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The Visual Hagiography of St. Margaret of Antioch in
Thirteenth-Century Stained Glass in Europe

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The Visual Hagiography of St. Margaret of Antioch in
Thirteenth-Century Stained Glass in Europe

By

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B.A., Southern Methodist University, 2005
M.A., Tufts University, 2008

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An abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
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Abstract

The Visual Hagiography of St. Margaret of Antioch in
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By Ashley Laverock

This dissertation is a study of the visual hagiography of the early Christian virgin martyr St. Margaret of Antioch in thirteenth-century stained glass in Europe at the French cathedrals of Chartres and Auxerre, the French church of Saint-Julien-du-Sault, and the Church of St. Margaret at Ardagger Abbey in Austria. These monumental narratives depicting Margaret's life have not been seriously studied. Research on Margaret focuses on her textual *vitae* and on her role as a patroness of childbirth. In contrast, I demonstrate that conceptions of Margaret in thirteenth-century stained glass are more nuanced, tailored to each unique context through the window's location within the church's sacred topography and through its relationship with surrounding imagery and the church's liturgical rituals. Each window expresses a different version of Margaret's life through the scenes selected to depict her story and through the use of diverse narrative strategies. Furthermore, stained glass involved both the laity and clergy in its production, reflecting institutional identity and programmatic thinking, while also drawing on lay patrons. I argue that the patrons of these windows used these highly visible visual narratives to claim Margaret for their own purposes, including promoting the saint's local relics, highlighting the saint's intercessory efficacy, encouraging devotion to the saint, or conveying moral models for viewers.

Chapter one examines the history of Margaret's cult and *vitae*. Chapter two discusses the historiography of the cult of saints and stained glass. Chapter three considers the Margaret window at Auxerre, which cleaves closely to her textual *vita* and emphasizes her tortures and the witnesses to her suffering. A consideration of the nearby Margaret window at Saint-Julien-du-Sault reveals the significance of multiple depictions of Margaret within close geographic proximity. Chapter four examines the window depicting Margaret at Chartres, where she appears less like a virgin martyr and more similar to the confessor saints surrounding her through an omission of her tortures. Chapter five discusses the window of Margaret at Ardagger Abbey. At Ardagger, Latin verse inscriptions surrounding each scene of Margaret's life offer commentary on and interpretations of the imagery that encouraged prolonged contemplation on the significance of Margaret's passion.

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Kreise ob dem Wiener Wald des Erzherzogtums." *Jahrbuch der Kaiserl. Königl. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* 2 (1857): 105-109. Diagram: Ashley Laverock.

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Appendix II

Figure A.1. Sebastiano del Piombo, *Martyrdom of St. Agatha*, 1520, oil on panel, 127 x 178 cm. Galleria Palatina (Palazzo Pitti), Florence. From: Web Gallery of Art, http://www.wga.hu/html_m/s/sebastia/martyrdo.html.

Introduction:

Who is St. Margaret of Antioch?

Beatings, burnings, dragons, and demons mark the *vitae* of the late third-century

virgin martyr Saint Margaret of Antioch. Born to a pagan father, Margaret devoted

herself to Christ at a young age, was pursued by a licentious pagan magistrate, was

imprisoned, tortured, and ultimately beheaded for her unwavering faith.[1] Margaret is

distinguished from other early Christian martyrs by her visceral struggles with the devil,

first in the form of a dragon, which she defeats with the sign of the cross, and second in

the form of a demon, which she beats and interrogates. Throughout the Middle Ages,

Margaret's life was reiterated in numerous texts and depicted across a wide variety of

media, from extensive narrative representations in monumental stained glass and wall

painting to images of the saint in free-standing sculptures and manuscript illuminations

(Figs. I.1-I.2).

At the apex of Margaret's cult, which is evident, in particular, in fifteenth-century

England, Margaret was best known as an intercessor in childbirth, making her cult

particularly favorable to women, and was easily identified in visual imagery by an

accompanying dragon. As Margaret's life was disseminated in texts and images often

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[1] On themes within the life of a virgin martyr see Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley, C.A.: University of California Press, 2001), 59-61, 90-128; Karen Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997), 5-10. Margaret's *vitae* are found in Greek, Latin, and numerous vernacular translations throughout the Middle Ages. See chapter 1.

intended for women, her cult became the cultural property of vernacular women.[2] It is the late medieval English cult of Margaret that has received the most scholarly attention to date because of the wealth of extant evidence, including numerous vernacular editions of her life, painted and carved images, church dedications, relics, sermons, and hymns.[3] More widely, Margaret was also named among the Fourteen Holy Helpers, a group of saints who could aid in any situation and were particularly popular in late medieval Germany.[4] Margaret's fifteenth-century cult, however, offers a distilled version of the multivalent saint found within continental stained glass two centuries earlier.

During the first half of the thirteenth century monumental narrative stained glass cycles depicting Margaret's life were completed in Gothic churches and cathedrals across Europe as part of their sophisticated iconographic programs. Margaret is found in extant thirteenth-century stained glass windows at the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres, the

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[2] Recent research on Margaret's late-medieval cult includes considerations of the role of women. See Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Wendy Larson, "The Role of Patronage and Audience in the Cults of Sts. Margaret and Marina of Antioch," in *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women, and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*, eds. Samantha J. E. Riches and Sarah Salih (New York: Routledge, 2002), 23-35; Wendy Larson, "Who is the Master of This Narrative? Maternal Patronage of the Cult of St. Margaret," in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages,* eds. Mary Carpenter Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003), 94-104; Katherine J. Lewis, "The Life of St. Margaret of Antioch in Late Medieval England: A Gendered Reading," in *Gender and Christian Religion*, ed. R. N. Swanson, Studies in Church History 34 (Woodbridge: The Ecclesiastical History Society by The Boydell Press, 1998), 129-142; Catherine Pearce, "The Cult of St. Margaret of Antioch," *Feminist Theology* 6.16 (Sept., 1997): 70-85; Jane Tibbetts Schulenberg, *Forgetful of Her Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500-1100* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998), 229-30; Wace, *La vie de sainte Marguerite*, ed. Hans-Erich Keller (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1990).

[3] Margaret's English cult grew extensively during the thirteenth century after her feast was established as a great feast by the Council of Oxford in 1222, indicating that she would have been widely celebrated. Juliana Dresvina, "The Cult of St. Margaret of Antioch in Medieval England," PhD Dissertation (University of Cambridge, 2007), 153; Pearce, 70.

[4] The Fourteen Holy Helpers included saints Acacius, Barbara, Blaise, Catherine of Alexandria, Christopher, Cyriacus, Dionysius of Paris (Denis), Erasmus (Elmo), Eustace, George, Margaret, Pantaleon, Vitus, and Giles. The collective was venerated on the eighth of August. Rosemary Guiley, *The Encyclopedia of Saints* (New York, N.Y.: Checkmark Books, 2001), 109-110; Bonaventure Hammer, *The Fourteen Holy Helpers* (Rockford, I.L.: Tan Books and Publishers, 1995), 2-3.

cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Auxerre, the church of Saint-Pierre at Saint-Julien-du-Sault, and the church of St. Margaret at Ardagger Abbey in Austria.[5] These windows, which are the subject of this dissertation, feature versions of Margaret's life that are distinct from the late medieval conception of Margaret, which focuses primarily on Margaret's encounter with the dragon and the benefits she provided to women in particular. The goal of this study is to recover the nuances of Margaret's life and significance as expressed within these stained glass windows and created through the intersection of medium, iconography, and context.

The Late-Medieval Margaret, the Dragon, and Childbirth

The dragon is key to understanding Margaret's significance within the late medieval cult of saints, as it called to mind her *passio* and reminded viewers of her functions as an intercessor in childbirth (for lay women) and as a protector of chastity (for religious women). By the fifteenth century, the image of Margaret and the dragon was more prolific than images of her tortures or beheading. The dominance of this motif is confirmed in John Mirk's early fifteenth-century sermon on the life of St. Margaret in which he breaks away from his retelling of Margaret's encounter with the dragon to explain that, "wherever Margaret is painted or sculpted, she has the dragon under her feet and a cross in her hand."[6] In visual images across all media Margaret is accompanied by

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[5] Margaret appears elsewhere within thirteenth-century stained glass including at Troyes Cathedral, Saint-Germain-lès-Corbeil, Clermont-Ferrand Cathedral, Strasbourg Cathedral, Fécamp Abbey, Dol Cathedral, and Châlons-sur-Champange Cathedral. Most of these examples date to the end of the thirteenth century and many retain only fragments, are highly restored, or are in desperate need of restoration.

[6] "Herefore where that Margaret is peyntyd oythur corvon, scheo hath a dragon undyr hur fette and acros in hur hande, schewing how be the vertu of the Cross scheo gate the victory of the fende." John Mirk, "Sermon on St. Margaret," in *Middle English Legends of Women Saints,* ed. Sherry L. Reames (Kalamazoo, M.I.: Medieval Institute Publications, 2003), 141.

the creature and often bursts from the dragon or crushes him underfoot. For example, a

fifteenth-century English tracery light and a sixteenth-century French limestone sculpture

depict Margaret calmly emerging from the dragon (Figs. I.1-I.2).[7] In an alternate version

of this motif, seen in a painting from around 1330 in the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula in

South Newington, Oxfordshire, Margaret stands above a dragon, which cowers at her feet

(Fig. I.3).[8]

Margaret's encounter with the dragon was also enacted in processions and

pageants. In the civic triumph of Margaret of Anjou, in which she was received as regent,

in Coventry on September 14, 1456, the producer John Wedurby included Margaret

slaying the dragon ("and there was made a grete dragon and seynt Margaret sleyng hym

be myracull").[9] Similarly, the church of St. Margaret at Westminster held a yearly

parochial feast in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries that included a play

which reenacted Margaret's battle with the dragon.[10] For medieval audiences, such

performances brought the saint's interaction with the dragon to life.

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[7] The gathered folds of Margaret's garment in the French sculpture draw attention to her midsection, perhaps reminding women of her role as an intercessor in childbirth.

[8] Margaret's encounter with the dragon is also found within her late-medieval *vitae*, in slightly different forms. Margaret is swallowed whole, not quite swallowed, or only her head is consumed, depending on the text. See Mirk, 141, lines 38-42. "hys mowth was on / hyr heved, and wolde han swalowod hyr, and hys tong laste doun to hur hele. And / whan he hadde hyr alle in hys mowth, Margrete made a syne of the cros, and / anone the dragon braste on-sondyr." John Lydgate, "The Lyfe of Seynt Margarete," in *Middle English Legends of Women Saints,* ed. Sherry Reames (Kalamazoo, M.I.: Medieval Institute Publications, 2003), 155, lines 285-294. "First of alle, he swolwed in hir hede, / And she devoutly, hirself to socoure, / Gan crosse hirself, in hir mortal drede; / And by grace, anoon or she toke hede, / The horrible beste, in relees of hir peyne, / Brast assondre and partyd was on tweyne." Dresvina, 100-101.

[9] Hardin Craig, ed. *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays,* Early English Text Society, extra series, 87 (London: Boydell and Brewer, 1957), 114; Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 315.

[10] Katherine L. French, "Maidens' Lights and Wives' Stores: Women's Parish Guilds in Late Medieval England," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29.2 (Summer, 1998): 406, 410; Gervase Rosser, *Medieval Westminster: 1200-1540* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 272-273. Documents list purchases made for the feast of St. Margaret, including the processional dragon.

Margaret's encounter with the dragon came to be linked to her role as patron saint for women.[11] For nuns and chaste women, Margaret provided an exemplary model of perseverance through trials and temptations. She is found in texts and images made explicitly for nuns, including Osbern Bokenham's compilation of saints' lives from 1443-1447 (London, British Library, MS Arundel 327) and fourteenth-century wall paintings at the Church of St. Mary the Virgin at Tarrant Crawford in North Dorset (Figs. I.4-I.5).[12]

For lay women, Margaret's encounter with the dragon was linked explicitly to childbirth and obstetric concerns, an association that numerous scholars have considered.[13] Margaret's emergence from the dragon functioned as a kind of grotesque birth, or rather a rebirth, of the saint herself.[14] Women in labor hoped for as safe and speedy a delivery as Margaret herself experienced.[15] Medieval childbirth was a routinely

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[11] During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, women's roles in religion increased as did female readership and book ownership. Pearce, 70.

[12] For Bokenham, see A.S.G. Edwards, "Fifteenth-Century English Collections of Female Saints' Lives," *The Yearbook of English Studies, iv*.33 (2003): 135; A.S.G. Edwards, "The Transmission and Audience of Osbern Bokenham's *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*," in *Late-Medieval Religious Texts and their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. A. J. Minnis (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), 157; Lewis, "A Gendered Reading," 130-131. For Tarrant Crawford, see Jenny Bledsoe, "The Cult of St. Margaret of Antioch at Tarrant Crawford: The Saint's Didactic Body and Its Resonance for Religious Women," *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 39.2 (2013): 172; William Smith, "Fifteenth-century Psalter for Tarrant Abbey," *Cistercian Studies* 16.1 (1981): 52.

[13] Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Not of Woman Born: Representations of Caesarean Birth in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990), 10, 120-121; Juliana Dresvina, "The Significance of the Demonic Episode in the Legend of St. Margaret of Antioch," *Medium Aevum* 81.2 (2012): 192; Larson, "Patronage and Audience," 23-35; Larson, "Maternal Patronage," 94-104; Lewis, "A Gendered Reading," 129-142; Carole Rawcliffe, "Childbirth and Religion in Later Medieval England," in *Women and Religion in Medieval England,* ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2003), 100-101; Don Skemer, "Amulet Rolls and Female Devotion in the Late Middle Ages," *Scriptorium* 55 (2001): 201, 204.

[14] See medieval images of caesarian sections in Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Not of Woman Born*, 48-90. I am grateful for my discussions with Amy Ogden and Wendy Larson, who pointed out that it is important to remember that the dragon episode is not the reason for Margaret's childbirth associations but came to be linked to childbirth later.

[15] Rawcliffe, 100. As an image of rebirth or resurrection, Margaret's encounter with the dragon is similar to an episode found in bestiaries between the crocodile and the hydrus. The crocodile, who was understood to be the dragon's cousin, swallows the hydrus, who subsequently splits the creature in two, emerging unharmed. In bestiaries, this episode is interpreted as an allegory of the Resurrection. Jean-Pierre Albert, "La Legende de Sainte Marguerite," *Razo* 8 (1988): 23-25; Louise W. Lippincott, "The Unnatural History of Dragons," *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 77.334 (Winter, 1981): 12; T.H. White, ed. and trans.,

dangerous venture, which often resulted in the death of mother or child, if not both, making Margaret's connection to resurrection and redemption appropriate.[16]

Margaret's explicit protections for mothers and children are found in her intercessory prayer just before her death. In her Latin *vitae*, dating from the ninth century, Margaret ensures that no child will be born "blind, or lame, or dumb" (non nascatur infans claudus aut caecus uel mutus).[17] Wace's eleventh-century life of Margaret extended the saint's protections beyond the infant to the laboring mother herself.[18] The protection of both mother and child in Margaret's prayer is found in all subsequent iterations of her life. For example, in Nicholas Bozon's late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman life of Margaret, the saint asks God that, "the woman travailing not be injured by the child; nor may the child be born there afflicted by the devil, lame, or deaf, or dumb, or blind, or hunchbacked, or leprous."[19] Margaret's prayer in the English *Gilte Legende*, a 1438 vernacular translation of Jacobus de Voragine's thirteenth-century *Legenda aurea* (*Golden Legend*), expands Jacobus's text adding, "that bothe [woman and child] might be saued, the woman to lyff, the childe to cristendom."[20]

The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1960), 178-80. For the Latin, see M.R. James, *The Bestiary* (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1928).

[16] Rawcliffe, 93-95.

[17] Boninus Mombritius, *Sanctuarium, seu Vitae sanctorum,* vol. 2 (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1910), 195.

[18] Wace, *La vie de Sainte Marguerite,* ed. Hans-Erich Keller (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1990), 112-113, lines 643-650. "Ne seit ja nez en lur maisun / Enfes se a dreit terme nun; / Li enfes sains e entiers seit / Naturalment si cum es deit. / Se feme est en travail d'enfant, / E par besuing m'alt reclamant, / Bels sire Deus, lor fai aïe / E l'un et l'altre met a vie."

[19] Nicholas Bozon, "Life of St. Margaret," in *Three Saints' Lives by Nicholas Bozon,* trans. Sister M. Amelia Klenke (St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: The Franciscan Institute, 1947), 40, lines 261-264.

[20] Dresvina, "Cult of St. Margaret," 101-102. Margaret's name further bolsters her efficacy in childbirth contexts. Jacobus de Voragine links Margaret with the margarita, the pearl, in his etymological introduction to her life in the *Golden Legend*. Pearls were believed to staunch profuse bleeding, one possible negative outcome of childbirth. Voragine, *Golden Legend,* 368.

Margaret's protection of mothers and infants was also incorporated into her encounter with the demon, who confessed to harming mothers and their babies, by the time the early thirteenth-century Middle English version of Margaret's life was written.[21] Juliana Dresvina argued that the demon episode reiterates Margaret's connection to childbirth and relates to the *Testament of Solomon,* a Greek pseudepigraphical treatise dating to the fifth or sixth century, which explains that demons can enter the wombs of pregnant women and kill or disable the child.[22]

Margaret's association with women and children was reinforced through visual images linking her to holy mothers and scenes of childbirth. On a fifteenth-century altar-screen at St. Helen's Church, Ranworth, Margaret appears with the Virgin Mary and other daughters of St. Anne, Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome, who are counted amongst the holy family of Christ (Fig. I.6).[23] St. Anne was an important patron of mothers during the late Middle Ages for having given birth to the Virgin Mary.[24] Margaret's inclusion within Christ's fertile family strengthens her own connection to maternal themes.

Scenes of childbirth also occur within painted cycles of Margaret's life. At Battle Abbey, Margaret's birth is depicted, directed by women, in a fourteenth-century wall painting (Fig. I.7).[25] In a fourteenth-century illuminated life of St. Margaret from Italy (British Library, MS Egerton 877) the narrative closes with an image of a midwife

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[21] Larson, "Maternal Patronage," 97.

[22] Dresvina, "Demonic Episode," 193.

[23] Eamon Duffy, "Holy Maydens, Holy Wyfes: The Cult of Women Saints in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century England," in *Women in the Church: Papers read at the 1989 summer meeting and the 1900 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society,* eds. W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 195-196.

[24] Rawcliffe, 96-98.

[25] Lewis, "A Gendered Reading," 134.

bringing an infant to the mother, a literal representation of the intercessory power that

Margaret offers (Fig. I.8).[26]

Medieval medical practices across Europe even included Margaret in the birthing

process. In the fifteenth century, the Italian physician Anthonius Guainerius of Pavia

advised that women call upon St. Margaret while in labor and have her relics placed on

them, calling to mind several birthing amulets found within French contexts that contain

images of Margaret and the text of her life.[27] One late thirteenth-century amulet is found

within a "birthing kit" comprising written texts and devotional objects kept in a linen

sack and passed down through a family from the French town of Aurillac.[28] The Aurillac

amulet is composed of thirty medallions linked by parchment strips that can be folded

down into a compact square and includes an abridged versified version of Margaret's life

in the Auvergne dialect (Fig. I.9).[29] In addition to Margaret's *vita*, the amulet includes

instructions for use (carry it on the body for protection), readings from the Gospel, a

charm for protection against epilepsy, and a list of forty-two divine names.[30] Two of the

medallions include images of Margaret. In the first, she bursts from the dragon, and in the

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[26] Larson, "Maternal Patronage," 102. Similarly, at St. Mary's Church, Wissington (Wiston), Suffolk, Margaret's life is accompanied by the Infancy of Christ and the infancy of St. Nicholas, all engaging the theme of childbirth.

[27] Larson, "Maternal Patronage," 94.

[28] Gail McMurray Gibson, "Scene and Obscene: Seeing and Performing Late Medieval Childbirth," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 29.1 (Winter, 1999): 10; Don Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, P.A.: Penn State Press, 2006)*,* 242.

[29] The text is culled from the G version of Margaret's life in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS fr. 1555 (fols. 144-153). See chapter 2. In the G version Margaret gives further ways in which childbearing women might gain the saint's intercession including crossing oneself with a book, looking inside a book, or having a book placed on her body. This version of Margaret's life exists in over one hundred manuscripts dating between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Wogan-Browne points out that there are no insular texts of Margaret's life that survive in such numbers. Wogan-Browne, "The Apple's Message," 47-48. Another amulet, a 1465-1485 parchment scroll, possibly intended for use as a birthing girdle, currently held in the Wellcome Library, London (MS. 804), records this life of St. Margaret and includes an image of the saint tending sheep.

[30] Skemer, 242.

second, she is beheaded.[31] In another amulet with the life of St. Margaret, from the

fourteenth century, Margaret appears to a devotee, a literal representation of the

intercession hoped for (Fig. I.10).[32] Even after the Reformation and the gradual

disappearance of official devotion to Margaret, lay women continued to invoke the saint

in childbirth. For example, the relic of Margaret's belt from the Parisian church of Saint-

Germain-des-Prés was transferred to the child-birthing chamber of Queen Marie-Thérèse,

the wife of King Louis XIV, in the seventeenth century.[33]

Margaret's patronage by women and mothers coincided with increased female

readership and book ownership throughout the fifteenth century.[34] Many small books of

hours and devotional manuscripts were made for female users.[35] A fifteenth-century

manuscript containing the prose life of St. Margaret (British Library, MS Harley 4012,

fols. 124-130) includes an inscription making its ownership explicit: "Thys is the boke of

dame Anne Wyngefeld."[36] Similarly, John Lydgate's *Legend of Saynte Margarete* was

commissioned by Anne, Countess of March, between 1415 and 1426 for her personal

use.[37]

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[31] Alophonse Aymar, "Le sachet accoucheur et ses mystères," *Annales du Midi* 38 (1926): 293-304 and 323-25.

[32] Louis Carolus-Barré, "Un nouveau parchemin amulette et la legend de sainte Marguerite patronne des femmes en couches, communication du 30 mars 1979," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* 123.2 (1979): 256-275. There is a third amulet with a life of Margaret and images from her passion. See Baron Léon de Herkenrode, "Une amulette, Légende en vers de Sainte Marguerite, tirée d'un ancient manuscrit," *Le Bibliophile Belge* 4 (1847): 2-23.

[33] Carolus-Barré, 270.

[34] Evidence of female lay devotion is found in objects commissioned in gratitude for her intercession and baptismal records listing Margaret as a particularly popular female name, for example. French, "Maidens" Lights," 399; Carole Hill, *Women and Religion in Late Medieval Norwich* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 64.

[35] Edwards, "Female Saints' Lives," 134.

[36] Edwards, "Female Saints' Lives," 138.

[37] Similarly, William Caxton's edition of Mirk's *Festial* was named for two patronesses, both named Margaret, the Duchess of Burgundy and Lady Margaret Beaufort. Dresvina, "Cult of St. Margaret," 103; Lewis, "A Gendered Reading," 130. Sherry Reames notes that Lydgate's *Saynte Margarete* was

Margaret is depicted with the dragon in countless devotional manuscripts used within the home.[38] She is included in the late thirteenth-century *Livre d'images de Madame Marie,* the fourteenth-century English Taymouth Hours, and a fifteenth-century book of hours in the Walters Museum (MS 168), to name just three (Figs. I.11-I.13).[39] The continuous repetition of images of Margaret and the dragon in manuscripts intended for women and in other artistic media increased the recognition of the saint.

Margaret's efficacy as a saintly intercessor extended across continental Europe, beyond her late medieval English cult. In fourteenth-century Germany, Margaret became one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, a group of saints who were powerful as a corporate identity.[40] The cult of the Fourteen Holy Helpers emerged during the outbreak of the bubonic plague. As Michael Baxandall explained, "the saints were being used not as examples of virtues but as a departmentalized social security agency."[41] Each saint in the group provided help for physical ailments, from headaches to sudden death, and other issues, including family troubles, thus covering the range of human maladies.[42] Margaret

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commissioned just after Anne's marriage to Edward Mortimer and thus a period of time in which she was likely concerned with childbearing. Reames, 113.

[38] Edwards, "Female Saints' Lives," 139.

[39] Kathryn Smith, *The Taymouth Hours: Stories and the Construction of Self in Late Medieval England* (London: British Library, 2012), 167; Alison Stones, "Le ms. Troyes 1905, le recueil et ses enluminures," in *Wace, La vie de Sainte Marguerite,* ed. Hans-Erich Keller (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1990), 185-214; Alison Stones, *Le Livre d'images de Madame Marie*: *Reproduction intégrale du manuscrit Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 16251 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 1997); J. Weitzmann-Fieldler, "Zur Illustration der Margaretenlegende," *Münchner Jahnbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3.17 (1966):17-48. I have examined two fourteenth-century illustrated lives of Margaret at the Princeton University Art Museum (Inv. 52-57 and 52-56). Margaret also appears in sixteen images in the early fourteenth-century *Queen Mary Psalter* (London, British Library, Royal 2 B VII).

[40] See note 4.

[41] Michael Baxandall, The *Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 56. Baxandall cites the German Reformer Sebastian Franck, who wrote that there was no misfortune, need, or disease that does not have a specific saint for it. Sebastian Franck, *Weltbuch* (Augsburg, 1534), 134b.

[42] Christopher and Giles protected against the plague itself. Other ailments covered included headache (Denis), throat problems (Blaise), epilepsy (Vitus), abdominal issues (Elmo), fever (Barbara), sudden death (Catherine), and family troubles (Eustace).

was incorporated into the cult of the Fourteen Holy Helpers as the patroness of the "malady" of pregnancy and childbirth, further emphasizing the distillation of her significance to her maternal associations.

Margaret in the Thirteenth Century

The fifteenth-century imagery of Margaret, with its emphasis on the dragon and its association with childbirth, is a shadow of the complex Margaret imagery found in earlier thirteenth-century stained glass. By closely examining the thirteenth-century stained glass windows depicting Margaret's life, this dissertation gives a counter-narrative to the aspects of Margaret's cult that defined her in the fifteenth century. Each window presents a site-specific version of Margaret's life, formed by the range of scenes selected to depict her, the surrounding imagery, the absence or presence of relics of the saint, the donor, the audiences, and the cultural context. At Chartres Cathedral, rather than functioning as a universal patroness of childbirth, Margaret is detached from any birthing context and is intimately tied to the church's topography and the rituals and processions performed at the site. At Auxerre Cathedral, instead of performing as one amongst a number of Holy Helpers, Margaret acts in her own right as a triumphant martyr who converts the masses, reminding the local clergy of the power of a martyr's passion. Finally, at Ardagger Abbey, rather than being defined by her female gender and her association with women, Margaret's complex narrative, recounted through the combination of verse inscription and image, allows male canons and other beholders to empathize with the saint.

