

# Stained Glass from the Cathedral of Tours: The Impact of the Sainte-Chapelle in the 1240s

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## THE SAINTE-CHAPELLE AND THE DISSEMINATION OF THE COURT STYLE

IN 1239 St. Louis (Louis IX, 1226–70) purchased the Crown of Thorns from his cousin Baldwin II, the Latin emperor of Constantinople. An account of the solemn translation of the relic to Paris was written by Gauthier Cornut, archbishop of Sens and a participant in the ceremonies. The relic was met at Villeneuve-l'Archevêque by St. Louis and his brother, Robert d'Artois. Following its reception in the cathedral of Sens, it was borne to Paris, where it was displayed by Gauthier to the people before being placed in the palace chapel. In 1241 more relics of the Passion were acquired and within the next seven years St. Louis built a new, sumptuously decorated chapel in the palace, the Ste.-Chapelle, to house them. The chapel was consecrated on April 26, the first Sunday after Easter, in 1248. Four months later, St. Louis, his prestige as *rex christianissimus* at its apogee, departed on his ill-fated crusade to the Holy Land.<sup>1</sup>

The Ste.-Chapelle has long been recognized as the critical monument in the wide dissemination of the Parisian Court Style of stained glass in the mid-thirteenth century. The chapel was conceived as a monumental reliquary, its stonework painted and gilt like metalwork. Its upper chapel, where the relics were housed, glitters with the reds, golds, and blues of a vast ensemble of stained-glass windows, illustrating the history of mankind from the Creation through the Redemption in multiple registers of historiated medallions. Modern history is represented in the final bay of the narrative sequence, which depicts the

history of the relics of the Passion, from the Finding of the True Cross through the Translation of the Crown of Thorns, the chapel's chief relic, to Paris.<sup>2</sup>

Almost immediately, the Ste.-Chapelle began to set new architectural and artistic fashions in Paris and in the surrounding regions. Stained glass resembling that of the Ste.-Chapelle survives at Soissons, Troyes, Auxerre, and St.-Julien-du-Sault. Virginia Raguin has attributed the Court-Style windows of the last two of these churches, both in Burgundy, to the Isaiah Master of the Ste.-Chapelle and has proposed a date as early as 1247 for them. She credits the commission of artists from the royal chapel to the respective patrons of the churches, who wished to express their close associations with the crown. St.-Julien-du-Sault belonged to the archbishops of Sens. The patron and builder of the church was none other than Gauthier

1. Gauthier Cornut, "Historia susceptionis corone spinee Jesu Christi," in *Historia francorum scriptores*, ed. A. Duchesne (Paris, 1649) V, pp. 407–411; for a general life of St. Louis see Margaret Wade Labarge, *Saint Louis, Louis IX, Most Christian King of France* (Boston/Toronto, 1968).

2. Robert Branner, *Saint Louis and the Court Style* (London, 1965) chap. 4; Jean Lafond and Louis Grodecki, *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, France: I. Notre-Dame et la Sainte-Chapelle* (Paris, 1959) and Louis Grodecki, *Sainte-Chapelle*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1975), for the architecture and stained glass of the chapel. The Relics of the Passion window, bay A, is illustrated in Lafond and Grodecki, *Corpus Vitrearum*, pls. 184–188. For the program of the Ste.-Chapelle, see Robert Branner, "The *Grande Châsse* of the Sainte-Chapelle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, n.s. 77 (1971) pp. 5–18, and "The Painted Medallions in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s. 58, pt. 2 (1968) pp. 5–42.

Cornut, author of the account of the translation of the Crown of Thorns to Paris. Gauthier died in 1241, and was succeeded as archbishop by his brother, Gilon Cornut, who participated in the dedication of the Ste.-Chapelle in 1248.<sup>3</sup>

In the cathedral of Soissons, the arrival of glass painters from the atelier of the Passion master of the Ste.-Chapelle was associated with the engagement of a Parisian architect to design the upper stories of the facade.<sup>4</sup>

During these years, a new choir was under construction at the cathedral of Tours. The glazed triforium and the clerestory of the Tours choir are filled with tracery closely copying the patterns of the Ste.-Chapelle. These bays are glazed with standing figures and Court-Style historiated medallion windows which also help to make the chancel reminiscent of the royal chapel in Paris.

The glazing of the Tours chancel, however, was only begun around 1255 and belongs to a later phase in the development of Parisian stained-glass painting.<sup>5</sup> Its style and relationship to the Ste.-Chapelle lie outside the scope of the present paper. Here we shall be concerned with the identification of an earlier stained-glass atelier at Tours, whose activity in the later 1240s forms an intermediary between the chancel glazing and that of the Ste.-Chapelle, and makes Tours also among the first provincial centers to embrace the Court Style under the influence of the Ste.-Chapelle.

## THE CROWN OF THORNS ATELIER AT TOURS CATHEDRAL

The focus of this study is a set of four panels of stained glass in the Cloisters Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>6</sup> Two of these contain narrative scenes. In one a young, beardless king clad in a red tunic, and followed by three companions, is carrying a chalice on which rests a green twisted wreath (Figure 1). The other shows an archbishop wearing the pallium, who stands behind a masonry parapet or low wall and raises both hands, seemingly to display something—which is now lost—to a kneeling man below (Figure 2). The other panels are of figures deprived of their original context. One combines two figures from different scenes, a standing nimbed monk who holds a book in his left hand (probably St. Martin of Tours), and a seated female saint (Figure

3). The other represents two seated men, a bearded saint, whose garments and bare feet identify him as an apostle, and his companion (Figure 4).

