



Narrative Cartographies: Mapping the Sacred in Gothic Stained Glass

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Narrative cartographies

Mapping the sacred in Gothic stained glass

GERALD B. GUEST

Much has been written in recent years about cultural constructions of space.¹ In the field of early modern studies, to take two key examples, much attention has been paid to the technologies of cartography and linear perspective.² Scholars from various disciplines have shown how these and other technologies were used to record, measure, rationalize, and encapsulate space. Coupled with these visualizing strategies were ideologies of emplacement that made meaningful the various spaces charted by European elites. In their wake, whole new worlds emerged that served new structures of power and new economies of knowledge and capital. With remarkable efficiency and efficacy, these new technologies of the visual formed a conceptual grid onto which new understandings of the world could be developed and examined. One of the unfortunate side effects of this productive new scholarship on space has been a relegation of the medieval as a premodern, pretechnological other, an era relatively deficient in spatial technologies. Yet taken on its own terms, medieval culture reveals a remarkable investment in the power of the visual and the spatial. Medieval churches, for example, in their physical layout, figural embellishment, and liturgical use, offered their original audiences complex spaces in which the real and the virtual combined to figure the sacred in sophisticated and fluid ways.

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1. Two useful anthologies that chart this scholarly turn are *Thinking Space*, ed. M. Crang and N. Thrift (London: Routledge, 2000) and *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, ed. P. Hubbard, R. Kitchin, and G. Valentine (London: Sage Publications, 2004). In what follows I have also been inspired by H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991) and M. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," in *The Visual Culture Reader*, ed. N. Mirzoeff (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 237–244.

2. Two useful starting points in the substantial bibliography on these topics are: J. B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001) and J. Elkins, *The Poetics of Perspective* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994).

It is the contention of this article that medieval studies and specifically the study of medieval visual culture have something to contribute to the debates on spatiality currently animating the humanities and social sciences.³ In what follows I would like to consider how medieval art might be read in a broadly *cartographic* fashion. To do this, I will focus on some of the complex narrative stained-glass windows made for European churches in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The "maps" contained in these windows are not maps in the modern sense of the word. Medieval people regularly created what we call maps (as well as what might be called "itineraries").⁴ These documents represented various spaces and places, some local, some global. They served a variety of purposes from the navigational to the spiritual. Such maps are *not* to be found in stained glass.⁵ Instead, in what follows I will be concerned with what might be called indirect mappings in which

3. See, for example, volume 18 of the journal *Médiévales* (Spring 1990) dedicated to "Espaces du Moyen Age"; *Raum und Raumvorstellungen im Mittelalter*, ed. J. A. Aertsen and A. Speer; *Miscellanea Mediaevalia—Veröffentlichungen des Thomas-Instituts der Universität Köln* 25 (Berlin, New York: W. de Gruyter, 1998); *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

4. For mapmaking and geography in the Middle Ages, useful starting points include *The History of Cartography*, ed. J. B. Harley and D. Woodward, vol. 1, *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); M. Kupfer, "Medieval World Maps: Embedded Images, Interpretive Frames," *Word & Image* 10, no. 3 (1994):262–288; and Natalia Lozovsky, *"The Earth Is Our Book": Geographical Knowledge in the Latin West ca. 400–1000* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000). On the itineraries of Matthew Paris, to take one example, see D. K. Connolly, "Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris," *Art Bulletin* 81, no. 4 (1999):598–622; M. Gaudio, "Matthew Paris and the Cartography of the Margins," *Gesta* 39, no. 1 (2000):50–57; and K. Breen, "Returning Home from Jerusalem: Matthew Paris's First Map of Britain in Its Manuscript Context," *Representations* 89 (Winter 2005):59–93.

5. Maps were, however, found in churches in the Middle Ages. See, for example, M. Kupfer, "The Lost Mappamundi at Chalivoy-Milon," *Speculum* 66, no. 3 (1991):540–571. On the more famous Hereford mappamundi, see (among other studies), N. R. Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm* (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, 2003).

cultural topographies emerge as important byproducts of narrative picture cycles.

In addition to reading these windows with an eye toward cultural geography, I also want to consider them ideologically, as responses to certain processes at work in the medieval social landscape. These artworks can, in short, be read as works of opposition designed to speak to an audience whose social milieu was becoming rapidly more urban and more secular.⁶ In order to make this overarching point I want to offer readings of windows that are, in a word, spatial—readings that attend to the various ways in which narratives are “sited” in the pictorial language of the central Middle Ages.

Cognitive mapping

As a point of departure, I would like to appropriate the concept of “cognitive mapping” as it is now used by certain critical theorists. The term finds its origin in cognitive psychology but is now used throughout the sciences and the humanities in a multiplicity of ways. Because of its diverse history, a brief discussion of the term is in order.

The term was first used by the psychologist Edward Tolman in a 1948 paper entitled “Cognitive Maps in Rats and Man.”⁷ In his now-classic paper, Tolman studied the ways in which rats learned to navigate a maze in order to receive food. He argued that the rats were able to store in their brains spatial knowledge of their environments in map-like forms, something that humans must also do. In its original sense, then, a cognitive map is a mental construct, used by human beings and animals to navigate a space. Now, over fifty years after Tolman’s pioneering work, cognitive scientists continue to study the ways in which humans learn about, recall, and navigate spatial environments. The study of cognitive mapping in this sense remains a productive area of investigation.⁸

Beyond this, however, the term has also led to other types of investigations in other disciplines. It has, for example, proved extremely fruitful in the area of geography and urban studies. Here, again, there is a seminal text toward which one must gesture, namely

Kevin Lynch’s *The Image of the City*, published in 1960. For this work, Lynch conducted a series of experimental interviews to study the ways in which people think about and recall urban environments. Lynch selected three different urban landscapes for study: downtown Los Angeles, Jersey City, and Boston. Although his bibliography does not cite Tolman, Lynch seems very much indebted to work in cognitive psychology from the 1940s and 1950s. In essence, Lynch attempts to move from Tolman’s rats in mazes to people in cities. He is interested in mental images and how they correspond to the actual built environment, and he is especially interested in itineraries—how humans get from point A to point B in daily life. He speaks of cities as having varying degrees of “legibility”—a concept defined as the relative ease with which one is able to decipher, process, and remember aspects of urban environments. To this end, Lynch breaks down urban form into key cognitive units or building blocks—the path, the landmark, the edge, the node, and the district.

In the wake of such seminal studies as those of Tolman and Lynch, social scientists have been forced to ask what exactly it means to say that people construct cognitive maps in their minds. Are we speaking about virtual, Euclidean maps with something akin to real-world accuracy or something much more incomplete? Experts now tend to believe the latter.⁹ Cognitive maps are not whole. They have gaps and distortions. They are dynamic and non-Euclidean. They are interwoven with our own sense of body and personal space. They are thus bound up intimately with individual subjectivities. To speak of cognitive maps, then, is something of a simplification; our mental “maps” bear only passing resemblance to the maps that we as modern Westerners use as navigational aids. Nevertheless, the concept remains useful to scientists.

Finally, the idea of cognitive mapping has entered the humanities, again through the work of a single, major thinker, in this case Fredric Jameson, who appropriates the term via the work of Kevin Lynch. Jameson’s first use of the term, as far as I know, occurs in a 1984 article published in the *New Left Review* and entitled “Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism” (this piece was incorporated with only minor changes into Jameson’s 1991 book of the same name).¹⁰

6. I have also explored this notion in G. B. Guest, “The Prodigal’s Journey: Ideologies of Self and City in the Gothic Cathedral,” *Speculum* 81, no. 1 (2006):35–75.

7. *Psychological Review* 55, no. 4 (1948):189–208.

8. See, for example, R. L. Klatzky, “Cognitive Maps,” in *Encyclopedia of Psychology*, ed. A. E. Kazdin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), vol. 2, pp.147–150; *Cognitive Mapping: Past, Present and Future*, ed. R. Kitchin and S. Freundschuh (London: Routledge, 2000).

9. See, for example, B. Tversky, “Distortions in Cognitive Maps,” *Geoforum* 23, no. 2 (1992):131–138.

10. Fredric Jameson, “Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism,” *New Left Review* 146 (July/August 1984):53–92. See also his “Cognitive Mapping,” which was published in *Marxism and the*

Toward the end of this long article, Jameson uses the idea of a cognitive map to critique postmodern space and the ways in which subjects are inserted into its discontinuous realities. Postmodern space is to be resisted, according to his argument, precisely because it is so difficult to map cognitively. That is, it goes beyond “the capacities of the individual human body to locate itself” and “to organize its immediate surroundings.”¹¹ Jameson takes this notion from Lynch—a space that cannot be mapped cognitively is a site of alienation.

Jameson’s approach to space is broadly historicizing. In his account, the modern capitalist state is organized using the logic of the grid, which supersedes the premodern (presumably medieval) organization of space, which was simultaneously more “sacred” and “heterogeneous.” The emergence of what Jameson calls “Cartesian homogeneity” can be tied to an economic base. Thus, space is intimately bound up with politics and class. A “cognitive map,” in this sense, might be thought of as a spatialized or visualized form of ideology. Jameson then argues that the idea of cognitive mapping might also be appropriated as a conscious aesthetic and, potentially, an act of resistance against such a dominant ideology. The resulting cultural objects would allow individuals to have a greater sense of their location within the world.

It should be noted that these two notions (cognitive mapping as ideology vs. cognitive mapping as oppositional aesthetic) are rather different. When linked with the notion of ideology, the idea of a “cognitive map” is perhaps best seen as a kind of spatial unconscious, a set of ideas and assumptions that governs the way a culture understands and creates spaces. In this sense, Jameson stakes out a powerful yet flexible approach for studying the representation of places and spaces, asking us to consider the ways in which space encodes relations of power (what he calls “the struggle with and for representation”). Such a conceptualization goes far beyond what Tolman and social scientists meant by the term “cognitive map.” Indeed, Jameson and his respondents have moved the term from the realm of the psychic to the realm of the social without completely divorcing it from the former. It is in this critical

intervention that the term becomes useful for the study of visual culture.

Reading medieval glass

How then might the notion of cognitive mapping be applied to premodern visual culture and specifically to stained glass? We must begin with a few remarks about the form and content of stained-glass windows in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and about their setting in Gothic churches.¹² In surviving twelfth-century examples, stained glass can be found in both monastic and secular churches (most often cathedrals). By the early thirteenth century, however, it is most often in cathedrals that one finds the greatest abundance of surviving glass. Gothic cathedrals were, by definition, contradictory places. They were both sacred and secular (literally, of this world). They were administrative centers, housing bishops and clergy who oversaw dioceses. They were urban churches in a world that was increasingly dominated by city life.¹³ Their sumptuous decoration in sculpture and glass was an attempt by learned clergy to speak to the diverse populations of cities—merchants, laborers, students, marginals, and pilgrims. The rise of the stained-glass window also provided the laity with opportunities for artistic patronage; surviving windows from this time feature images of donors of various social ranks, shown individually and as members of merchant groups.

The art of the Gothic cathedral, which was generally created in collaboration between clergy and lay artisans, was contradictory in nature. The stained glass of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries transformed the Gothic cathedral into a vision of heaven, a place of retreat from the noise of the city. But it also absorbed and ventriloquized the city’s diverse voices, both sacred and profane. This is an art that attempted to sanctify its surroundings but also had to appropriate and reckon with them in order to do it. Here, I find especially appropriate Colin MacCabe’s definition of the Jamesonian political unconscious and its cultural

Interpretation of Culture, ed. C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988). Among the responses to Jameson, see R. T. Tally Jr. “Jameson’s Project of Cognitive Mapping: A Critical Engagement,” in *Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change*, ed. R. G. Paulston (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 399–416.