These stained glass cycles depicting Margaret's life deserve critical scholarly attention because their medium, subject matter, and individual contexts offer insight into the development and expansion of the medieval cult of saints. They are of particular interest for the way they frame the relationship between images, texts, and audiences for a female saint in the High Middle Ages, as well as the commentary they offer on the function of narrative stained glass in the thirteenth century. The stained glass windows of Margaret allow the exploration of the intersection between changes in the cult of saints and the development of the medium of stained glass. For example, the production of all of the extant thirteenth-century narrative stained glass cycles of Margaret occurs just before the incorporation of the saint into a greater number of liturgies (by the end of the thirteenth century), books of hours, psalters, and other textual sources, such as sermons and hagiographic writing (which flourish from the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries).[43] Furthermore, the differences between the stained glass cycles suggest that they drew from a wide variety of sources, including different patrons, varied texts, local traditions, and devotional practices.

In addition to the circumstances surrounding the development of narrative stained glass imagery of Margaret during the thirteenth century, the saint herself is a fitting subject for the study of visual hagiography. A popular saint, Margaret was represented more often in thirteenth-century stained glass in France than other virgin martyrs,

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[43] Charlotte D'Evelyn and Anna J. Mills, eds. *The South English Legendary,* vol. 1, Early English Text Society, old series, 235 (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), 291-302; Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Theodor Erbe, ed., *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus,* Early English Text Society, extra series, 96 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1905), 199-202; Maud Burnett McInerney, *Eloquent Virgins from Thecla to Joan of Arc* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 167.

suggesting her widespread appeal.[44] As a saint whose historical existence is ambiguous at

best, Margaret's narrative was particularly subject to change. Her representation and *vita*

could be easily altered and adapted because she did not have a living memory within any

single community. As a female saint, Margaret's *vita* encourages interpretations that are

often, although not always, highly gendered. Margaret's depictions express the ways her

life was significant for clerical and lay communities as well as for women and men. This

thesis thus explores the relationship between stained glass, the cult of saints, and changes

within the devotion to a single saint that can be found within different communities. It

also calls attention to the importance of the cult of saints and monumental imagery, two

areas of study that, while closely connected, are not often studied together.[45] In this

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[44] My own survey of extant thirteenth-century stained glass subjects across France, as recorded in *Corpus Vitrearum* publications*,* reveals that St. Margaret is depicted in ten extant windows. The second most represented virgin martyr is St. Catherine, who is depicted in nine extant windows. Other female saints who are often represented are St. Mary the Egyptian and Mary Magdalen, both penitent saints.

[45] Studies considering monumental imagery of saints include: Michael Cothren, "The Iconography of Theophilus Windows in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum* 59.2 (1984): 308-341; Cecilia Gaposchkin, "Portals, Pilgrimage, Processions, and Piety: Saints Firmin and Honoré at Amiens," in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles,* eds. Rita Tepikke and Sarah Blick (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 218-242; Patrick Geary, "Saint Helen of Athyra and the Cathedral of Troyes in the Thirteenth Century," in *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), 221-242; Gerald B. Guest, "Narrative Cartographies: Mapping the Sacred in Gothic Stained Glass," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 53/54 (Spring, 2008): 121-142; Anne Harris, "The Performative Terms of Jewish Iconoclasm and Conversion in Two Saint Nicholas Windows at Chartres Cathedral," in *Beyond the Yellow Badge: New Approaches to Anti-Judaism and Anti-Semitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture,* ed. Mitchell B. Merbeck (Leiden: Brill Press, 2007), 119-141; Anne Harris, "Pilgrimage, Performance, and Stained Glass at Canterbury Cathedral," in *The Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles,* eds. Rita Tekippe and Sarah Blick (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2005), 243-281; Alyce Jordan, "Stained Glass and the Liturgy: Performing Sacral Kingship in Capetian France," in *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, N.J.: Index of Christian Art, Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, 2003), 274-297; Herbert Kessler, "Pictorial Narrative and Church Mission in Sixth-Century Gaul," in *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1985), 75-91; Elizabeth C. Pastan, "Charlemagne as Saint? Relics and the Choice of Window Subjects at Chartres Cathedral," in *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade,* eds. Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (New York: Palgrave, 2008), 97-135; Elizabeth C. Pastan and Mary B. Shepard, "The Torture of Saint George Medallion from Chartres Cathedral in Princeton," *Record of the Art Museum Princeton University* 56 (1997): 10-34.

project, current hagiographic and stained glass studies will be expanded to integrate the two fields of research. Examining the stained glass windows of St. Margaret will advance our understanding of the role of stained glass in the formation of the cult of a saint and in devotion to a saint. The following chapters explore Margaret's complex identifications within each cult setting, which contrast markedly with the later images of the saint that capitalize on fewer aspects of her *vitae.*

In chapter one, I provide a historical context for the emergence of the thirteenth-century monumental stained glass representations of Margaret. I establish Margaret as a fruitful subject for the study of visual hagiography by surveying her early textual and visual *vitae* and the themes found within her life.

Chapter two situates this thesis within past and current scholarship on the cult of saints, St. Margaret, and stained glass. I examine the historical preference for textual sources within scholarship on the cult of saints and the expansion, in twentieth-century scholarship, of studies of a wider range of sources and subjects, including stained glass and female sanctity.

Chapter three considers the windows depicting St. Margaret at Auxerre Cathedral and the nearby parish church of Saint-Julien-du-Sault. The extensive narrative of Margaret's life at Auxerre Cathedral most closely follows her textual *vitae*. The window highlights Margaret's identity as a virgin martyr, emphasizing her suffering and her encounters with the dragon and demon. Within the context of Auxerre, Margaret functions as an exemplary model for the faithful through her perseverance. Furthermore, she forms part of the connective tissue linking biblical and early Christian figures, martyrs in particular, with the bishops of Auxerre and local saints. The nearby church of

Saint-Julien-du-Sault incorporates similar emphases into its window depicting St. Margaret, highlighting the shared understanding of Margaret within close geographic proximity.

Chapter four examines the stained glass window depicting Margaret's life at Chartres Cathedral. Within the Confessors Chapel in the liturgical choir at Chartres, Margaret's life is abridged to four scenes in a window she shares with St. Catherine of Alexandria, who is represented in the remaining sixteen scenes. The window's iconography and its physical placement within the Confessors Chapel fashions Margaret as confessor rather than as martyr. Furthermore, Margaret's position within the church's sacred topography places her in relation to the liturgical rituals of the church, in particular to celebrations of St. Nicholas and the Virgin Mary and to processions involving the reenactment of dragon slaying.

Chapter five introduces the window depicting St. Margaret at Ardagger Abbey in present-day Austria. The Ardagger window tailors Margaret's life to a learned audience of secular canons through the inclusion of Latin verse inscriptions that encourage contemplation, while simultaneously presenting visually enticing and easily legible narrative scenes. The images highlight Margaret as an archetypal female virgin martyr through a focus on her physical body. However, the inscriptions surrounding each scene complicate her narrative and invite further reflection. These inscriptions create a new complex narrative of Margaret that highlight values that would have been important to thirteenth-century male canons, including fidelity to Christ and His commandments in the face of trials. This interpretation of Margaret's life universalizes the saint, allowing Margaret to emerge as a martyr with whom male canons could relate.

Gradually, across the late Middle Ages, the multifaceted Margaret expressed within the thirteenth-century stained glass windows was replaced by a more condensed version of the saint, characterized by the image of Margaret and the dragon. Despite being an immensely popular medieval saint, who was venerated by men, women, clergy, and laity throughout the Middle Ages, Margaret's cult waned and in 1969, in the wake of the Second Vatican Council (October 1962 – December 1965), she was removed from the Church's Universal Calendar.[46] The fullness of Margaret's life and message, as unfolded in the many iterations of her life and in her medieval pictorial narratives, were no longer current and her cult was easily suppressed. Throughout this study, I will evoke the richness of her life and her appeal in the High Middle Ages as depicted in Gothic stained glass.

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[46] The *Mysterii Paschalis*, the incipit of an apostolic letter by Pope Paul VI on February 14, 1969, reorganized the liturgical year and revised the celebrations of Christ and the saints in the calendar of the Roman Rite. See *Calendarium Romanum* (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1969). Saints Christopher, Barbara, and Dorothy are among the other saints who were removed from the calendar.

Chapter 1:

Margaret's *Vitae,* Cult, and Early Pictorial Representations

Saint Margaret was well-known across Europe by the time the thirteenth-century

stained glass windows depicting her life were created. Between Margaret's death in the

early fourth century and the stained glass narratives of the thirteenth century, numerous

Latin and vernacular lives had been written for the saint, her relics had spread from the

east to the west, and manuscript illuminations and altarpieces were created depicting the

saint. In order to provide an historical context for the emergence of monumental stained

glass narratives of Margaret's life, this chapter examines Margaret's textual lives, the

spread of her cult, and early pictorial representations before the thirteenth century.

Margaret's Textual *Vitae*

According to the *Rebdorf* Latin *vita*, St. Margaret of Antioch lived in the late third

and early fourth century. She was thus a contemporary of other early Christian martyrs.

The *Rebdorf* text states that Margaret's narrative begins in 290, although it is unclear

whether this refers to her life or to her passion: "Annorum ab Incarnatione Domini

Salvatoris… ducentorum nonaginta*"* (In the years of our Lord and Savior… two hundred

and ninety).[1] The dating of her martyrdom temporally links Margaret to the persecution

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[1] "De S. Margarita seu Marina virg. et mart. Antiochiae in Pisidia, Acta Ex Ms. Rebdorffensi, ad Ms. S. Mariae ad Martyres correcta," *Acta Sanctorum*: *Julii, ex Latinis & Graecis, aliarumque gentium Monumentis, servata primigenia veterum Scriptorum phrase, Collecta, Digesta, Commentariisque & Observationibus Illustrata a Joanne Bapt. Sollerio, Joanne Pinio, Guilielmo Cupero, Petro Boschio e Societate Jesu Presbyteris Theologis: Tomus V* (Antwerp: Société des Bollandistes, 1727), 34.

of Christians under Diocletion, carried out by the generals Maximian and Galerius in the

east. Frederic Spencer has suggested that the mention of a magistrate named Maximian in

Margaret's *vita* may be identified with the sovereign of Egypt and Syria from 305 to

313.[2]

Although Margaret's existence can be neither proven nor disproven, her narrative

remains stable across the numerous versions of her life in its core components, while

allowing room for elaboration and change in the details. According to these sources,

Margaret was the highborn daughter of a pagan magistrate, named Aedesius in the Greek

versions and Theodosius in the Latin versions, in late third-century Antioch, in the

Roman territory of Pisidia. Margaret's unnamed mother, to whom she was devoted, died

while Margaret was young. Raised by a Christian nurse, Margaret converted to

Christianity and pledged herself to Christ, despite her father's protest. One day, while

tending sheep, the pagan magistrate Olybrius saw her and was instantly smitten.

Olybrius's men brought Margaret to him. When Olybrius offered a marriage proposal,

Margaret rejected him due to her commitment to Christ. Angered, Olybrius cast Margaret

into jail. The next day she underwent a series of bodily tortures, which were gruesome

enough to rouse the bystanders' emotions. During her second night in prison, she asked

God to reveal her true enemy. The devil appeared before her in the form of a dragon and

promptly devoured the saint. From within its bowels Margaret made the sign of the cross,

which caused the beast to burst apart and allowed the saint to emerge unharmed. The

devil then appeared to Margaret a second time, in the form of a man. She stomped on his

neck, pulled his hair, beat him with a hammer, and submitted him to an interrogation.

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[2] Frederic Spencer, "The Legend of St. Margaret, Part I and II," *Modern Language Association* 4 (1889), 197.

Following these trials, a dove sent from God appeared to Margaret, indicating her impending martyrdom. The next day, Margaret was subjected to further tortures, including being submerged in water and burned with torches. The sight of these tortures moved onlookers to convert to Christianity. Following her torments, a cross and dove miraculously appeared, signaling Margaret's imminent entry into heaven. Just before her beheading, Margaret prayed to God. In this prayer, Margaret set forth a variety of ways in which devotees could gain her intercession, including reading or hearing her life, dedicating a church, or commissioning a manuscript of her *vita*. After her beheading, those who touched Margaret's body were cured of their ailments.

Margaret's textual *vitae,* which date from the eighth century, are important sources for the study of the stained glass windows as they provide information about the dissemination of Margaret's life and the range of variations in the narratives. The earliest *vita* of Margaret is a Greek narrative from the eighth century, the *Passio a Theotimo,* named for the witness, Theotimo, who recorded the story (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Gr. 1470). This *passio* exists in three recensions, the oldest of which was first published in 1886 by Hermann Usener and is the source for numerous western versions of her life.[3] The *Usener vita* relays that it was copied from a martyrology by St. Methodius (patriarch of Constantinople from 843 to 847) during his stay in Rome from 815 to 820.[4] These *vitae* are significant because, in addition to being the earliest versions of her life, they

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[3] The *Usener vita* is listed as no. 1165 in the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* (BHL), vol. 2 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898-1901), 84-85. Usener published the text from a ninth-century manuscript. H. Usener, ed., "Acta S. Marinae et S. Christophori," in *Festschrift zur fünften Säcularfeier der Carl-Ruprechts-Universität zu Heidelberg* (Bonn: Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1886), 1-47. See also Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 6. Guido Tammi lists seven other Greek versions of her life. Guido Tammi *Due version della leggenda di S. Margherita d'Antiochia in versi francesi del medioevo* (Piacenza: Scuola artigiana del libro, 1958)*, 31-44.
[4] Tammi, 31-44; Usener, 5, 47-48.

name the saint "Marina" rather than Margaret. That Margaret and Marina are essentially

the same figure is evident from their shared narrative and biographical *vita*. In fact, the

tenth-century Byzantine hagiographer Symeon Metaphrastes directly links these names:

"Marina quam latinae ecclesiae Margaritam vocant" (Marina, whom the Latin Church

calls Margaret).[5] Marina/Margaret's cult initially spread under both names, sometimes

leading to dual entries in martyrologies.[6] For example, in the earliest martyrology in

which Margaret appears, Hrabanus Maurus's *Martyrologium* from 840 to 854, Marina

and Margaret appear in two separate entries although the narratives are nearly identical.[7]

Specifically, both women suffered under the prefect Olybrius, were subjected to

numerous tortures, confronted a dragon and demon, and were beheaded. The close

proximity is revealed, for example, in the descriptions of the devil who appeared to

Marina as "in draconis specie similiter et in Aethiopis" (in a form like a dragon and an

Ethiopian) and to Margaret as "in specie draconis et Aethiopis" (in the form of a dragon

and an Ethiopian).[8]

     While the *Usener vita* names the saint Marina, subsequent Latin *vitae*

systematically change her name to Margaret.[9] The Latin lives' insistence on the name

Margaret led to her development as a distinct saint, apart from Marina. While these *vitae*

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[5] The Latin version of Metaphrastes's hagiographies were published in 1581: Luigi Lippomano, Aldo Manuzio, Laurentius Surius, and Sir George John Spencer Spencer, *De vitis sanctorum,* vol. 4 (Venice: Aldus, 1581), 86; Spencer, 197.

[6] Wendy R. Larson, "The Role of Patronage and Audience in the Cults of Sts. Margaret and Marina of Antioch," in *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women, and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*, eds. Samantha J. E. Riches and Sarah Salih (New York: Routledge, 2002), 24.

[7] Rabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium* (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1852), 67-68. A digital facsimile of this edition is available at:
http://monumenta.ch/latein/xanfang.php?tabelle=Hrabanus_Maurus&xy=Hrabanus_Maurus&domain=&lang=0&PHPSESSID=efea41affce636150b15b68240638f44.

[8] Ibid.

[9] *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* (BHL), vol. 2, 84-85; Clayton and Magennis, 3. The name Marina is occasionally retained.

are closely related in style and content to the *Usener vita*, they do include changes to

Margaret's intercessory prayer by offering benefits to childbearing women – protection

for their babies and assurance of their health.[10] The majority of extant Latin *vitae* of

Margaret date to the ninth and tenth centuries.[11] The largest group of Latin lives, the so-

called *Mombritius vita* is found as no. 5303 in the Bollandist-published *Bibliotheca*

Hagiographica Latina.[12] As we shall see, narrative cycles of Margaret's life in stained

glass appear to draw on specific textual recensions, the *Mombritius* version, in particular.

The core components of Margaret's life – her parentage, refusal of Olybrius's

advances, tortures, confrontations with the dragon and demon, and ultimate beheading –

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[10] Larson, 26. These protections are not found in Marina's intercessory prayer.

[11] The earliest *Turin passio* (BV D. V. 3) dates to the very end of the eighth century. It is only in the ninth century that Margaret first appears in Latin martyrologies. Margaret is found first in the previously mentioned *Martyrologium* of Hrabanus Maurus from the ninth century. Margaret is not included in the oldest extant Syrian Martyrology (MS Addit. 12150), the *Hieronymian Martyrology*, or in the martyrology of Bede. Giovanni Battista de Rossi and Louis Duchesne, eds., "*Martyrologium Hieronymianum*," in *Acta Sanctorum,* vol. 67 (Paris: Victorem Palme, 1894, reprint 1971); Henry Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts* (London: Oxford University Press, 1885); W. Wright, "An Ancient Syrian Martyrology," *Journal of Sacred Literature* 8 (1866): 423-432. Margaret is also listed in Wandalbert of Pruem's *Martyrologium* from the mid ninth century (June 15, a day she shares here with St. Vitus), the martyrology of Notker Balbulus of Sankt-Gallen from around 912 (July 13), and the Old English martyrology from the mid ninth century (July 7). Additionally, Margaret appears in the ninth-century marytrology of Usuardus, though the extant manuscript dates from the thirteenth century. Juliana Dresvina, "The Cult of St. Margaret of Antioch in Medieval England," PhD Dissertation (University of Cambridge, 2007), 19; Spencer, 198.

[12] BHL, vol. 2, 787. Within this group are the *Turin, Mombritius, Casinensis, Paris, Rebdorf* and *Caligula* versions which offer slightly different versions of the saint's life and are found in varying numbers of manuscripts. The main Latin version, thought to be the source for vernacular translations, is the *Mombritius* version, named for its early modern publisher, Boninus Mombritius. I cite the Mombritius version throughout this dissertation as it was the most widespread version of Margaret's life in continental Europe in the thirteenth century. Digital facsimiles of one edition of Boninus Mombritius's *Sanctuarium, seu Vitae Sanctorum* (1477/78) is found at: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0006/bsb00067879/images/index.html?id=00067879&groesser=&fip=yztsyztsyztsqrs xdsydeayaenxdsydeaya&no=4&seite=216. Margaret is found in volume two, folios 103v-107. A twentieth-century edition of Boninus Mombritius's *Sanctuarium, seu vitae sanctorum* (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1910) is available at https://archive.org/details/sanctuariumseuvi02momb. Margaret can be found in volume two, pages 190-196. Publications of additional *Mombritius* versions include, Clayton and Magennis, 196-223; Elizabeth A. Francis, "A Hitherto Unprinted Version of the *Passio Sanctae Margaritae* with Some Observations on Vernacular Derivatives," *PMLA* 42.1 (March, 1927): 87-105; Gordon Hall Gerould, "A New Text of the *Passio S. Margaritae* with Some Account of Its Latin and English Relations," *PMLA* 39.3 (Sep., 1924), 525-556.

remain stable across the Latin *vitae.* However, variations are found in the details, such as within her encounters with the devil. For example, the *Casinensis vita* abridges Margaret's encounter with the demon and emphasizes her encounter with the dragon, while the *Rebdorf* version does the opposite.[13] While the *Mombritius* version gives the proper name of the dragon (Rufo) and asserts that Margaret was swallowed, the *Caligula* version does not give the beast's name and does not indicate that the saint was consumed.[14] The descriptions of the demon also vary slightly. In the *Rebdorf* life the demon appears as an ugly man covered with hair down to his feet ("Namque habitu calcaneo tenus criniti hominis apparens, horribilemque se præserens vultu").[15] In contrast, in the *Mombritius* version, the demon appears as a "black man" (homo niger) and in the *Caligula vita* he is a "soot-black Ethiopian" (ethiopem fuligine tetriorem intuetur).[16]

Later Latin versions of Margaret's life, including the thirteenth-century *vitae* by Vincent of Beauvais and Jacobus de Voragine, were culled from the earlier Latin sources and offer more distinctive changes to her life. These *vitae* "toned-down" the more fantastic elements of Margaret's encounters with the devil.[17] In Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale,* the dragon does not swallow Margaret, but rather disappears when the saint makes the sign of the cross ("signo crucis opposite protinus eunuit").[18] In his

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[13] Dresvina, 16.

[14] Francis, "A Hitherto Unprinted Version," 91. Francis prints a version of the *Caligula vita*. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium* (1910)*,* vol. 2, 192; Price, 89.

[15] *Acta Sanctorum,* vol. 5, 38.

[16] Mombritius, *Sanctuarium* (1910)*,* vol. 2, 192. Francis, 101.

[17] Clayton and Magennis, 16; Dresvina, 16; Elizabeth A. Francis, ed., *Wace. La Vie de sainte Marguerite* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Édouard Champion, 1932), 88; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculi historiale*, ed. Benedictines of Douai, vol. 4 (Douai, 1624; 1965), Book 13, Chapter 27-28, 514-5. Digital edition available at: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k81676r/f518.image.r=vincent%20beauvais.langFR

[18] Vincent of Beauvais, 515.

popular collection of saints' lives, the *Golden Legend*, the Italian Dominican friar

Jacobus de Voragine similarly rejects the idea that Margaret was consumed by the

dragon, though he does allow that the dragon would have swallowed the saint if she had

not bested him so quickly.[19] Both Vincent and Jacobus give more concise versions of

Margaret's life, omitting extraneous details, compared to the earlier Latin versions. For

example, neither Jacobus nor Vincent describe the effect of her tortures on her body at

length, nor do they provide details about the appearances of the dragon and demon.[20]

The Latin sources of Margaret's life served as the source material for vernacular

versions of her life that appeared from the twelfth century in Middle English, Anglo-

Norman (and other French dialects), middle German, and Italian.[21] For the stained glass

cycles of Margaret, it is useful to consider the Anglo-Norman and French versions of her

life.[22] Margaret's French *vitae* are divided into seven different variants (labeled A

through H).[23] These vernacular texts likely had wider audiences than the Latin *vitae*.

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[19] Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: Sismel, 1998); Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, 2012), 368-370. See also Sherry Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison, W.I.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 197-198.

[20] Jacobus merely describes the dragon as hideous and the demon as a man. Jacobus, *Golden Legend,* 369. Similarly, Vincent does not describe the physical appearance of the dragon or demon. Vincent of Beauvais, Ch. 27, 515.

[21] The English legends of Margaret have been examined by numerous textual scholars. See Clayton and Magennis; Dresvina; Theodor Wolpers, *Die englische Heiligenlegende des Mittelalters* (Tübingen: De Gruyter, 1964), 152-6, 182-4, 187-195, 216-9, 280-2, 292-5, 308-16, 328-9, 371, 376-7, 391-2.

[22] Most of the medieval French editions of Margaret's life are known from only one extant manuscript each. Karl Reichl, "An Anglo-Norman Legend of Saint Margaret (MS. BM. Add 38664)," *Romania* 96 (1975): 53-55; F. H. M. Le Saux, *A Companion to Wace* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), 14. Unfortunately, the German versions of her life date to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, much later than the French versions. See Kurt Otto Seidel and Guido Drexel, *Die mittelniederdeutsche Margaretenlegende* (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1994).

[23] Dresvina, 222-224.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was a rise in virgin martyr vernacular

narratives that were produced for women who increasingly owned books.[24]

Among the most well-known French versions of Margaret's life is Wace's *La Vie*

de sainte Marguerite, written between 1130 and 1140 in Caen.[25] This *vita* is the author's

oldest extant religious poem, others of which include a life of St. Nicholas (*La Vie de*

saint Nicolas) and an account of the conception and life of the Virgin Mary (*La*

Conception Nostre Dame).[26] Wace himself was not a monk but a 'clerc lisant,' a kind of

notary, and a canon of Bayeux from 1169 on.[27] His responsibilities would have included

translations of documents from Latin into French and from French into Latin.[28] The life

of Margaret is written in verse and is found in three extant manuscripts from the

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though none of these manuscripts preserves the

original Norman French dialect.[29] The *vita* follows the *Mombritius* Latin version of

Margaret's life very closely, and in many places, word for word, while also drawing on

the *Caligula* edition.[30]

However, Wace's life of Margaret begins to show how her life could be altered to

suit new contexts. Scholars have cited Wace's *vita* as the first prototype of the genre of

'hagiographic romance.'[31] That is, the life is written in verse in the standard meter of

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[24] Maud Burnett McInerney, *Eloquent Virgins from Thecla to Joan of Arc* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 167.

[25] Francis, ed., *Wace*; Le Saux; Wace, *La vie de sainte Marguerite*, ed. Hans-Erich Keller (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1990).

[26] Le Saux, 11.

[27] Le Saux, 2.

[28] Dresvina, 39.

[29] Le Saux, 13. The three surviving manuscripts are: Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, 927, late thirteenth century, Touraine; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3516, Picard dialect, from Flanders or northern Artois, mid thirteenth century (1267-8); Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 1905, Vosges or Franche-Comté, ca. 1320-1330.

[30] Le Saux, 16.

[31] McInerney, 169.

romance (octosyllabic rhyming couplets).[32] It is the first vernacular life of St. Margaret to voice concern for women in childbirth:

"Ne soit je nez en lur maison / Enfes, si a terme non"

(May there never be born in their house a child, unless it is full term).[33]

Margaret's explicit protection of children is included in all subsequent vernacular *vitae* produced after Wace's text.[34] Furthermore, Wace's life extends Margaret's tortures and condenses her long prayers. Margaret's prayers are reduced from eleven to nine in number.[35] Wace also expands Margaret's early history, including a description of her father. Her pagan father is described as wicked and rejecting Margaret because of her religious convictions.[36] Margaret is portrayed as having a close familial relationship with Christ.[37] She is also presented as a shepherdess, likened to an innocent lamb. According to Laurie Postlewate, changes in Wace's *vita* express the context in which the text was produced and indicate contemporary theology in action by using love imagery related to

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Wace, lines 641-642.