Attempts to determine the provenance of these panels have been made ever since they were acquired for The Cloisters in 1937. According to the dealer, they were said to have come from Troyes, although no comparable glass survives in the region of Champagne. The serenity of the figures and the fishhook folds of their drapery led Jane Hayward to suggest that the panels derived stylistically from Parisian art and that they might have been produced in northern France between 1230 and 1240.<sup>7</sup>

In fact, two of the panels, and by implication therefore all of them, may be traced to Tours. During the course of my research on the stained glass of the chancel of the cathedral of Tours, I discovered that Figures 1 and 2 had been described by Baron François de Guilhermy, who visited Tours several times in the nineteenth century prior to the ambula-

3. Louis Grodecki, "De 1200 à 1260," in *Le Vitrail français*, ed. Marcel Aubert (Paris, 1958) pp. 150–156, and idem, "St. Louis et le vitrail," *Les Monuments Historiques de la France*, n.s. 16, no. 4 (1970) pp. 6–21, discusses the dissemination of the Parisian Court Style following the glazing of the Ste.-Chapelle. For the Ste.-Chapelle-style glass of Auxerre and St.-Julien-du-Sault, see Virginia C. Raguin, "The Isaiah Master of the Sainte-Chapelle in Burgundy," *Art Bulletin* 59 (1977) pp. 483–493.

4. Carl F. Barnes, Jr., "The Location of the Sainte-Chapelle Stained Glass in the Cathedral of Soissons," *Art Bulletin* 53 (1971) pp. 459–460, and Madeline H. Caviness and Virginia Chieffo Raguin, "Another Dispersed Window from Soissons: A Tree of Jesse in the Sainte-Chapelle Style," *Gesta* 20 (1981) pp. 191–198.

5. Bourassé and Manceau, *Verrières du choeur de l'église métropolitaine de Tours* (Paris/Tours, 1849), and H. Boissonnot, *Histoire et description de la cathédrale de Tours* (Paris, 1920), the two primary sources for the Tours stained glass, publish only drawings of the windows. Stylistic discussion and photographs may be found in Louis Grodecki, *Vitraux de France*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1953) no. 23, and idem, in *Le Vitrail français*, p. 156, fig. 112. The chronology and style of the chancel glazing were summarized in my paper, "Thirteenth-Century Stained Glass from the Abbey Church of St.-Julien at Tours and Its Parisian Sources," 13th Conference on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Mich., May 1978, abstracted in *Gesta* 17 (1978) pp. 75–76.

6. The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.2–5; this discussion does not follow the order of the accession numbers, or that in which the panels are now exhibited in The Cloisters. Detailed descriptions of the panels appear in the appendix. James J. Rorimer, "Stained Glass for The Cloisters," *MMAB* 33:5, sect. II (1938) p. 12, fig. 9, and idem, *The Cloisters*, 3rd ed. (MMA, New York, 1963) pp. 56–57, fig. 22; Jane Hayward, "Stained-Glass Windows," *MMAB*, n.s. 30 (1971–72) p. 114, fig. p. 115.

7. Hayward, "Stained-Glass Windows," p. 114.



1. *St. Louis Carrying the Crown of Thorns*. H. 21 in. (53.3 cm.). The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.3

tory restorations and made detailed lists of the subjects in the windows. Guilhermy saw these panels installed with other fragments in a window of one of the choir chapels:

Un évêque debout sur un édifice montre un objet circulaire de couleur verte, qui me paraît la Sainte Couronne d'Epines. Un homme du peuple agenouille et joint les mains. . . . Un petit personnage imberbe, debout, couronné, vetu de rouge, porte la Sainte Couronne sur un vase d'or. Deux ou trois personnages le suivent.<sup>8</sup>



2. *Gauthier Cornut, Archbishop of Sens, Displaying the Crown of Thorns*. H. 21 1/8 in. (53.7 cm.). The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.4

The Crown of Thorns has disappeared from the archbishop's hands, but Guilhermy's description testifies to its onetime existence. Both panels probably come from the same window, one that illustrated the

8. François de Guilhermy, "Description des localités de la France," Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Department of Manuscripts, MS. fr. n.a. 6111, XVIII, p. 24. According to the numbering system established by the International Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi in 1958, the panels were mounted in bay sV.



3. *Standing Monk (St. Martin of Tours?) and Seated Female Saint*. H. 21 in. (53.3 cm.). The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.2

translation of the Crown of Thorns to Paris by St. Louis and its display to the people outside the city by Gauthier Cornut, archbishop of Sens. The identification of this lost window, which was probably inspired by the illustration of the same events in the Relics of the Passion window in Ste.-Chapelle,<sup>9</sup> suggests a name for the Tours workshop: the Crown of Thorns atelier.