11. Jameson, “Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism,” *ibid.*, p. 83.

12. A useful starting point for understanding the evolution of stained glass as a medium is V. C. Raguin, *Stained Glass: From Its Origins to the Present* (New York: Abrams, 2003).

13. The bibliography on the medieval city is enormous. A useful starting point is K. D. Lilley, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages, 1000–1450* (New York: Palgrave, 2002). On clerical responses to Europe’s rising urbanism at this time, useful starting points are L. K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978) and J. W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).

workings: "... every text is at its most fundamental level a political fantasy which in contradictory fashion articulates both the actual and the potential social relations which constitute individuals within a specific political economy."¹⁴ Such was medieval stained glass in the fantasmatic setting of the Gothic cathedral.

The narrative windows that inspired this study are generally dedicated to either biblical protagonists, saints, or certain New Testament parables (especially the Prodigal Son and the Good Samaritan). They often take the form of a journey. In a theological sense, this journey is the "journey of life," a common metaphor in Christian thought. As early as the New Testament Epistles theologians asserted that the Christian soul endures a life of exile on this earth, undertaking a journey whose hoped-for destination is reunion with God in the afterlife.¹⁵ The journey windows of this period foreground this notion in pictorial form. The heroes and heroines of these artworks are seen repeatedly traveling the world on foot, on horseback, or by boat, often in pursuit of the sacred. These images of travel are used to make connections between homes, cities, courts, churches, tombs, and other sites. It is along the trace of this itinerary that an externalized cognitive map of the medieval world emerges. Within the spaces of these maps, the identity of each window's protagonist emerges in relation to the sacred and the social. In simple terms, identity is a site-specific construct in these artworks. Mapping and subjectivity intertwine.

To read stained-glass windows in such a fashion might seem fundamentally narratological in approach. This, however, is not my intention. Instead, this essay seeks to flesh out the ways in which the narrative art of the Middle Ages both represents *and* misrepresents its social milieu.¹⁶ To do this, these visual narratives need to be read against the medieval world. This is undoubtedly a complex task, and in the space of an article I can only gesture toward what such a hermeneutic might offer. My readings here might be said to form a response to two of the most provocative recent studies of medieval

stained glass, those of Wolfgang Kemp and Jane Welch Williams.¹⁷ Kemp's work offers the reader a powerful application of structuralist narratology to the complex, multi-scened windows of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while Williams considers social and economic contexts as key factors in donor imagery and narrative content. The methodology of the former is notable for its sensitivity to formal issues while the latter opens up new ways of contextualizing religious art of the Gothic era.

Neither approach, however, is without its drawbacks. Yet in responding to both scholars' work, it is my hope to offer a way of reading medieval art that links the visual to the social. In the end, the fit will not be precise. The windows considered here stand not so much as reflections of the medieval world but as reimaginings of it in a period marked by conflict and unrest.¹⁸ An attention to the spaces of these windows offers, I believe, an original and powerful way of gauging their ideological import. Much was at stake in the building of the Gothic cathedrals. The violent uprisings of townspeople that opposed their costly construction testify to this.¹⁹ The figural art of these churches responded to this unstable and rapidly changing world through the spatialization of political ideologies.

The Good Samaritan window at Sens Cathedral (ca. 1210)

As a way into these issues, I would like to begin with the Good Samaritan window in the ambulatory of Sens Cathedral (figs. 1–3).²⁰ The parable of the Good Samaritan was one of the more popular themes

14. C. MacCabe, preface to F. Jameson, *The Geopolitical Aesthetic: Cinema and Space in the World System* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), p. xi.

15. On this large topic, see most recently P. Dinzelsbacher, "Die mittelalterliche Allegorie der Lebensreise," in *Monsters, Marvels and Miracles: Imaginary Journeys and Landscapes in the Middle Ages*, ed. L. Søndergaard and R. T. Hansen (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2005), pp. 65–112.

16. In this respect, I have been inspired by L. O. Fradenburg's "'Be not far from me': Psychoanalysis, Medieval Studies and the Subject of Religion," *Exemplaria* 7, no. 1 (1995):41–54.

17. See W. Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and Jane Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine & Money: The Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

18. Williams argues that the images of local merchants in the stained glass at Chartres were not straightforward donor scenes but rather signs of the kind of deference and economic favoritism that the cathedral clergy expected of the urban laity in this period. See Williams (*ibid.*), pp. 139–140 and *passim*.

19. See, for example, Williams (*ibid.*) and B. Abou-El-Haj, "Artistic Integration inside the Cathedral Precinct: Social Consensus Outside?" in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, ed. V. C. Raguin, K. Brush, and P. Draper (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), pp. 214–235.

20. Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi (CVMA) window 15. The window is believed to have been created in the wake of a fire that damaged the cathedral in 1207. See *Les vitraux de Bourgogne, Franche-Comté et Rhône-Alpes. Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1986), vol. 3, pp. 178–179.

in stained glass of the early thirteenth century with surviving examples found in the cathedrals of Sens, Chartres, Bourges, and Rouen; a window very similar to the one at Sens once existed at Canterbury as well.²¹ The actual biblical narrative is found only in Luke (10:30–35) but it became, of course, one of the best known of Christ's parables. Three of these four surviving windows, those at Sens, Chartres, and Bourges, as well as the lost window at Canterbury, present the parable as a typological diagram.²² The window at Rouen is more difficult to gauge due to preservation issues but would appear to be an extensive, literal presentation of the tale.²³

Typological windows are common in stained glass of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Indeed, some of the most impressive windows of the era are typological in design.²⁴ The surviving mid-twelfth-century glass at Saint-Denis contains remnants of three windows that can be labeled typological—the Moses window (CVMA window 5), the so-called Pauline allegories (window 3), and the Ezekiel panel (window 4).²⁵ Although the Moses window was devoted exclusively to his life, it can be considered typological in that its inscriptions glossed the scenes as symbolic precursors of Christ's life. The Pauline window links events from the Old and New Testaments. Finally, the panel depicting Ezekiel's vision of the *Signum Tau* would seem to have originated in a typological Passion window. This theme, along with typological windows structured around Christ's infancy, seem to have been particularly popular in this period.²⁶

21. The window at Canterbury was part of a series of windows allegorizing the life of Christ, the earliest of which is dated to the 1170s. The lost Good Samaritan window has been dated by Caviness to the early thirteenth century, but it may have been conceived earlier. See M. H. Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury* (London: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 139–143.

22. The connections between the diagrammatic forms of stained-glass windows and medieval diagrams in other media (especially manuscripts) have gone largely unexplored. On medieval diagrams generally, see, for example, Michael Evans, "The Geometry of the Mind," *Architectural Association Quarterly* 12, no. 4 (1980):33–55.

23. C. Manhes and J.-P. Deremble, *Le vitrail du Bon Samaritain: Chartres, Sens, Bourges* (Paris: Centurion, 1986).

24. See C. G. Hughes, "Visual Typology in Early Gothic Art, 1140–1240" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2000), pp. 104–159 and Kemp (see note 17), pp. 42–88.

25. See L. Grodecki, *Les vitraux de Saint Denis: étude sur le vitrail au XIIe siècle* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1976) and *Etudes sur les vitraux de Suger à Saint-Denis (XIIe siècle)* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1995).

26. Typological Passion windows, sometimes known as Redemption or New Alliance windows, seem to have been rather common at this time. Remnants of an early example (dating to before

Both types of windows concern themselves with salvation—with the necessity of Christ's coming into the world and the necessity of his death, as prefigured in the Old Testament, and the resulting benefits for humanity. The same can be said of the typological windows of the Good Samaritan. With this shift in subject matter to a parable text comes a new range of emphases that nevertheless mesh with the broader concerns of the typological windows of this period.

The Good Samaritan window at Sens is remarkable for its blending of diagrammatic and narrative elements, its organizational clarity, and its faithfulness to typology as an organizing principle. Unusual for glass at this time, the story reads from top to bottom, emphasizing the "fall" of the story's nameless traveler and his status as a symbol of a humanity in need of salvation. The episodes from the parable are depicted along the central axis of the window, with the story's typological complements radiating around them. At the top of the window in an almond-shaped wedge is an image of Jerusalem, inscribed CIVITAS IHERUSALEM and serving as a geographical anchor, the starting point of the traveler's itinerary (fig. 1). From here, three diamond-shaped panels relate the narrative. In the first, the traveler is attacked and stripped by thieves. In the second, a priest and a Levite flank the injured traveler but do nothing (fig. 2). In the final scene, the Samaritan delivers the wounded man to the innkeeper and pays him for his troubles (fig. 3).²⁷

Surrounding each of these three narrative scenes are typological ensembles. Each diamond is supplemented by four petals with familiar biblical events. The attack on the traveler is paired with scenes from the Fall (God instructing Adam and Eve, their eating of the fruit, their shame, and the expulsion from Paradise). The indifference of the priest and the Levite is complemented by scenes of Moses and the Israelites (Moses and the Burning Bush, Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh, the

1147) survive at the cathedral of Châlons-en-Champagne. Later examples can be found at Orbais (ca. 1200), Chartres (shortly after 1200), Bourges (around 1210), Rouen (from the 1220s), Le Mans (ca. 1235), and Tours (ca. 1250); a typological window at Lyon of about 1215–1220 mixed Passion imagery with some infancy imagery. Interestingly, four of these windows (Orbais, Le Mans, Tours, and Lyon) occupy places of honor as axial windows in their churches' east ends. Beyond the typologizing of Passion imagery, typological windows structured around Christ's infancy survive at Laon (ca. 1210–1215), Troyes (ca. 1220), and Saint-Quentin (ca. 1220–1225).

27. In what follows, I look beyond the original lesson of the Good Samaritan parable, namely love of one's neighbor. On the lesson of the parable for one medieval viewer, see Kemp (note 17), pp. 71–72.

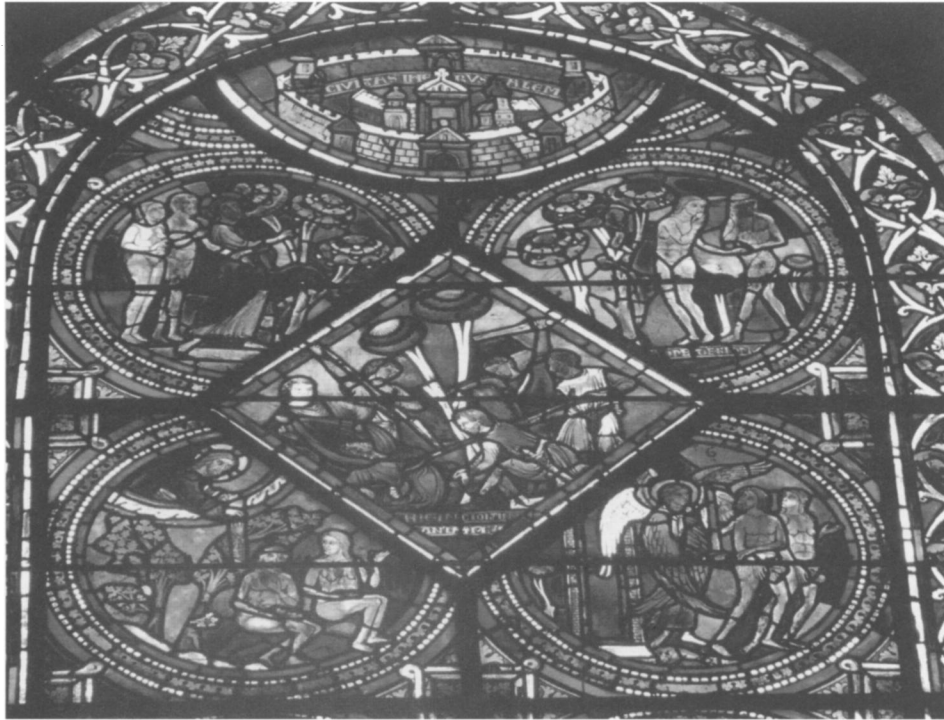


Figure 1. Sens cathedral, Good Samaritan window (ca. 1210), top section. Photo by the author.