[34] Dresvina, 38.

[35] La Saux, 26.

[36] McInerney 171.

[37] Laurie Postlewate, "Vernacular Hagiography and Lay Piety: Two Old French Adaptations of the Life of Saint Margaret of Antioch," in *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. Sandro Sticco (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1996), 117. In this text the demon relays that both he and the dragon came specifically to threaten Margaret's virginity. Phyllis Johnson and Brigitte Cazelles, *Le vain siècle guerpir: A Literary Approach to Sainthood through Old French Hagiography of the Twelfth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 275. That Margaret's encounter with the demon could be viewed as a victory over sexual temptation is evident by the fact that in the *Ancrene Wisse,* a guide for female anchorites, the author suggests that if they are struggling with sexual temptation they should look to the model of Margaret. Elizabeth Robertson, "The Corporeality of Female Sanctity in *The Life of Saint Margaret*," in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe,* eds. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 273.

"new devotionalism," which stressed Christ's humanity and the divine love shared by God and man, and was espoused by Anselm and Bernard of Clairvaux.[38]

It has been suggested that Wace's *vita* was written to promote Margaret's cult in the environs of Bayeux, possibly for the chapel of St. Margaret at Bayeux Cathedral.[39] In fact, in the thirteenth-century *Ordinary* from Bayeux, Margaret is found in the calendar under July 20.[40] As Juliana Dresvina points out, the survival of the poem suggests an interest in disseminating Margaret's life, possibly by King Henry I, under whose reign the text was written. In addition to a possible relationship between the cult of St. Margaret in Normandy and the poem, Elizabeth Francis has suggested that there may be a propagandistic intention with the poem in an effort to devalue the new saint Margaret of Scotland and to increase the popularity of the cult of Margaret of Antioch.[41] Perhaps the patron of the poem wished to promote the cult of an ancient saint, rather than the new royal St. Margaret, who was significant for returning the English throne to the Anglo-Saxon line, at a time when her granddaughter Matilda contested King Stephen's right to the throne after Henry I failed to produce an heir.[42] Regardless of the patron's identity, F.

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[38] Postlewate, 117-119. Postlewate also calls attention to the differences in two Old French adaptations of Margaret's life, that of Wace and a fourteenth-century *vita* by the Franciscan friar Nicholas Bozon. Bozon's fourteenth-century version presents Margaret as a fighter and wonderworker. Interestingly, Bozon directly calls out to the *vita's* audience writing, "you who have a desire to have alleviation from sufferings." Postlewate, 124.

[39] Urban Tiger Holmes, Jr., "Norman Literature and Wace," in *Medieval Secular Literature: Four Essays,* ed. W. Matthews (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 56-61.

[40] Ulysse Chevalier, *Ordinaire et coutumier de l'église cathédrale de Bayeux (XIIIe siècle), Bibliothèque liturgique* 8 (Paris: Picard, 1902), 436.

[41] Elizabeth A. Francis, ed., *Wace. La Vie de sainte Marguerite* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Édouard Champion, 1932), xix-xx. On the representation of St. Margaret of Scotland in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century royal genealogies in which she is emphasized see Joan A. Holladay, "Women in English Royal Genealogies of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness,* eds. Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, and Ellen M. Shortell (Burlington, V.T.: Ashgate, 2009), 348-364, at 364.

[42] Henry's only heir died in the "White Ship" disaster in 1120. Le Saux, 14.

H. M. Le Saux suggests that the text seems to be geared towards oral delivery through its repetition of key aspects of her life and emphasis on entertaining elements, which would have captured a lay audience's attention.[43]

Early Pictorial *vitae* of St. Margaret

Although the textual *vitae* of Margaret contributed to the formation of her cult they do not reveal the full range of ways in which the clergy and laity would have interacted with Margaret. Pictorial *vitae* help to complete the picture.[44] In her visual representations Margaret appears alone, in conjunction with other saints, especially other female martyrs, or within narrative sequences. Narrative cycles depicting Margaret's life before the thirteenth century are found in a variety of media including manuscript illuminations, portable altarpieces, and frescoes, each of which had a specific function, intent, and audience.[45] Examining three image cycles of Margaret's life before the thirteenth century – the illuminations from the tenth-century Fulda *libellus* (Figs. 1.1-1.5), a late twelfth-century Spanish altar frontal (Fig. 1.6), and a late twelfth-century fresco cycle at the cathedral of Tournai (Fig. 1.7) – reveals the continuities and variations

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[43] Le Saux, 17.

[44] Miriam Gill, "Preaching and Image: Sermons and Wall Paintings in Later Medieval England," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages,* ed. C. Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 161; Alison Stones, "Le ms. Troyes 1905, le recueil et ses enluminures," in *Wace, La vie de Sainte Marguerite,* ed. Hans-Erich Keller (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1990), 185-214; Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler, "Zur Illustration der Margaretenlegende," *Münchner Jahnbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3.17 (1966): 17-48; Francis Wormald, "Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lives of the Saints," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 35 (1952): 248-266.

[45] Pre-thirteenth-century image cycles of St. Margaret include a capital ornamented with four relief scenes from the canonesses of Notre-dame-en-Vaux, Chalons-sur-Marne, 1170, and illuminations of her legend in a group of German manuscripts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries now in Munich (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 1133, Clm. 29067 and Staatliche Graphische Sammlung K556). See Louis Carolus-Barré, "Un nouveau parchemin amulette et la legend de sainte Marguerite patronne des femmes en couches, communication du 30 mars 1979," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* 123.2 (1979), 272; Weitzmann-Fiedler, 17-48.

in representations of the saint, and the ways in which viewers could interact with

Margaret. Like textual *vitae,* images of Margaret tend to emphasize her trials, tortures,

and martyrdom, the active elements of her narrative that are the most exciting for

representation. In the west, Margaret is most commonly depicted bursting from the

dragon while, in the east, Marina is depicted beating the demon.[46]

The earliest extant visual cycle of St. Margaret's life is preserved in a tenth-

century *libellus* from Fulda, Germany currently held in Hannover (Niedersächsische

Landesbibliothek, MS. I. 189).[47] In this manuscript Margaret is presented alongside the

male virgin martyr St. Kilian. *Libelli* were small manuscripts devoted to the lives of one

or two saints, often with illustrations from the saints' lives, *vitae*, and prayers.[48] As

Cynthia Hahn points out, the manuscript, which contains the life of St. Kilian, the

Mombritius vita of Margaret, and prayers to the Virgin, apostles, and Christ, could have

been produced to expand the cults of Kilian and Margaret.[49] The manuscript may also

have been made for the use of a woman, as the forms of the prayers are feminine.[50] The

Fulda manuscript depicts numerous scenes from Margaret's life in small rectangular

pictorial spaces set amongst the text. The concise scenes, rendered in earth tones, focus

on the figures and actions occurring in each space. Furthermore, these illuminations

sometimes include several scenes in one pictorial space. For example, multiple figures of

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[46] Larson, 25. Larson shows how the two cults came to be differentiated through differing iconography of the two saints.

[47] Cynthia Hahn, *Passio Kyliani. Pseudo-Theotimus, Passio Margaretae… Hannover Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. I. 189* (Graz: Akademische Druck-und Verlaganstalt, 1988). Aside from the Fulda manuscript, it is not until the thirteenth century that images of Margaret are found with any frequency in manuscripts. A few fragments survive from the eleventh and twelfth centuries such as those from a Latin *passio* now in Munich. See Weitzmann-Fiedler, 17-48.

[48] See Wormald, 248-266, where he defines the term *libellus* and discusses extant examples.

[49] Hahn, *Passio*, 4, 29.

[50] Hahn, *Passio,* 30.

Margaret undergoing different tortures occur as a continuous narrative in one

illumination (Fig. 1.1). In this image, Margaret is depicted with long dark hair, naked

from the waist up, in the center of the scene being burned with torches and to the right

submerged in a basin of water.

The Fulda *libellus* sets the stage for pictorial cycles of her life and illustrates the

main themes that often reappear in later images. The Fulda images focus on Margaret's

tortures and her ordeals with the demon and dragon. Margaret alternates between being

fully clothed in a nun's habit complete with a veil and being nude from the waist up

during her tortures, a change that is subsequently seen in numerous images of Margaret

including stained glass images at Auxerre (Figs. 1.2-1.4).[51] Such shifts in her clothing

shock the viewer with her naked brutalized body. Her tortures are gruesome and visceral.

In the scene of the raking of Margaret's torso, the viewer is confronted with her chest,

streaked with numerous bloody tracks (Fig. 1.3). In contrast, when Margaret engages

with the dragon and demon she is fully clothed, focusing the viewer away from her

physical body. Margaret's battles with the dragon and demon have each been expanded to

two scenes within long rectangular picture frames, indicating their importance within her

life (Figs. 1.4-1.5). The scenes of her encounters with the dragon and demon visually

convey her victories through an inversion of her physical position in relation to the

enemy. Rather than merely showing the saint's triumphs, the images of Margaret with the

dragon and demon highlight the menacing quality of her adversaries, making her

victories all the more impressive. For example, in her battle with the dragon, Margaret is

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[51] Dyan Elliott, "Dressing and Undressing the Clergy: The Rites of Ordination and Degradation," in
Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Cloth Work, and Other Cultural Imaginings, ed. E. Jane Burns
(New York: Palgrave, 2004), 55-69.

confronted by the monster, whose size overwhelms the architectural setting. Margaret

looks dismayed as she raises her hands in prayer to God for aid (Fig. 1.4). In the right

scene, Margaret holds a golden cross in front of the monster, who appears to recoil and

submit to the saint, indicating Margaret's triumph. Similarly, when Margaret is

confronted by a demon while praying, he initially appears larger than her, striding boldly

toward the vulnerable saint (Fig. 1.5). However, she quickly subdues the demon, rising

high above him, grabbing him by the hair, and stomping on his neck.

A late twelfth-century Spanish retable from a convent dedicated to St. Margaret,

Santa Margarida de Vilseca in L'Esquirol, Catalonia depicts colorfully painted scenes

from Margaret's life on two registers surrounding a seated image of the Virgin and Child

(95.8 cm x 147.5 cm x 5 cm) (Fig. 1.6).[52] The altarpiece was likely brought to Vic, where

it remains today, in the fourteenth century when the nuns moved to a different convent.[53]

While this altarpiece includes images of Margaret's tortures and encounters with the

dragon and demon, it conveys these scenes differently from the Fulda *libellus*. Like the

Fulda manuscript, this altarpiece focuses on Margaret's tortures, which are visceral in

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[52] A second retable, from around 1200, also depicts the saint's life. This stone relief from the church of Santa Maria Assunta at Fornovo di Taro, outside of Parma, served as an altar frontal. Elizabeth Parker reads this altarpiece in relation to Roman law as it was applied to early Christian martyrs and in relation to Obizzo Fieschi, the bishop of the Parma diocese and a possible patron, who perhaps sought the saint's intercession in exchange for the altarpiece's commission. See Elizabeth C. Parker, "Modes of Seeing Margaret of Antioch at Fornovo di Taro," in *Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, eds. Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, and Ellen M. Shortell (Burlington, V.T.: Ashgate, 2009), 274-290. The number of altarpieces devoted to Margaret increased in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as evident in the late fourteenth-century Italian Vanni altarpiece, studied by Leanne Gilbertson, and the sixteenth-century north German altarpiece of St. Margaret currently at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (no. T.5894-1859). See Hans Georg Gmelin, *Spätgotische Tafelmalerei in Niedersachsen und Bremen* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1974), 181-183.

[53] Estrella Massons Rabassa, "La iconografía del diablo en el frontal de altar de Santa Margarita de Vilaseca (1160-1190)," *Locus Amoenus* 7 (2004), 53-71. For good color views, see Museo Epischopal Vich, http://www.museuepiscopalvic.com/coleccions_more.asp?i=eng&s=3&c=&pag=&histo=&id=83. See also Rosa Alcoy, "Santa Margarida de Vila-Seca," *Catalunya Romànica* 3 (Barcelona, 1986): 579-589; Rosa Alcoy, "El descensus ad inferos de Santa Margarita," *D'Art* 12 (1986): 127-157.

their representation of blood. For example, in the lower left scene, Margaret's body is covered with red streaks from her neck to her feet. The brutality of the saint's tortures is further highlighted by the saint's naked and stark white appearance, which contrasts to the images of her fully clothed. While Margaret also appears both dressed and undressed in the Fulda manuscript, in the altarpiece Margaret's clothing changes carry greater weight, because she appears in a brown tunic with a white belt, reminiscent of a monastic habit (Fig. 1.6). When Margaret battles the dragon and demon she has changed into a more sumptuous garment of red and gold, as though radiating with divine power. Finally, in the scene of her martyrdom Margaret is cloaked in white, underscoring her purity and holiness.

The way in which Margaret's supernatural encounters are depicted also differs from the Fulda imagery. While the episodes with the dragon and demon each received two scenes in the Fulda manuscript, the altarpiece conveys two scenes of the dragon and one of the demon in a tight pictorial space. Furthermore, the altarpiece portrays an alternate version of Margaret's victory over the dragon from the Fulda imagery. While praying, Margaret is consumed by the beast, who is depicted with his mouth around the saint's head. To the right, Margaret is depicted making the sign of the cross (no actual cross is present) while bursting from the dragon. Further to the right, Margaret is depicted grabbing and stomping the demon, who appears in a canine, rather than human, form.

Differences in media also contribute to the variations between the imagery of the Fulda manuscript and the painted altarpiece. The manuscript, which measures about twenty centimeters by fifteen centimeters, would have been held close to the beholder, the images encountered one at a time, unfolding page by page as the viewer read or

listened to Margaret's *vita.* The altarpiece, on the other hand, which measures about three feet by four feet, presents Margaret's entire life at once and would have been visible to multiple people when displayed in a church or chapel. The altarpiece's narrative is not driven by, or defined by, surrounding text and the viewer can scan the altarpiece in a number of directions. Furthermore, the scenes of Margaret's life on the altarpiece are densely packed around a central image of the Virgin and Child, which comprises one third of the pictorial space. In order to follow Margaret's life across the altarpiece, the viewer is repeatedly confronted by the image of the Virgin and Child, forcing a consideration of the relationship between the figures. The proximity of the Virgin and Child to Margaret encourages a reading of the altarpiece in terms of maternal themes. Linked to a convent of nuns, who likely ministered to local lay women, the pairing of Margaret with the Virgin Mary would have made the intercession of the two women in female matters all the more potent. The depiction of Margaret bursting from the dragon, a motif associated with childbirth, confirms this female and maternal emphasis.

The earliest extant monumental images of Margaret date from the twelfth century and can be found in wall paintings across Europe: in Suffolk, England at the Church of St. Mary Wiston (Wissington); in Belgium at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Tournai; and in Sweden at Håckas Church; and in Galliano, Italy at the church of San Vincenzo.[54] The cathedral of Notre-Dame in Tournai, Belgium, has an extensive narrative of Margaret, dating between 1175 and 1180, within the northern transept of the Romanesque

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[54] Thirteenth-century frescoes of Margaret include a late thirteenth-century French painting at the Church of St. Cerneuf de Billom, Puy-de-Dôme. See Paul Deschamps and Marc Thibout, *La peinture murale en France au début de l'époque gothique* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1963), 144-5, plate LXXVI-1.

building, a space visible to devotees in the nave and pilgrims circumambulating the church (Fig. 1.7).[55]

The cycle at Tournai depicts Margaret's early history, *passio,* and martyrdom, highlighting in particular her demonic battles and martyrdom, across seven horizontal rectangular scenes set against a blue background. Unfortunately, these scenes have suffered much paint loss. Monumental in scale, the viewer is confronted with the repeating image of Margaret. In this narrative, as in the Fulda images and the altarpiece, Margaret's body is visually emphasized as the site of change and transformation, highlighted through her alternating states of dress and undress. Margaret's physical size also conveys meaning, as her position in relation to the dragon and demon does in the altarpiece. At Tournai, in scenes of Margaret's tortures the saint is depicted beneath her tormentors, indicating her status as victim (Fig. 1.7). However, when Margaret battles the demon, she overwhelms and extends beyond the pictorial frame, a device which expresses her power in this encounter. Margaret's encounters with the dragon and demon are further emphasized through the architectural setting, which draws the viewer into the space. Placed within a recessed niche directly above an altar dedicated to the saint, these scenes are the focal point of the cycle. Below these trials, at the height of the current altar and in a visually prominent position, Margaret's martyrdom is depicted. By depicting the

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[55] The earliest church was built in the fourth century and was subsequently replaced by larger structures. The Romanesque church dates between 1141 and 1198. P. Heliot, "Les parties romanes de la cathédrale de Tournai. Problèmes de date et de filiation," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 25 (1956): 3-76. See also Otto Demus, *La peinture murale romane,* 178-179; Joseph Delmelle, *Cathedrales et Collegiales de Belgique* (Brussels: Rossel Edition, 1975), 92; Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Le Cycle de sainte Marguerite d'Antioche à la cathédrale de Tournai et sa place sans la tradition romane et byzantine," *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 61 (1992), 87-125; Jacqueline Leclerq-Marx, *L'art roman en Belgique* (Braine-l'Alleud: J.M. Collet, 1997), 138-140. Lafontaine-Dosogne hypothesizes that the patronage of this cycle may be attributed to Marguerite of Alsace, countess of Hainaut. Lafontaine-Dosogne, 122-123.

saint's death in a lower register rather than at the apex, the beholder is immediately

confronted with her martyrdom, reminding the viewer of the saint's place in heaven. To

the right of Margaret's narrative are the remains of another twelfth-century wall painting

depicting the heavenly Jerusalem (Fig. 1.8). The proximity of Margaret to the celestial

city creates a visual cause and effect, as Margaret's sanctity, expressed through her

martyrdom, gains her entry into heaven.

The altar dedicated to Margaret at the site of her frescoes would have been

brought into conversation with the fresco cycle during the celebration of Margaret's feast,

giving visual form to the oral retelling of her narrative. Furthermore, the altar and fresco

cycle at the cathedral of Tournai must be viewed within the context of other devotions to

the saint in the city. Margaret's importance at Tournai is expressed not only through her

inclusion in the cathedral but also through the presence of an abbey church of St.

Margaret, dedicated in 1288. A relic of Margaret's mouth, now housed in a sixteenth-

century silver head reliquary, is also regularly included in the annual Great Procession of

Tournai, which continues today.[56]

As evidenced by the textual and early visual *vitae* of St. Margaret, her tortures and

her encounters with the dragon and demon were given the most emphasis in the early

pictorial *vitae*. While texts and images conveyed similar narratives, the early image

cycles depicting Margaret inflect her life in different ways through the choices made

within the narrative cycle, their siting, as well as through the use of pictorial devices,

such as color, composition, and size. Furthermore, the image cycles of Margaret engaged

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[56] *Acta Sanctorum,* vol. 5, 28. The relic of her mouth ("os grande") at Tournai is noted by Arnoldus
Rayssius in *Hierogazophylacio Belgico* (Duaci, 1628), 314. I have yet to uncover when this relic was
acquired.

beholders in differing ways: as the viewer approached an altar, navigated through a church, or engaged in private devotion. Images of Margaret before the thirteenth century set the standard for how the saint was represented and the degree to which the saintly narrative could be altered. The evidence of the early pictorial and textual narratives also provide information about the spread of Margaret's cult. For example, the three visual cycles chosen here are found across continental Europe, in present-day Spain, Belgium, and Germany. By the thirteenth century, devotion to Margaret had extended to the farthest points of Western Europe through the dissemination of her relics, textual lives, and images.

Evidence for the Cult of Margaret

The evidence provided by other cultic materials related to St. Margaret, including first and foremost her relics as well as other forms of hagiographic texts and objects, give further information about the spread of Margaret's cult and the context in which the stained glass windows depicting the saint were made. The variety of additional sources for the saint is appropriate to Margaret's life, since, in her intercessory prayer, Margaret outlined a variety of ways in which devotees could pay homage to the saint and gain her favor. Depending on the text, the range of activities included writing, owning, reading, seeing, or hearing the story of her life, touching her relics, crossing oneself with her *vita,* building a church in her honor, providing a candle, or calling out to the saint by name.[57] The *Mombritius* version of Margaret's life specifies,

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[57] See, for example, the *Mombritius* version, Wace's Anglo-Norman life, and the French Version G. An analysis of the range of ways her life was transmitted and their significance is found in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "The Apple's Message: Some Post-Conquest Hagiographic Accounts of Textual Transmission," in

> …if anyone reads the book of my deeds or hears my passion read… and whoever of their own effort makes a light in my church, his sins were not attributed to him from that hour… I ask furthermore, Lord, whoever reads it or carries it or hears it read from that hour may his sins not be attributed to him. I also ask, Lord, whoever builds a basilica in my name and writes my passion or who, of his labor, prepares a manuscript of my passion, fill him with your Holy Spirit…[58]

> (…si quis legerit librum gestae meae: aut audierit passionem meam legendo… et quisquis lumen fecerit in basilica mea de suo labore: non imputetur peccatum illius ex illa hora... Adhuc peto domine: qui legerit aut qui tulerit uel qui audierit eam legendo: ex illa hora non imputetur peccatum illius… Adhuc peto domine: ut qui basilicam in nomine meo fecerit: et scripserit passionem meam: uel qui de suo labore comparauerit codicem passionis meae: reple illum spiritusancto tuo…)

The numerous ways in which a devotee could gain Margaret's help provided options for people from all social classes.

Margaret's relics are the most immediate form of contact with the saint. The earliest extant mention of her relics in Western Europe is the translation of Margaret's body from the east, perhaps from her hometown of Antioch in Pisidia, to S. Pietro della Valle on Lake Bolsena, just outside of Rome, in 908.[59] Not surprisingly, the first mention of Margaret's relics in the west coincides in time with the earliest Latin versions of her life. S. Pietro della Valle was a pilgrimage stop on the way to Rome, suggesting that worshippers from across Europe could have been exposed to Margaret and her cult in this form.[60] At Bolsena, devotion to Margaret is paired with another virgin martyr, St. Cristina.[61] The linking of Margaret with another female martyr is a recurring motif within

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Late-Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission, Essays in Honor of A. I. Doyle, ed. A. J. Minnis (Rochester, N.Y.: D. S. Brewer, 1994), 44-45.

[58] Mombritius, *Sanctuarium* (1910), vol. 2, 195, lines 3-11.

[59] Dresvina, 49; Luigi Buti, *Storia di Montefiascone* (Montefiascone: Presso Leonardi ed Argentini, 1870).

[60] Veronica Ortenberg, *English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Cultural, Spiritual, and Artistic Exchanges* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1992), 119. Ortenberg suggests that this is the way that English pilgrims first encountered Margaret during the eleventh century, before the crusaders reached Antioch.

[61] Ortenberg, 120.

her cult. Margaret's power seems to be enhanced through saintly companionship. In 1145 Margaret's Bolsena relics were moved to Montefiascone Cathedral, where they remain.[62]

Little is known about the location of Margaret's relics in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, but by the second half of the eleventh century her relics are listed as far away as England at a number of sites including Bath, Exeter, Hyde Abbey, St. Augustine's Canterbury, Reading, Shrewsbury, Abingdon, Thames, Twynham, and Christchurch, Canterbury.[63] The movement of Margaret's relics to the British Isles suggests a rapid spread and interest in her cult across the Western Europe.[64]

The growth of interest in Margaret in Western Europe was stimulated further by the spread of her relics after the capture of Antioch (October 1097 – June 1098) during the First Crusade and during the influx of eastern relics to the west in the wake of the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Widespread claims to her relics indicate that Margaret's cult reached the continent by the thirteenth century. Paul Riant includes several relics of St. Margaret in his two-volume collection of sources for the transfer of relics and other treasures from Constantinople to the west.[65] Among Margaret's relics is the "pedis Margarethe" (the foot of Margaret) at the Church of St. Aubin in Namur in 1218.[66] During the thirteenth century the church of Saint-Germain-de-Prés is said to have had an

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[62] Buti, *Storia di Montefiascone*, 74.

[63] Dresvina, 50.

[64] Extant church and chapel dedications to the saint further confirm her cult's geographical spread. In England, for example, churches dedicated to Margaret numbered second in dedication to female saints only to the Virgin Mary. Francis Bord, *Dedications: Patron Saints of English Churches* (London: Oxford University Press, 1914), 17. Similar dedications are found on the continent, such as a suburb of Vienna named "Margaretenguertel" (Margaret's belt) dating to the Middle Ages.

[65] Paul Riant, *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae,* vol. 2 (Paris: Editions du CTHS, 2004), 107. Relics of Margaret are listed in the Gunther of Paris's *Historia Constantinopolitana* (vol. 1, page 122), in the *Historia translationum reliquiarum S. Mamantis*, by Canonici Lingonensis (vol. 1, page 21), and in a 1504 inventory from Claravalis in Luxembourg (vol. 2, page 197).

[66] Riant, 107.

important secondary relic of Margaret, her belt (additional belts are claimed at Dol and Amiens).[67] This relic is said to have particularly attracted pregnant women on her feast day.[68] Several churches also claimed to have Margaret's body and/or head including Anderlach, near Brussels, the convent of Saint Clare in Paris, the convent of Saint Regulus in Senlis, Saint Caecilia in Rome, Saint Bartholomew in Ravegnani, at Trani (entire head) and at Brindisi (entire head).[69] As we will see in subsequent chapters, by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, relics of Margaret are known from the earliest extant inventories of French cathedrals, such as at Auxerre, although the date at which these relics arrived cannot be determined with certainty.[70]

In addition to her relics, other textual sources give insight into the spread of Margaret's cult, in particular, text amulets, hymns, and plays. Like the previously discussed *vitae* and image cycles, these texts emphasize particular aspects of Margaret's life that inform us about her significance. One of the most interesting textual forms in which Margaret's life is found is as amulets. Though rare, the surviving amulets, dating from the thirteenth century on, provide insight into how devotees interacted with Margaret: they were likely used for healing or during childbirth, and included Margaret's *vita,* prayers, and sometimes images.[71] Margaret is also included in other medical

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[67] *Bibliotheca sanctorum,* vol. 8 (1966), col. 1156; Buti, *Storia di Montefiascone*, 74; P. D. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae,* vol. 2 (Paris: Editions du CTHS, 2004); Catherine Pearce, "The Cult of St. Margaret of Antioch," *Feminist Theology* 6.16 (Sept., 1997): 70-71; Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien,* vol. 3 of *Iconographie des saints* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), 879; Spencer, 198.