Other stained-glass debris by this atelier survives in the choir chapels of Tours Cathedral. Of the original glazing of these chapels, only four windows remain intact. These are a typological Redemption or New



4. *Seated Apostle and Companion*. H. 21 1/8 in. (53.7 cm.). The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.5

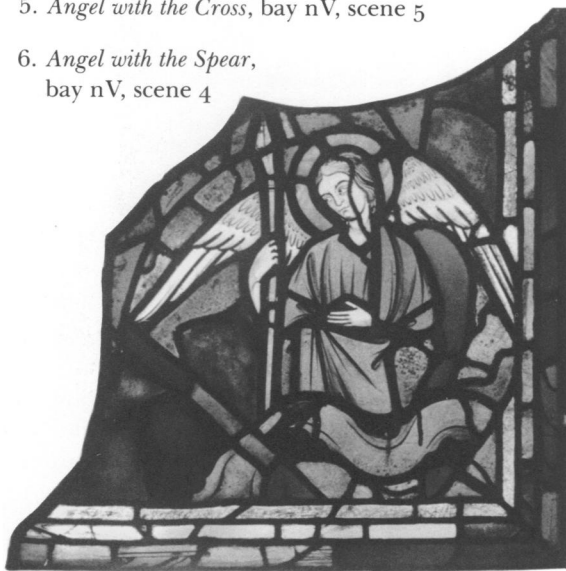
Alliance window in the Lady Chapel and three hagiological bays in the adjacent radiating chapel to the north, all in a style quite different from that of the Crown of Thorns atelier. Two of the north chapel bays, however, contain stopgaps, fragments of medieval glass which have been inserted at a later date to replace original panels lost from the window. Five of these are in the Crown of Thorns style. They include three fragments, each with an angel bearing instruments of the Passion (Figures 5–7), and a panel of

9. See above, note 2.



5. *Angel with the Cross*, bay nV, scene 5

6. *Angel with the Spear*,  
bay nV, scene 4



7. *Angel with the Nails*, bay nIV, scene 8



5–7. *Angels Holding Relics of the Passion*, from a Last Judgment window. Cathedral of Tours (photos: © Arch. Phot. Paris/SPADEM)

risen souls, all evidently from a Last Judgment window; and a panel depicting a seated youth dressed in red and white, who has been mistakenly restored as Christ (Figure 8).<sup>10</sup> Five panels from a St. Martin window, which before the Second World War were set as stopgaps in the lancets of the south transept rose, are also of this stylistic group. The subjects of three panels are the mule team which St. Martin miraculously halted, the death of St. Martin, and the translation of his body to Tours (Figures 9–11). Two other heavily restored panels depict St. Martin appearing to a sleeping figure in a dream, and three cripples. The standing monk in Figure 3 may have belonged to this window.<sup>11</sup>

10. Boissonnot, *Histoire et description*, p. 343, gives a drawing of the souls. They are now mounted in bay nV, scene 2.

11. The panels are represented in their former positions in the central lancets under the south transept rose in the photo-montage in the library of the Direction de l'Architecture of the Monuments Historiques, Paris; they were not mounted again after the war. For the life of St. Martin of Tours, Dialogues, and the Epistle to Bassula," *The Fathers of the Church*, ed. R. J. Deferrari, VII (New York, 1949); Gregory of Tours, "Selections from the Minor Works," trans. W. C. McDermott, *Pennsylvania University Department of History, Translations and Reprints from European History*, ser. 3, IV (London, 1949) p. 24–60; and Lecoy de la Marche, *St. Martin* (1881; rpt. Tours, 1920).

8. *Seated Youth*, restored as Christ. Cathedral of Tours, bay nV, scene 3 (photo: © Arch. Phot. Paris/SPADEM)







9. *Mule Driver and Team*



10. *Death of St. Martin*



11. *Translation of the Body of St. Martin to Tours*

9–11. *Scenes from the Life of St. Martin*, from a St. Martin window. Paris, Monuments Historiques (photos: © Arch. Phot. Paris/SPADEM)

12. *Kneeling Angel*. Present location unknown (photo: Demotte, Inc.)



Several other pieces of stained glass, now lost, may be added to the catalogue of this atelier's work. One is a roundel depicting a kneeling angel (Figure 12) who holds up a book in the same way that Gauthier Cornut holds up the Crown of Thorns in the Cloisters panel (Figure 2). The roundel, which is at present unlocated, was at one time in the possession of



13. *Head of a Bearded Man*. Present location unknown (after *Stained Glass*, 1934)

the dealer Demotte, in whose catalogue it was given as coming from Le Mans and dated about 1240. No similar glass, however, survives in the cathedral of Le Mans.<sup>12</sup> Another fragment is the head of a bearded man, possibly an apostle and apparently a detail of a whole panel, which illustrates a posthumously published article by Lucien Demotte in the 1934 issue of *Stained Glass* (Figure 13). The caption gives Rouen as the provenance of the piece, although here again there is no comparable glass at that site. The present location of the panel, which may have been in the Demotte collection when it was published, is unknown.<sup>13</sup> If the bearded figure is an apostle, it may have come from the same window as Figure 4.