Brazen Serpent, and the Golden Calf). Finally, the scene of the Samaritan delivering the traveler to the innkeeper is surrounded by scenes of Christ's Passion (Pontius Pilate's condemnation, the Flagellation, the Crucifixion, and the Holy Women at the tomb).

The first of the three typological clusters draws on an exegetical commonplace, namely that the traveler can be read as a symbolic Adam.²⁸ We find such a gloss as early as Origen in the third century.²⁹ This notion is repeated by Ambrose, Augustine, Isidore, Bede, and other medieval exegetes. Origen notes that the Jerusalem from which the traveler departs can be read as Paradise (an idea found repeatedly in the exegesis). In a typological reversal noted by exegetes as early as Ambrose, the traveler is stripped of his clothes while Adam and Eve equate nudity with shame, something seen in the

window at Sens.³⁰ For many exegetes, the traveler's lost clothing represents the loss of innocence and the ensuing mortality that is the punishment for the Fall. As a result, the traveler and Adam and Eve experience a kind of exile beyond the garden/Jerusalem. Ambrose is among the earliest to mention this idea.

The traveler also represents humanity more generally; like Adam he is a *homo lapsus* or fallen being. Again, this reading is as early as Ambrose; exegetes regularly refer to the traveler as both a symbolic Adam and a symbol of the *genus humanum*. Such a reading is signaled in the Sens window by the inscription "homo" beneath the traveler in the scene at the center of the window (fig. 2). Writing around the very time of this window, Raoul Ardent (d. ca. 1200?) says that the parable represents the ruin of the human race ("ruina generis humani"), linking the attack on the traveler once again to the Fall.³¹

28. On the exegesis of the parable, see R. Roukema, "The Good Samaritan in Ancient Christianity," *Vigiliae Christianae* 58, no. 1 (2004):56–74 and S. L. Wailes, *Medieval Allegories of Jesus' Parables* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 209–214.

29. Origen, *Homélies sur S. Luc* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1962), pp. 400–410.

30. *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844–1864), 15:1718.

31. *Ibid.*, 155:2046–2047 (Homilia XXIX. Dominica decima tertia post trinitatem). On Raoul Ardent, see *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 7 (1994):1231–1233.

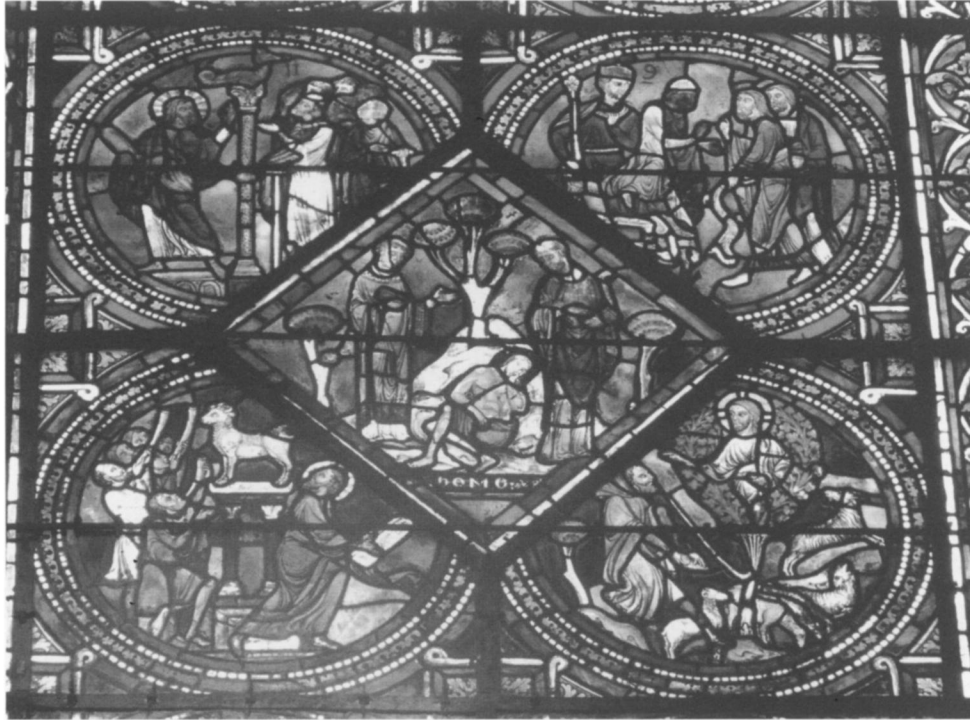


Figure 2. Sens cathedral, Good Samaritan window (ca. 1210), middle section. Photo by the author.

Raoul also notes that the parable allegorizes the “inadequacy of the law.”³² This is conveyed in the window by linking the priest and the Levite, who pass by the injured traveler, to Moses, Aaron, and the Israelites (fig. 2). Again, exegesis provides the precedent for this structuration. As early as Origen there was a belief that the priest and the Levite represented the law and the prophets and that they were unable to cure humanity of the injuries of the Fall.³³ From the eighth century exegetes such as Paul the Deacon begin to evoke Moses (as a symbolic Levite) and Aaron (as a symbolic priest) when glossing the parable.³⁴ Thus, their presence in the window is not surprising, but beyond the inadequacy of the law, the choice of scenes also stresses the role of free will and personal conduct within the Christian economy of salvation. Thus, Moses may represent the inadequacy of the law, but he is also singled out for his personal relationship with God. This is conveyed in the panels

that depict the Burning Bush, in which Moses is called by God, and the Brazen Serpent, when Moses shows his care for the Israelites. By contrast, the cluster’s other two scenes stress disregard for Moses’ authority. Moses is shown with Aaron before Pharaoh and the Israelites are shown worshipping the Golden Calf. Both scenes remind the viewer of the consequences of disobeying divinely sanctioned authority.³⁵

The final clustering of scenes juxtaposes the Samaritan’s care for the traveler with scenes of Christ’s Passion (fig. 3). As Raoul Ardent notes, this section of the story concerns itself allegorically with Christ’s mercy.³⁶ As early as Origen, the inn of the parable was said to symbolize the Church, a notion echoed in virtually every major exegesis of the parable.³⁷ For Augustine, the inn

32. Raoul: “insufficiencia legis” (*Patrologia Latina* [see note 30] 155:2046).

33. Roukema (see note 28), p. 62.

34. *Patrologia Latina* (see note 30), 95:1390.

35. It is more difficult to understand the ordering of these four scenes, which does not follow the organizational scheme used in the rest of the window, where the typological scenes read from top to bottom and from left to right in chronological order. Read in this manner, one encounters first the Brazen Serpent, then Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh, then the Golden Calf, and finally the Burning Bush.

36. *Patrologia Latina* (see note 30), 155:2046.

37. Roukema (see note 28), p. 62.

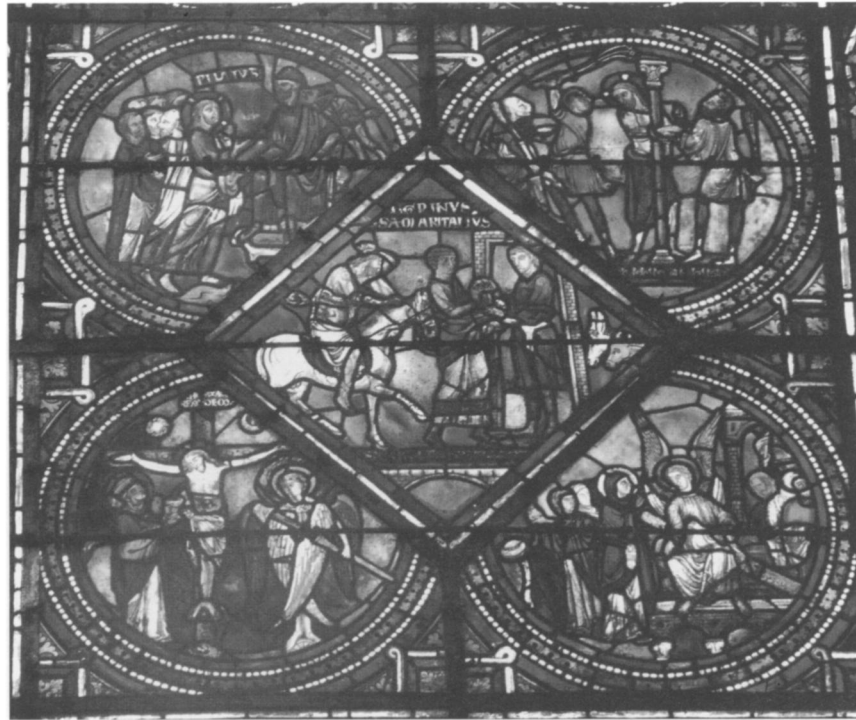


Figure 3. Sens cathedral, Good Samaritan window (ca. 1210), bottom section. Photo by the author.

as church represents the place where travelers (*viatores*) seek nourishment after their journeying (*peregrinatio*).³⁸ This notion is echoed by Bede and Rabanus Maurus as well as several other exegetes.³⁹ If the inn is a church, who then is the innkeeper? Medieval exegetes gave a variety of answers. For some, he represents Paul (for example, for Augustine); for others he is the Apostles (for Isidore and Rabanus); for Bruno of Segni (d. 1123) he is a bishop; and for Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173) he represents the prelates. Overall, then, the traveler's arrival at the inn as the final image in the window marks humanity's incorporation into the church through Christ who becomes one's guide to salvation.

How might a geographical reading of the window extend the exegetical interpretation just sketched here? In simple terms, the window constructs a geography of exile into which the faithful viewer is sutured.⁴⁰ That

such a general reading is historically plausible can be argued from several points. First, there is the widespread understanding, going back to Ambrose, that the traveler represents a humanity in need of salvation. He is an everyman for the medieval theologian. The medieval viewer is thus expected to identify with the traveler in his state as a modern-day Adam or *homo lapsus*.⁴¹ This would seem to be the overarching motivation for choosing this parable for monumental visualization at Sens and elsewhere—it addresses the human condition in a broad sense. To consider the geography of exile in the window, then, is to ponder human nature as perceived by artists and writers during the Middle Ages.

This mapping of the parable begins with two simultaneous exiles—the traveler's journey away from Jerusalem and Adam and Eve's loss of paradise (fig. 1). The entire window is thus animated by these two losses

38. *Patrologia Latina* (see note 31), 35:1340 (Augustine, *Quaestiones Evangeliorum*).

39. *Ibid.*, 94:469 and 110:450.

40. I take the term "suture" from film theory, in which it is used to refer to the manner in which a viewer is enfolded into cinema's complex visual field and constituted as a viewing subject. See S. Heath,

"On Suture," *Questions of Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981), ch. 3 (originally published as "Notes on Suture," *Screen* 18, no. 4 [1977–1978]:48–76) and K. Silverman, *The Subject of Semiotics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 194–236.

41. This notion emerges as early as Ambrose (*Patrologia Latina* [see note 30], 15:1718).

and by the implicit desire for return that they initiate. The intimate, subjective level of the story (that of a single, fictional protagonist with which the viewer is meant to identify) is interwoven with larger soteriological issues, for as scholars have noted, the window is also structured around a tripartite division based on one of the most fundamental understandings of time in the Middle Ages, namely the division of time into ages before the law (*ante legem*), under the law (*sub legem*), and under grace (*sub gratia*).⁴² These divisions correspond to the three typological protagonists of the window, namely Adam, Moses, and Christ. Each, it can be argued, is shown on a journey of exile and displacement. Adam, along with Eve, is ejected from paradise. Moses with Aaron and the Israelites must wander the desert in search of the Promised Land, and Christ must suffer exile on earth.

