced 1230-40s in Paris. Only four survive and their exact source patronage is unknown although as each contains a picture of a king they are thought to have royal connections.
<b>Book of Hours</b>	A book for private devotion which was very popular from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. Its contents varied but included a liturgical Calendar often giving local feast days and obits, the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, Psalms and the Office of the Dead. They could also contain the Hours of others, such as Saint Louis.
<b><i>Castilles</i></b>	Heraldic device of Castille of golden castle on a red ground.
<b><i>Champlevé</i></b>	An enamelling technique where the design is gouged out of the surface of the metal to be treated, leaving thin ridges of metal standing above the resulting troughs. Powdered glass was put into the depressions and fired. A substantial thickness of metal was needed so cheaper base metals such as copper were usually used.
<b><i>Châsse</i></b>	A container for relics, shaped as a house or church.
<b>Chrism</b>	A mixture of olive oil and balsam used in the Sacraments.
<b><i>en ronde bosse</i></b>	In the round
<b>Evangelary</b>	Also known as a Lectionary of the Gospels: a book containing readings from the Gospel arranged in order according to their use during the liturgical year.
<b><i>Gules</i></b>	Heraldic term for red.
<b>Historiated initial</b>	Illuminated initial letter enclosing a figural representation.
<b><i>Montjoies</i></b>	Commemorative stone crosses which were erected in each town in which Saint Louis's body had lain on its return to Paris from Tunis in 1270.

<b><i>Muldenfalstenstil</i></b>	A drapery style with small narrow folds ending in hair-pin loops which originated in the 1180s in the Mosan region. This style is seen in Ingeborg Psalter and the note-books of Villard de Honnecourt, both from the early thirteenth century.
<b>Soissons diptychs</b>	Ivory diptych with three registers, generally divided into three scenes within an elaborate Rayonnant architectural setting dating from 1250-70. They may be amongst the earliest Parisian ivories or they may be from the north of France. The most famous is from Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in Soissons, (V & A Museum 211-1865.)
<b><i>Obit</i></b>	A note in the margin of a manuscript marking the date of a death.
<b><i>Pales</i></b>	Heraldic device of Provence of a vertical stripe, usually in the centre of a shield.
<b>Psalter</b>	A liturgical book containing the Psalms. From the eleventh to the fourteenth century they were the most common book for private devotion, being replaced during the fourteenth century by the Book of Hours. There are two types, the Biblical with 150 Psalms in Biblical order and the Breviary with the Psalms in their liturgical order. Psalters could be arranged in different ways and one of the most common was to have a group of full-page frontispieces before the Psalms.
<b><i>Repoussé</i></b>	A relief pattern or sculptural form created by hammering a thin metal sheet from behind.
<b>Semiotics</b>	The analysis of signs in language and their use. Based on work by F. Saussure, 1857-1913, who differentiated between the phonic element of speech i.e. the <i>signifiant</i> or signifier, and the referential element of language, the <i>signifié</i> or signified. Saussure predicted the growth of semiotics, the science of linguistics, as the studying of signs within society. Barthes applied Saussure's ideas to the visual arts in the form of advertisements and strip cartoons. To some extent the glass in the Sainte-Chapelle can be read as cartoons although there is still debate as to whether Barthes' idea can be applied to painting, sculpture and architecture.
<b>Tympanum</b>	The field at the top of an arch.

**Typology**

An interpretation of the Bible where events and people in the Old Testament are seen as prophetic symbols of events and people in the New Testament. Jonah was referred to by Christ as a prefiguration of His own Resurrection.

**Vulgate**

Latin Bible translated from Greek by St Jerome (c.345-420)

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