In addition, Guilhermy's description of the Tours ambulatory glazing refers to other panels which may have belonged to this stylistic group. They include two devils with a cauldron and an angel weighing souls, both probably from the Last Judgment window, and a scene of an apostle before a seated, sword-wielding king.<sup>14</sup> These panels, as well as those in The Cloisters, were removed from the ambulatory by the Tours restorer, Leopold Lobin, who apparently formed a private collection from his gleanings. The collection was dispersed at the beginning of this century and several panels from it found their way to the United States through various dealers.<sup>15</sup>

Unfortunately, no window by the Crown of Thorns atelier survives in its original location at Tours, and the fact that Guilhermy saw some of its work in windows of the cathedral chapels in the nineteenth century is no guarantee of provenance. The chapter is known to have purchased glass from other churches in the region for use as stopgaps in the early nineteenth century and even before. Some of these stop-gap panels were installed in the choir chapels with the Crown of Thorns panels when Guilhermy saw them.<sup>16</sup> Nonetheless, the dating and stylistic analysis of the choir architecture, together with the stylistic analysis of the stained glass of the Crown of Thorns atelier itself, support the theory that this glass was made for the cathedral of Tours, and probably for the chapels of the choir.

## STYLE AND DATING

The style of the Crown of Thorns atelier is restrained and elegant. The coloration is cool, yet intense, with

figures clothed in gold, red, green, and especially in lavender and white, and deployed against rich blue backgrounds—or, in the case of the Demotte angel, a red background. The panels show a variety of medallion types. The St. Martin bay was composed of almond-shaped medallions quartered and linked on the axis by quatrefoils (Figures 9–11). The panels of angels with instruments of the Passion seem to have been lobes framing a canted square (Figures 5–7),

12. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Stained Glass from the XI to the XVIII Century*, Demotte, Inc. (New York, 1929) no. 15. The panel is illustrated in color on the cover of the catalogue and in black and white in an advertisement for the exhibition in *International Studio* (March 1929) p. 79. I am grateful to Michael Cothren for calling this piece to my attention.

The catalogue, which gives a diameter of 10 in. for the panel and describes part of the leading as old, states that it came through the Julien Chappée collection. My dismissal of the attribution to Le Mans around 1240 requires some explanation. Several panels from a St. Nicholas window and one from a St. Martin window, now mounted in the choir chapels of the cathedral of Le Mans, have a soft drapery style which features bunches of fishhook folds reminiscent of the Crown of Thorns style at Tours. Grodecki dates this glass in the 1240s (Eugène Hucher, *Calques des vitraux peints de la cathédrale du Mans* [Le Mans, 1864] pls. 70–79; Louis Grodecki, "Les Vitraux de la cathédrale du Mans," *Congrès archéologique de France* 119 [1961] pp. 59–99). The features of the Le Mans figures are similar to those of Tours; however, their expressions lack the acuteness of the Tours heads, and characteristic details of the Tours style, such as the rendering of the nose and eyebrows and the exposed ears, are absent. The relationship between the Le Mans and the Tours glass remains to be determined, but one conclusion is readily apparent: the Demotte angel belongs stylistically with the Tours group and probably comes from Tours rather than Le Mans.

13. "Lucien Demotte, 1906–34," *Stained Glass* 29 (1934) ill. p. 81. Another, more enigmatic piece of glass within this stylistic group is a fragment representing a risen soul which is set into one of a pair of medallions depicting the story of Noah in the Pitcairn Collection, Bryn Athyn, Pa. The panels are modern and, moreover, are composed of a pastiche of heads imitating a variety of medieval stained-glass styles. The risen soul is itself of dubious authenticity, but at least one other head in these panels has proved to be a copy of an authentic medieval fragment, which leaves open the possibility that an original may exist for the soul also (I am grateful to Jane Hayward for this information). Interestingly, a set of photographs acquired by James J. Rorimer from Demotte for the archives of the Metropolitan Museum includes these panels (nos. 1924, 1926).

14. Guilhermy, "Description des localités," XVIII, pp. 23v–24.

15. My paper, "The Iconography of the Genesis Window of the Cathedral of Tours," *Gesta* 20 (1981) pp. 179–189, deals with some of the glass from the Lobin collection.

16. Guilhermy, "Description des localités," XVIII, pp. 20–24.

suggesting a composite medallion structure for the Last Judgment bay. The segment of filleting at the base of the Cloisters apostle panel indicates for this bay a quatrefoil medallion with projecting darts in the corners (Figure 4).

The figures sit or stand and communicate with one another in restrained gestures. They are well proportioned and rendered with a convincing feeling of solidity. Their faces are oval, with full curving jawlines. The treatment of the nose and eyebrow is particularly distinctive. The nose is straight and slightly bony. At first glance, the two lines framing the bridge of the nose seem to continue smoothly into the broad arc of the eyebrow. Closer inspection reveals that the brushstrokes of the nose fan upward into the forehead, leaving a pair of light barbs which give the face an expression of intensity. The eyebrow is formed by a second brushstroke starting from the line of the nose. The eyes are almond-shaped with straight lower lids and small black pupils which fix intently on their objects. A light grisaille is washed around the eye sockets, down the sides of the nose, and around the mouth and chin. The hair is rendered with precise, neatly combed curls tucked tightly under. The scalloped curls of the tonsured archbishop and monk, and of the Demotte angel, are cut short to expose large, conch-shaped ears (Figures 2, 3, 12).