Thus, through its typological structure the window opens up a multidimensional space of journeys in which the viewer is implicated. The traveler's journey is contrasted with his typological equivalents. The city of Jerusalem, which should be read here both literally and allegorically, represents a space of desire and stability, neat and enclosed, but also empty and suggestive of loss (fig. 1). Descending from that emptiness, that foreclosed space, the main panels depicting the parable create a path through the wilderness that is life on this earth for the Christian *viator*. The scene of the robbery gestures toward the dangers experienced by the soul; it contains no fewer than five attackers. As Manhes and Deremble have noted, the trees in the background tie the scene to paradise and to the Genesis narrative that it anchors, but these trees also signify that we are in the wilderness.⁴³ The following scene, where the traveler is ignored by the worldly-looking priest and Levite, has an even greater feeling of desolation to it (fig. 2). Similar trees are present, but now the traveler sits on a nearly barren hill, almost nude, like Job on his dung heap—an image of abandonment. The final scene in the parable shows the end of the road with the traveler and the Samaritan approaching the inn (fig. 3). Here we see only its threshold. The traveler has not reached his intended destination (Jericho) nor has he returned to his point of origin (Jerusalem). The narrative, in this sense, refuses closure, suspended at the entrance to the inn, where a new beginning (in theory) awaits.

As we have seen, the Sens Good Samaritan window is rigorously, even relentlessly, allegorical. One is encouraged to read everything here as a sign against the other signs in the windows. The style of the window itself might be said to support this interpretation. Elizabeth Pastan has noted that the window is notable for its “ponderous classicism” and that its “figures are robust and three-dimensional, but their number and groupings are carefully controlled for balance and legibility.”⁴⁴ Perhaps this style might be thought of as a narrative mode that pulls the window away from the everyday. As such, a socially engaged reading of the window and its ideology is especially challenging. This is a window about humanity's displacement after the fall and as such is not necessarily rooted in the specifics of life in northern France ca. 1200. Nevertheless, a more specifically historical reading may be possible. How might we map the story back onto the medieval world?

First, it is worth recalling that even though the parable itself is a framed narrative, a story told by Christ, the other scenes are not. They are historical. As such, for medieval Christians, they were real events, having occurred at specific times and at specific places. These places—Eden, Egypt, the desert of Sinai, Jerusalem—all still existed for the medieval viewer. They were a part of the world ca. 1200, even if the figures in the story were of the past. They thus existed in the present within the window's economy of exile, loss, and desire. All, in a sense, were lost territories, Eden to sin and the rest to the Muslim world.⁴⁵ This reality undergirds the geographical construction of loss at work in the window. It serves to remind the viewers that this narrative relates back to their own existence in the physical world, a world created by God and marked by human history, most recently by the shifting fortunes of the Crusades. In a second and more general sense, the window resonates with the spaces of the cathedral itself. The inn stands as a virtual surrogate for the physical space of the cathedral.⁴⁶ The specific exilic subjectivity of the traveler arriving at the inn is thus homologous with the Christian standing in the ambulatory looking at the window. Both inn and church stand as a refuge or way station.

44. *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (New York: Grove, 1996), vol. 28, p. 417.

45. On representations of Eden, see Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

46. In this respect, its meaning is almost diametrically opposed to the inns/taverns that sometimes appear in windows depicting the parable of the Prodigal Son. On these windows see note 6.

42. Kemp (see note 17), p. 68.

43. Manhes and Deremble (see note 23), p. 80. See also A. Hosoda, *Darstellungen der Parabel vom barmherzigen Samariter. Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte* 13 (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2002), pp. 57–58.

The spare, diagrammatic style found in the Sens Good Samaritan window is contrasted by other narrative windows from the period ca. 1200. In the latter, there is regularly an abundance of figural and scenic detail that is remarkable given the challenges of glass painting as a monumental medium. In turning to these narrative windows, we will see that many of the issues evoked in the previous analysis receive heightened treatment. The windows in question, which are most often hagiographic, take as their overarching theme the problematic pursuit of the sacred in the world. They reckon with this world in sharp specificity.⁴⁷ We shall see that the resulting cognitive maps interweave the allegorical with the literal in a fashion worthy of the most subtle of medieval exegetes.

The relics of St. Stephen window at Bourges cathedral (ca. 1210)

As a second example, I turn to another popular figure in glass, namely St. Stephen. In this case, I focus on a window in the north side of the ambulatory of Bourges cathedral that deals with the discovery and history of his relics (figs. 4–6).⁴⁸ Stephen is the patron saint of the cathedral, and there are several windows dedicated to him there. A second one, in one of the ambulatory chapels, depicts his life.⁴⁹ He is also featured on one of the cathedral's five western tympana, where his martyrdom is depicted (ca. 1240). It is the history of his relics, however, as depicted in window 15, that will be of concern here.

As the first Christian martyr, Stephen was enormously popular during the Middle Ages. According to Acts 6–8, he was one of the first deacons of the Church and

became known for preaching and religious debate. This led to his being summoned before the Sanhedrin for questioning as a subversive. His responses so outraged the people that they took Stephen outside the walls of Jerusalem and stoned him. Because he was considered one of the first members of the Christian clergy, the Church actively promoted his cult in the Middle Ages. He was, for example, extremely popular as a dedicatee of churches. Among the cathedrals of France, those at Auxerre, Bourges, Châlons-en-Champagne, Metz, and Sens (among others) remain dedicated to him.⁵⁰

According to church tradition, Stephen's relics were discovered only in 415 by a priest named Lucian, who was informed of their whereabouts in a dream by the Pharisee Gamaliel (cf. Acts 5:34 and 22:3).⁵¹ Once exhumed, Stephen's remains were installed in a basilica at Sion, near Jerusalem. Christian tradition also tells of two separate translations of the relics, one to Constantinople and another to Rome. These different events were commemorated in separate feasts during the Middle Ages. At Auxerre, for example, where the cathedral was dedicated to Stephen, there is evidence that at least from the fourteenth century there were four annual feasts dedicated to Stephen.⁵² December 26 marked his birth. August 3 commemorated the discovery of his relics. November 18 celebrated the transfer of his relics to Constantinople, while May 6 marked the translation to Rome. The first of these feasts was widespread and dates to the early Christian period, while the August 3 *inventio* was nearly universal in Western Europe by the central Middle Ages. The November 18 and May 6 translation feasts, however, were rare and celebrated, it would seem, in very few churches.

The evidence from Bourges suggests that the first three of these feasts were celebrated in the liturgical calendar.⁵³ There is no surviving evidence (that I know of)

47. For a consideration of notions of naturalism in the art of this time, see M. H. Caviness, "'The Simple Perception of Matter' and the Representation of Narrative, ca. 1180–1280," *Gesta* 30, no. 1 (1991):48–64.

48. CVMA window 15. See *Les vitraux du Centre et des Pays de la Loire. Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981), vol. 2, p. 173. For the cathedral in general, see Y. Christe and L. Brugger, *Bourges: la cathédrale* (Saint-Léger-Vauban: Zodiaque, 2000). A charter of 1214 indicates that services in the choir were fully functioning. The windows have thus been dated to ca. 1210–1215. On the chronology of the cathedral's construction, see R. Branner, *The Cathedral of Bourges and Its Place in Gothic Architecture* (New York and Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1989), pp. 18–67 (esp. pp. 55–56).

49. CVMA window 10. Stephen also appears in window 102 of the lower clerestory. Here, he is paired with Archbishop Guillaume de Donjon, who died in 1209 and was canonized in 1218. Stephen also appears in windows 200 and 215 of the upper clerestory.

50. E. Ewig, "Die Kathedralpatrozinien im Römischen und im Fränkischen Gallien," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 79, no. 1 (1960):40–46; R. Bauerreiss, *Stefanskult und frühe Bischofsstadt. Veröffentlichungen der bayerischen Benediktinerakademie*, Band II (Munich: Bayer. Benediktinerakademie; Abtei St. Bonifaz, 1963).

51. See *Patrologia Latina* (note 30), 41:806–822 for the relevant texts.

52. See, for example, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 17316 (a fourteenth-century missal for Auxerre). See as well L. Weigert, *Weaving Sacred Stories: French Choir Tapestries and the Performance of Clerical Identity* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 86–88.

53. See, for example, Bourges, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 16 (a fourteenth-century breviary) and ms. 18 (a fifteenth-century breviary).

to suggest that the May 6 feast commemorating Stephen's translation to Rome was celebrated there. In a sense, each of these three Stephen feasts celebrated at Bourges is commemorated in the glass and sculpture. The feast of Stephen's birth on December 26 is commemorated in the window and tympanum treating his life, while the feasts of his relics' *inventio* and *translatio* are represented in the relics window which considers these events as they unfolded in Jerusalem and Constantinople.⁵⁴ The cultural geographies seen in the art are thus reinforced through the commemorative practice of liturgy.

The relics window is the longest surviving medieval cycle on this theme, containing nineteen scenes. The first nine concern the relics' discovery in Jerusalem. All but the last of these scenes is paralleled in the liturgical readings for the August 3 feast. However, the situation is different for the window's second half, which depicts the translation of the relics to Constantinople. Here, the window complements the liturgy. The readings for November 18 set the stage for the translation but do not narrate it. The window then picks up where the liturgy leaves off.

The window enacts a remarkable cultural geography, linking the city of Bourges (with its cathedral dedicated to the protomartyr and its relics within) to Jerusalem and Constantinople and their communities of the faithful. The window opens with the priest Lucian (identified by name) sleeping in his church at Caphargamala, near Jerusalem (scene 1, now misplaced) (fig. 5, bottom scene). In this scene, Lucian is visited in a dream by Gamaliel (also identified by inscription), who is described in the book of Acts as Paul's teacher. Gamaliel's role is to show Lucian the way to Stephen's remains, which had been lost to the faithful. In the liturgy for the *inventio*, it is noted that Gamaliel wore a white tunic and gold shoes and that he carried a golden rod (in the window it seems to be flaming). Elsewhere in the text for the feast the description is amended, noting that Gamaliel wore white with precious stones marked

with the sign of the cross.⁵⁵ In the window, however, Gamaliel wears a red cross, a costume associated in this period with holy warriors and occasionally Templars (more on this to follow).⁵⁶

The next two panels constitute a story within the story, namely Gamaliel's exposition to the dreaming Lucian (fig. 4). According to Gamaliel, Stephen's body was abandoned outside the walls of Jerusalem after his stoning and left in the wilderness to be devoured, but miraculously it was not (scene 2). In the window, Stephen's corpse is surrounded by wild animals while his soul is shuttled to heaven by an angel. Gamaliel and his son subsequently bury the body (scene 3). In the liturgy for this feast, it is explained that Gamaliel was also buried with Stephen along with Nicodemus and Abibas, respectively Gamaliel's nephew and son. After revealing this, Gamaliel tells Lucian to go to Jerusalem and report the information to his bishop.

Inspired by Gamaliel's revelation, Lucian goes with two followers to the saintly bishop of Jerusalem, John, who is shown enthroned before the entrance to his church (scene 4). In the next scene (5, the lunette on the right), Lucian meets with a hermit named Migetius, who has also received a nighttime visitation from Gamaliel. Only with his help is Lucian able to find the burial site (scene 6, to the left). In this scene Lucian and his workmen unearth a coffin. Once the site is verified, the bishop and his clergy arrive to supervise the transfer of the relics from their wilderness tomb to a large *châsse* (scene 7; fig. 4, bottom center). In the next scene (8; fig. 5), the reliquary is shown installed at the church of Sion, with the bishop leading others in prayer before it. Miracles then occur. The next scene (9) shows the poor and the sick, out of doors, with a miraculous rain pouring down from heaven after a protracted drought.