[68] Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris* (Paris: C. Moette and J. Chardon, 1724), 701.

[69] Sabine Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints,* vol. 8 (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson, and Co., 1914), 487.

[70] J. Lebeuf, *Mémoires concernant l'histoire civile et ecclésiastique d'Auxerre et de son diocèse*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1743; Auxerre, 1848-55)*,* 241 (no. 352).

[71] Baron Léon de Herkenrode, "Une amulette, Légende en vers de Sainte Marguerite, tirée d'un ancien manuscrit," *Le Bibliophile Belge* 4 (1847): 2-23. See also the introduction to this dissertation.

contexts indicating her close connection to healing and childbirth. For example, in a thirteenth-century manuscript from France, the thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman version of Margaret's life is found alongside two medical treatises, the *Régime du corps* and a collection of remedies, as well as a Psalter, prayers, and hymns (London, British Library, MS Sloane 1611).[72] The *Régime du corps*, a health regimen, was written in 1256 for Countess Beatrice of Provence and includes sections on pregnancy and childbirth.[73]

Margaret was also the subject of medieval hymns and plays which would have been sung, acted, and read on Margaret's feast day and would have drawn wide audiences. For example, there is a mystery play focused on Margaret's life from France known from a single manuscript and several unpublished sixteenth-century prints.[74] This play retains the key moments from Margaret's life while expanding the number of characters, and thus, actors.[75]

Margaret's life is included within the hymns and sequences of Adam of St. Victor, from the mid-twelfth century.[76] Adam was a canon from the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris and a prolific hymn writer.[77] His feast day sequence on Margaret focuses on her martyrdom and entrance into heaven, where she remains with her heavenly bridegroom. The sequence recounts, "Let the clergy's measured voices, in the church sing joyfully.

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[72] Wogan-Browne, "The Apple's Message," 51.

[73] Margaret Wade Labarge, "The *Régime du Corps* of Aldebrandino of Siena: A Thirteenth Century Regimen for Women," in *A Medieval Miscellany* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1997), 273-280.

[74] Aristide Joly, *La vie de Sainte Marguerite: poème inédit, précédé de l'histoire de ses transformations et suivi de divers textes inédits et autres et de l'analyse détaillée du Mystère de Sainte Marguerite* (Paris: Vieweg, 1879), 145-179.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Adam of St. Victor, *The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St. Victor*, trans. Digby S. Wrangham, vol. 2 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench. and Co., 1881), 114-121.

[77] Margot Fassler, "Who was Adam of St. Victor?," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37.2 (Summer, 1984), 239. In the twelfth century, this abbey was known for the productions of hymns and sermons, including those of Richard of St. Victor, which formed the basis for vernacular sermons.

For today a spouse of heaven, to her rest on high is given."[78] Adam's sequence also includes references to the brutality of her torture and to her episode with the dragon – which he relays consumed her – and the demon.

The relics, textual amulets, plays and hymns related to Margaret provide information about the devotional climate of Margaret's cult during the Middle Ages and indicate her widespread appeal. The thirteenth-century stained glass cycles depicting Margaret thus emerged from a religious culture in which she was no stranger. While drawing on the established themes and iconography found in earlier textual and pictorial *vitae,* the stained glass windows depicting Margaret's life, which are discussed in the following chapters, express their own unique versions of the saint, specific to each local context.

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[78] Adam of St. Victor, 114-115. The Latin reads "jocunde modeletur Clerus in Ecclesia! Hac in die sponsa Dei Summe datur requiei…"

Chapter 2:

Historiography of the Cult of Saints and Stained Glass

Writing in the late sixth century, St. Gregory of Tours (d. 594) asked whether one should refer to the lives of the Church Fathers in the singular or plural, stating,

> Some people have asked us whether we should say the *vita* or *vitae* of the saints…
> it is clear that it is better to speak of the "Life of the Fathers" rather than the
> "Lives of the Fathers," the more so since there is a diversity of merits and virtues
> among them, but the one life of the body sustains them all in this world.[1]

While Gregory's assertion that the saints can be referred to in the singular points towards the *exemplum Christi* (the imitation of Christ and His life), that all saints embody, the differences between specific categories of saints were inscribed within Christian texts and images. Within the Litany, the names of the saints are ordered and grouped according to categories, including confessors, martyrs, and virgins.[2] This organization of saints is also evident in images, such as the illumination of the death of St. Omer in the eleventh-century *Life of Omer,* which depicts the saints grouped and labeled by type (Fig. 3.1). The virgin martyrs, who appear on the right side of the center register, are depicted with

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[1] Gregory of Tours, *Life of the Fathers,* trans. Edward James (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1985; 1991), 2. Interestingly, John Kitchen suggests that Gregory was making a purely grammatical distinction rather than a comment on the shared qualities of the saints. However, Kitchen notes that later hagiographers, including the anonymous author of Gregory the Great's *vita* from around 700, take up the latter position. John Kitchen, *Saints' Lives and the Rhetoric of Gender: Male and Female in Merovingian Hagiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 96-97.

[2] On Christian Litanies see Maurice Coens, "Anciennes litanies des saints," *Analecta Bollandiana* 54 (Société des bollandistes, 1936): 5-37. On female virgins within Litanies see Felice Lifshitz, "Gender Trouble in Paradise: The Problem of the Liturgical *Virgo,*" in *Images of Medieval Sanctity: Essays in Honor of Gary Dickson,* ed. Debra Higgs Strickland (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 25-39. Lifshitz notes that the majority of Litanies from the ninth century on organize saints into categories, with male saints divided into a greater number of different types and female saints grouped together as *virgines.* Lifshitz, 25.

crowns and martyrs' palms, the shared attributes of their martyrdoms, but specific saints, such as Margaret, are not identified. The division of the saints into discrete classes draws attention to the unique characteristics of each category, from apostles and prophets to virgins and martyrs.[3]

St. Margaret of Antioch is one among the earliest and most important type of saints in the Christian tradition, the martyrs. These saints, who lived and died following the example of Christ, were the earliest witnesses of Christianity.[4] Early Christian martyrs achieved recognition within the Church through the dissemination of their *vitae* in texts and images, rather than through official canonization, which did not develop until the twelfth century.[5] As the French monk Guibert of Nogent explained in his treatise *On Saints and Their Relics,* from around 1125, martyrs needed no more "proof" of their sanctity than their spilled blood: "The Mark of blood is enough to distinguish martyrs, even if later writings are silent about them."[6] As the cult of saints expanded and spread throughout the Middle Ages, it incorporated numerous other holy men and women from different walks of life, including bishops, monks, queens, and mystics, but martyrs, like Margaret, retained their importance as examples of holy men and women who made the ultimate sacrifice.[7]

Owing to its prominent place in the Christian tradition, the cult of saints has been the subject of much writing and study – both praise and criticism – from the Middle Ages

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[3] Cynthia Hahn also notes that the categories of saints express "a set of expectations to which few saints conform entirely." Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley, C.A.: University of California Press, 2001), 6.

[4] Hahn, *Portrayed,* 59-89.

[5] André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 22-58.

[6] Guibert of Nogent, "On Saints and Their Relics," in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, trans. and ed. Thomas Head (New York: Routledge, 2001), 414.

[7] Hahn, *Portrayed*, 5.

to today. In order to examine the stained glass windows depicting St. Margaret, it is necessary to begin with a consideration of how the study of saints and their cults has developed. This dissertation benefits from the expansion of hagiographic studies in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries beyond textual sources to include the diverse objects and images associated with the cult of saints. Thus, in this chapter I examine the historical preference for documentary evidence of the cult of saints and the subsequent recovery of the range of evidence for the cult of saints in scholarship, paying particular attention to the study of stained glass and female saints.

The Historical Preference for Textual Evidence

Evidence of criticism of the cult of saints and concern over the veracity of source material exists from the early fifth century, stemming from anxiety over false devotions to saints who either did not exist or weren't worthy of praise and to relics that were duplicitous or dubious in origin.[8] Maintaining the orthodoxy of devotion was particularly crucial for the laity who, according to clerics, were more apt to fall into idolatry and to worship false saints and relics.[9] The authority of historically verifiable textual documents – such as *vitae* and miracle records – became increasingly important in determining "true" saints and relics, thus marginalizing other forms of dissemination of a saint's cult, such as images, and calling into question saints who lacked such empirical evidence, including Margaret. Although images were acknowledged as part of the cult of saints, the

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[8] In 404, St. Jerome responded to Vigilantus's condemnations of the veneration of saints and their relics. Jerome, "Against Viligantius," *Medieval Sourcebook,* http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/jerome-againstvigilantius.asp

[9] Guibert, 408. Jerome, "Against Viligantius."

primacy of texts as evidence is asserted in writing ranging from medieval clerical

critiques to early twentieth-century scholarship.

The medieval assertion of the importance of documentary evidence for saints and

of clerical supervision of lay devotion is evident within medieval criticism on the cults of

new saints acclaimed by local communities. For example, Guibert of Nogent stressed that

proper documentation was necessary to ensure that a saint and/or relic was worthy of

devotion. In order to be "vetted," saints had to have sound textual *vitae* as well as a

tradition of miracles.[10] Guibert stressed that, "written testimony" was necessary to affirm

the status of a saint.[11] He did, however, leave room for evidence in the form of the visual,

the auditory, and the miraculous. Guibert was concerned that the church maintain the

proper authority and control over the cult of saints and its manifestations. With the proper

control, "false," that is to say, poorly documented, saints and relics would cease to be a

problem. Guibert called attention to the negative effects of undocumented saints and

relics, namely idolatry and false worship on the part of lay devotees. He mentioned, for

example, the presence of several heads of John the Baptist.[12] The existence of multiple

examples of the same relic meant that the worship of all but one of these relics was false,

although knowing which one was authentic was problematic.[13] Guibert's perspective is

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[10] Guibert wrote, "Ought we then to believe [in the sanctity] of someone for whom there is no evidence of holiness: neither what we see nor what we hear, neither written evidence nor miracles?" Guibert, 408.

[11] Guibert, 408.

[12] Guibert, 417.

[13] Interestingly, the Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach, in his early thirteenth-century *Dialogues on Miracles,* relates that true relics of saints will dispel and eliminate any false relics. For example, when a horse bone becomes mixed with the remains of the eleven-thousand Holy Virgins of Cologne, the animal bone was miraculously cast out. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogue on Miracles,* vol. 2, trans. H. von E. Scott and C.C. Swinton Bland (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1929), 91-92.

that of a member of the institutional church who believed in the power of the saints and their relics and who wanted to protect the laity from unorthodox practices.[14]

The development of canonization procedures during the twelfth century further affirmed the importance of texts in documenting saints. The proliferation of new saints into the high Middle Ages resulted in a tightening of clerical control over the cult of saints, an effect that Guibert of Nogent would likely have approved of.[15] Canonization procedures focused on new saints and did not retroactively establish documents for earlier saints, such as early martyrs like Margaret. The formal canonization process required copious documentation, including a written *vita,* which conveyed the virtues and miracles of the person.[16] Canonization essentially reduced the number of saints that could enter the Christian canon by centralizing the process and placing the official recognition of saints in the hands of the papacy, rather than individual dioceses.[17]

During the seventeenth century these textual *vitae* came under scrutiny by the earliest scholars of the lives of the saints. The first compilers of hagiographic material on a large scale were the so-called Bollandists of the seventeenth century. Jean Bolland (1596-1665) was a Jesuit scholar devoted to gathering Greek, Latin, and oriental textual sources for the cult of saints.[18] The first publication, the *Acta Sanctorum*, was released in 1643.[19] The contribution of the Bollandists to our understanding of the cult of saints is

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[14] Thomas Head, "Introduction: Guibert of Nogent, *On Saints and Their Relics,*" in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Routledge, 2001), 401.
[15] Vauchez, 137.
[16] Hahn, *Portrayed*, 14.
[17] Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, and Event, 1000-1215* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 184.
[18] Donald Sullivan, "Jean Bolland (1596-1665) and the Early Bollandists," in *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline, Vol. 1: History*, eds. Helen Damicot and Joseph B. Zavadil (New York: Garland, 1995; Routledge, 2013), 6-7.
[19] Sullivan, 8.

substantial. By drawing together textual sources, rather than other types of materials including images or relics, the Bollandists gave primacy to the written word at the expense of other types of evidence.

In the early twentieth century the Bollandist Hippolyte Delehaye employed a critical method of archaeological and documentary scholarship in his *Les Légendes hagiographiques*.[20] He attempted to define the genre of hagiography as documents that were strictly religious and aimed at edification.[21] He considered only the sources and texts that stood up to his definition, resulting in a small handful of texts deemed to have "historical value." Included among the texts that Delehaye dismisses are acts of martyrs composed centuries after their deaths. St. Margaret's *vitae* would certainly belong to this category of saints that were set aside.[22] In contrast, a first-hand martyr account, such as Perpetua's *passio,* met Delehaye's criteria for a sound saint's narrative. For Delehaye, hagiographic texts pointed to differences between the religious practices of the clergy and of the populace, who did not care about "history" and took no issue with anachronisms or geographical inaccuracies.[23] In fact, Delehaye asserted that lay devotees were capable only of understanding a "general notion" of sanctity and thus their *vitae* reduced individual saints to repetitive types.[24] Delehaye's attempt to "weed out" inaccurate or unsound hagiographic material does not account for the fact that medieval Christians did not share modern notions of "history."[25] As Felice Lifshitz points out, what constitutes a

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[20] Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of Saints: An Introduction to Hagiography,* trans. V. M. Crawford (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1907; reprint by University of Notre Dame, 1961).
[21] Delehaye, 2.
[22] Deleyahe, 61.
[23] Delehaye, 21.
[24] Delehaye, 24.
[25] Felice Lifshitz, "Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographic" Texts as Historical Narrative," *Viator* 24 (1995), 98.

hagiographic document has more to do with the cultural context of the inquirer than of its creator.[26]

The positivist idea of measuring the cult of saints against modern notions of "history" or "documentable proof" negates the ways in which the cult of saints functioned for medieval devotees and contributes to the relegation of the cult of saints to the realms of "popular religion" or "folklore."[27] Adding to this perceived divide between clerical and lay Christianity were the scholars of the Enlightenment period who viewed the cult of saints as mere superstition. In his *Natural History of Religion,* first published in 1757, Scottish historian and philosopher David Hume delineated a division between the religion of clerics and that of the people, to which the cult of saints belonged. For Hume, Christian saints corresponded directly with the heroes of antiquity: "The place of Hercules… is now supplied by [Saint] Dominic…"[28] Hume pitted "popular theology" against the "scholastic" when he wrote that the former had, "an appetite for absurdity and contradiction."[29] As evident by St. Margaret's inclusion in encyclopedias on superstition, folklore, and magic at the turn of the twentieth century, devotion to the saint was counted among the practices of "popular religion."[30]

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[26] Lifshitz, 110.

[27] Steven Justice, "Did the Middle Ages Believe in Their Miracles?" *Representations* 103.1 (Summer, 2008): 1-29. Justice considers scholarly explanations and assumptions for medieval miracle stories and their function, noting the complexity of miracle stories and the study of belief.

[28] David Hume, *The Natural History of Religion, 1757*, ed. A. Wayne Colver (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 22.

[29] Hume, 23. However, Hume also explains that popular practices were sometimes even encouraged by clerics themselves. Hume, 35.

[30] See Cora Linn Morrison Daniels and Charles McClellan Stevens, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Superstitions, Folklore, and the Occult Sciences of the World,* vol. 3 (Chicago: J. H. Yewdale and Sons Co., 1903), 1537. Margaret's feast day is listed along with the description of pregnant women "flocking" to pray to her.

Hume's so-called "two-tiered model" of Christianity prevailed into the twentieth century, when scholars finally challenged it. In 1981, historian Peter Brown argued that the development of the cult of saints in late antiquity was the result of clerical "impresarios" who promoted the saints in order to ensure devotions to the shrines they administered.[31] Writing deftly and persuasively, Brown recreated the world of fifth- and sixth-century Christianity, showing how the cult of saints responded to the needs of both the laity and clergy of the early Church and was an integral part of Late Antique society. Effectively, Brown led the way for scholars to consider the cult of saints as an area of serious scholarly inquiry.[32]

The Expansion of Hagiographic Studies

With the rejection of the "two-tiered model" and its positivist view of hagiography, the study of the cult of saints expanded to incorporate a wider variety of texts and cultic practices that had been previously overlooked, paving the way for serious consideration of the cult of saints such as St. Margaret.[33] Julia Smith has considered the

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[31] Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 8-10.

[32] Two critical anthologies draw on Brown's work: Paul Hayward and James Howard-Johnston, eds. *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) and Philip Rousseau and Emmanuel Papoutsakis, eds., *Transformations of Late Antiquity* (Burlington, V.T.: Ashgate, 2009). Hayward and Howard-Johnston's volume includes essays considering the cult of saints broadly, within the medieval west but also within medieval Russia and Islam. The essays within Rousseau and Papoutsakis's anthology does not focus on the cult of saints but on the theme of transformation culled from Brown's work.

[33] On studies incorporating a wider variety of documents see Lifshitz, "Beyond Positivism"; Pierre-André Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France medieval, XIe-XIIe siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 1985); Skemer, *Binding Words;* Julia M. H. Smith, "Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles, and Relics in Brittany, c. 850-1250," *Speculum* 65.2 (April, 1990): 309-343; Jean-Yves Tilliette, "Les modèles de sainteté du IXe au XIe siècle, d'après le témoinage des récits hagiographiques en vers métriques," in *Santi e demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (secoli V-XI)* (Spoleto: Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1989): 381-406; Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind.*

cult of saints in Brittany where local saints were recognized through oral, rather than textual traditions, which were composed centuries after a cult's establishment.[34] For example, in the ninth-century hagiographer Wrmoroc's account of Paul Aurelian's life, the focus of the cult was placed on healing springs and miracle-working objects known through oral traditions. This *vita,* like others from Brittany, did not attempt to promote devotion to the saint at one particular site but relayed well-known oral reports of miraculous sites across the country.[35] Smith points out that these written hagiographies were not used to assert the supremacy of the clergy over the laity but rather to bolster the connections between the saint and the local places where the saint's power could be accessed.[36] Regarding *vitae* reworked from earlier texts, Felice Lifshitz has pointed out that while such *vitae* had not received scholarly attention and were thought to be interesting only for linguistic differences, they were in fact significant because they revised the texts for new historical contexts, making old stories newly relevant to their time.[37] Similarly, Jean-Yves Tilliette made a claim for the study of versified saints' lives from the ninth to eleventh centuries, which were also adapted from earlier hagiographic sources, explaining that their authors were well-learned and that the texts deserves serious consideration, not for their style, but for the valuable contributions they make to each saint's life.[38] The value of carefully studying a wide variety of *vitae* associated with the cult of a saint applies also to the examination of Margaret's thirteenth-century cult, as numerous versified *vitae* of Margaret were created at this time.

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[34] Smith, "Oral and Written," 326.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Smith, "Oral and Written," 343.
[37] Lifshitz, 99.
[38] Tilliette, 381-384.

Once saints' lives became a topic of serious scholarly inquiry, twentieth-century

scholars, especially within textual studies, have considered what saints' *vitae* reveal about

contemporary life, culture, and the stake of local communities in the cult of saints.[39]

These studies often take the form of micro-histories of one geographical location at one

time. For example, in his study on the cult of saints in the diocese of Orléans, Thomas

Head considered how the Church Fathers and patron saints of the diocese were used

within the communities to meet their social needs.[40] Some of these studies have been

particularly revealing in their considerations of how textual iterations of a saint's life can

shift and change across time as social mores, religion, and society transformed.

Sherry Reames's *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical*

History, published in 1985, is an excellent example of a study that considers why and

how Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* (*Golden Legend*)*,* the famous compendium of

saints' lives experienced such popularity during the Middle Ages, only to suffer disdain

during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[41] Particularly interesting is Reames's

close examination of the differences between saints' lives in the sources that Jacobus

consulted and in his own ensuing *vitae* of these saints. According to Reames, these

changes reveal much about Jacobus's motivations, goals, and the context in which he

lived and worked.[42] For example, Jacobus streamlines Benedict's *vita*, omitting what he

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[39] Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991); Patrick Geary, "Saint Helen of Athyra and the Cathedral of Troyes in the Thirteenth Century," in *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages,* ed. Patrick Geary (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), 221-242.

[40] Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[41] Sherry Reames, *The Legenda aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison, W. I.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 28.

[42] Reames, Parts II and II, 73-195.

perceived to be extraneous detail, emphasizing the saint's authority, power, and privilege, and highlighting the miraculous, wholly in keeping with the ideals of the Dominican Order.[43] Jacobus's text was intended not for consumption by the laity but for learned priests who could adapt the material for their own sermons and who would have the knowledge necessary to expand on moral lessons within the brief narratives.[44]

Art History and the Cult of Saints

As the study of the textual sources for the cult of saints expanded, interest on the part of art historians increased. While art historical scholarship on the cult of saints initially focused on images intimately connected to texts, scholars now study the wide range of visual and material evidence of the cult of saints. Scholars recognized that texts cannot provide a complete picture of the significance and function of the medieval cult of saints. Delehaye provided insight into how images of saints were viewed by textual historians in the early twentieth century. Delehaye contended that images negatively contributed to the legends of saints, because the wrong interpretation of imagery led to the creation of the fantastic aspects of saint's lives.[45] Art historians, on the other hand, have long acknowledged the didactic value of the abundant images of saints in medieval art. At the end of the nineteenth century, art historian Emile Mâle included a chapter on the representations of saints within the Gothic cathedral in his monumental work on

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[43] See Reames's discussion of the life of St. Benedict. Reames, Chapter 5, "The Impoverishment of Gregory's Narrative in the *Legenda aurea*," 85-100, especially 88, 90-91, 97. She notes the central motif of Benedict' life is "vindication of the saint against adversaries" rather than healing and teaching within his community. Reames, 97.

[44] Reames, 86.

[45] Delehaye, 46, 75.

French Gothic art, *L'Art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France* (1898).[46] For Mâle, the

ubiquitous depictions of saints in the High Middle Ages functioned to aid the "childlike"

laity in understanding key figures and doctrines of the church.[47] Images of saints were

not only intended to teach, but also to entertain and to "charm" the masses.[48] Although

Mâle acknowledged the power of representations of saints, he, like Delehaye, contributed

to a perceived division between clerical Christianity and lay devotional practices,

reinforcing Hume's two-tiered model of religion.

In the 1980s, after Peter Brown's foundational *Cult of Saints,* art historians began

to seriously consider visual representations of saints and their cults, particularly within

manuscript illuminations. Barbara Abou-el-Haj approached images of saints from the

perspective of social art history, considering the political and economic importance of

various cults and their images.[49] For instance, in her book *The Medieval Cult of Saints,*

from 1997, Abou-el-Haj showed how the illuminations in three manuscripts from the

eighth to the twelfth centuries expressed changing conceptions of St. Armand at the

monastery the saint founded. Magdalena Carrasco also approached images of saints

within a variety of manuscripts and considered their expression of contemporary beliefs

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[46] Emile Mâle, *L'Arte religieux du XIIIe siècle en France: Étude sur l'iconographie du moyen age et sur ses sources d'inspiration,* Third Edition (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1898; 1910), Chapter IV, 313-386; Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France, the Thirteenth Century: A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1898; 1984), Chapter IV, 267-329. Mâle's study was first published in Paris by E. Leroux in 1898 and translated into English from the third edition in 1913 in London by Dent.
[47] Mâle, *L'Arte religieux,* 327; Mâle, *Religious Art,* 279. The French reads, "Tous ces récits charmaient un peuple enfant."
[48] Ibid.
[49] Barbara Abou-el-Haj, "The Audience for the Medieval Cult of Saints," *Gesta* 30.1 (1991): 3-15; Barbara Abou-el-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 28-32.

and religious practices.[50] Carrasco examined how imagery of Mary Magdalen in

manuscripts transformed across time, from portraying the Magdalen as an allegorical

figure to a model of the contemplative life. Pamela Sheingorn made connections between

imagery of St. Anne teaching the Virgin Mary to read and contemporary practices of

mothers teaching their daughters.[51] Cynthia Hahn also considered narrative imagery

depicting the saints in illuminated *libelli,* manuscripts devoted to the life of one or two

saints, and their effect on the manuscripts' viewers.[52] Rather than focusing on a single

saint, Hahn called attention to different types of saints – martyrs, confessors, and royals –

as they were linked together into categories through the common themes within their

lives. Imagery of St. Margaret, particularly in manuscript versions of her life, and her

connections to women and childbirth participate in this contextual trend.

More recently, scholars have considered a wider range of images and objects

associated with the cult of saints, especially relics and reliquaries. Cynthia Hahn's

important article from 1997, "Voices of Saints," called into question the assumptions

made about the relationship between the exterior form and interior contents of

reliquaries.[53] Hahn showed that one cannot assume that a reliquary's form conveys

information about its contents; that is, a reliquary in the shape of a hand does not

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[50] Magdalena Elizabeth Carrasco, "The Imagery of the Magdalen in Christina of Markyate's Psalter (St. Albans Psalter)," *Gesta* 38.1 (1999): 67-80; Magdalena Elizabeth Carrasco, "Spirituality in Context: The Romanesque Illustrated Life of St. Radegund of Poitiers (Poitiers, Bibl. Mun., MS 250)," *The Art Bulletin* 72.3 (1990): 414-435.

[51] Pamela Sheingorn, "'The Wise Mother': The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary," *Gesta* 32.1 (1993): 69-80.

[52] Hahn, *Portrayed*. For *libelli* see Francis Wormald, "Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lives of Saints," *Bulletin of John Rylands Library* 35 (1952): 248-266.

[53] Cynthia Hahn, "The Voices of the Saints: Speaking Reliquaries," *Gesta* 36.1 (1997): 20-31; Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400 – circa 1204* (University Park, P.A.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012).

necessarily contain that body part. Continuing the trend of focusing on objects associated

with the cult of saints was the recent exhibition, *Treasures of Heaven,* which traveled

through the United States and Europe in 2010 and 2011.[54] This exhibition compiled a

range of objects associated with the cult of saints, from manuscripts to relics, dating from

Late Antiquity through the Reformation, validating the visual and material culture of the

cult of saints. Included in the exhibition was a thirteenth-century hand reliquary of St.

Marina, Margaret's eastern counterpart, whose form allowed it to be easily clasped

between praying hands, rather than taking the shape of the relic itself (Fig. 3.2).[55] The

exhibit served to reinforce the notion that the study of images is crucial to understanding

the cult of saints. Images of saints were produced by wide groups of patrons, invoked

vivid personalities for the saints, influenced and inspired beholders, and shaped local

devotional practices, thus complicating the "two-tiered" model.