The quality of the Crown of Thorns atelier's style is revealed especially in its handling of drapery. Surfaces are smooth and simplified. Cloth is drawn across the knees of the seated figures in smooth concentrically curving folds which are carefully shaded in their troughs by grisaille (Figures 3, 4). This wash terminates in a series of delicate single brushstrokes which from a short distance give the impression of a graded shadow where the fold opens out. Where the cloth is gathered, in bunched cloaks or in bodices and sleeves, it is rendered in jutting fishhook folds, again carefully shaded. Grisaille wash is also used to give the figures a sense of sculptural mass. In the skirt of the figure kneeling before the archbishop, shadows modulate his silhouette, making his torso seem to turn in space. The cloak looped over the apostle's shoulder is washed with shadow, emphasizing his gesturing hand in front of it by creating an impression of overlapping planes.

Clearly, this is a sophisticated painting style. Its sources, as Hayward observed, are Parisian. The medallions, as they can be reconstructed, are all compa-

rable to Parisian types. The quartered, almond-shaped medallions of the St. Martin bay (Figures 9–11) recall the Ste.-Chapelle-style glass at Soissons or the glass from the Lady Chapel of St.-Germain-des-Prés, especially the panels from the Life of the Virgin or those that seem to have come from a window depicting the history of the abbey.<sup>17</sup> The darted quatrefoil shape of the filleting in the Cloisters apostle panel (Figure 4) suggests a bay of smaller medallions arranged in registers, more like the glass of the Ste.-Chapelle itself or of St.-Julien-du-Sault.<sup>18</sup> The composite medallion structure evident in the Last Judgment debris (Figures 5–7) recalls the arrangement of scenes in an early thirteenth-century Parisian manuscript, the Crawford Psalter in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.<sup>19</sup> The Ste.-Chapelle-style St. Martin window at Auxerre has a similar structure, suggesting that even at mid-century composite lobed medallions might be used by Parisian glaziers when faced with a broad, plain lancet to fill.<sup>20</sup>

The color selection of the Crown of Thorns atelier's glass can also be compared with Parisian stained glass. Its rich figural coloration is, admittedly, unlike that of the Ste.-Chapelle, where primary hues predominate in the ornament and the medallion grounds, while the figures themselves tend toward a paler, muted tonality. It does, however, resemble the St.-Germain-des-Prés history panels, which have a rich coloration of gold, green, red, lavender, and white against a deep blue background.

The relationship of the Tours figural style to Parisian stained glass is more difficult to define. In the Life of the Virgin and the history windows from St.-Germain-des-Prés, drapery retains a supple quality of the Tours style, but the use of the fishhook fold has declined. The laps of the seated figures and the gathered fabric of cloaks are articulated with sharply

17. Grodecki, in *Le Vitrail français*, pp. 150–155; and idem, "Stained Glass Windows of St.-Germain-des-Prés," *Connoisseur* 140 (Sept. 1957) pp. 33–37. Two panels from the history window have recently been acquired by The Cloisters (1973.262.1,2); see *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Notable Acquisitions, 1965–1975* (MMA, New York, 1975) p. 162.

18. Raguin, "Isaiah Master," discusses the medallion shapes of St.-Julien-du-Sault and the Ste.-Chapelle.

19. Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of St. Louis* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1977) fig. 58.

20. Raguin, "Isaiah Master," fig. 15.



creased pouch folds similar to those found in the north transept rose of Notre-Dame.<sup>21</sup> The St.-Germain glass, dated around 1250, belongs stylistically to the second half of the century.

The major glazing atelier of the Ste.-Chapelle, a large shop of several painters, is in many respects closer in style to the Tours atelier. Its solid, columnar figures have small, oval heads. They sit or stand, gesturing to one another with calm deliberation, reminiscent of the Tours figures (Figure 14). Their physiognomy, however, differs from that of their Tours counterparts, as does the style of their drapery. The difference is particularly evident in the rendering of the laps of seated figures. In the Ste.-Chapelle glass, fabric falls in an apron of broken fishhook folds between the knees, while at Tours it is drawn loosely across the lap in a series of concentric curves.

This distinctive characteristic of the Tours style has its closest comparisons not in Parisian stained glass, but in a group of manuscripts of which the *Vie de St. Denis* of 1250 is the best known (Figure 15). Robert Branner dubbed the style of the *Vie de St. Denis* the flat-fold style and attributed all the manuscripts where it occurs to a single atelier active between 1230 and 1250. During the 1240s, then, the flat-fold style coexisted with the emerging broken fishhook style of Ste.-Chapelle, and, to judge by the number of surviving manuscripts, satisfied a widespread taste.<sup>22</sup> In these manuscripts, drapery is drawn in smooth, concentric, flat folds across the knees of the seated figures and bunches up in jutting, fishhook folds. Fold channels are filled with delicately graded shadow. The heads are strongly reminiscent of the Tours heads. They have the same full jawlines, almond eyes with straight lower lids, bony noses, and precisely rendered hair with tight curls often tucked under to expose the ears. Moreover, in some illustrations the lines of the nose and eyebrows are broken by a pair of barbed strokes which recall the treatment of the nose and brow in the Tours heads.