In scene 10 the narrative turns to the translation of Stephen's relics to Constantinople, an event celebrated on November 18 in Bourges. The readings for that day explain that a senator named Alexander had built an oratory in Jerusalem into which Stephen's relics were transferred. After Alexander's death, per his wishes, he was buried in the same tomb as Stephen. Eight years later, Alexander's widow Juliana wished to return to her home in Constantinople with the remains of her

54. Before the year 1200, there is some artistic interest in the story of Stephen's relics. From around 1155, both the cathedrals of Le Mans and Châlons-en-Champagne contain windows featuring the iconography. See J. Lowden, "An Image in the Three-Volume *Bibles moralisées*, a Parallel in the Ambulatory Glass at Bourges Cathedral, and the Cult of the Relics of Saint Stephen: Exploring Possible Connections," in *Tout le temps du veneour est sanz oyseuseté: Mélanges offerts à Yves Christe pour son 65ème anniversaire*, ed. C. Hediger (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 229–248. On relics windows, see M. B. Shepard, "The Relics Window of St. Vincent of Saragossa at Saint-Germain des Prés," *Gesta* 37, no. 2 (1998):258–265.

55. "... gemmule auree habentes intrinsecus sancte crucis signum" (see Paris, BnF ms. lat. 1255, folio 304v) (breviary for the use of Bourges, thirteenth century).

56. For a selection of medieval images of the Knights Templar, see the illustrations in H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History* (Stroud: Sutton, 2001).

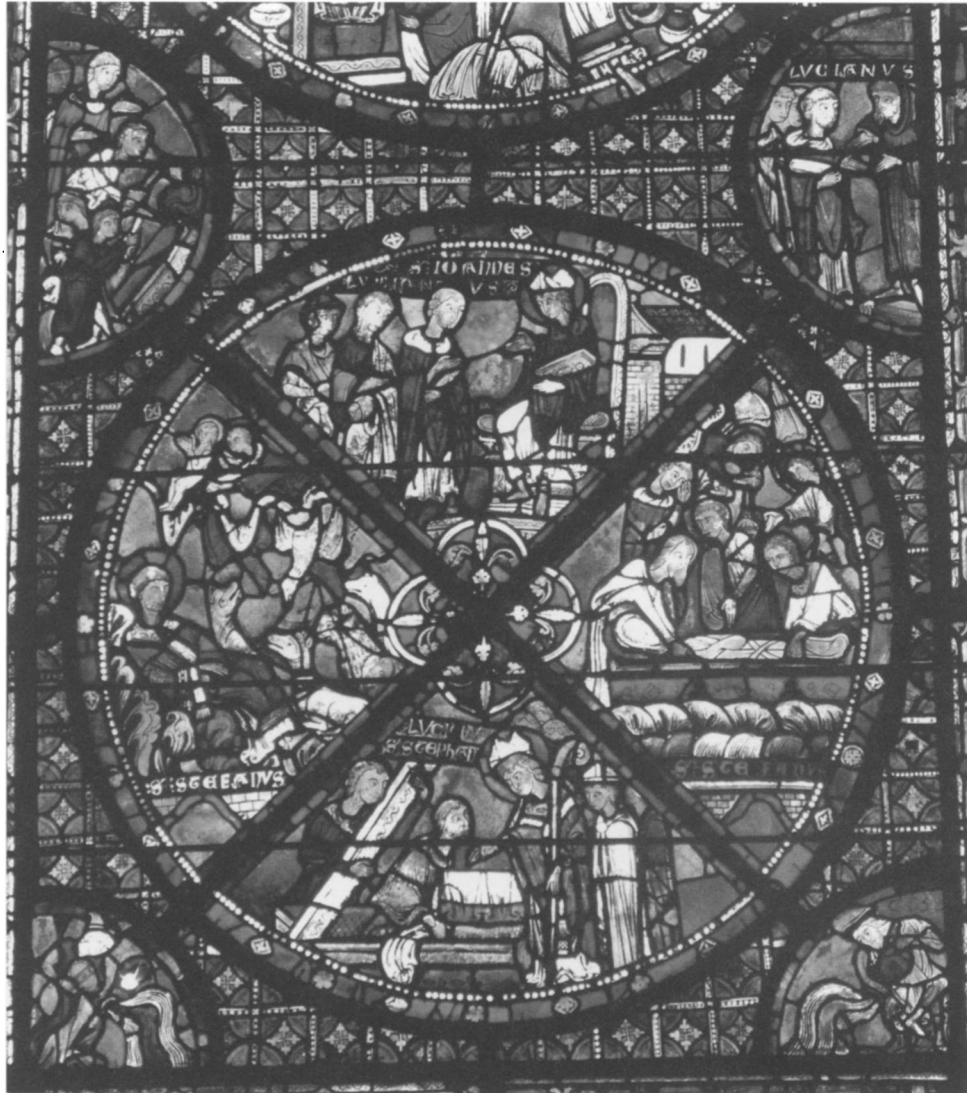


Figure 4. Bourges cathedral, Relics of St. Stephen window (ca. 1210), bottom section. Photo by the author.

husband. At first, the bishop of Jerusalem, Cyril, was sceptical, but he eventually agreed to allow Juliana to exhume the remains of her husband. The Bourges Breviary readings end there, and the window continues the story. Scene 10 is set in Jerusalem in the oratory founded by Alexander and shows Juliana attempting to exhume the remains of her late husband. However, even with Bishop Cyril supervising, the participants inadvertently remove Stephen and not Alexander. Juliana leaves the city with the protomartyr's remains; and the pilgrims to Stephen's shrine are bereft; this is depicted in two small lunettes (scenes 11–12; fig. 5, top).

As Juliana journeys to Constantinople, demons attack the sacred remains, but divine forces rally to their defense (scene 13; fig. 6). Arriving at Ascalon, the journey to Constantinople continues on board a ship (scene 14). Danger again faces the travelers. In the written version of the story, a violent storm is calmed by the protomartyr himself who appears to the passengers after they invoke him in their prayers. The devil then sends demons in ships to attack the travelers and Stephen's remains. Scene 14 shows an angel defending the travelers by sinking two of the demons' ships. When the Byzantine emperor learns from Eusebius, the bishop

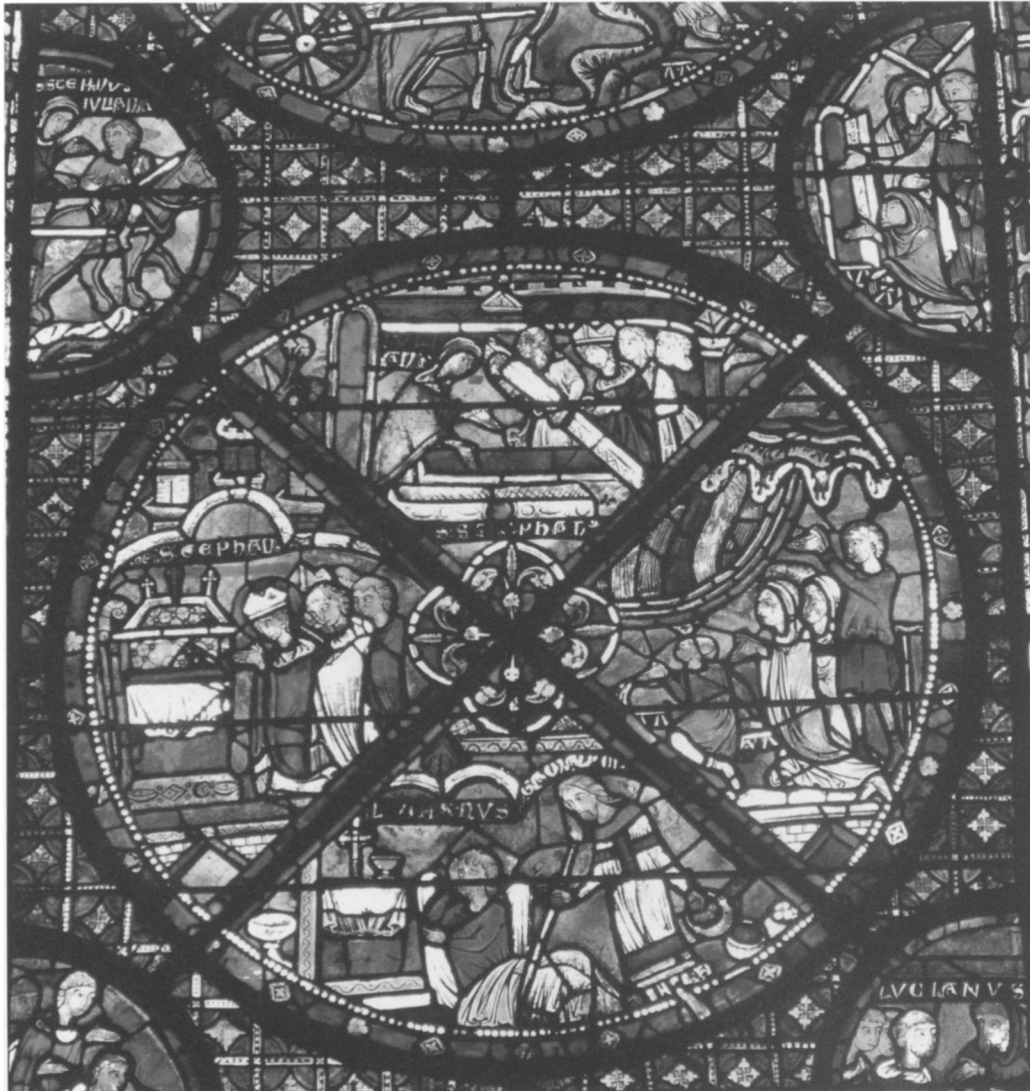


Figure 5. Bourges cathedral, Relics of St. Stephen window (ca. 1210), middle section. Photo by the author.

of Constantinople, that Stephen's remains have arrived in the city, Juliana is summoned for an audience (scene 15). At her suggestion, the emperor sends a Jew to the ship to read the Hebrew titulus on the sarcophagus. The emperor's emissaries go with him and report that the remains are indeed Stephen's. The emperor then orders the bishop to go with the people and bring the remains back to the palace. The bishop loads them onto a cart, but the mules stop inexplicably at a place called Constantianus (scene 16). They are beaten to move them forward but (according to the text) miraculously one of the mules speaks to the crowd saying that the place

where they have stopped is to be Stephen's new resting place.⁵⁷

At its apex, the window diverges from the written version of the story. In the latter, the bishop informs the emperor of the unexpected halt of the relics. In the window, however, a messenger performs this role (scenes 17–18). The emperor seems to instruct the figure before him who is perhaps reporting what has happened to the relics. In the written version of the story, the

57. *Patrologia Latina* (see note 30), 41:822.