    Unfortunately, studies of images of St. Margaret to date have been limited to

manuscript illuminations, objects made for altars, and panel paintings, the examples

being drawn primarily from the late Middle Ages.[56] Furthermore, these objects have

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[54] Martina Bagnoli, et al., eds., *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics and Devotion in Medieval Europe* (London: British Museum Press, 2011).

[55] Bagnoli, *Treasures of Heaven,* 59, Cat. No. 50; Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400 – circa 1204* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 224; Wendy Larson-Harris, ""Do you inquire about these things?" Text, Relic, and the Power of St. Marina," *Medieval Perspectives* 27 (2012): 173-181.

[56] Lois Drewer, "Margaret of Antioch the Demon-Slayer, East and West: The Iconography of the Predella of the Boston Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine," *Gesta* 32.1 (1993): 11-20; Leanne Gilbertson, "Imaging St. Margaret: *Imitatio Christi* and *Imitatio Mariae* in the Vanni Altarpiece," in *Images, Relics and Devotional Practices in Medieval and Renaissance Italy,* eds. Sally J. Cornelison and Scott B. Montgomery (Tempe: Arizona State University, 2005), 115-38; Leanne Gilbertson, "The Vanni Altarpiece and the Relic Cult of Saint Margaret: Considering a Female Audience," in *Decorations for the Holy Dead: Visual Embellishments on Tombs and Shrines of Saints,* eds. Stephen Lamia and Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 179-190; Elizabeth C. Parker, "Modes of Seeing Margaret of Antioch at Fornovo di Taro," in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, eds. Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan and Ellen M. Shortell (Burlington, V.T.: Ashgate, 2009), 274-290.

received few comprehensive studies. Cynthia Hahn's dissertation and subsequent book, *Passio Kyliani. Pseudo-Theotimus, Passio Margaretae*, published in 1988, examined a tenth-century libellus depicting scenes from the lives of Sts. Kilian and Margaret, the earliest extant visual narrative of the saint, and was the first extensive study of a manuscript devoted to Margaret.[57] More recently, altarpieces have been considered, such as the late fourteenth-century Turino Vanni altarpiece studied by Leanne Gilbertson.[58] Gilbertson's work focused on the iconography of the altarpiece and paid particular attention to how women may have interacted with St. Margaret, a common theme in studies of the saint. Gilbertson coordinated the imagery on the Vanni altarpiece, St. Margaret's hand and belt relics, and local devotional practices to argue that the altarpiece functioned to establish Margaret's presence at the cathedral of Montefiascone and to document her healing power.[59] While Gilbertson considered the expectations a female audience would have had when approaching the altarpiece, she did not take into account how Margaret's cult was shaped or how male audiences would have interacted with the saint.

Vitreous *Vitae:* The Saints in Stained Glass

To date, monumental stained glass images of St. Margaret from the High Middle Ages have not received scholarly attention. Stained glass is among the most celebrated and prolific art forms of the thirteenth century. Cycles of the lives of saints in stained glass windows adorn nearly every Gothic church of the thirteenth century, pointing to the

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[57] Hahn, *Passio Kyliani. Pseudo-Theotimus, Passio Margaretae*. See the discussion of several illuminations from this manuscript in chapter 1.

[58] Gilbertson, "Imaging St. Margaret;" Gilbertson, "Vanni Altarpiece."

[59] Gilbertson, "Imaging St. Margaret," 116.

importance of the medium. Stained glass is as crucial to understanding the function of the

medieval church as the more frequently studied aspects of the Gothic cathedral such as

architecture and liturgy.

The rise of such a complex, expensive, time-consuming, and impressive medium

has been the subject of much art historical scholarship.[60] Once primarily considered for

its symbolic meaning and atmospheric properties within the context of Gothic

architecture, stained glass has come to be studied from a range of approaches that key

into the unique aspects of the medium.[61] Stained glass is distinctive among other artistic

media for its independence from text, its wide accessibility and easy visibility, and its

relation to the liturgy, performances, and other activities within the church. Madeline

Caviness's study from 1977 of the stained glass of Canterbury took into account not only

conservation and stylistic issues but also the context and subject matter of the stained

glass and the windows' relation to the church and activities within the sacred space.[62] Her

study set the stage for a number of scholarly works that sought to better reconstruct the

role of stained glass in sacred space and to examine the ways in which the medium

interacted with its social and religious context and architectural surroundings. In his study

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[60] Formative surveys include, Louis Grodecki, *Le vitrail roman* (Fribourg: Office du livre, 1977); Louis Grodecki and Catherine Brisac, *Gothic Stained Glass, 1200-1300* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985); Elizabeth Carson Pastan, "Glazing Medieval Buildings," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 443-465. For a two-part review of the recent historiography of stained glass and accompanying bibliography see Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz and Claudine Lautier, "Recerches récentes sur le vitrail medieval 1998-2009, 1re partie," *Kunstchronik* (June, 2010): 261-284 and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz and Claudine Lautier, "Recerches récentes sur le vitrail medieval 1998-2009, 2e partie," *Kunstchronik* (July, 2010): 313-338.

[61] Michael W. Cothren, "Some Personal Reflections on American Modern and Postmodern Historiographies of Gothic Stained Glass," in *From Minor to Major: The Minor Arts in Medieval Art History,* ed. Column Hourihane (Princeton, N. J.: The Index of Christian Art, 2012), 255.

[62] Madeline H. Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral, circa 1175-1220* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977).

of the medieval stained glass of Beauvais Cathedral, Michael Cothren showed that stained glass windows could be tailor made and sorted into modes, which include both style and iconography, to convey specific messages depending on the context and audience.[63]

The visibility and legibility of stained glass windows for medieval audiences have been considered by scholars including Madeline Caviness and Wolfgang Kemp. In a 1992 article, Caviness considered how medieval beholders may have "read" a window, noting how it differs from reading a manuscript in important ways.[64] Kemp, in his book *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass*, from 1997, drew parallels between changes in sermon practices and the structure, organization, and subject matter of narrative stained glass windows.[65]

Recently, scholars have considered stained glass windows specifically depicting saints' lives within the topography of a church and within the local and universal cults of saints, including Caviness, Michael Cothren, Anne Harris, Alyce Jordan, Elizabeth Pastan, and Mary Shepard.[66] The particular difficulty of studying hagiographic subjects

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[63] Michael W. Cothren, *Picturing the Celestial City: The Medieval Stained Glass of Beauvais Cathedral* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006), 98-99.

[64] Madeline H. Caviness, "Biblical Stories in Windows: Were They Bibles for the Poor?" In *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, ed. B.S. Levy (Binghampton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992), 103-147.

[65] Wolfgang Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass,* trans. Caroline Dobson Saltzwedel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[66] Madeline H. Caviness, "Stained Glass Windows in Gothic Chapels and the Feasts of the Saints," in *Kunst und Liturgie im Mittelalter*, ed Nicholas Bock (Rome: Bibliotheca Herziana, 2000) 135-148; Michael Cothren, "The Iconography of Theophilus Windows in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum* 59.2 (1984): 308-341; Michael Cothren, "Who is the bishop in the Virgin Chapel of Beauvais Cathedral?" *Gazette des beaux-arts* 125 (1995): 1-16; Anne Harris, "Pilgrimage, Performance, and Stained Glass at Canterbury Cathedral," in *The Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, ed. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 243-281; Anne Harris, "Saint Nicholas in Context: Stained Glass and Liturgical Drama in the Archbishopric of Sens," in *Glasmalerei im Kontext: Bildprogramme und Raumfunktionen,* Akten des XXII. Internationalen Colloquiums des Corpus Vitrearum, ed. Rüdiger Becksmann, *Wissenshaftliche Beibände zum Anzeiger des Germanischen*

in stained glass was noted by Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz and Claudine Lautier. They observed that studying hagiography often requires reconstructing windows whose panels have been rearranged and restored.[67] They also noted that hagiographic windows frequently depict subject matter culled from oral traditions, making the reconstruction of original programs more difficult.[68]

The use of stained glass to depict the lives of the saints stands apart from other narrative *vitae* in manuscript illuminations, text, painting, or sculpture: the medium itself holds meaning independent of the imagery, the production of windows involved both the clergy and the laity, and it engaged a varied audience.[69] Herbert Kessler writes that vitreous materials "came to occupy a special place in the spiritual hierarchy between history and eternal presence" as they embody the "amalgam of man and divinity."[70] Furthermore, the transformation of raw material objects into jewel-toned glass depicting spiritual imagery echoed the mechanism of typology, giving the medium of stained glass additional significance.[71] Thus, the medium of stained glass contributes to the creation of a vivid and visceral image of the saint that helps convey his or her divinity.

Nationalmuseums 25 (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum Abt. Verlag, 2005), 89-99; Alyce Jordan, "Rhetoric and Reform: the St. Thomas Becket Window of Sens Cathedral," in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to medieval imagery in honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness,* eds. Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carons Pastan, and Ellen M. Shortell (Burlington, V.T.: Ashgate, 2009)*,* 547-564; Elizabeth C. Pastan, "Charlemagne as Saint? Relics and the Choice of Window Subjects at Chartres Cathedral," in *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade,* ed. Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (New York: Palgrave, 2008), 97-135; Elizabeth Pastan and Mary B. Shepard. "The Torture of Saint George Medallion from Chartres Cathedral in Princeton." *Record of the Art Museum Princeton University* 56 (1997): 10-34.

[67] Kurmann-Schwarz and Lautier, "Recerches récentes, 2e partie," 317-318.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Harris, "Pilgrimage, Performance," 243-281; Alyce Jordan, *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

[70] Herbert Kessler, ""They preach not by speaking out loud but by signifying": Vitreous Arts as Typology," *Gesta* 51.1 (2012): 59, 66.

[71] Kessler, "Vitreous Arts as Typology," 61.

Studies on stained glass windows depicting saints tend to focus on a single image of a saint or an individual narrative window, as opposed to all extant windows of a single saint. In their study of the medallion depicting St. George tortured on a wheel from Chartres, currently in the Princeton University Art Museum, Elizabeth Pastan and Mary Shepard considered multiple aspects including the glass's provenance and condition, the cult of St. George, representations of the saint in other media, and devotion to the saint at Chartres.[72] This well-rounded approach to stained glass provides a model for studying other hagiographic windows. In Patrick Geary's consideration of the narrative window depicting St. Helen of Athyra at Troyes, the author adds another approach to the study of hagiographic stained glass, closely examining the role windows could play in the generation and transformation of a saint's cult within a particular site and context.[73] Specifically, Geary points towards the potential of stained glass to participate in the formation of a cult where none had previously existed or had only received little attention. In addition to these studies, Michael Cothren's 1984 study of thirteenth-century windows depicting the narrative of Theophilus takes into account alterations in narratives that relate to specific contexts, contemporaneous social customs, and local traditions. These iconographic variations show the flexibility of hagiographic narratives to be molded after the needs and expectations of a particular viewing community.[74]

Few scholars to date have considered how the life of a single saint, including St. Margaret, is reinterpreted, reframed, and re-imagined across several sites from the same

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[72] Pastan and Shepard, 10-34. Pastan and Shepard returned to these issues in their article "Introduction. Stained Glass: Collaborations, Analogies, and Investigations," *Journal of Glass Studies* 56 (2014): 231-235, which introduces articles engaging varied approaches to the medium.

[73] Geary, "Saint Helen of Athyra," 221-242.

[74] Cothren, "The Iconography of Theophilus Windows," 308-341; Cothren, "Who is the bishop," 1-16.

time period.[75] Notable exceptions include Madeline Caviness's consideration of windows

representing the Old Testament narrative of Joseph, and Alyce Jordan's examination of

windows depicting St. Thomas Becket in France.[76] Only recently have scholars

considered stained glass in relation to a church's architectural fabric, its relics, liturgy,

ceremonies, and audience.[77]

Female Sanctity and Virgin Martyrs

The study of the stained glass windows depicting St. Margaret's life also benefits

from the increase in studies of female saints in the last fifty years.[78] Scholars drawing on

literary theory, gender theory, and feminist scholarship, have examined the writings of

holy women, how male hagiographers shaped the lives of female saints, the unique

characteristics of female sanctity, the relationship between the cult of saints and lay

women, and the visual representations of holy women.[79]

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[75] Virginia Raguin, *Stained Glass in Thirteenth-Century Burgundy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), Raguin lists the cycles of St. Margaret in her appendix though no interpretive information is provided.

[76] Caviness, "Biblical Stories in Windows," 128-145; Jordan, "Rhetoric and Reform," 547-564.

[77] Gerald B. Guest, "The Prodigal's Journey: Ideologies of Self and City in the Gothic Cathedral," *Speculum* 81.1 (2006): 35-75; Gerald B. Guest, "Stained Glass and Liturgy: The Uses and Limits of an Analogy," *Journal of Glass Studies* 56 (2014): 271-285; Anne Harris, "The Performative Terms of Jewish Iconoclasm and Conversion in Two Saint Nicholas Windows at Chartres Cathedral," in *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture,* ed. Mitchell B. Merback (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 119-141; Alyce Jordan, "Stained Glass and the Liturgy: Performing Sacral Kingship in Capetian France," in *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy,* ed. Column Hourihane (Princeton, N. J.: Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 2003), 274-297; Pastan, "Charlemagne as Saint?," 97-135.

[78] Important review articles include, Patrick Geary, "Saints, Scholars, and Society: The Elusive Goal," in *Saints: Studies in Hagiography,* ed. Sandro Sticco (Binghampton, N. Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1996), 1-22; Pamela Sheingorn, "The Saints in Medieval Culture: Recent Scholarship," *Envoi* 2.1 (Spr., 1990): 1-30; Julia Smith, "Early Medieval Hagiography in the Late Twentieth Century," *Early Medieval Europe* 1/i (1992): 69-76.

[79] Among such studies are, Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* (Berkeley, C. A.: University of California Press, 1987); Carrasco, "The Imagery of the Magdalen," 67-80; Magdalena Carrasco, "Spirituality in Context," 414-435; Madeline Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy* (Philadelphia, P. A.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001);

That female sanctity must be considered separately from male sanctity is evident in the writings of medieval theologians. The church fathers viewed women as fundamentally different from men both biologically and spiritually. Women were regarded as more closely connected to their bodies and to nature, while men had the superior capacities for logic and reason.[80] St. Augustine wrote that while the souls of men and women are equal, only man is made in God's image.[81] Clerics opined that, due to their biological sex, women had to overcome more obstacles in their pursuit of holiness than man. This construction expresses the idea that for a woman there is a tension between her soul, which is made in the image of God, and her body, which can never be. In the late-second and early-third centuries, Tertullian expounded on the problems of the female sex in *De cultu feminarum*, noting that all women descend from Eve and thus are more prone than men to vices – including sexual corruption, vanity, and pride – and to giving in to their sensual desires and temptations.[82] Male hagiographers and theologians stressed that holy women must remain chaste, in body and in spirit, whether married,

Michael Goodich, "The Contours of Female Piety in Later Medieval Hagiography," *Church History* 50.1 (1981): 20-32; Jo Ann McNamara, "The Need to Give: Suffering and Female Sanctity in the Middle Ages," in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, eds. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991). 199-221; Catherine M. Mooney, "Voice, Gender and the Portrayal of Sanctity," in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and their Interpreters*," ed. Catherine M. Mooney (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Judith Oliver, "'Gothic' Women and Merovingian Desert Mothers," *Gesta* 32 (1993): 124-134; Jane Schulenburg, "Saints' Lives as a Source for the History of Women, 500 – 1100," in *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History,* ed. Joel Rosenthal (Athens, G.A.: 1990), 17-57; Sheingorn, "The Wise Mother," 69-80; Julia Smith, "The Problem of Female Sanctity in Carolingian Europe, c. 780-920," *Past & Present,* no. 146 (Feb., 1995), 3-37; Karl Utti, "Women Saints, the Vernacular, and History in Early Medieval France," in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe,* eds. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), 274-267.

[80] St. Augustine, "Confessions," in *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended*, ed. Alcuin Blamires (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, 2002), 78.

[81] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, ed. Philip Schaff, LL.D., XII (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Co., 1887), 5.

[82] Tertullian, "De cultu feminarum," in *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended*, ed. Alcuin Blamires (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, 2002), 51.

unmarried, or widowed.[83] As Caroline Bynum notes, male writers were "more likely to attribute sexual or bodily temptation to female nature than to male… and to see women struggling unsuccessfully to overcome the flesh."[84] In considering the textual and visual depictions of female saints it is important to recognize that they were primarily authored and commissioned by male clerics, and thus express male interpretations.[85] The images of Margaret in thirteenth-century stained glass, whose production involved male clerics, cannot be separated from this context.

For women, the ideal female *exemplar* was the Virgin Mary, who was pure, chaste, and obedient. Second to the Virgin, the most important female saints were the early Christian virgin martyrs, like St. Margaret, who died at the hands of pagans in defense of their virginity and their faith.[86] Among female saints, the narratives of virgin martyrs remained popular throughout the Middle Ages. Though one might suspect the lives of persecuted virgin martyrs to become less relevant across time, Karen Winstead remarks that, "these legends could be construed simultaneously in radically different ways and thus serve conflicting interests" because of the numerous paradoxes they embody.[87] As we shall see in subsequent chapters, the windows of Margaret confirm Winstead's assessment, as the saint appears in dramatically different forms according to

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[83] Jocelyn Wogen-Browne, "Chaste bodies: frame and experiences," in *Framing Medieval Bodies,* eds. Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 24-42; Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs,* 8.

[84] Bynum, 29.

[85] Catherine M. Mooney, "Voice, Gender and the Portrayal of Sanctity," in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and their Interpreters*," ed. Catherine M. Mooney (Phildelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 7.

[86] The "virgin saint" became an important liturgical category within the cult of saints by the ninth century. Felice Lifshitz, "Gender Trouble in Paradise: The Case of the Liturgical Virgo," in *Images of Medieval Sanctity,* ed. Debra Higgins Strickland (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 30.

[87] Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs,* 12-13. She explains that virgin martyrs embody paradoxes found within Christianity, including Eucharist and the Incarnation, and were well-suited to the "exploration of tensions and contradictions within medieval culture."

the needs of each site. Other female saints, such as Mary Magdalen or Mary of Egypt,

represented female penitents who highlighted the forgiving power of God to fallen

women and the restoration of spiritual virginity.[88] By the High Middle Ages female

sanctity had widened to include nuns and abbesses (such as Clare of Assisi), royalty

(such as Margaret of Scotland) and women associated with mendicant orders (such as St.

Elizabeth of Hungary), although across all types of female saints virginity and chastity

were still stressed.[89]

Female martyrs inflected the *exemplum Christi* differently from male martyrs.

While male martyrs were defined by their actions, women saints were models of passive

suffering and interior spirituality.[90] Furthermore, while all martyrs, generally, mimic

Christ's example through their corporeal suffering and sacrifice of their lives, the lives of

female martyrs often have added emphasis on the saint's gender and sexuality, usually

dramatized as a threat to virginity.[91] As Elizabeth Petroff points out, "the essence of

female sanctity in these stories is to be found in the heroic defense of virginity. But it is a

virginity defined more by the pre-Christian sense of emotional independence than by an

intact hymen."[92] While Petroff points out that the notion of virginity was both physical

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[88] Wogan-Browne, "Virgin's Tale," 167

[89] For Clare of Assisi see Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, *The cult of St. Clare of Assisi in early modern Italy* (Burlington, V.T.: Ashgate, 2014) and Joan Mueller, *A Companion to Clare of Assisi: Life, Writings, and Spirituality* (Leiden: Brill, 2010). For Margaret of Scotland see the twelfth-century life by Turgot, *The Life of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland*, ed. William Forbes-Leith (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1896). For Elizabeth of Hungary see the thirteenth-century life by Dietrich von Apolda, *Die Vita der heiligen Elisabeth,* ed. Monika Rener (Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1993) and Ortrud Reber's biography *Elisabeth von Thüringen: Landgräfin und Heilige; eine Biografie* (Regensburg: Pustet, 2006).

[90] Bynum, 25. Phyllis Johnson and Brigitte Cazelles, *Le vain siècle guerpir: A Literary Approach to Sainthood through Old French Hagiography of the Twelfth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 130-131.

[91] Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs,* 6.

[92] Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff, "Transforming the World: The Serpent-Dragon and the Virgin Saint," in *Body & Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 99. The literature on the subject of virginity in the Middle Ages is vast. See, for example, John Bugge, *Virginitas:*

and mental, the narratives of female martyrs are rooted firmly in their bodies, which had

to be subject to corporeal suffering in order to transcend their biological sex. Through her

virginity, according to St. Jerome, a woman would be able to serve Christ and "cease to

be a woman and will be called a man."[93]

Margaret's virginity and purity, which are threatened by Olybrius and the devil,

are at the core of her identity as a virgin martyr. Protection of Margaret's virginity is

expressed in two significant motifs within her life, corporeal tortures and encounters with

the dragon and demon, which scholars also have capitalized on. [94] Central to Margaret's

identity in image and text is her physical body which outwardly manifests her inner virtue

and is subject to brutal tortures. As a female, her tortures purified her impure physical

body and helped her overcome her biological sex. Furthermore, it is through the physical

An Essay in the History of a Medieval Ideal (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1975); Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); Peter Brown, "The Notion of Virginity in the Early Church," in *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century,* eds. Bernard McGinn and John Meyendorff (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), 427-443; Kathleen Coyne Kelly, *Performing Virginity and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 5; Kathleen Coyne Kelly and Marina Leslie, "Introduction: The Epistemology of Virginity," in *Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, eds. Kathleen Coyne Kelly and Marina Leslie (Newark, D.E.: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 15-25.

[93] St. Jerome, *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Ephesios* III, v (658); quoted in Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York, 1976, 1983), 73; Wogan-Browne, "Virgin's Tale," 166.

[94] Scholarly considerations of St. Margaret have most often been concerned with her identity as a female virgin martyr. See Jennifer Borland, "Violence on Vellum: St. Margaret's Transgressive Body and its Audience," in *Representing Medieval Genders and Sexualities in Europe: Construction, Transformation, and Subversion, 600-1530*, eds. Elizabeth L'Estrange and Alison More (Burlington, V.T.: Ashgate, 2011), 67-88; Brigitte Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth-Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); Juliana Dresvina, "The Significance of the Demonic Episode in the Legend of St. Margaret of Antioch," *Medium Aevum* Vol. 81, No. 2 (2012): 180-209; Drewer, 11-20; Katherine J. Lewis, "The Life of St. Margaret of Antioch in Late Medieval England: A Gendered Reading," in *Gender and Christian Religion*, ed. R. N. Swanson, Studies in Church History 34 (Woodbridge: The Ecclesiastical History Society by The Boydell Press, 1998), 129-142; Petroff, 97-109; Elizabeth Robertson, "The Corporeality of Female Sanctity in *The Life of Saint Margaret*," in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe,* eds. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 268-287.

body that martyrs bear witness to the truth of Christianity.[95] Margaret's ability to endure

physical suffering indicated her strong spiritual fortitude, which was also evident in her

encounters with the dragon and demon. Jocelyn Price and Juliana Dresvina discuss

Margaret's episodes with the dragon and demon at length, considering how the

appearance of the creatures and their interactions with St. Margaret differ across textual

vitae and can lead to different interpretations.[96] In the *Rebdorf* version the demon is a

hairy, ugly man, in the *Mombritius* and *Caligula vitae* he is a dark-skinned man, and in

the *Golden Legend* he is simply a man, with no further qualifications.[97] Such differences

suggest that the demon could be open to different interpretations that engage issues of

race, gender, and sexuality. For example, in the French G Version the demon is described

as, "a dark man, who did not look like a Christian."[98]

In addition to considering the themes within Margaret's life, her narratives have

been studied for what they reveal about devotion to the saint.[99] Wendy Larson has shown

that one key difference between the eastern and western cults of St. Margaret is which

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[95] Hahn, *Portrayed,* 60.

[96] Price, 337-357; Dresvina, "Cult of St. Margaret," 188-192. Juliana Dresvina, "Demonic Episode," 189-209. For example, in the *Mombritius* version the dragon is multi-colored with golden hair, iron teeth, and eyes like pearls. Boninus Mombritius, *Sanctuarium, seu vitae sanctorum* (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1910), 192. The Latin reads, "qui ecce subito de angulo carceris exiuit draco horribilis: totus uariis coloribus deauratus, Capilli eius et barbara aurea, et uidebantur dentes eius ferrei. Oculi eius uelut Margaritae splendebat, et de naribus eius ignis et fumus exibat. Lingua illius anhelabat super collum eius erat serpens gladius candens in manu eius uidebatur." In the thirteenth-century Middle English *vita* the dragon's description is expanded to include the size and shape of his physical features. The dragon eyes, affixed to his horned head above his high crooked nose were, "brighter than stars and ten gemstones and were as broad as washbasins." Robertson, 277.

[97] *Acta Sanctorum*: *Julii, ex Latinis & Graecis, aliarumque gentium Monumentis, servata primigenia veterum Scriptorum phrase, Collecta, Digesta, Commentariisque & Observationibus Illustrata a Joanne Bapt. Sollerio, Joanne Pinio, Guilielmo Cupero, Petro Boschio e Societate Jesu Presbyteris Theologis: Tomus V* (Antwerp: Société des Bollandistes, 1727), 38; Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, 192; Francis, 101.

[98] Dresvina, "Cult of St. Margaret," 250.

[99] Larson, "Maternal Patronage," 94-104; Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "The Apple's Message: Some Post-Conquest Hagiographic Accounts of Textual Transmission," in *Late-Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission*, ed. A. J. Minnis (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), 39-54.

adversary is highlighted. The demon is favored in the east while the dragon is preferred in the west.[100] Larson also concluded that Margaret's western cult becomes more associated with lay women than her eastern cult.

Understanding the importance of Margaret's identification as a female virgin martyr within her *vitae* is useful in order to gauge how the saint has been treated in scholarship and how the stained glass windows of Margaret convey these motifs. Within past and current scholarship on the cult of saints, stained glass, and female sanctity, St. Margaret has not been studied comprehensively. Yet, the windows depicting Margaret's narrative created in thirteenth-century Europe draw together these different areas of study and show how an early Christian virgin martyr's *vita* can be manipulated within stained glass to create unique, site specific versions of her life.

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[100] Larson, "The Role of Patronage and Audience," 23-35.