The comparisons with Parisian stained glass and



14. Detail from the Exodus Window. Paris, Ste.-Chapelle (photo: © Arch. Phot. Paris/SPADEM)

15. *Virgin and Child*, from the *Vie de St. Denis*, 1250. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. acq. fr. 1098, fol. 58 (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)



21. Grodecki, "St.-Germain-des-Prés," figs. 7, 8; Lafond and Grodecki, *Corpus Vitrearum*, pp. 35–51.

22. Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, pp. 87–93, 95–96, figs. 244–271. A Missal from St.-Corneille, Compiègne, dated by Branner toward mid-century, seems particularly close to the Tours glass in style.

manuscripts show that the style of the Tours Crown of Thorns atelier derives from the art of Paris, and suggest a date in the 1240s for the atelier's activity. The translation of the Crown of Thorns in 1239 is obviously a firm *terminus post quem* for the Tours Crown of Thorns window, though it also seems likely that the prototype for the latter was the Relics of the Passion bay of the Ste.-Chapelle and that the Tours bay may be dated in the later forties.

This date, contemporary with or shortly after the glazing of the Ste.-Chapelle, is also consistent with the evidence of chronology and style of the architecture of the Tours choir.

#### THE CHOIR OF TOURS CATHEDRAL: ITS ARCHITECTURE AND ITS CHAPEL GLAZING

The earliest documents relating to the new choir of the twelfth-century cathedral are a letter from Pope Gregory IX to the abbot of Marmoutier, and a letter from the archbishop of Tours to the archbishop of Rouen, both dated 1233 and both concerned with soliciting donations for the construction. Work probably began shortly thereafter. Two royal charters, dated 1241 and 1243, later granted the cathedral chapter permission to use quarries owned jointly by the crown and the archiepiscopacy and to cut wood in a royal forest.<sup>23</sup>

The beginning of St. Louis's crusade in 1248 may have slowed or even halted construction. The council of Lyon in that year had agreed that the Church should support the king's expedition with a 10 percent levy on ecclesiastical revenues. Churches within the royal sphere of influence actually donated 20 percent, an expense which lasted from 1248 to 1252 and formed the major source of income for the crusade.<sup>24</sup> The towns also contributed substantially. An account by the bailiff of Tours, dated Ascension 1248, lists the collection of 2,000 pounds *tournois* from the city.<sup>25</sup> Although no documents of Tours Cathedral's support for the crusade survive, this important archbishopric must certainly have contributed its share.

It is uncertain how far work had progressed by this time. Until recently the accepted interpretation of the documents was that actual construction began with the royal charters of 1241 and 1243, and that the chancel, reminiscent of the style of the Ste.-Chapelle,

was not undertaken until after the crusade.<sup>26</sup> It is in fact more likely that work had already begun shortly after the earliest documents of 1233. An unpublished manuscript of the acts of the chapter, unfortunately destroyed during the Second World War, apparently contained evidence suggesting a partial resumption of services in the choir during the early forties. In 1242 a bell was suspended over the choir, for which the chapter treasurer was directed to furnish a rope. In 1243, the canons resumed the celebration of the translation of St. Gatian, first bishop of Tours.<sup>27</sup>

The earlier date for the commencement of construction is most strongly supported by Branner's analysis of the Tours architecture as representative of the early, "restrained" Court Style which preceded that of the Ste.-Chapelle. The elevation of the Tours chancel includes a tall, twin-unit triforium which, Branner suggests, was modeled on the royal Cistercian abbey of Royaumont, built by St. Louis and his mother, Blanche of Castile, between 1228 and 1236. During the course of construction at Tours, the tracery of the triforium and clerestory was redesigned in the newer fashion of the Ste.-Chapelle.<sup>28</sup>

If the Tours choir had been begun around 1233 and the ambulatory chapels finished in the early forties, work on the chancel could have been underway

23. Boissonnot, *Histoire et description*, pp. 67ff., includes most of the documents of construction of the choir. A letter of 1233 from Gregory IX to the abbot of Marmoutier, requesting the abbey's assistance in the reconstruction of the cathedral choir, is preserved in an 18th-century copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Department of Manuscripts, Collection of Touraine and Anjou, VII, no. 2749.

24. Kenneth Setton, ed., *History of the Crusades: II. The Later Crusades* (Madison, Wis., 1969) pp. 490–492, analyzes the financial documents of the crusade.

25. M. Bouquet et al., eds., *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris, 1738–1904) XXI, p. 280, g.

26. Boissonnot, *Histoire et description*, pp. 67ff.; Francis Salet, "La Cathédrale de Tours," *Congrès archéologique de France* 106 (Paris, 1949) pp. 29–40; idem, *La Cathédrale de Tours*, Petite Monographie (Paris, 1949); and André Mussat, *Le Style gothique de l'ouest de la France* (Paris, 1966) pp. 164–169.

27. "Statuta et juramenta," Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 1273. The entries are cited in Jean Maan, *Sancta et metropolitana ecclesia turonensis* (Tours, 1667) p. 135, no. vii; Casimir Chevalier, "Les Origines de l'église de Tours," *Société Archéologique de Touraine, Mémoires* 21 (1871) p. 510; and Boissonnot, *Histoire et description*, pp. 83–86.

28. Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style*, pp. 37–39, 65–67.

for several years before it was halted by the crusade. The decision to adopt Ste.-Chapelle tracery, therefore, could have been made in the 1240s, perhaps even while the royal chapel was itself still under construction.

Undoubtedly, the New Alliance window on the axis of the Lady Chapel and the three hagiological windows in the north radiating chapel represent the earliest phase of the chapel glazing. Louis Grodecki, citing the absence of influence of the Ste.-Chapelle style on the atelier which produced them, has dated the windows before 1245. This accords well with a completion of the ambulatory in the early forties. Although the New Alliance atelier has not yet been thoroughly studied, its figural style suggests a connection with the glazing of the Lady Chapel at Le Mans.<sup>29</sup>

The Crown of Thorns atelier, I believe, was active in the second stage of the glazing of the ambulatory chapels. From what we can reconstruct of the atelier's windows, their scale and medallion formats are consistent with the broad, untraceryed lancets of these chapels. Two St. Martin panels, Figure 9 and the restored panel of the three cripples, preserve the lead-lines of lancet heads; the subjects cannot have been combined in a single medallion, which suggests that this window may have occupied one of the double lancet and rose bays of the lateral chapels. Perhaps a Relics of the Passion window, to which the Crown of Thorns panel probably belonged, was paired with the Last Judgment window in one of the chapels.

The probable date of the Crown of Thorns atelier's activity may thus be estimated to be from the mid-forties, following the New Alliance atelier's glazing of the central chapels on the one hand, and before the beginning of the crusade levy in 1248 on the other. It was in just those years that the upper stories of the chancel were redesigned in imitation of the Ste.-Chapelle.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Court Style of Paris spread to Tours, as it did to other parts of France, in the immediate wake of the glazing of the Ste.-Chapelle. The possibility remains that the flat-fold style of the Crown of Thorns atelier was taken from Parisian manuscript painting, although the exceptional quality of the atelier's glass ar-

gues that these were not provincial artists dependent for their style on manuscript models. My personal conviction is that in the Crown of Thorns atelier we have a true Parisian glass shop whose style, heretofore identified only in manuscript painting, was also popular in the period of the Ste.-Chapelle.

Of the glass attributed to the Crown of Thorns atelier at Tours, the two eponymous panels are particularly important as a document of Capetian kingship on the eve of the crusade. Kingship, as has often been noted, is a consistent theme of the glazing program of the Ste.-Chapelle. Coronation scenes figure frequently in its biblical windows, and Christ's royal lineage is stressed in an unusually extensive Tree of Jesse with fourteen crowned ancestors. Its Relics of the Passion window continues this thread of sacred history into thirteenth-century Paris. St. Louis, who would depart on crusade for the Holy Land a few months after the consecration of the chapel in 1248, is depicted as the very heir to Christ. In the words of the papal charter for the foundation of the Ste.-Chapelle, in taking possession of the Crown of Thorns Louis had been crowned with Christ's own crown.<sup>30</sup> As Raguin has shown, it was this mystical association of Louis with Christ, as well as the special prestige of the French crown, which underlay the vogue for Parisian glass in the late forties.<sup>31</sup> The two Crown of Thorns scenes in the Cloisters Collection are the only surviving works of art of the period which evoke this aspect of the Ste.-Chapelle's meaning through iconography rather than style.

The impending crusade was an integral part of the religious and political climate of 1248 when the Ste.-Chapelle was consecrated. Ironically, it was probably the crusade which cut short the career of the Crown of Thorns atelier at Tours. By 1248 construction had very likely progressed into the upper stories of the chancel, and quite possibly some preliminary plans

29. In the Corpus Vitrearum numbering system, these bays are I, nIII, nIV, and nV. Grodecki, in *Le Vitrail français*, pp. 155–156, fig. 120, publishes a section of bay nV; see also note 10 above. For the glass of the Lady Chapel at Le Mans, see Grodecki, "Vitraux de la cathédrale du Mans," pp. 78–80.

30. Grodecki, *Sainte-Chapelle*, pp. 51–52, Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style*, pp. 56–57, and Raguin, "Isaiah Master," p. 492, discuss the importance of the relic of the Crown of Thorns in contemporary French thought.

31. Raguin, "Isaiah Master," pp. 491–493.

for the glazing of its great traceried windows had been made. Had the crusade been less of a financial burden, slowing or halting progress on the new choir, the Crown of Thorns atelier might well have gone on to glaze the chancel.

The archbishop of Tours, Geoffroy Martel, followed St. Louis to the Holy Land. He died abroad in 1251. His successor, Pierre of Lamballe, was elected in 1252 and it was probably he who undertook the glazing of the chancel around 1255.<sup>32</sup> A new team of glass painters was engaged for the purpose. The fate of the Crown of Thorns atelier is unknown, for by this time it had disappeared from the cathedral chantier.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study has developed from my doctoral dissertation, "Stained Glass Windows of the Choir of the Cathedral of Tours," New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1979, under the auspices of Harry Bober and Jane Hayward. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Hayward for sharing her material on the Cloisters glass with me, and to Phyllis Sternschein for her help in the preparation of this article.