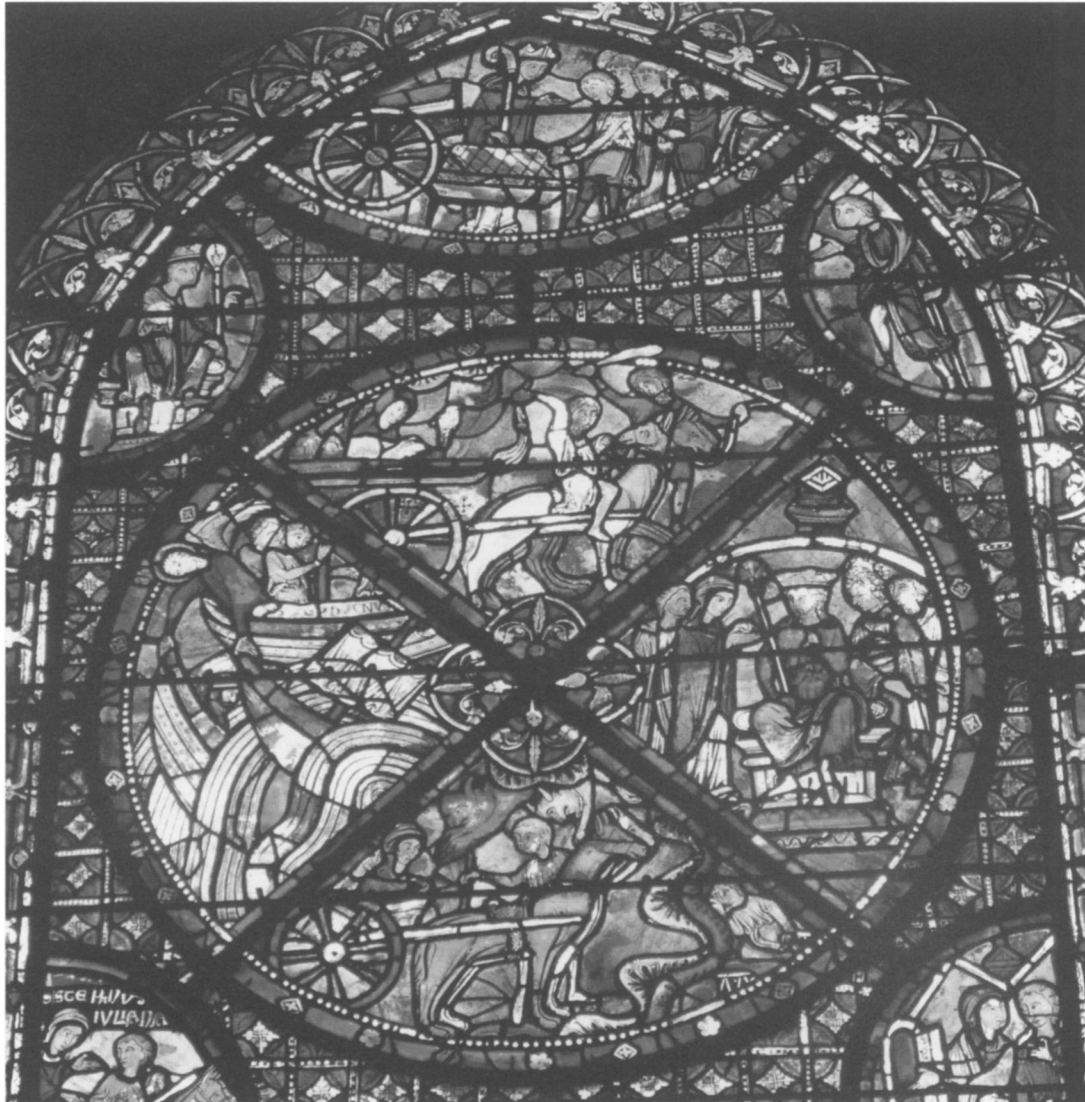


Figure 6. Bourges cathedral, Relics of St. Stephen window (ca. 1210), top section. Photo by the author.

emperor tries sending more animals to the site but they fail to budge Stephen's remains. The bishop therefore establishes a church on the site. The final scene shows the *châsse* being removed from the cart.

In considering the visual narrative of this window, how might a geographical reading go beyond the narrative summary offered above? Let us begin with Gamaliel, the ghostly emissary whose appearance initiates the process of recovery of the relics (fig. 5, bottom). How are we to read his costume? The texts that inspired the liturgy for Stephen's *inventio* note the dazzling white of his garments, but nowhere do

they mention the prominent red cross that dominates his costume. Similar images are found frequently at this time. They are used, in general, for military saints, as well as in some images of the Knights Templar.⁵⁸ Gamaliel is thus pictured as a soldier of Christ, not at

58. On the use of this motif with images of St. George, see N. Morgan, "The Signification of the Banner in the Wilton Diptych," in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, ed. D. Gordon, L. Monnas, C. Elam, introd. C. M. Barron (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1997), pp. 179–188; for an image of St. George defending Jerusalem, see W. Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1996), pl. XVI.

all surprising given his association with the first of all martyrs. But this choice would seem to suggest more. As a soldier of Christ and a resident of Jerusalem, should we not interpret Gamaliel in his appearance here as a kind of crusader?

Consider the chronology. The earliest windows that we have on the theme of Stephen's relics are found at Châlons-en-Champagne and Le Mans and date from just after 1150, a time when Jerusalem was controlled by the Crusaders.⁵⁹ Yet by the time of the making of the Bourges window early in the thirteenth century, Jerusalem had been lost—although recovery attempts continued into the thirteenth century. The dialectic of recovery and loss that animates the window thus mirrors the history of the Holy Land in this period.⁶⁰ The window partakes of what might be called a cartographic anxiety, a sense of the temporariness and fluidity of borders and the ease with which they are ruptured.⁶¹ And even though the historical narrative of Stephen's *inventio* dates to the early Christian period when the Holy Land was firmly within the realm of Christendom and even though the earlier Stephen relics windows date from a moment of historical optimism, the window at Bourges is not quite the same thing. As the narrative is retold here, its meaning is altered. Although Gamaliel wears no armor, he is a still a *miles Christi* who comes to plead for more careful attention to Jerusalem's sacred landscape, one that is endangered by forgetting (the wilderness in which Stephen is abandoned visualizes that forgetting).⁶² Gamaliel embodies this anxiety of loss. The entire visual structure of the window is built upon an insistent rhythm of loss, followed by recovery, which is repeated from Rome to Constantinople. Gamaliel, as the window reminds us, has had to rescue Stephen twice, first after

his martyrdom and second in the fifth century after Stephen's remains are lost again. Even though Gamaliel and his companions initially provide the protomartyr with a proper burial, the site is not maintained in the community's collective memory. Thus the image of Stephen's exposed body in the second scene folds back onto the narrative connecting narrative past and present (fig. 4). The work of recovery and enshrinement that takes place in scenes 3 and 4 thus offers a model of devotional vigilance and a key aspect of the kind of cognitive mapping that regularly took place in the Middle Ages. The sacred past left its traces on the landscape of Christendom, but the map formed by these traces had to be continuously reinscribed through physical means (the translation and enshrinement of relics, for example) as well as through devotion at key sites.

Like Jerusalem, Constantinople was also an anxious site in the Western imagination in this period.⁶³ The Byzantine Emperors' general resistance to papal authority in the period since the official separation of the Latin and Orthodox Churches in 1054 may help to explain the Bourges window's *denouement*. The emperor is shown not only being forced to bend to divine will filtered through the bishop, but the subversion of his intentions comes via the intermediary of a humble messenger. The gauging of the political import of these scenes is, however, hampered by chronology. It is generally believed that the windows in the Bourges ambulatory were completed by 1214 as there is a document from that year indicating that services in the cathedral's choir were fully functioning.⁶⁴ However, the windows may have been planned as early as the 1190s when construction began on the cathedral. These dates straddle the events of the Fourth Crusade in which the city of Constantinople was conquered by the Latins in 1204 (and which led to large numbers of relics coming into the West).⁶⁵

Despite these anxieties, the presentation of the cities of Jerusalem and Constantinople in the window is, in general, positive. Bourges, as a site of veneration of the protomartyr, is linked typologically to the two cities. In medieval terms it is a new Jerusalem, a

59. It was around this time that a window devoted to Crusading was installed at Saint-Denis. See E. A. R. Brown and M. Cothren, "The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: Praeteritum enim recordatio futurorum est exhibitio," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986):1–40.

60. The Charlemagne window at Chartres has also been interpreted as an endorsement of the crusading movement at the start of the thirteenth century. See C. Maines, "The Charlemagne Window at Chartres Cathedral: New Considerations on Text and Image," *Speculum* 52, no. 4 (1977):801–823.

61. I take the term "cartographic anxiety" from D. Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1994).

62. One might argue that the window itself and its associated liturgies work to ensure that such a forgetting does not take place in the present. On the confluence of liturgy and memory, see M. Fassler "The Victorine Sequence Music: An Art of Memory," in *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993), pp. 290–321.

63. On relations between Byzantium and the West in this period, see J. Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London: Hambledon and London, 2003).

64. See note 43.

65. See J. Durand, "La quatrième croisade, les reliques et les reliquaires de Constantinople," in *1204 la quatrième croisade: de Blois à Constantinople & éclats d'empire*. (*Revue française d'héraldique et de sigillographie* 73–75 [2003–2005]), ed. Inès Villela-Petit (Paris, 2005):55–78.

new Constantinople. Thus its links to Jerusalem and Constantinople are direct and unbreakable—as long as the cultural memory of Stephen is maintained by the actual bishop, clergy, and faithful (as in the window). In this sense, the window creates what Deleuze and Guattari call a rhizome or a nonhierarchical network, a network in which each node is equidistant from every other node in the system.⁶⁶ Thus, in this case, Bourges, Constantinople, and Jerusalem become equals through the presence of the relics of the protomartyr. The presence of such sacred objects along with liturgical practice and works of art could transcend the vagaries of human history and the impasses it creates. Constantinople and Jerusalem thus were made virtually accessible to the medieval mind. They were given a powerful psychological presence which could be said to extend beyond typological figuration to the creation of a space that is best thought of as non-Euclidean. The window offers a cartographic fantasy, sanctifying Bourges and equating it with two of the most sacred cities of Christian history.

Interwoven with this discourse of place are discourses of faith, community, and authority. Only through the clerics Lucian, Migetius, and John are Stephen's relics recovered and enshrined. Through this act of recovery, a community of faith is created, one that extends beyond the walls of the church and reaches out into Christendom. The prayers of the clergy lead to miracles (fig. 5). A network is created linking the shrine to the surrounding community. Yet these ties are fragile. They can be ruptured either through neglect or accident. The Jerusalem community's connection to the divine is lost as Stephen's remains go missing when Juliana mistakenly takes him from his shrine in Jerusalem. In the window, Juliana is the embodiment of rupture and imbalance. She is linked to the road and to a liminality not capable of sanctification.⁶⁷ The cartographic anxiety subtending the narrative dovetails with the exilic geography of the Good Samaritan window. Journeys are constructed as potentially dangerous. It is connections to the sacred that matter, not the physical connections of roadways and journeys. What this suggests is that the cultural geography of the medieval world depended on both the

memorial and the performative—that mapping was as much cognitive as it was physical and historical and that Christendom's cognitive map required continual vigilance and renewal, lest it lose ground to oppositional elements.

If the Good Samaritan window staked out a model of subjectivity for the Christian pilgrim in this world, then the relics of St. Stephen window offers models of community, ones in which various identities coexist harmoniously within a sacred geography. Bishops rule over clergy. Clerics serve communities. The laity are devout subjects of the Church. Place and subjectivity intertwine in ways that react to the complex changes and conflicts that marked the development of cities at this time.⁶⁸

Finally, it must be noted that the office of bishop is given a central place in this discourse of community. Three bishops are shown in the window—John, Cyril, and the Eusebius—and they are arguably more prominent in the window than in the corresponding texts. The window's final image belongs to a bishop who is also shown as curator of the protomartyr's relics, just as the bishop of Bourges becomes the final, unpictured link in the episcopal chain animating the window. Along with the relics of Stephen themselves, the central axis of the window features these three bishops who act as *fulcra* between the divine and the worldly.

The bishops here are shown repeatedly constituting communities. For the residents and clergy of Bourges, this discourse of episcopal duty and privilege may have invoked the bishops of their own city, particularly the legendary first bishop of Bourges, Ursin, whose image can be found throughout the cathedral and who was celebrated in two annual feasts in the diocese. In an era when bishops often found themselves at odds with their chapters, with local elites, or with the people of their sees, windows such as this one offered a model of the ideal bishop, one meant as much to discipline as to celebrate the medieval bishop as a caretaker of sanctity in the fallen world of the medieval city.⁶⁹

The St. Lubin Window at Chartres (ca. 1200–1210)

This discourse of urban sanctity is even more complex in the nave window at Chartres cathedral dedicated to one of that city's most important local saints, Lubin

66. G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. B. Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), pp. 3–25.