Chapter 3:

Witnessing the Martyr: The Windows of St. Margaret of Antioch at the Cathedral

of Saint-Étienne, Auxerre, and the Church of St. Peter, Saint-Julien-du-Sault

Perched above the Yonne River in Burgundy, the cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Auxerre creates a picturesque vista, enhanced by the architecture of the nearby monastery of Saint-Germain d'Auxerre (Figs. 3.1-3.2).[1] The episcopal town of Auxerre boasts numerous religious institutions and an illustrious history of powerful sainted bishops. In the first half of the thirteenth century the Gothic cathedral was erected under the direction of Bishop Guillaume de Seignelay (1215-1220). Within the context of Auxerre Cathedral, Margaret is one of a number of martyrs who are emphasized in the stained glass program and who help form the connective tissue linking biblical and early Christian figures with the bishops of Auxerre through shared values, including perseverance and the ability to create new Christian converts. Within the broader context of Burgundy, the amplification of similar themes within Margaret's life, in particular Margaret's imprisonment, is found within a window dedicated to the saint at the nearby collegiate church of Saint-Julien-du-Sault, suggesting Margaret's popularity in the region.

At Auxerre, Margaret is depicted within a window in the northern choir ambulatory (Fig. 3.3). The extensive narrative of Margaret's life highlights her identity as a martyr and cleaves closely to her textual *vitae*, conveying her tortures, encounters with

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[1] A portion of this chapter was presented as a paper entitled, "Sight, Conversion, and Martyrdom in the Thirteenth-Century Window of St. Margaret of Antioch at Auxerre Cathedral," at the UVA-Wise Medieval Renaissance Conference, Wise, V.A., September 24, 2015. I am grateful to Wendy Larson and Amy Ogden for their thoughtful comments and productive insights about St. Margaret.

the dragon and demon, and beheading. The window recounts Margaret's life using narrative strategies that allow the window to be read in multiple directions, stimulating the beholder to connect with her passion. The first two registers establish Margaret's narrative in a boustrophedonic arrangement and highlight her imprisonment as a source of power. Each of the following registers, when read as continuous narratives across the three panels, emphasizes Margaret's ability to convert bystanders through her tortures, thus highlighting her efficacy as a martyr.

This chapter first considers the history of the cathedral and the Margaret window. The themes expressed in the window through different narrative strategies, including Margaret's imprisonment, the role of the witnesses, and the saint's torments, are discussed in detail. A comparison of the Auxerre window with the window depicting St. Margaret at the nearby church of St. Peter at Saint-Julien-du-Sault reveals shared themes across the two windows expressed in different ways.

Gothic Stained Glass at Auxerre Cathedral

The Margaret window is one among the thirty-nine windows of the choir ambulatory and axial chapel, which conserve thirty-one different subjects (Fig. 3.4).[2] The window, which measures 3.7 meters high and 1.8 meters wide, recounts Margaret's passion across nineteen scenes arranged in seven registers and is situated on the north side of the choir ambulatory, in Bay 15 (Fig. 3.5). The Margaret window at Auxerre has

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[2] Marius Lausch, "Les vitraux du déambulatoire," in *Saint-Étienne d'Auxerre, la seconde vie d'une cathédrale. Sept ans de recherches pluridisciplinaires et internationales*, ed. Christian Sapin, trans. Nathalie Paulme (Paris: Picard, 2011), 469; J. Taralon, A. Prache, N. Blondel, *Les vitraux de Bourgogne, Franche-Comté, et Rhône-Alpes: Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France, III* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981), 111, 113. Virginia Raguin counts thirty-five remaining thirteenth-century ensembles. Virginia Raguin, *Stained Glass in Thirteenth-Century Burgundy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 99.

not been the subject of close study and the glass at Auxerre has received little scholarly

attention beyond description.[3] One exception is Virginia Raguin, who examined the

thematic and stylistic issues within the glazing at Auxerre in her 1982 book on

Burgundian stained glass.[4] Much of the scholarship on Auxerre Cathedral has focused on

the building's architectural history and the Romanesque frescoes in the crypt.[5]

The site of the present-day cathedral has a long building history. The earliest

structure dated to the fourth century and was founded by bishop saint Amator (Amâtre)

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[3] An early description of the stained glass at Auxerre is found in the handwritten notes of François de Guilhermy, *Notes sur diverses localités de la France*: *Vol. 2*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouv. Acq. 6095. The earliest publications of the stained glass at Auxerre include Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, "Description des verrières peintes de la cathédrale d'Auxerre," *Annuaire de l'Yonne* 3 (1841): 38-46 and M. Bonneau, "Description des verrières de la cathédrale d'Auxerre," *Bulletin de la Société des sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne* (1885): 296-348. Discussions of the stained glass after its early twentieth century restorations are found in R. Fourrey, *La cathedrale d'Auxerre, essai iconographique* (Auxerre: M. Staub, 1931) and R. Fourrey, "Les verrières historiées de la cathédrale d'Auxerre, XIIIe siècle," *Bulletin de la Société des sciences historiques et naturelles de L'Yonne* 83 (1929): 5-101. Twentieth- and twenty-first century studies of the stained glass at Auxerre include Jean Lafond, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale Saint-Étienne d'Auxerre," *Congres archéologique de France* 116 (Paris, 1958): 50-75; Virginia Raguin, "The Genesis Workshop of the Cathedral of Auxerre and its Parisian Inspiration," *Gesta* 13.1 (1974): 27-38; *Recensement*, III, 111-127; Grodecki, 121-124; Sylvie Balcon-Berry, "Les vitraux du haut-choeur," in *Saint-Étienne d'Auxerre, la seconde vie d'une cathédrale. Sept ans de recherches pluridisciplinaires et internationales*, ed. Christian Sapin (Paris: Picard, 2011), 477-498; Lausch, 469-476.

[4] Raguin, *Stained Glass*, 99-104.

[5] S. Aumard, "Auxerre, la cathédrale Saint-Étienne. Suivi archéologique des travaux de restauration et analyses de laboratoire," *Bucema* 8 (2004): 16-18; P. Bonnerue, "Histoire de la cathédrale Saint-Étienne d'Auxerre: bibliographie rétrospective (1723-1995)," *Bulletin de la Société des sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne* 127 (1995): 172-194; Robert Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1960), 38-47, 106-108; E. Cadet, *Les peintures murales romanes de Saint-Étienne, Auxerre. Approches historique, technique, stylistique et iconographique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Université de Paris, 1995); J. Hubert, "La date de la construction de la crypte de la cathédrale d'Auxerre," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1958): 43-45; Ulrich Knop, "Histoire de la restauration du choeur de la cathédrale Saint-Étienne d'Auxerre," PhD Dissertation (University of Stuttgart, 2003); Christian Sapin, ed. *Saint-Étienne d'Auxerre: la seconde vie d'une cathédrale, 7 ans de recherches pluridisciplinaires et internationals (2001-2007)* (Paris: Picard, 2011); Virginia Raguin, "Mid-Thirteenth Century Patronage at Auxerre and the Sculptural Program of the Cathedral," *Studies in Iconography* 14 (1995): 131-151; Raguin, *Stained Glass*, 12-25, 99-104; Harry Brougham Titus, *The Architectural History of Auxerre Cathedral*, PhD Dissertation (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University, 1984); Harry Brougham Titus, "The Auxerre Cathedral Chevet and Burgundian Gothic Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 47.1 (Mar., 1988): 45-56; Maximilien Quantin, "La cathédrale d'Auxerre, origines et description des cryptes," *Annuaire de l'Yonne* (1848): 235-237; J. Vallery-Radot, "Auxerre, la cathédrale Saint-Étienne, les principaux textes de l'histoire de la construction," *Congrès archéologique de France* (Paris, 1959): 40-50.

(388-418).[6] This church was periodically enlarged until a fire destroyed the building in

the ninth century. Bishop Herifridus (887-909) rebuilt the cathedral, which was expanded

across time until a fire in 1023 necessitated a complete rebuilding.[7] Only the crypt

remains from the eleventh-century cathedral.[8] The Gothic choir was begun in 1215 under

the direction of Bishop Guillaume de Seignelay (1207-1220).[9] Initially, work on the

chevet proceeded as a renovation, with the intention of retaining the Romanesque towers

that flanked the choir.[10] When the towers collapsed early into the project a more

extensive rebuilding took place, resulting in a largely new structure.[11]

Unfortunately, the thirteenth-century stained glass in the choir is not dateable

through documentary evidence. The choir's stained glass was likely begun after

construction was well underway, continued under the episcopacy of Henri de Villeneuve

(1220-1234), and completed towards 1250.[12] Date ranges based on stylistic comparisons

between glazing ateliers suggest the thirteenth-century glass dates from the third and

fourth decades.[13] Virginia Raguin attributed the Margaret window to the first master of

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[6] Knop, 32-33; Titus, *Architectural History*, 5.

[7] Knop, 32-33; *Recensement*, III, 111; Titus, *Architectural History*, 5.

[8] Knop, 53-55; Titus, *Architectural History*, 5.

[9] Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture*, 106-7; Knop, 33; Michel Sot, et. al., *Les Gestes des Évêques d'Auxerre*, vol. 2 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2002), 250-252; J. Lebeuf, *Mémoires concernant l'histoire civile et ecclésiastique d'Auxerre et de son diocese*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1743; Auxerre, 1848-55), 374; Charles Porée, *La Cathédrale d'Auxerre* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1926), 12; *Recensement*, III, 112; Titus, *Architectural History*, 6, 58-61.

[10] Titus, *Architectural History*, 58.

[11] The towers collapsed in 1217. Dendrochronological studies conducted between 1999 and 2003 of the carpentry in the choir provide end dates of 1235-1236 for construction. Christine Locatelli, Didier Pousset, and Catherine Lavier, "Synopsis des chantiers de bois depuis 1235," in *Saint-Étienne d'Auxerre, la seconde vie d'une cathédrale. Sept ans de recherches pluridisciplinaires et internationales*, ed. Christian Sapin, trans. Nathalie Paulme (Paris: Picard, 2011), 177-178; Titus, *Architectural History*, 61. The transept and nave were under construction by 1309, a chapel in the south transept was founded before 1358, and the south nave was completed in 1400. *Recensement*, III, 112.

[12] Branner, 107; Lafond, "Les Vitraux d'Auxerre," 60; Porée, 1926, 13; *Recensement*, III, 111. Henri de Villeneuve was interred in the choir in 1234, a date which scholars have taken to indicate the choir's completion, although this is not necessarily the case.

[13] Grodecki, 121-122.

the Genesis atelier, along with the windows of Samson (Bay 11), Mary of Egypt (Bay 20), Mary Magdalene (Bay 22), and three Genesis narratives (Bays 11, 19, 21), through a comparison of similar facial features, including the continuous line used for the nose and eyebrows and strongly outlined eyelids (Fig. 3.6).[14] Raguin further compared the style to that of the Martin Master, who worked at the former Abbey of Gercy at Aisne, noting stylistic similarities, including the way in which figures protrude out of their borders (Fig. 3.7).[15] Unfortunately, the stylistic similarities between the glass from Gercy and Auxerre do not offer firm evidence of dates. As Sophie Lagabrielle remarks, the uncertain provenance of the Gercy glass (now held in the Musée nationale du Moyen Age, Paris) makes it difficult to date.[16]

Complicating the dating of the thirteenth-century windows is the damage the cathedral suffered during the sixteenth century and under later restoration campaigns. The cathedral was extensively damaged when Huguenot's entered the city on September 27, 1567.[17] In the eighteenth century, Jean Lebeuf wrote that the iconoclasts smashed the stained glass ("montèrent aux vitres et y cassèrent tout ce qui se trouvait à la portée de leurs bâtons").[18] The damage included breaking those windows they could reach,

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[14] Raguin, "Genesis Workshop," 28-29, 31. Raguin noted that the Genesis workshop is linked to the Parisian style through the "flattening, elongating and codifying of the figure." Raguin, "Genesis Workshop," 29-31. Louis Grodecki notes that these windows show "great pictorial care" and "a general stiffening of silhouettes," but also that the style is not dependent on Parisian or Île-de-France models. Grodecki, 122, 124.

[15] Raguin, "Genesis Workshop," 29-31; Raguin, *Stained Glass in Burgundy*, 42-44. For Gercy, see Sophie Lagabrielle, "L'abbaye des chanoinesses de Gercy et la verrière Saint-Martin de l'église de Varenne," in *L'Ile de France médiévale*, vol. 2 (Paris: Somogy, 2001), 76-79; Sophie Lagabrielle, *Vitraux, Musée national du Moyen Age* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2006), 27-37.

[16] Lagabrielle, "Les chanoinesses," 78. Lagabrielle explains that the dates and provenances that scholars have assigned to the Gercy glass conflict. For example, Magne (1887) assigned the glass to the Abbey of Gercy (founded in 1269), while Françoise Perrot dated the glass to between 1225 and 1230.

[17] Bonneau, "Description des verrières," 297; Knop, 72-73; Lafond, "Les Vitraux d'Auxerre," 61; Lebeuf, *Histoire*, 136; *Recensement*, III, 112.

[18] Lebeuf, *Histoire*, 136. Lebeuf's information is key because he wrote before the revolutionary period and refers to documents, even transcribing some, that are now lost. Titus, *Architectural History*, 8.

removing bells from the tower, and destroying or stealing portable items.[19] Following the

expulsion of the iconoclasts, Bishop Jacques Amyot (1570-1593) undertook the

cathedral's restoration. Under Amyot, new stained glass was created (by the glazier

Pigal), the thirteenth-century windows were regrouped, and windows that had lost their

lower registers were filled with masonry.[20] The glass at Auxerre underwent subsequent

restorations in the mid-nineteenth century (1866-1870), after damage by a hurricane in

1848, and in the second quarter of the twentieth century (1925-1955).[21] During these later

restorations dispersed series were regrouped and panels were reset.[22]

The window of St. Margaret did not escape the sixteenth-century damage. The

lowest registers of the window are missing, replaced with masonry. Jean Lafond noted

that the loss of the lower portions of the stained glass windows is unfortunate because

these registers may have had information about the patrons.[23] Indeed, donors are depicted

in the lowest registers of the Margaret windows at Chartres Cathedral and at Ardagger

Abbey, aiding in our ability to contextualize each window (Fig. 3.8).

In addition to the losses suffered by the Margaret window in the sixteenth century,

the window has also undergone several restorations in which the panels were rearranged.

In the window's present configuration, the narrative (here presented in order to suggest

the scenes' sequence reading up the window) closely aligns with Margaret's *vita.* The

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[19] Lebeuf, *Histoire*, 136-140.

[20] Bonneau, "Description des verrières," 297-298, 306; Knop, 81-82; *Recensement*, III, 112-113. The stained glass installed under Jacques Amyot to complement the thirteenth-century panels remained until the restoration of 1866-1870, which was undertaken by brothers P. and P. Veissière. Several other windows were created at the end of the sixteenth century, including three new windows in the axial chapel, a history of Job, an Infancy of Christ, and Saint Felicity and her sons. These windows were either destroyed or removed during the late nineteenth-century restorations. Additional changes, including new windows, were made through the nineteenth century, prior to the restorations of 1866.

[21] Bonneau, "Description des verrières," 297; Knop, 178-179; *Recensement*, III, 112.

[22] Knop, 178-179; *Recensement*, III, 113.

[23] Lafond, "Les Vitraux d'Auxerre," 61.

window currently recounts Margaret's passion across seven registers, composed of

medallions flanked by half-medallions, as follows (Figs. 3.3, 3.9-3.27):

> 19) Margaret's soul ascends to heaven (Fig. 3.27)
> 16-18) Margaret is beheaded (Figs. 3.24-3.26)
> 13-15) The new converts are martyred (Figs. 3.21-3.23)
> 10-12) Margaret is boiled (Figs. 3.18-3.20)
> 7-9) Margaret is burned (Figs. 3.15-3.17)
> 6) Margaret beats the demon (Fig. 3.14)
> 5) Margaret tramples the demon (Fig. 3.13)
> 4) Margaret and the dragon (Fig. 3.12)
> 3) Margaret is beaten (Fig. 3.11)
> 2) Margaret is led to prison (Fig. 3.10)
> 1) Margaret and Olybrius (Fig. 3.9)

Nineteenth-century scholars record some of the changes to the Margaret window.

For example, panels 12, 14, 15, and 17 have been rearranged. Bonneau's 1885

description of the window records that the current panel 15 was in the position of panel

12 (the half-circle of the executed converts was positioned to the right of Margaret being

boiled) and the two circular scenes of martyrdom were switched (with the beheading of

Margaret positioned lower than the mass execution).[24] Bonneau remarked that the

arrangement of the panels was incorrect, stating that the panel depicting onlookers should

attend Margaret's boiling and that the scenes of the converts' martyrdoms should be

placed before Margaret's beheading, which follows the narrative more closely and aligns

with the window's present arrangement.[25] An engraving by P. Arthur Martin, after a

drawing he completed earlier at Auxerre, published in Charles Cahier and P. Arthur

Martin's "Nouveaux Mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature sur le Moyen

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[24] Bonneau, "Description des verrières," 323.
[25] Bonneau, "Description des verrières," 323.

Age" from 1875, shows the same configuration Bonneau described (Fig. 3.28).[26] This

engraving also shows the left panel in the sixth register (panel 13) (currently filled with

an architectural structure) as an empty space and denotes the damage to the left panel in

the seventh register (panel 16).[27] In 1929, Abbé R. Fourrey observed and described the

Auxerre windows that had been restored between 1927 and 1928, including the Margaret

window.[28] Fourrey's description recounts the window as it is seen today, indicating that

the rearrangement of the panels to their present configuration occurred during this

restoration.[29] A photograph from 1968 taken by Henri Graindorge in the Archives

Photographique (68 N 00138) shows the present configuration of panels (Fig. 3.29).[30]

Situating the Margaret Window

The Gothic choir at Auxerre Cathedral is composed of rectangular bays, each with

three lancet widows, terminating in a hemicycle with a rectangular axial chapel (Fig. 3.4).

As with the Margaret window at Chartres Cathedral, Margaret is situated within the

choir, a space of utmost liturgical importance, and is surrounded by other important

figures from within the church's institutional hierarchy.[31] Margaret counts among the

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[26] Charles Cahier, *Noveaux mélange d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature sur le Moyen Age, vol. 3: Décoration d'Églises* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1875), 42. Charles Porée's description of the window in 1926 recounts the same arrangement as the nineteenth-century accounts. Porée, *La Cathédrale d'Auxerre*, 89.
[27] Martin's engraving cannot be taken as a completely accurate depiction of the window, as artistic license was taken. For example, Martin did not faithfully record the window's inscriptions.
[28] Fourrey, "Les verrières d'Auxerre," 15.
[29] Fourrey, "Les verrières d'Auxerre," 24-26.
[30] This is the earliest photograph I have seen recording the window after the restoration of the 1920s.
[31] Margaret is currently flanked by the Old Testament figure Joseph and the disciple and martyr St. Andrew.

other early Christian martyrs represented in the stained glass including St. Vincent, St.

Lawrence, St. Stephen, and St. Catherine.[32]

The iconographic program of glazing at Auxerre includes biblical, hagiographic,

and local subjects. It is difficult to reconstruct the choir's entire thirteenth-century

pictorial program and the original locations of the window because of the damages,

losses, and rearrangements of the medieval glass. The placement of biblical figures and

saints at Auxerre is less coherent and organized than at Chartres, no doubt in part because

many of the windows are no longer in their original locations.[33] Furthermore, several

windows are composed of the remains of two or three separate windows. For example,

one window in the south choir ambulatory (Bay 12) contains scenes of the Prodigal Son

(panels 10-25), the story of St. John (Panels 7-9), and the book of the Apocalypse (panels

1-6) (Fig. 3.30). Similarly, the lives of different saints have been combined. St. Bris

(panels 10-15) and St. Vincent (panels 1-9) are combined in one window, their narratives

visually distinguished by their dissimilar armatures (Bay 24) (Fig. 3.31).

The present arrangement of many windows shows the topographic organization of

subjects that is found in other cathedrals. In the axial chapel, the windows focus on Christ

and the Virgin (Bay 0) and include representations of saints Peter and Paul (Bay 7), a

Tree of Jesse (Bay 1), and the Theophilus legend (Bay 2). To the south, windows display

an array of biblical and hagiographic subjects, including fragments of an Apocalypse

window (Bay 12) and depictions of St. Stephen's relics (Bay 16). To the north, the

subject matter is a mix of biblical and hagiographic themes with an emphasis on Old

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[32] Other saints that appear at Auxerre are Mary Magdalen, Mary the Egyptian, Martin, Eloi and local saints
Germain, Bris, Alexandre and Mammes.
[33] Confessors, martyrs, and apostles are intermixed. Grodecki, 122.

Testament narratives, including the story of Creation (Bay 21) and narratives of Samson (Bay 11), Noah, Abraham (Bay 19), and Joseph (Bay 17).

The presence of Margaret in a choir window at Auxerre cannot be fully explained by documentary evidence of patronage or liturgy. Despite the extensive documentation for Auxerre itself, little evidence of Auxerre's medieval liturgy is extant.[34] The only surviving liturgical document from the cathedral before 1300 is a thirteenth-century missal from the cathedral (conserved in the Bibliothèque municipale, Auxerre, BM 51), which contains the texts and rubrics for the celebration of the Mass.[35] Margaret is not mentioned.

Despite a lack of liturgical sources, the iconographic subjects at Auxerre appear to express local traditions. Most of the saints in the windows had relics in the cathedral or were objects of local devotion.[36] Relics of St. Margaret are attested in the cathedral's inventory completed around 1420. Although this inventory does not necessarily directly correlate with the state of the treasury in the thirteenth century, it is important information. The entry for St. Margaret reads, "Sancte Margarete virginis in capsa

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[34] Alain Rauwel, "*Ecclesia sine populo:* quelle liturgie dans la cathédrale?," in *Saint-Étienne d'Auxerre: la seconde vie d'une cathédrale. Sept ans de recherches pluridisciplinaires et internationales* (2001-2007)*, ed. Christian Sapin (Paris: Picard, 2011), 39.

[35] Raewel, 39. Description by Victor Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 2 (Mâcon: Protat, 1924), 87; A late thirteenth-century missal originating from the monastery of Saint-Julien, includes the virgins Agnes, Agatha, and Scolastica but not, apparently, Margaret, within the litany of saints (fol. LX). M. Bonneau, M. Monceaux, M. F. Molard, *Inventaire du Trésor de la cathédrale d'Auxerre* (Auxerre: Imprimerie de la constitution, 1892), no. 6, 95-96.

[36] Raguin, *Stained Glass*, 101. The inventory of the treasury from the end of the nineteenth century records a fifteenth-century book of hours (no. 11) which includes offices for (and two miniatures of) St. Margaret and St. Catherine (fols. 107v – 108), a sixteenth-century book of hours (no. 15) with a miniature of Margaret and the dragon (fol. 129) and prayers to Margaret (fol. 124), and another sixteenth-century book of hours (no. 20) with a miniature of Margaret (fol. 32). Bonneau, *Inventaire*, 99-100, 102. Much later, a seventeenth-century Italian painting of Margaret is recorded (no. 262), suggesting that the acquisition of images of Margaret was still relevant to the cathedral centuries after the glass's completion. Bonneau, *Inventaire*, 162. Margaret also appears in a sixteenth-century altar hanging (no. 319), with the dragon and other saints. Bonneau, *Inventaire*, 170.

Palmarum, et in tabello Beate-Marie, et de capite ejusdem, in tabello domini Theobaldi"

(St. Margaret the virgin in the palm reliquary, and in the panel of the Blessed Virgin, and

the head of the same in the panel of lord Theobald).[37] Unfortunately, there is no

indication of whether the relics were acquired before the installation of the window or

after.[38] It is possible, as is the case at Chartres Cathedral, that these relics were brought

from the east in the wake of the Fourth Crusade.[39] As the example of Chartres indicates,

the presence of relics in the cathedral was just as likely to have inspired the window's

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[37] Lebeuf, *Mémoires*, vol. 4, 241 (no. 352). Entry 352 is a catalogue of relics from the cathedral as it was around 1420, culled from a manuscript of Queen Christine of Sweden preserved at the Vatican Library, no. 1283. There are several later inventories of the treasury, including from 1531, but none earlier (that I have found). See Maximilien Quantin, *Inventaire du trésor de la cathédral d'Auxerre en 1531* (Auxerre: George Rouillé, 1887). The 1420 inventory also records relics of a number of other martyr saints, including Catherine, Agatha, and Barbara. However, none of these other saints have more than one relic listed, nor are the contexts in which these relics are found indicated. The description of two of the reliquaries as "*tabello*" is likely a transcription or scribal error corrupting "*tabella*." I contend these "*tabello*" are panel-shaped composite reliquaries, as the relics of other saints are recorded as being in them. One such composite panel-shaped reliquary is the Reliquary of the True Cross from 1214 held in the Cleveland Museum of Art (1952.89). This reliquary includes an inscription that refers to itself as "hac contenta tabella." Bagnoli, *Treasures of Heaven*, cat. no. 49.

[38] *Les Gestes*, vol. 1, 226-227. Margaret is mentioned in the *Gestes* as among the saints (including Matthew, Thomas, Philip, Dionisius, Ignatus, Vigilius, Augustinus, Eugenia, Lucy, and Agatha) to whom Guidone/Guy (933-961) dedicated a chapel. These saints were known within the city but were rarely celebrated ("supra quam capellam edificavit in honore sanctorum quorum memoria infra civitatem vel extra, vix aut raro celebrator"). This suggests Margaret was known in the area relatively early, but not yet celebrated. It is unknown whether her relic was already present in the cathedral at this early date. Bonneau, *Inventaire*, 31-32.

[39] Claudine Lautier, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: reliques et images," *Bulletin monumental* 161.1 (2003): 28. Lautier claims that the imagery that corresponds to the relics held in the church demonstrate that the relics were present at Chartres before or during the restoration of the cathedral and, at the very latest, before 1215, the date of the Fourth Lateran Council when the acquisition of undocumented relics was halted. Some relics that were brought over after the Fourth Crusade are recorded by Paul Riant, *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae*, vol. 2 (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 2004), 107 and include Margaret's head in Namur. See chapter 2 of this dissertation, notes 66-67. Relics at Auxerre that were acquired during the Fourth Crusade are recorded in the treasury and in *Les Gestes* as having been given by Guillaume de Seignelay on his appointment as bishop of Paris and include a relic of St. Stephen's acquired in Constantinople ("sanctorum pignoribus digitum beati prothomartyris… quod a Constantinopoli fuit allatum…) and a gold cross containing a fragment of the True Cross ("crucemque auream permodicam, quam quedam procul dubio ligni dominice crucis particula…"). Bonneau, *Inventaire*, 9-10; *Les Gestes*, vol. 2, 266-267.

subject matter, as it was to have enhanced the iconographic presence of Margaret after the window was completed.[40]

Although Margaret's presence cannot be completely accounted for through the extant liturgical sources or through her relics, an assessment of how the window could have been read reveals her importance at Auxerre. Margaret's imprisonment, tortures, and conversion of onlookers amplifies similar themes across other windows, highlighting the importance of these values at this site.