32. Maan, *Sancta et metropolitana ecclesia turonensis*, pp. 137–138, and *Gallia Christiana*, ed. B. Haureau, XIV (Paris, 1856) cols. 109–110, give brief biographies of these two archbishops.

# Appendix

## FOUR STAINED-GLASS PANELS FROM TOURS CATHEDRAL

The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.2 (Figure 3)  
*Standing Monk (St. Martin of Tours?) and Seated Female Saint*

21 × 13¾ in. (53.3 × 34.9 cm.)

The female saint wears a green robe and gold mantle, the monk, who holds a book in one hand and gestures with the other, a habit of lavender and white. Her nimbus is white, his red. For their heads, hands, and the monk's foot a delicate, flesh-toned glass is used. The panel has probably been completely remade, as the two figures are unlikely to have originally belonged together. The woman's right elbow and knee and the monk's gesturing hand are cropped off by the central column. Overlapping his shoulder is the elbow of a figure dressed in white, the remains of a companion who has also been cropped away. The central column and some of the blue background are modern, as are the glass of the woman's left wrist and the segment of bodice above it. The red filleting and blue foliate debris in the lower corners of the panel are probably stopgaps inserted by the restorer.

The monk may be a figure of St. Martin from the same window as the five St. Martin panels from the south transept rose (Figures 9–11). His physiognomy matches that of the saint on his deathbed (Figure 10). A similarly posed figure of St. Martin, also followed by companions, appears in the *Miracle of the Pine Tree* in the Ste.-Chapelle-style window at Auxerre.<sup>1</sup> The female saint may be the Virgin Mary but the particular subject depicted cannot be ascertained.

The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.3 (Figure 1)  
*St. Louis Carrying the Crown of Thorns*  
21 × 13½ in. (53.3 × 34.3 cm.)

St. Louis wears a red tunic and a gold crown. He carries the green Crown of Thorns on a gold chalice. Two of his companions wear green and gold respectively; only the top of the third companion's head can be seen. The head and shoulder of the figure in gold, a piece of purple fabric protruding behind him, and

the tree in the background are modern. In the upper corners of the panel are segments of red filleting and foliate debris which are probably stopgaps inserted by the restorer.

In the Translation scene in the Ste.-Chapelle, the relic is encased in a *châsse* which the king and his brother Robert carry between them. This is not necessarily inconsistent with our supposition that the Tours window is iconographically dependent on the Ste.-Chapelle Relics cycle. Though the meaning of the *châsse* would have been clear in the context of the latter, it would probably have been ambiguous in a window at Tours. Instead, the relic itself was depicted.<sup>2</sup>

The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.4 (Figure 2)  
*Gauthier Cornut, Archbishop of Sens, Displaying the Crown of Thorns*  
21⅞ × 13⅜ in. (53.7 × 34.0 cm.)

The archbishop wears a red cope and a white miter and pallium; the tunic of the kneeling figure is lavender. The parapet on which Gauthier stands is green and gold. The painting in this panel is all original, but the blue background has been pieced together from old glass, particularly where Gauthier once held the Crown of Thorns. The ornamental debris in the four corners is probably also old glass pieced in by the restorer. In this panel, as in the Translation panel, there is no indication of the original shape of the medallion.

According to Gauthier, the Crown of Thorns was displayed to the public from a specially constructed pulpit at the church of St. Anthony outside the walls

1. Raguin, "Isaiah Master," fig. 15.

2. Gauthier Cornut, "Historia susceptionis corone spinee," pp. 410–411; Lafond and Grodecki, *Corpus Vitrearum*, Ste.-Chapelle, bay A, scene 84. For illustrations of the Crown of Thorns carried in the hands, see Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, fig. 253, and Labarge, *St. Louis*, fig. 6a.



of Paris. A similar scene is preserved in the Relics window of the Ste.-Chapelle, although there Gauthier is depicted frontally with the king and queen standing on either side of him.<sup>3</sup>

The Cloisters Collection, 37.173.5 (Figure 4)

*Seated Apostle and Companion*

21 1/8 × 13 1/4 in. (53.7 × 33.7 cm.)

The bearded apostle wears a green robe and red mantle, his companion a white robe and pale blue mantle. The head of the companion is stylistically related to some of the clerestory windows of the chancel and may be a thirteenth-century restoration rather than simply a stopgap of old glass inserted at a later

date. An architectural structure on the left has been created from old glass, including a fragment of an inscription. The companion's knee is also a replacement. A few pieces of the blue background are modern. The segment of red and pearled white filleting, however, may well be the original border of the medallion, and the blue foliate sprigs and filleting in the lower left corner may be the remains of an ornamental boss in the window.

The subject of the panel is unknown, although among the stopgap debris that he saw in the choir chapels Guilhermy recorded another subject from an apostle's life, the apostle standing before a seated king bearing a sword (see above, note 14).

3. Gauthier Cornut, "Historia susceptionis corone spinee," p. 411; Lafond and Grodecki, *Corpus Vitrearum*, Ste.-Chapelle, bay A, scene 71.