67. On medieval notions of place and sanctity, see J. Howe, "Creating Symbolic Landscapes: Medieval Development of Sacred Space," in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe*, ed. J. Howe and M. Wolfe (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), pp. 208–224.

68. For a discussion of this relating to art history, see B. Abou-El-Haj (note 19).

69. In this respect it should be noted that cathedral chapters, rather than bishops themselves, were most likely in charge of the iconography of their churches.



Figure 7. Chartres cathedral, St. Lubin window (ca. 1200–1210), bottom section. Photo by the author.

(figs. 7–11).⁷⁰ Lubin was bishop of Chartres during the sixth century, and by the thirteenth century his life was commemorated there in a variety of ways. At the cathedral itself there are two windows depicting him, the nave window to be discussed here and an oculus above it in the clerestory; a lost window in the south transept also once depicted him with Saints Michael and Martin.⁷¹ Two feast days were dedicated to Lubin at Chartres, March 14 and September 16, the latter celebrating his translation. The Chartrain ordinary specifies that the clergy were to process to the reliquary of the saint on both of these feasts.⁷² This reliquary was perhaps kept within the canons' enclosure in the choir and apparently contained a portion of Lubin's skull.⁷³

70. CVMA window 45. See *Les vitraux du Centre et des Pays de la Loire* (see note 48), p. 34; Williams (see note 17), pp. 82–95; Kemp (see note 17), pp. 200–217; C. Manhes-Deremble with J.-P. Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres: étude iconographique. Corpus vitrearum, France, Études 2*. (Paris: Léopard d'or, 1993), pp. 52–56, 76–78, 102–107, 216–220, 366–367; C. and J.-P. Deremble, *Vitraux de Chartres* (Paris: Zodiaque, 2003), pp. 136–142.

71. Y. Delaporte and E. Houvet, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres* (Chartres: É. Houvet, 1926), pp. 206–207.

72. Y. Delaporte, *L'ordinaire chartrain du XIIIe siècle: publié d'après le manuscrit original*. Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, *Mémoires* 19 (Chartres: Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, 1953), pp. 151–152, 177.

73. Williams (see note 17), pp. 87–88.

Lubin's sarcophagus was located in the crypt.⁷⁴ Outside of the city, there was a Benedictine priory dedicated to him and known as St.-Lubin-des-Vignes ("St. Lubin of the Vines"), a church seemingly sited among vineyards. The cathedral clergy processed to this church during Rogation week.⁷⁵ As we shall see, the window depicting Lubin's life intertwines hagiography and geography by associating him closely with the production of wine.

This window is one of the most challenging of its time, interweaving several seemingly distinct narrative registers. First, there is the life of the saint, which is presented as a journey of spiritual discovery in fourteen scenes (figs. 8–11). This pictorial vita is clustered around three striking roundels that depict the movement of wine from the countryside to the cellars of a church to its ultimate use in the Mass (figs. 8–10). Supplementing this at the bottom of the window are three enigmatic scenes that seemingly bear no relationship to the life of the saint (fig. 7). One is set outside a tavern where a man is offered some wine. Above this scene is a puzzling double scene of an aristocratic-looking man with an entourage riding away from a church outside of which stands a group of laymen and three clerics. Finally, the

74. C. Lautier, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: reliques et images," *Bulletin monumental* 161, no. 1 (2003):39.

75. Delaporte (see note 72), pp. 125–126.

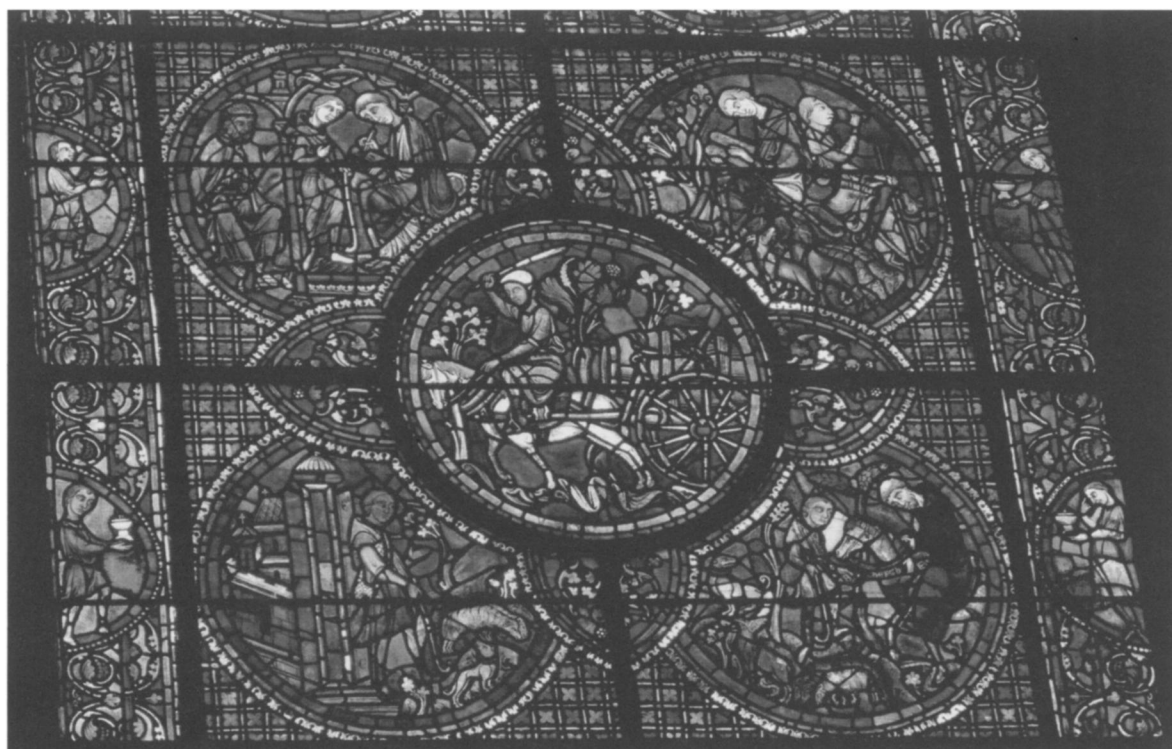


Figure 8. Chartres cathedral, St. Lubin window (ca. 1200–1210), first section of the saint's life. Photo by the author.

window has a border that is decorated with images of men holding cups as well as a seated woman holding a purse. The figures in the border and the tavern scene at the window's bottom may very well be the donors, traditionally identified as local tavern keepers.

The window's hagiographic narrative begins in Poitiers with Lubin's humble origins as a young shepherd who thirsts for knowledge and is mentored by a traveling monk, who teaches him to read by first writing the alphabet on a belt when there is no tablet available (fig. 8, lower half). Encouraged by his son's desire for learning, Lubin's father finds a teacher to continue his son's education, and Lubin is able to study while tending his flock. Soon after, Lubin leaves home to become a monk himself. From here, the window shows three scenes of Lubin conversing and then traveling with two monastic companions (fig. 9). These scenes are visually nonspecific but are seemingly meant to convey Lubin's lengthy search for knowledge and sanctity. The written life of the saint goes into great detail about these travels.⁷⁶

76. For the textual version of his life, see *Patrologia Latina* (note 30), 88:549–562.

The next cluster of scenes is more specific (fig. 10, left side). Here, Lubin is shown with the monk Avitus, who becomes his most important spiritual advisor (the feast of this saint was celebrated at Chartres on June 17). Avitus is shown in one scene giving a set of keys to Lubin (fig. 10, upper half). This represents Lubin's installation as cellarer of Avitus's monastery in the region of Le Perche, near Chartres. The window thus emphasizes Lubin's embrace of both the active and contemplative lives, serving not only God but the institutional church. This dual vocation culminates with his ascent to the bishopric of Chartres. It is here that the window ends, not with the death of the saint as is typical of hagiographic windows, but with Lubin shepherding the people of the diocese and working miracles (fig. 10, right side, and fig. 11).⁷⁷ In this sense, the bottom two scenes of the window bookend the final two scenes of the *vita*. In the former, the aristocracy is shown with a dismissive attitude toward the people and the church (fig. 7), while Lubin is shown

77. It would seem that the window depicts a miracle in which Lubinus exorcises demons from a suburb of Chartres. In the window he is seemingly blessing the water for the exorcism. See *ibid.*, 88:549.

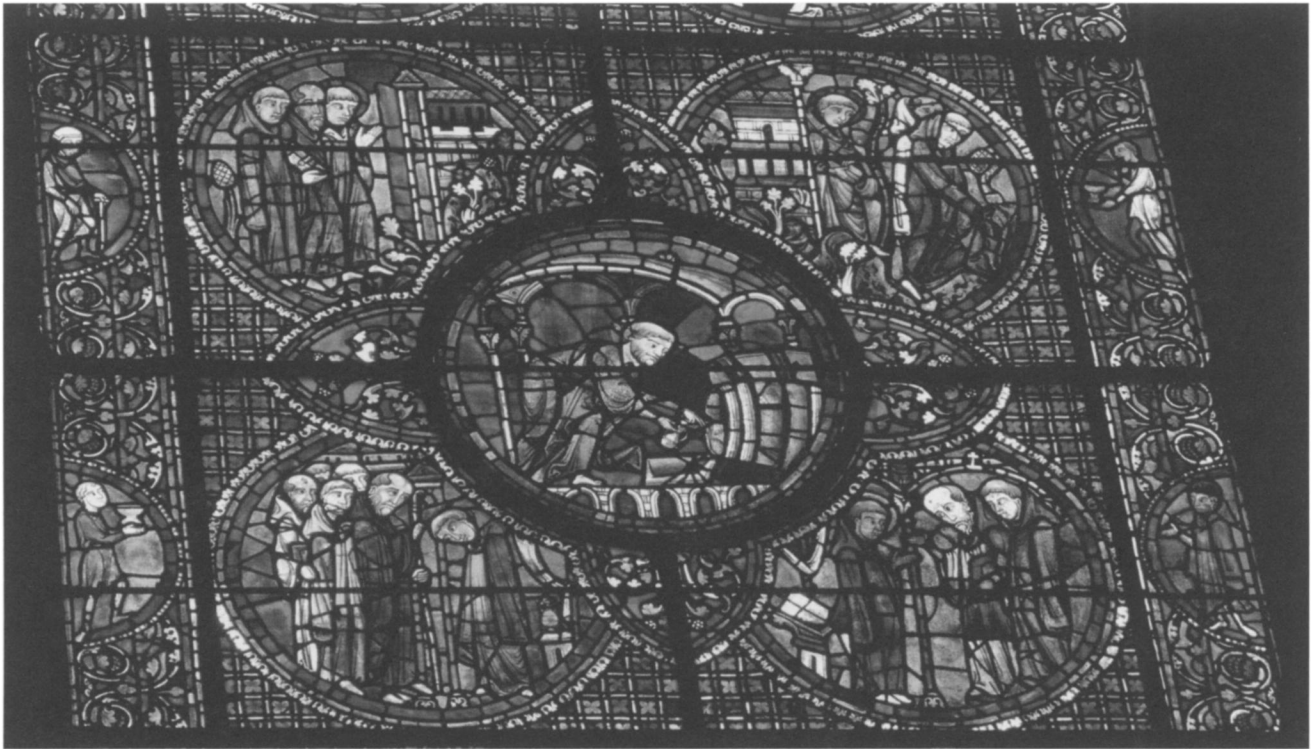


Figure 9. Chartres cathedral, St. Lubin window (ca. 1200–1210), second section of the saint's life. Photo by the author.

in the latter as their protector and leader (fig. 11). It is an assertion of the primacy of the sacred within the realm of the everyday.