Narrative Strategies within the Window

The Margaret window conveys the saint's life in bright colors and easily legible scenes, despite including a great amount of detail. Unlike the window of Margaret and Catherine at Chartres Cathedral or the window of Margaret at Ardagger Abbey, each panel includes multiple figures, props, and architectural settings, lending the episodes a scenic and a naturalistic quality. Despite the large number of figures within the window, Margaret is easily discernable, distinguished by the crimson halo surrounding her head. Within the Margaret window, narrative strategies, including directional complexity and the amplification of specific moments, distinguish different sections of the window and underscore distinct themes.[41]

Two narrative directions are used to differentiate the lower two registers from the upper registers (Fig. 3.32). The most explicit sense of narrative movement occurs in the

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[40] Colette Mahnes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres: Étude iconographique* (Paris: Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, 1993), 32-33, 75-78.

[41] As Wolfgang Kemp noted, and sought to disprove, past scholars have held that the armatures of stained glass windows indicate narrative stability and regularity. Wolfgang Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass*, trans. Caroline Dobson Saltzwedel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 4-5.

lowest two registers where the story progresses in a boustrophedonic arrangement, from

the lower left to right and then, in the second register, from right to left (Fig. 3.3). The

viewer's eye is guided through the figures' gestures and body positions. In the second

register, for example, Margaret stands facing the left in each panel, directing the viewer

across the window (panels 4-6) (Figs. 3.12-3.14). The first two registers set up

Margaret's passion. They include her initial confrontation with Olybrius, her entrance

into prison, her first torture, and her encounters with the dragon and demon. These scenes

highlight Margaret's imprisonment through the repetition of similar architectural forms.

The narrative mode shifts in the following four registers, drawing the viewer's

eyes, not across the register, but continually towards the central scenes. Two of

Margaret's tortures, the martyrdom of the converts, and Margaret's decapitation are

situated in the center medallions. In each of these registers, all three panels read as an

implicit continuous narrative through the figures' gestures. For example, in the fourth

register, the left panel depicts Olybrius seated, pointing to the right (panel 10) (Figs. 3.3,

3.18). The central medallion shows Margaret within a vat of water (panel 11) (Fig. 3.19).

To the right, onlookers face the left, looking towards the saint, and drawing the beholder

back to the image of Margaret at the center (panel 12) (Fig. 3.20). These registers

emphasize sight and the ability of Margaret's passion to convert beholders to

Christianity.[42]

The repetition of circular medallions along the window's central axis creates a

third narrative direction, read vertically. The scenes placed on the window's axis provide

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[42] A similar narrative format, where whole registers convey one complete scene, rather than three distinct narrative moments, is found in other thirteenth-century windows at Auxerre. In the Prodigal Son window the feast scene takes place across three panels, with the son and his parents at center and servants in the flanking panels (Bay 12).

a shorthand account of Margaret's passion, highlighting the most crucial elements of her

life, her imprisonment, battle with the demon, torture, and death. The directional

complexity and strategic choices of imagery and its placement emphasize imprisonment,

conversion, and torture within the window and fashion Margaret as an exemplary martyr.

Margaret's Imprisonment

The first two registers of Margaret's life highlight her imprisonment, an emphasis

that is absent from the cycles of Margaret at Chartres Cathedral and Ardagger Abbey.

Following her initial encounter with Olybrius, Margaret is whisked away to prison (panel

2) (Fig. 3.10). Margaret crouches through a red doorway to enter her cell.[43] The imagery

of Margaret's prison is reiterated in three more scenes along the second register (panels

4-6) (Figs. 3.12-3.14). In these panels, the prison is represented, with careful detail, as an

enclosed space comprising arches supported by columns, crenellated walls, doorways,

and gables.[44] Each scene along the second register depicts the limits of Margaret's prison.

The repetition of this architecture creates a visual barrier within the window,

distinguishing between the lower and upper registers.

The reiteration of Margaret's enclosure expresses the symbolic power of the

martyr's prison cell. Christian writers transformed the martyr's prison into a place of

refuge and even freedom. Tertullian (c. 155- c. 240) described the martyr's imprisonment

in *Ad Martyres*, "Ye have been translated from a prison [the world] to a place, it may be,

of safe keeping. It hath darkness, but ye yourselves are Light. It has bonds, but ye have

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[43] In two of the three scenes, the red doorway is delineated.

[44] The window further differentiates between different types of spaces, notably, Olybrius's throne room, identified by arches, and the more elaborate space of Margaret's prison.

been made free by God."[45] Indeed, Margaret's prison becomes a space of miraculous

encounters and revelation.[46] Within the enclosure the saint is able to "converse with the

macrocosmic forces of heaven and hell involved in their *passio*, responding appropriately

to demons and angels, and sometimes to Christ himself."[47] Within her cell, Margaret

confronts the devil in the forms of the dragon and demon, revealing the true source of her

pain and torment. These encounters, whether a beholder interpreted them as literal or

visionary, occur in a space carefully marked as apart from the world.

Margaret's enclosure is also gendered, at once reminding beholders of the *hortus

conclusus,* the enclosed garden which represents the purity of the Virgin Mary, and of the

claustration prescribed for female religious, including those within the town of Auxerre.[48]

In each instance, the necessity of controlling virginity and purity is conveyed. In her

prison, Margaret's body and her virginity are contained, no longer subject to the custody

of the world. In the only other window depicting a female virgin martyr at Auxerre, the

Catherine window, Catherine is also placed into prison.[49] Catherine's imprisonment is

followed immediately by her supernatural visit from Christ, who gives her the Eucharist

(Fig. 3.33). In this scene, Catherine reaches from behind her walls to accept the

Eucharist, an image that may have called to mind a priest giving the Eucharist to

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[45] Tertullian, "Ad Martyres," in *Apologetic and Practical Treatises*, trans. C. Dodgson, vol. 1 (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1842), 152.

[46] Karen A. Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997), 37-38.

[47] Wogan-Browne, "Virgin's Tale," 179.

[48] Jeffrey Hamburger, "Art, Enclosure and the Cura Monialium: Prolegomena in the Guise of a Postscript," *Gesta* 31.2 (1992): 111, 124; Jean Leclercq, "Le cloître, est-il une prison?," *Revue d'ascetique et de mystique* 47.188 (1971): 407-420.

[49] There is an image of prison within the window of Sts. Peter and Paul, in which Christ leads Paul from the prison. We do not get a sense of enclosure but rather of release.

cloistered nuns. The prison could be read as similar in function and meaning to a nun's

cloister, perhaps calling to mind local female convents, such as the abbey of St. Julien.

Margaret's encounters with the dragon and demon while imprisoned are depicted

in the window's second register. From right to left, the panels depict Margaret's

confrontation with the dragon, Margaret stomping the demon, and the saint beating the

demon (panels 4-6) (Figs. 3.12-3.14).[50] In the panel depicting the dragon episode, the

encounter is partially obscured by the architecture (panel 4) (Fig. 3.12). Only the

dragon's enormous head and neck are visible. The beast's ears are pulled back and its

mouth spews fire. Hiding the dragon's body emphasizes the creature's enormity.

Margaret looks diminutive compared to the beast, highlighting the difference between the

two figures and giving the dragon a sense of foreboding.

The entirety of Margaret's encounter with the dragon is represented by the

moment when Margaret first sees the beast, rather than by her combating the creature, as

seen at Chartres and Ardagger.[51] Margaret leans back slightly, hands held in front of her,

startled by the dragon's appearance. This representation aligns with textual versions of

this moment, which highlight Margaret's terror. Her Latin *vita* recounts that, upon seeing

the dragon, Margaret became pale and the fear of death came upon her, shattering her

bones ("Sancta autem Margareta facta est ut herba pallida et formido mortis cecidit super

eam et collidebantur omnia ossa eius").[52] As at Chartres, the omission of scenes of the

beast swallowing Margaret and the saint emerging from the dragon leaves the exact

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[50] The dragon episode receives the least attention at Auxerre, a reversal of the Ardagger window which expands the dragon narrative.

[51] See chapters 4 and 6.

[52] Boninus Mombritius, *Sanctuarium, seu vitae sanctorum*, vol. 2 (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1910)*,* 192.

nature of Margaret's encounter ambiguous and presupposes the beholder's knowledge of the narrative.

In contrast to the dragon episode, Margaret's encounter with the demon is depicted across two scenes in which Margaret is the aggressor (panels 5-6) (Figs. 3.13, 3.14). Margaret's appearance with the demon is a contrast to her timidity in the dragon encounter. In the central panel, Margaret stomps on the demon and interrogates him. Margaret visually overwhelms the pictorial space as she presses her foot into the demon and points emphatically towards him, indicating her rhetorical abilities.[53] As in her textual *vita,* Margaret questions the creature about his intentions and learns that the devil is her true enemy. In the second scene, Margaret grabs the demon by the hair and beats him. The demon transforms between the first and second parts of the narrative. The creature appears more animalistic; he has more body hair and less clothing, revealing the destructive nature of sin.

The significance of Margaret's dragon and demon encounters is the revelation of her enemy and of her ability to triumph over these foes.[54] Interestingly, the demon is visually linked to Olybrius. The demon appears as a man with red horns wearing a

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[53] Margaret stomping on the demon calls to mind images of Christ trampling the serpent or the devil. Margaret's textual *vitae* convey the lengthy interrogation that the saint submits the demon to.

[54] The representations of Margaret encountering the dragon and demon find resonance in other images within the cathedral. Horned demons appear in the narratives of St. Andrew, St. Eloi, and Theophilus. The central chapel of the crypt includes the remains of a Romanesque fresco of an apocalyptic scene, uncovered in 1954. This fresco shows traces of a woman confronted by a dragon, which has been interpreted as the apocalyptic woman. These images place Margaret's battles within the context of war between the forces of good and evil. E. Cadet, *Les peintures murales romanes de Saint-Étienne, Auxerre. Approches historique, technique, stylistique et iconographique*, vol. 1 (Paris: Université de Paris, 1995); Alexandre Gordine, "Les peintures romanes de la cathédrale d'Auxerre. Nouvelles observations," *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales, Auxerre* 13 (2009): 171; J. Rollier-Hanselmann, "D'Auxerre à Cluny: technique de la peinture murale entre le VIIIe et le XIIe siècle en Bourgogne," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 40 (1997), 78-79. Apocalyptic themes also form a large part of the iconography of the cathedral's glazing, which is more detailed than typically seen in stained glass cycles and seem to be culled from manuscript traditions. Raguin, *Stained Glass in Burgundy*, 102.

garment of red and green conspicuously similar to Olybrius's clothing throughout the window. Having been bolstered by her supernatural encounters in prison, Margaret's strength is renewed and she is able to endure her coming trials, subsequently revealed within the window.

Margaret's Witnesses

In the four upper registers the direction of the narrative changes from boustrophedonic to implicit continuous narratives formed through three panels that draw beholder's eyes to central scenes of torture and death. The emphasis within these registers is the ability of Margaret's passion to convert bystanders. Margaret's *vitae* describe the many people present for her tortures, including "the rest of the town" (caeteri ciuitatis conuenerunt uidere) and the window reiterates their presence across multiple panels.[55] Margaret's tortures are imaged as public spectacles. Along each register Margaret is viewed from multiple directions: Olybrius on the left, the torturers flanking her, groups of bystanders on the right, and the window's beholders from the front. The number of witnesses to Margaret's tortures also multiplies across the window, from a crowd of four attending her burning to eight at her boiling.

The onlookers represent different kinds of people, ranging from the antagonistic instigator (Olybrius) to innocent public witnesses moved by her suffering. Each type of onlooker sees the same torture, but has a different reaction. The bystanders witnessing Margaret's burning react with shock. One man holds his hands up in front of him (panel 9) (Fig. 3.17). The reactions of the onlookers in the window mimic those found in her

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[55] Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, 194.

vitae and allow the beholder to better empathize with her experiences. During Margaret's

beating the bystanders lament her suffering saying, "we pity you, because we see you

naked and torn" (uere dolemus te, quia te nudam laniari conspicimus).[56] Olybrius, in

contrast, cannot see what the populace can, "that to gaze on the heroine is to confront a

transforming source of power."[57] The magistrate stands, devoid of emotion and pointing

towards the saint, indicating that the torment is carried out at his command (panel 10)

(Fig. 3.18). The figure of the ruler, usually seated, is a common feature in visual

depictions of martyrdoms, showing the power of viewing, and functioning as ruler, judge,

and witness.[58] While Olybrius is a reminder of paganism, persecution, and evil, the

viewing position of the bystanders is positive, showing the moral instruction that

Margaret's suffering can offer, instilling compassion, and creating new converts. These

different viewers invite the window's beholders to position themselves as one kind of

viewer or the other, as complicit in her torture or emotionally moved by her example. The

central images of Margaret's tortures fixed these scenes in the beholder's memories and

forced the viewer to confront conflicting reactions, including stimulation, attraction,

disgust, and repulsion.[59]

      Margaret's suffering results in the conversions of the people who viewed her

passion. In her Latin *vita*, Margaret converts five thousand men (not including women

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[56] Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, 191.

[57] Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "Virgin's Tale," in *Feminist Readings in Middle English Literature: The Wife of Bath and all her sect* (London: Routledge, 1994), 179.

[58] Martha Easton, "Pain, Torture, and Death, in the Huntingdon Library *Legenda aurea*," in *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women, and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*, eds. Samantha Riches and Sarah Salih (London: Routledge, 2002), 56.

[59] Margaret Miles, *Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious Meaning in the Christian West* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991), 57.

and girls) after her attempted drowning.[60] In the window, the very people who witness

Margaret's burning and boiling are martyred. Having been converted by witnessing

Margaret's exemplary display of faith, the new Christians are beheaded in two separate

panels (panels 14, 15) (Figs. 3.22-3.23). The number of new martyrs correlates exactly to

the number of bystanders (four and eight) who witnessed Margaret's burning and boiling,

indicating these are the same men.[61] In the central medallion, men are killed one by one,

their hair held by knights who reach back ready to swing their swords. In the foreground,

two converts have already fallen. The slaughter continues in the right panel, where a

group of three converts await their executions, while a fourth has already succumbed.

The strength of Margaret as a martyr is revealed through these mass conversions and

executions. As Cynthia Hahn notes, the success of a martyr's passion is measured in the

ability of the narrative to convert or sway the viewing audience itself.[62] As in medieval

judicial procedures, the testimony of witnesses was a powerful and important form of

proof.[63] Thus, the conversion of Margaret's bystanders bolsters the efficacy of her

narrative.

Margaret's ability to convert onlookers within the window is related to her

passive suffering. According to Maud Burnett McInerney, "the female martyr has often

been perceived as being more moving than the male martyr because of her greater

weakness. Her passion, being more pathetic, is supposed to have greater audience

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[60] Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, 195. The Latin reads, "In ipsa hora crediderunt in domino uiri ad quinque millia exceptis mulieribus et paruulis."

[61] Although the leftmost panel is a modern pastiche of ancient fragments depicting a building, I hypothesize that this panel originally included another image of Olybrius condemning (panel 13) (Fig. 5.21).

[62] Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley, C.A.: University of California Press, 2001), 60.

[63] Bartlett, 27.

appeal."[64] Margaret looks with downcast eyes and holds up her hands, indicating that she

is not resisting her tortures. This passivity contrasts with the scenes of Margaret

confronting the demon, where she acts aggressively.

Margaret's beheading follows the execution of the new converts (panel 17) (Fig.

3.25). In the center medallion, Margaret bends on one knee towards her executioner who

grabs her by the hair with his left arm and draws back his armed right hand, ready to

strike the fatal blow. Just above Margaret's head, the hand of God emerges from the

cloud formation, indicating His pleasure at Margaret's sacrifice. To the right, another

group of witnesses watch the saint's martyrdom (panel 18) (Fig. 3.26). The inclusion of

an additional scene of witnesses opens up the possibility for her life to create even more

new converts and potentially new martyrs, indicating the continuing power of Margaret's

passion.[65]

Margaret's Suffering

As Margaret's torture and suffering are vital to her sanctity and to her ability to

convert onlookers, they are given pride of place along the window's central axis,

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[64] Maud Burnett McInerney, "Rhetoric, Power, and Integrity in the Passion of the Virgin Martyr," in
Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginity in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, eds. Kathleen Coyne
Kelly and Marina Leslie (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 50. See also Madeline Caviness,
Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy (Philadelphia, P.A.:
University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 91.
[65] The theme of martyrdom and the ability of martyrs' passions to stimulate new devotion is found across
other windows in the cathedral, including those of St. Andrew, St. Lawrence, and St. Catherine. In
Catherine's window, across the choir (Bay 26) four separate panels are given to the intercession,
conversion, and tortures of the empress. Catherine is also the subject of a 1275-1325 fresco in the south
ambulatory chapel, which is currently the cathedral treasury. The presence of this fresco shows the
continued interest in female martyrdom at Auxerre, suggesting its relevance for the canons and audience of
the cathedral. The chapel of St. Catherine was erected during the height of her and Margaret's popularity in
the fourteenth century. Organized in registers, from bottom to top, one can still discern key scenes from
Catherine's passion within this much-damaged fresco, including her tortures, her debate with Maximian
and his scholars, her beheading, her entombment, and the ascension of her soul to heaven.

fashioning her as an exemplary martyr. Reading the window vertically, the central

medallions form a discreet shorthand narrative of Margaret's life.[66] From the bottom to

the top, the medallions depict Margaret entering prison, her confrontation with the

demon, her fire and water tortures, the martyrdom of the converts, Margaret's

decapitation, and her soul's ascension to heaven (Fig. 3.3). This summary of Margaret's

passion provides all of the key elements of the martyr's life: her abduction, supernatural

miracles (and the revelation of her true foe), bodily tortures (which are purifying in

nature), powers of conversion, death, and entrance into heaven. As Cynthia Hahn

explains, the martyr's passion is a series of successive revelations of the saint's purity.[67]

In the window, each event along the axis reveals Margaret's character while also shaping

her purity and holiness, her mortality stripped away to reveal her inner virtue.

Margaret's holiness, revealed through her suffering, expresses medieval views of

martyrdom and sanctity. As Martha Easton writes, medieval society viewed pain as

productive. Pain could be a means to salvation, purification, and truth and an indicator of

sanctity that could spark devotion and reinforce memory.[68] By the late thirteenth century,

methods of torture, sometimes public, were used to extract confessions in court and to

discover truth.[69] Viewers of martyrdoms, such as Margaret's, were prepared for this kind

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[66] While the Margaret window covers a wide range of moments from her textual *vitae*, it focuses on the dramatic events of her life. The window does not include the numerous prayers that Margaret makes or the descent of the cross and dove, which marked her impending martyrdom. Instead, multiple scenes are devoted to depicting bystanders and their martyrdoms, a deliberate decision which shapes Margaret's martyrdom into a didactic enterprise intended to elicit emotion from beholders and bolster Christian faith. Madeline Caviness describes a similar reading strategy in the Typological Redemption Window at Chartres Cathedral, where the gospel events are placed along the window's axis and surrounded by subsidiary scenes. Madeline Caviness, "Biblical Stories in Windows: Were They Bibles for the Poor?," in *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, ed. B.S. Levy (Binghampton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), 127-128.
[67] Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 60.
[68] Easton, "*Legenda aurea*," 51.
[69] Easton, "*Legenda aurea*," 55.

of imagery by their own societies, which legitimized pain and torture within contemporary social norms.[70]

Margaret experiences three tortures: beating, burning, and boiling. Margaret's first torture, flagellation, marks her life as imitating Christ's Passion and is a torture found in many martyrs' lives (panel 3) (Fig. 3.11).[71] In the window, Margaret is tied to a post, hands together, reminiscent of scenes of Christ's own flagellation, including in a twelfth-century stained glass panel from Chartres Cathedral (Bay 51) (Fig. 3.34).[72] Margaret's whipping is similar to that of St. Catherine (Bay 26) (Fig. 3.22). Both women are depicted naked from the waist up and tied to a column that partially obstructs the view of their bodies. This torture is not placed along the axis, but occurs just after her entrance into prison and is physically marginalized compared to her fire and water torments.

After her flagellation, Margaret was tortured with fire and water. These two tortures are significant for their symbolic connections to purification and baptism. Common motifs in martyr narratives, these two methods of torture work to prepare the saint for her eventual martyrdom. They also provide the beholders with evidence of Margaret's transformation, so that they in turn can be edified. Fire and water also held symbolic meaning and related to medieval judicial practices.[73]

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[70] Easton, "*Legenda aurea*," 56.

[71] Easton, "*Legenda aurea*," 50; Cynthia Hahn, *Passio Kyliani. Pseudo-Theotimus, Passio Margaretae… Hannover Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. I. 189* (Graz: Akademische Druck-und Verlaganstalt, 1988), 108-9.

[72] Similarities in the compositions of Christ's tortures and the martyrs are found in other visual martyr cycles. See, for example, Martha Easton, "St. Agatha and the Sanctification of Sexual Violence," *Studies in Iconography* 16 (1994): 94.

[73] Cynthia Hahn writes that burning is the third most common form of torture in martyrs' passions. Hahn, *Portrayed*, 70.

Margaret is burned first. In the third register, on the left, Margaret refuses Olybrius again and is condemned to torture by fire (panel 7) (Fig. 3.15). Margaret looks towards the seated Olybrius. She leans back anxiously, her body slightly conforming to the curve of the leading. In the central scene, Margaret is tied to a wooden stake on a pyre, nude from the waist up with her breasts exposed, as two torturers stoke the fire (panel 8) (Fig. 3.16). She is completely passive. Her hands are bound in front of her and she looks back towards the previous panel. To the right, a man wearing a red cloak gestures toward Margaret, drawing our attention back to the central panel (panel 9) (Fig. 3.17).

Margaret's burning functions as a purification process, akin to the refiner's fire. The martyr is refined during her smelting, leaving only her purity.[74] The idea of purification by fire was also linked to the preservation of virginity. Aeldred of Rivaulx, for example, described virginity as gold refined by fire.[75] Margaret herself referred to the purifying effect of fire saying, "Burn up my loins, Lord, and my heart, so that there may not be wickedness in me."[76]

Margaret's torture by fire was not only figuratively important but also related to medieval culture as a test of faith or truth. Ordeals by fire and water are attested in texts across Europe, in particular as tests for female sexual misconduct, such as adultery,

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[74] Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1990), 268-269.

[75] Aelred of Rievaulx, "De institutione inclusarum," in *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, eds. A. Hoste and C. H. Talbot (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), 650: "Virginitas aurum est, cella fornax, conflator diabolus, ignite tentatio" (Virginity is gold, the cell a furnace, the devil the blower, the fire temptation).

[76] English translation by Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 211. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, 194. The Latin reads, "Vre domine renes meos et cor meum: ut in me non sit iniquitas."

linking sexual purity and these forms of torment within a judicial context.[77] These same

ordeals were also used as tests to determine the orthodoxy of religious beliefs, as

described in an account by Gregory of Tours to distinguish between Arian and Catholic

doctrine.[78] Thus, Margaret's ability to endure the fire both proved and produced her

sanctity.

Torture by water follows Margaret's burning. Reading across the register from

left to right, Olybrius condemns Margaret (panel 10), Margaret is depicted in a vessel of

water (panel 11), and onlookers view the torture (panel 12) (Figs. 3.18-3.20). At center,

Margaret is contained within a large red and green barrel, flanked by two torturers who

pour water into the vat. Margaret is, again, nude from the waist up. Her face looks

downcast as she holds her hands up in front of her. A group of bystanders looks on,

gesturing towards the saint and crowding to get a closer look.

Water torture was also popular in hagiography and carried symbolic importance.

The specific nature of this torture, whether Margaret is boiled or simply drowned, is

unclear. Her Latin *vita* does not specify, merely relating that she was to be bound and

placed in a vessel filled with water (suggesting drowning).[79] Because Margaret is upright

in the Auxerre panel, it may represent a boiling.[80] Regardless of whether she is boiled or

drowned, Margaret's upright position, and the placement of her hands, makes this scene

appear more like a baptism than a torment, transforming her torture into a sacred

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[77] References are found in thirteenth-century law codes in Scandinavia, in twelfth-century France, and in Castilian law, among other texts. Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986; 1999), 19.

[78] Bartlett, 20-21.

[79] Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, 194. The Latin reads "Iabet itaque Praefectus afferri uas magnum plenum aqua: ligari pedes et manus beatae Margaritae: et ibi eam mortificari…"

[80] At Ardagger Abbey, Margaret is held upside down as she is submerged in the water, making the intention to drown her more explicit.

Christian ritual. The references to boiling or drowning as baptismal in nature appears in

Margaret's textual *vitae*. In her Latin *vita,* Margaret asks God that the water become,

> a sanctification and the illumination of salvation, let it become for me an
> everlasting fountain…bless this water, so that it may wash all my sins away from
> me and then strengthen my soul and body and mind and baptize me in the name of
> the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit because he is blessed for ever and
> ever. Amen.[81]

The concept of baptism as a symbolic rebirth relates to other aspects of her ordeals,

including her expulsion from the dragon (like Jonah) and renewal by fire (like a phoenix),

as Elizabeth Petroff explains.[82]

Margaret's passion, from her confrontation with Olybrius to her beating, burning,

and drowning, is intimately linked to her identity as a female virgin martyr and is

sexually charged. Each of her ordeals reinforces her chastity. In her initial confrontation

with Olybrius, he attempts to convince her to accept his hand in marriage. When she

refuses, he threatens to make her his concubine. Both options would compromise

Margaret's purity. Kathryn Gravdal writes that the threat to a virgin saint's chastity, such

as through forced marriage, was a powerful element of the saint's life which glorified

virginity and opened a space for the saint to become a soldier and hero.[83]

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[81] English translation by Clayton and Magennis, 213. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, 195. The Latin reads, "Fiat mihi haec aqua aqua sanitatis, et fiat mihi sufficatio haec illuminatio salutis, et fiat mihi haex aqua fons baptismatis indeficiens, indue me galeam salutis…. Et benedicat in nomine tuo aquam istam. Expolia me ueterem hominem et indue me aquam istam in ultam externam. Confirma uitam meam, et clarifica sensum meum, et proiice a me peccata mea, salua me in tua Gloria, baptiza me in nomine patris et filii, et spiritus sancti, quia ipse est benedictus in saecula saeculorum. Amen."