In terms of structure, the window must be considered both typological and anagogical. By paralleling Lubin's life with the journey of wine from the countryside to its use in church, the window compels a typological reading as it moves from worldliness to sanctity in three distinct sections, representing Lubin's life as shepherd, then monk, then bishop. As Kemp has noted, the window also embraces an anagogical structure. In the three main sections of his pictorial *vita*, Lubin moves from worldliness to sanctity via the classic triad of before the law, under the law, and under grace (*ante legem, sub legem, sub gratia*). This was the same structure used to tell the story of the Good Samaritan at Sens.⁷⁸

In addition to its complex spatial organization, the Lubin window can be said to embrace both past and present. It commemorates the life of the saint but it is also concerned fundamentally with the diocese

that Lubin served. It recognizes that both bishop and cathedral are firmly planted in the material world. Part of the cultural work of the window, then, is to perform a virtual sanctification of that world at a time of increasing secularization by intertwining religion and economy, as well as sanctity and its social emplacements. As a result, the visual narrative of the window is structured around a specific cultural geography. The narrative traverses the countryside, the city, the cathedral, and the diocese. The seemingly incongruous tavern scene at the window's base testifies to the marriage of religion and commerce that existed in episcopal cities in the central Middle Ages. At Chartres, for example, we know that by ca. 1200 various institutions controlled the city's taverns.⁷⁹ The Benedictine monastery of St. Père had jurisdiction over one, as did the local count and countess over others. It is possible that the cathedral may have also rented space to one or more taverners; no direct evidence, however, survives from this time. The cathedral chapter certainly owned lands on which

78. Kemp (see note 17), p. 202.

79. Williams (see note 17), pp. 77–81.

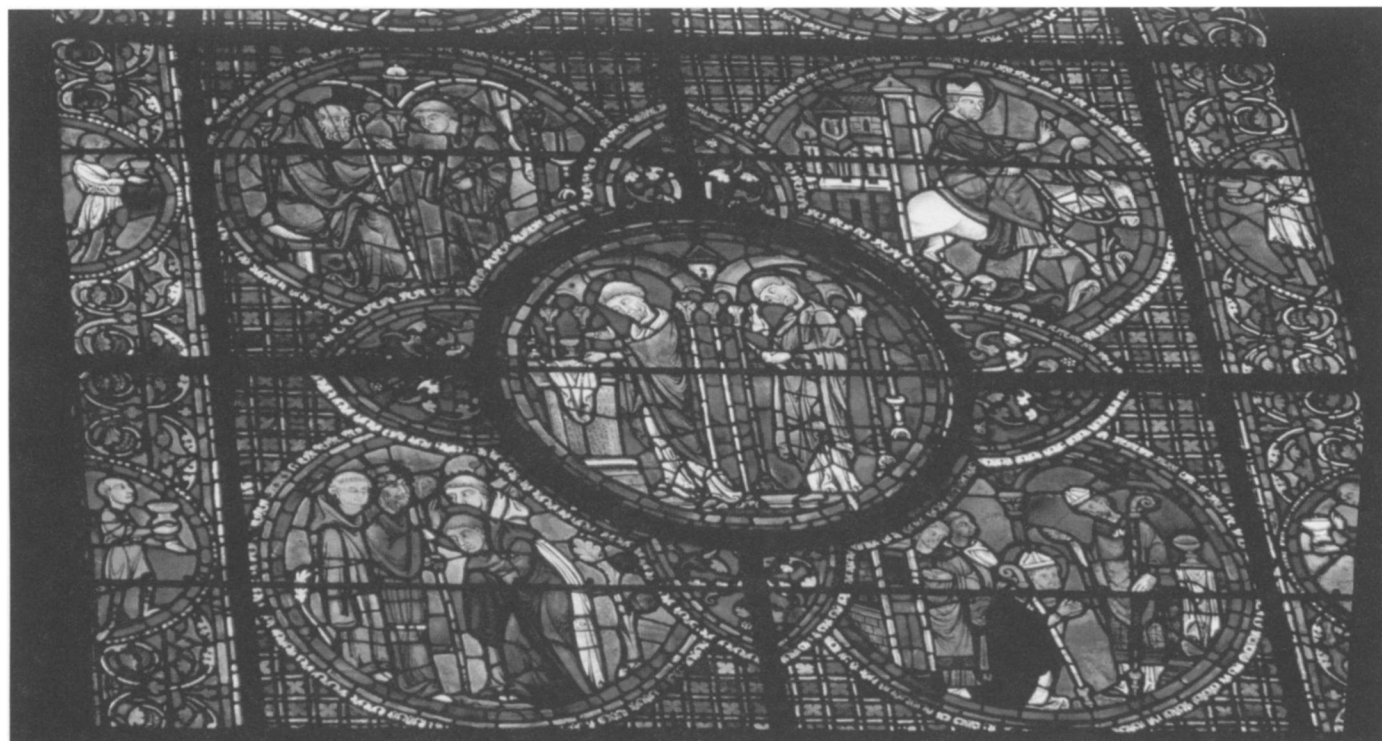


Figure 10. Chartres cathedral, St. Lubin window (ca. 1200–1210), third section of the saint's life. Photo by the author.

grapes were grown and thus had a vested interest in the wine trade.

Williams has considered this intermingling of spiritual and worldly economies in her work on the glass at Chartres. For her, the tavern at the base of the Lubin window represents specifically a tavern controlled by the cathedral selling wine produced in its vineyards (fig. 7).⁸⁰ In this line of thinking the wine in the window is the chapter's wine—made from grapes grown on their land, stored in their storehouse, and sold in their tavern within the shadow of the cathedral. The cupbearers in the margins recall for Williams the fact that tenant farmers on the chapter's lands were required to make payments in kind, often in the form of wine.⁸¹ In this reading the men in the border are subjects of the cathedral and its clergy and not necessarily donors. Such a reading, however, seems overly specific given the complex design of the window. Nevertheless, the cultural geography of

the diocese was clearly a key concern of the window's designers and/or patrons.⁸²

The complex, multi-dimensional structure of the window, however, resists any definitive reading. Instead, the viewer is presented with a collection of scenes set into a complex armature. The window requires what Madeline Caviness has called a "confabulation"—a weaving together by the viewer of discrete scenes into a coherent story.⁸³ One must bring together these stories

82. Kemp (note 17) has seen the window as voicing lay concerns. He has called the work the greatest expression of the power of the donor in Gothic glass. In his interpretation, the donors not only haunt the window's perimeter but their product (wine) dominates the central roundels as well. It is the triumph of what he terms "vernacular narrative." Colette Manhes and Jean-Paul Deremble in *Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres* (see note 70) have considered the window as an extended meditation on the characteristics of the ideal bishop. Lubin is seen as an embodiment of chastity, learning, and temperance.

83. M. H. Caviness, "Biblical Stories in Windows: Were They Bibles for the Poor?" in *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence*

80. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 80–81.



Figure 11. Chartres cathedral, St. Lubin window (ca. 1200–1210), last section of the saint's life. Photo by the author.

of the saint's life, of the diocese, of its people, and of the wine trade. The window is as much about social space as it is about one particular person or point of view. It embodies the world of the city and its taverns, as well as the countryside and its agriculture. It evokes idealized relations between clergy and laity. In short, it presents a picture of the growing secularization of the medieval world and a wishful attempt to reverse that secularization while simultaneously acknowledging its existence. It weaves a narrative of the sacred that is firmly embedded in the city and just as importantly in the diocese, for city and countryside are irrefutably linked at both the beginning and the end of the story. These discourses of the sacred and the secular run throughout the stained glass of this period, but they are perhaps juxtaposed most powerfully here. Both the wine and the saint achieve transcendence but to do so the secular, the worldly, must remain in place. The viewer, in turn, is suspended, as an eternal pilgrim, shuttled between the two poles.

At the hagiographic level, the window is structured by a geography of desire. Lubin is presented as a searcher. He searches for knowledge and learning. He also searches for sanctity and a place within the institutional structure of the church. He goes from shepherd to monk to deacon to priest to bishop. He is driven by a desire for both the active and contemplative lives joined together in an ideal fusion. As such, he is very much in the world;

and as a saint in the world, he transforms it. By ending the window with a miracle story, Lubin's desire to serve is ultimately mapped onto the diocese, sanctifying it and claiming it for the cathedral, in at least a spiritual sense.

Lubin himself was something of a geographer. It is said that he established the borders of the diocese in their definitive form.⁸⁴ Many of the places mentioned in the medieval account of his life are located within the diocese of Chartres (Avitus's monastery in Le Perche, a hermitage at Charbonnières, a monastery at Brou, the parishes of the diocese). This interest in the world is foregrounded in the window via a stress on Lubin as both a monastic and diocesan administrator. He is shown exiting the city on an episcopal visit near the window's apex (fig. 10). City and country are thus intimately linked in the window, both agriculturally and ecclesiastically speaking. The city with its cathedral becomes one node among many in a spatial network. In terms of literal depiction, the city of Chartres is only shown when the bishop exits it to administrate the diocese. It thus exists as a nearly absent presence here. In a sense, the bishop substitutes for the city in the window.

on Literature and Art, ed. B. S. Levy (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992), p. 124.

84. Williams (see note 17), p. 93.

In addition to this linking of bishop and city, Lubin is also, of course, equated with wine in the window. By the Gothic period, Chartres was surrounded by vineyards.⁸⁵ The *Miracles of Notre-Dame de Chartres*, which dates to the early thirteenth century, boasts of the region's wines, although the historical record suggests there was little diffusion beyond local markets.⁸⁶ Lubin's feast day in mid-September likely fell during the annual wine harvest. As Williams has noted, the window may be a defense of the cathedral's participation in the material economy of wine within the diocese.⁸⁷ As such, it represents a kind of *apologia* for the rise of the tavern as one of the key urban institutions of medieval Europe, even as it posits the church as its symbolic opposite, as in the *Miracles*.⁸⁸ Thus, spiritual economy absorbs, transforms, and justifies market economy within the medieval urban landscape.

Ultimately, the window offers a broadly conceived geography of the sacred. It considers the progress and the presence of the holy in the material world. Here I find myself in agreement with Williams. The window does seem to articulate the chapter's desire to cast a sacred net over the diocese—it interweaves contemporary realities with the life of a key local saint. Beyond that, however, I wish to avoid reading too much historical specificity into the unnamed figures seen in many of the window's panels. To do so would be to assume that medieval clerics could control the reception of images. In a window as complex as this, they surely could not.

How then might we generalize about the externalized cognitive maps of the medieval world that emerge from this study of three of the more sophisticated visual narratives from the opening years of the thirteenth century? The maps in question might best be thought of as palimpsests, cartographies characterized by multiple reinscriptions. The reinscriptions in question are the traces of history, of individual human actions, and of the attempts to transform the fallen, exilic world into a collection of sites where connections to the sacred could be made. These connections are reinforced through the linking of individual sites into rhizomatic networks joined together via sacred objects such as relics and via religious acts such as liturgy and private devotion. In this sense, the externalized cognitive maps produced by

medieval people must be seen as both heteroglossic and fluid, heteroglossic in the sense that as palimpsests they incorporate and revise a variety of preexisting texts and fluid in that they have the potential to inspire new maps. Complicating this is the presence of a perceived anxiety about the fragility of the sacred and its susceptibility to rupture and erasure. The role of the visual in this discourse of sanctity and space might be said to be preservative. The narratives in question reinforce these particular non-Euclidean cognitive maps of the medieval world, urging the viewer to act, to maintain these ties to the sacred through individual and collective action. In all of these ways, then, we might reconceptualize the notion of a cognitive map as elaborated by Jameson and his respondents, considering it more akin to a process rather than an autonomous object.

85. A. Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes, XIe–XIIIe s.* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1973), pp. 222–237.

86. See *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, ed. P. Kunstmann (Ottawa: Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1973), miracle 20.

87. See note 17.

88. On taverns in glass, see Guest (see note 6).