[82] Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff, "Transforming the World: the Serpent-Dragon and the Virgin Saints," in *Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 105. The connection between these rebirths may have also reminded the beholder of her connection to childbirth within lay devotional practices.

[83] Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing maidens: Writing rape in medieval French literature and law* (Philadelphia, P.A.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 23.

Once imprisoned, Margaret's encounters with the dragon and demon can also be read as sexually charged. In fact, at Auxerre, the demon is first rendered as a man, rather than as a monstrous creature, as at Chartres and Ardagger (panel 5) (Fig. 3.13). The demon is bearded and appears very similar to Olybrius, drawing a connection between the two. In textual hagiography, the demon and dragon's threat to Margaret's purity is made clear. The demon itself explains that the dragon was sent to tarnish her virginity.[84]

During her tortures Margaret is depicted nude from the waist up, her breasts sometimes visible. As Martha Easton notes, the martyr's nudity signified the stripping away of the material world.[85] Furthermore, the female martyr's body "was the site and symbol of resistance to a society they saw as wicked."[86] The saint's nakedness not only genders Margaret's passion, but emphasizes the brutality and humiliation of her tortures.[87] Margaret's corporeal suffering, which stripped away her mortal body, helped to masculinize her, to remove her sexuality and femininity, and to make her more Christ-like.[88] Margaret's purification and perfection through torture ends in her beheading and in the representation of her soul held aloft by angels to heaven. Margaret's soul appears as a prepubescent body, the picture of innocence and purity (panel 19) (Fig. 3.27).

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[84] Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, 193. "Ego quidem misi fratem meum Rufonem in similitudine draconis, ut obsorberet et tolleret de terra memoriam tuam, et virginitatem tuam obrueret" (I even sent my brother, Rufon, in the form of a dragon, to swallow you and to destroy your memory on earth, and to tarnish your virginity). Wace's twelfth-century life of Margaret also makes the sexual aspects explicit, reiterating that Olybrius loved her and that the dragon intended to harm her virginity. Gravdal, 39-40.

[85] Martha Easton, "*Legenda aurea*," 53.

[86] Margaret Miles, *Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious Meaning in the Christian West* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991), 57.

[87] The nakedness of a virgin martyr could be viewed as co-mingling eroticism and humiliation, revealing even voyeuristic possibilities for the beholder and showing a popular interest in women's bodies. Caviness, *Visualizing Women*, 101; Easton, "Agatha," 98.

[88] Caviness, *Visualizing Women*, 89; Easton, "*Legenda aurea*," 52; Miles, *Carnal Knowing*, 57.

Within the window, different narrative strategies emphasize Margaret's enclosure as a space of power, her ability to convert onlookers, and the exemplary nature of her tortures. Within the context of Auxerre Cathedral, the emphases in the Margaret window find resonance with themes across the cathedral's iconographic program.

Saints, Bishops, and Laity at Auxerre Cathedral

Margaret is one among several martyr saints who functioned as powerful *exempla Christi* and were depicted in stained glass windows at Auxerre.[89] The cathedral's patron saint, the protomartyr Stephen, sets the tone for the iconographic program and appears in the north bay of the hemicycle (Bay 101) and in the ambulatory (Bay 16). The theme of martyrdom also extends to comparisons between the local sainted bishops and biblical predecessors, linking confessor and martyr versions of lives lived in imitation of Christ. In the choir clerestory, double lancets depict St. Stephen paired with St. Germain and St. Lawrence accompanied by St. Amâtre, Germain's predecessor (Bays 101, 102) (Figs. 3.35-3.36). This juxtaposition creates a typology between the early Christian martyrs and the sainted bishops of Auxerre, showing the continuation of the line of prophets and apostles through the city's bishops and locating Auxerre within divine history.[90]

The prominent place given to local sainted bishops at Auxerre expresses the long and illustrious history of acclaimed bishops and saints within this city. The episcopal context of Auxerre is important to contextualizing the Margaret window, as the canons of the church would have influenced the stained glass program. Auxerre and the surrounding region has numerous religious foundations, including Cluniac and Cistercian

[89] Raguin, *Stained Glass in Burgundy*, 100.
[90] Raguin, *Stained Glass in Burgundy*, 104.

monastic houses for men and for women.[91] The bishops of Auxerre sought to maintain

control over all of the religious institutions. The relative success of the bishops' assertion

of authority is evident in the late thirteenth-century cartulary of the bishops and the

cathedral chapter cartulary from the 1230s, both of which record quarrel settlements and

agreements often in favor of the bishops.[92] During the time of the cathedral's

construction, the bishops of Auxerre enjoyed power without the interference of secular

counts, the king, or the pope.[93] Unsurprisingly, the inclusion of bishop saints within the

cathedral's imagery, St. Amâtre and St. Germain in particular, calls to mind the

exemplary models contemporary bishops sought to emulate.

Among the most important bishops in Auxerre's history are the sainted fourth-

century bishops Amâtre (Amator) and Germain (Germanus). The lives of Amâtre and

Germain are recorded in a medieval history of Auxerre's bishops, the *Gesta pontificum

Autissiodorensium*, which was begun around 875 by the canons Rainogala and Alagus

under the direction of Bishop Wala (873-879) and expanded through the late thirteenth

century (1278).[94] The *Gesta* gives biographical information for each of Auxerre's

bishops, with varying degrees of detail and anecdotal evidence. The virtues evident

within these lives form thematic threads linking the bishops and highlighting the values

important to Auxerre's ecclesiastical elites. Only the most outstanding achievements

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[91] Constance Bouchard, *Three Cartularies from Thirteenth-Century Auxerre* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 3, 11. Religious institutions in Auxerre include the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Germain, the Premonstratensian houses of Saint-Martin and Saint-Marien, the Cistercian priory of Saint-Gervais, the Benedictine convent of Saint-Julien (a female house), and the Augustinian priory of Saint-Amâtre. See Constance Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration: The Role of the Bishop in Twelfth-Century Auxerre* (Cambridge, M.A.: The Medieval Academy, 1979), 5.
[92] Bouchard, *Cartularies*, 2, 3, 11.
[93] Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration*, 2.
[94] Michel Sot, Guy Lobrichon, and Monique Gouillet, eds., "Introduction," in *Les Gestes des Évêques d'Auxerre*, vol. 1 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2002), viii-ix, xii-xiii. A twelfth-century copy of the *Gesta*, with later additions, is found as MS 142 in the Bibliothèque d'Auxerre.

were included to "show the power of God in action" and to demonstrate the subject as an ideal bishop.[95] For example, many of the bishops were of noble birth, were lauded for their piety and for their endowment of churches with land, furnishings, gold and relics, and were invested in caring for their diocese. [96]

St. Amâtre was bishop of Auxerre from 388 until his death May 1, 418.[97] He helped to establish a model of behavior for later bishops of Auxerre. After he and his wife converted, he built two churches in Auxerre, marking the town as sacred.[98] Furthermore, he set out to convert the remaining pagans within the diocese and performed miracles including healing, exorcisms, and resuscitations.[99] Amâtre also had a vision that Germanus would succeed him, shaping the lineage of Auxerre's bishops as divinely-appointed.[100]

St. Germain was one of six dukes entrusted with the rule of the Gallic provinces by the Roman emperor.[101] Amâtre, then the bishop of Auxerre, gave Germain the tonsure against his will and told him that he was to be his successor.[102] Germain was consecrated as bishop on July 7, 418 and is best known for his work combatting heresy in Britain and appealing on behalf of his people to the pagan Roman rulers.[103] He also undertook building projects in and around Auxerre, including a private oratory and several

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[95] Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration*, 11.
[96] Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration*, 14.
[97] *Les Gestes*, vol. 1, 22-29.
[98] *Les Gestes*, vol. 1, 22-25.
[99] *Les Gestes*, vol. 1, 26-27.
[100] *Les Gestes*, vol. 1, 28-29.
[101] *Les Gestes*, vol. 1, 28-49. See also F. R. Hoare, trans., "Constance of Lyon: the Life of Saint Germanus of Auxerre," in *Soldiers of Christ: saints and saints' lives from Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages*, ed. Thomas Head (University Park, P.A.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 75-106.
[102] *Les Gestes*, vol. 1, 32-33.
[103] *Les Gestes*, vol. 1, 40-43.

monasteries.[104] Following Amâtre and Germain, bishops continued the legacy of crafting Auxerre into a blessed Christian city with a vibrant religious life.

Auxerre's medieval bishops modeled the virtues evident in the lives of Amâtre and Germain, including evangelism and the patronage of religious institutions. During the thirteenth century, the detailed entry in the *Gesta* for Guillaume de Seignelay describes his extensive patronage of the Gothic cathedral, accompanied by numerous miracles.[105] The *Gesta* recounts that Guillaume was dissatisfied with the aging building, in light of the newer churches being built within the diocese, and decided to rebuild ("Vidam itaque episcopus ecclesiam suam Autissiodorensem structure antique minusque composite squalor ac senior laborare, allis circumquaque capita sua extollentibus mira specie uenustatis, eam disposuit noua structura…").[106] To help guarantee the project's success, he gave seven hundred *livres* from his own revenue the first year of construction.[107] Guillaume was also responsible for establishing numerous religious houses and creating new parish churches.[108] These building projects continued the legacy of the architectural patronage of religious institutions in the diocese by its bishops and was viewed as one way to combat heresy and spread Christianity.[109] Guillaume's biographer also stressed his wisdom, which is compared with Solomon's, and his ability to perform miracles while enacting his episcopal duties.[110]

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[104] *Les Gestes*, vol. 1, 36-41.
[105] *Les Gestes*, vol. 2, 194-279.
[106] *Les Gestes*, vol. 2, 250-253.
[107] *Les Gestes*, vol. 2, 252-3; Titus, 109. The Latin reads, "Quippe circiter septingentas libras de proprio primo anno…" This amount was likely enough to cover the expenses for the first year of construction. Guillame continued to provide around 260 *livres* in the following years. Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture*, 38-39.
[108] Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration*, 136.
[109] Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration*, 136.
[110] Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration*, 125-6.

The virtues found in the lives of Auxerre's bishops are reiterated in the cathedral's stained glass program, including the ability to convert and properly care for their diocese, suggesting the stake the canons and bishop had in the messages conveyed by the glass. Windows depicting scenes from the lives of St. Germain (Bay 10), St. Martin (Bay 8), and St. Lawrence (Bay 9) highlight healings, the construction of churches, and baptisms (Fig. 3.37). Furthermore, the pairing of Amâtre and Germain with the martyrs Stephen and Lawrence linked medieval Auxerre with scripture and early Christian history, as well as the virtues of confessors and martyrs. These windows place the bishops of Auxerre within divine history, crafting a collective memory that foregrounds the role of local bishops within the church.[111]

Although we cannot identify an individual patron of the Margaret window, as we can at Chartres, the canons of the cathedral undoubtedly influenced the selection of subjects and the messages conveyed in the stained glass.[112] Several surviving thirteenth-century windows also reveal that canons individually donated windows. The Virgin and Child window in the north side of the axial chapel (Bay 5) depicts the donor below the pair, kneeling and presenting a window upwards (Fig. 3.38). The inscription above the priest reads "Hurricus Presbiter" (Priest Hurricus). Similarly, the window of St. Germain depicts the canon donor below the saint lifting a stained glass window (Bay 6) (Fig. 3.39).[113]

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[111] The *Gesta* also consciously links biblical and saintly predecessors to contemporary bishops by comparison. Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration*, 14.

[112] Claudine Lautier, "The Canons of Chartres: Their Patronage and Representation in the Stained Glass of the Cathedral," in *Patronage: Power & Agency in Medieval Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University in association with Penn State University Press, 2013): 118.

[113] Unfortunately, the inscription above the donor is not presently legible.

What could Margaret's life have offered to the bishops and canons of Auxerre? Margaret provides an example of perseverance amidst daily trials, which bishops faced in their dealings with secular authority and in conflicts with other institutions. For example, Guillaume was involved in conflicts with the abbey of St. Germain, which he himself finally settled in 1219.[114] Guillaume's letters to and from the pope also express his concern for the dangers of heretics, usurers, and Jews.[115] Margaret also reminded the canons and bishop of the importance of living a virtuous life that can potentially bring new converts to Christ.

In addition to the bishops and canons at Auxerre, powerful laypeople could have donated windows that contributed to the cathedral's iconographic program. The most important laymen in the diocese were the counts of Nevers.[116] Furthermore, beginning in the late twelfth century and lasting nearly one hundred years, the counties of Auxerre, Nevers, and Tonnerre, all held by the Nevers family, were inherited by a series of women, whose husbands took the titles of count, indicating that there were powerful lay women within this region, as attested in the cartularies.[117] The contribution of lay donors is suggested in fourteenth-century windows at Auxerre, such as the window of St. Paul in the south side of the nave clerestory (Bay 128), which depicts a male and female donor kneeling in prayer (Fig. 3.40).

Scholars have argued that lay people were donors of the portal sculpture at Auxerre. Don Denny contends that the choice of subjects for the dados on the portals

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[114] Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration*, 137.
[115] Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration*, 137.
[116] Bouchard, 12.
[117] Bouchard, 12. Alain Saint-Denis, "Auxerre au XIIIe siècle," in *Saint-Étienne d'Auxerre: la seconde vie d'une cathédrale, 7 ans de recherches pluridisciplinaires et internationals (2001-2007)*, ed. Christian Sapin (Paris: Picard, 2011), 19.

reflect the influence and patronage of the count of Auxerre, Jean de Chalons-Rochefort, around 1270.[118] Denny writes that the sculptural subjects, particularly David and Bathsheba, the Prodigal Son, and Joseph, allude to the marriage of Chalons-Rochefort and to his own childhood.[119]

The cathedral's iconographic program was likely influenced by the canons, the bishop, and local lay patrons, making it a collaborative endeavor. During the thirteenth century, Auxerre was experiencing a period of peace and stability that was favorable to the construction of the cathedral.[120] The inclusion of Margaret within the cathedral's imagery indicates her significance at this site. At Auxerre, Margaret is shaped as the ideal martyr who maintains her purity in the face of spiritual and corporeal trials and is able to convert others through her exemplary behavior. These themes find resonance with other imagery in the cathedral and in another contemporaneous window depicting St. Margaret's life within the region.

Margaret in the Milieu: Saint-Julien-du-Sault

Twenty-four miles north of Auxerre, another thirteenth-century stained glass window depicting St. Margaret was erected towards 1250 in the collegiate church of St. Peter at Saint-Julien-du-Sault (Figs. 3.41-3.42).[121] The close geographic proximity of two

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[118] Don Denny, "Some Narrative Subjects in the Portal Sculpture of Auxerre Cathdral," *Speculum* 51.1 (Jan., 1976): 23-27. Virginia Raguin suggests an alternate patron, Guy de Mello, bishop from 1247 to 1269. Raguin, "Mid-Thirteenth Century Patronage," 135.
[119] Denny, 27-34.
[120] Saint-Denis, 19.
[121] Key sources for the church and its stained glass include Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture*, 171-172; J. Lafond, "Les Vitraux de l'église de Saint-Julien-du-Sault," *Congrès archéologique de France* 116 (1958): 365-369; Raguin, *Stained Glass in Burgundy*, 16; *Recensement*, III, 167-172; Gabrielle Rheims, "L'eglise de Saint-Julien-du-Sault et ses verrieres," *Gazettte de Beaux-Arts* 14 (1926): 139-162; J. Tonnelier, "Saint-Julien-du-Sault," *Annuaire statistique du Département de l'Yonne* 6 (1842): 99-118; Jean Vallery-Radot, "Saint-Julien-du-Sault," *Congrès archéologique de France* 116 (1958): 355-365.

Margaret windows suggests the popularity of Margaret as a subject within monumental stained glass in the region. Examining the Margaret window at Saint-Julien-du-Sault in relation to the Auxerre window is productive not only because the two are roughly contemporaneous but also because the windows are connected stylistically, linked by glazing ateliers that worked at both sites. Furthermore, both the collegiate church and the cathedral were subordinate to the archbishop of Sens and both were important episcopal sites. However, the window at Saint-Julien-du-Sault is in a poor state of preservation. Thus, information from the Auxerre window's iconography can shed light on the narrative at Saint-Julien-du-Sault. The remaining medieval panels of the St. Margaret window at Saint-Julien-du-Sault reveal a different emphasis in Margaret's life than at Auxerre. In contrast to the window at Auxerre, Margaret's tortures are placed along the side panels, rather than along the central axis. The window's central medallions form a strong vertical axis that foregrounds Margaret's movement between interior and exterior spaces, in particular into and out of prison.

The Margaret Window in the Church of St. Peter

The chapter of the collegiate church of St. Peter at Saint-Julien-du-Sault was founded by Guy de Noyers, archbishop of Sens, shortly before his death in 1193.[122] The small city was the location of a chateau of the archbishop (Vauguillain) that was one of his most popular residences.[123] The thirteenth-century church was built under Gauthier Cornut between 1222 and 1241.[124] Unfortunately, there is little documentary evidence for

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[122] Raguin, *Stained Glass in Burgundy*, 16. The chapter of the church was suppressed in 1773 by the cardinal of Luynes, archbishop of Sens, and the collegiate became a parish church.
[123] Raguin, *Stained Glass in Burgundy*, 16.
[124] Raguin, *Stained Glass in Burgundy*, 16.

the building's construction, though it was probably supervised by the canons from Sens.[125] The choir was likely begun around 1235, post-dating the choir at Auxerre. The church presently has ten extant stained glass windows in the choir dating from around 1250.[126]

As at Chartres and Auxerre, the window of St. Margaret is located in the church's liturgical choir, situated in the easternmost window of the northern chapel in Bay 9 (Fig. 3.43). Remaining thirteenth-century windows suggest subject matter similar to that at Auxerre, including martyr saints and biblical narratives. The thirteenth-century windows within the choir depict the church's patron saint, the martyr St. Blaise (Bay 1), St. Nicholas (Bay 2), the Virgin's life and coronation (Bays 6, 8), the legend of Theophilus (Bay 4), and the life and Passion of Christ (Bays 0, 7). Margaret is surrounded currently by two lost windows (Bays 13 and 15 contain primarily sixteenth-century glass) and fragments of thirteenth-century windows, including the martyrdom of St. Paul.

The unfortunate condition of the thirteenth-century stained glass makes it difficult to decipher the original iconographic program within the church. The church burned and was partially destroyed in the mid-fourteenth century (towards 1367) during the Hundred Years War (1337-1453).[127] Restoration of the church commenced at the end of the fifteenth century, during the archiepiscopacy of Tristand de Sallazar (1475-1519) and continued into the sixteenth century.[128] In 1780, some of the windows were removed by the city's inhabitants and by the beginning of the nineteenth century the glass was in

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[125] Branner, 4-5.
[126] *Recensement*, III, 167.
[127] Vallery-Radot, 358-365; Wall placard, Church of St. Peter, Saint-Julien-du-Sault.
[128] Wall placard, Church of St. Peter, Saint-Julien-du-Sault.

disarray.[129] Between 1849 and 1850 the priest Girard set out to restore eight thirteenth-century windows, with the work undertaken by glazier Joseph Veissière.[130] In 1881 another campaign of restoration began under Charles Leprévost and Louis-Auguste Steinhall and was continued by Adolph Steinhall after the latter's death.[131] By 1900, ten windows had been restored and by 1957 additional windows that had been previously dispersed were reinstalled (such as the Tree of Jesse window in 1904) and new windows with medieval fragments were created (including the geometric windows of the clerestory).[132]

The window of St. Margaret is 6 meters tall and 1.5 meters wide. It consists of alternating circular medallions and demi-quadrilobe panels. Despite being one of the better preserved windows at Saint-Julien-du-Sault, the Margaret window has been heavily restored and less than half of the window's panels are thirteenth century (Fig. 3.41).[133] Lafond classified the best parts of the window as the scene of Margaret and the demon, her tortures, and the three subjects at top (panels 11, 12, 15-17). The atelier responsible for the Margaret window has been linked to the *Apocalypse Master* at work at Auxerre (by Virginia Raguin) and to Parisian ateliers (by Louis Grodecki).[134]

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[129] *Recensement*, III, 168.

[130] *Recensement*, III, 168.

[131] *Recensement*, III, 168. Lafond says that the windows suffered under this restoration, between 1881 and 1887. Lafond, "Saint-Julien-du-Sault," 365.

[132] *Recensement*, III, 168.

[133] Lafond, "Saint-Julien-du-Sault," 365. An early mention of the window is in François de Guilhermy's description of the church in 1864. He mentions the presence of a window dedicated to St. Margaret but, unfortunately, he does not describe the window's scenes. His notes simply read, "Autre du XIVe siècle, légende de Ste. Marguerite." François de Guilhermy, *Notes sur diverses localités de la France*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouv. Acq. 6108, fol. 113v. Photographs of the window taken by the restorer Leprévost between 1851 and 1910 are held in the Médiathéque de l'architecture et du patrimoine (photograph numbers include MH0015546, MH0015548, MH0015549, MH0015550, MH0015551, MH0015552) and largely express the window as it appears today.

[134] Grodecki, 108; Raguin, "Genesis Workshop," 37, note 4.

The window currently recounts Margaret's life through a series of modern and thirteenth-century panels, read in a boustrophedonic direction from the bottom left panel, as follows (Fig. 3.42):[135]

18) Margaret's soul ascends (heavily restored)
17) Margaret's beheading (heavily restored)
16) Margaret prays
15) Margaret is burned (heavily restored)
14) Margaret prays (19th century)
13) Margaret is taken out of prison
12) Margaret is pierced with nails
11) Margaret beats the demon
10) The dragon (heavily restored)
9) Margaret is beaten
8) Margaret is imprisoned
6-7) Margaret is condemned and beaten (19th century)
4-5) Margaret and Olybrius speak
3) Margaret meets Olybrius (heavily restored)
2) Margaret tends sheep (19th century)
1) Margaret and her nurse (19th century)

Unfortunately, the loss of medieval glass and inclusion of modern panels, which must be regarded as hypotheses, obscures the original thirteenth-century narrative of Margaret's life in the Saint-Julien-du-Sault window. While the remaining thirteenth-century panels include characteristic scenes of the saint's interactions with Olybrius, her tortures, her encounters with the dragon and demon, and her death, they also include unique imagery and an emphasis on the saint's entrance into and exit from prison.

The Martyr's Movement

The window's armature emphasizes the four central medallions, creating a clear axis that highlights Margaret's movement through space. Between the medallions, four

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[135] *Recensement*, III, 170. The *Recensement* generally indicates areas of restoration throughout, but does not provide a restoration chart.

panels, relegated to the sides, convey events that can be read as occurring within each setting (before Olybrius in public, within the prison cell, and again in public). Margaret's tortures and her encounters with the dragon and demon are relegated to the side panels, visually marginalizing these episodes. This organization of scenes is different from the Auxerre window, where Margaret's tortures appear along the central axis.

The lowest medallion in the Saint-Julien-du-Sault window depicts the encounter between Margaret and Olybrius within a pastoral space (panel 3) (Fig. 3.44). The natural setting of Margaret's encounter recalls the danger of the natural world, especially for women, conveyed in medieval literature through the threat of rape and bodily harm.[136] It is in the field, tending her sheep, that Margaret faces the first threat, to her freedom and to her chastity. The interaction between the figures is conveyed through their gestures. Margaret appears startled by the approaching knights. She holds her hands in front of her face and leans slightly back, acknowledging the approaching danger. Scenes in the next two registers amplify Margaret's encounters with Olybrius. In panels 4 and 5, Margaret is brought before Olybrius (Fig. 3.42). A knight leads Margaret towards the left panel, where Olybrius is seated, gesturing towards the saint. The two figures converse across the window, drawing the two panels together in an implicit continuous narrative.

Above the scene depicting Margaret meeting Olybrius, a medallion depicts a knight with a sword directing Margaret into prison (panel 8) (Fig. 3.45). Margaret holds up her tunic and makes a gesture of blessing with her right hand. The prison is depicted

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[136] Caviness, *Visualizing Women*, 102-3. This literary genre is a based on three poetic movements, a meeting between a knight and shepherdess, a debate about love and the lament of the abandoned shepherdess. See Kathryn Gravdal, "Poetics of Rape Law in Medieval France," in *Rape and Representation*, eds. Lynn A. Higgens and Brenda R. Silver (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 208.

as a circular enclosure with crenellated walls, gabled roofs, and a round-arched doorway,

reminiscent of Margaret's prison at Auxerre (Fig. 3.13). Margaret's entrance into prison

marks her movement into a place of punishment and isolation that also functions as a

space of protection and enclosure.[137] Unlike her hesitation when she meets Olybrius,

Margaret is confident as she enters prison. In fact, she has already boldly stepped across

the threshold in a movement reminiscent of an *adventus*, the spectacle of an entrance of

an important figure.[138] The image of Margaret stepping into her enclosure is similar to

images of nuns moving into their cloisters. For example, in the eleventh-century

illuminated *libellus* depicting the life of St. Radegund, the queen stands at the threshold

of her convent, one foot already inside, in front of large crowd of people (Fig. 3.46).

Margaret's willingness to enter prison reminds the viewer of the positive aspects of

enclosure (whether cloister or prison) for a holy female.[139]

As at Auxerre, Margaret's physical enclosure offers a protective other-worldly

space in which miraculous events can occur. Within the prison cell Margaret experiences

two tortures directly imitating Christ's Passion and encounters the devil in the forms of

the dragon and demon. These events are depicted in the following four panels (Fig.

3.42).[140] That Margaret is still enclosed in prison is conveyed through the repetition of

the curved, crenellated wall and the red, arched doorway of her prison. In the (heavily

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[137] Brigitte Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth-Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 62.

[138] Magdalena Carrasco, "Spirituality in Context: The Romanesque Illustrated Life of St. Radegund of Poitiers (Poitiers, Bibl. Mun., MS 250)," *The Art Bulletin* 72.3 (1990): 420; Margot Fassler, "Adventus at Chartres," in Nicholas Howe, ed., *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 13.

[139] The protective value of enclosure applied to contemporary society, as seen in the life of Christina of Markyate (c. 1096-1155), a woman who chose the cloister to separate herself from her family. Cazelles, 62.

[140] Interestingly, within the Radegund *libellus,* the saint is only able to achieve her most spectacular and miraculous feats once she is carefully circumscribed by the walls of the cloister and her cell.

restored) panel depicting the dragon, the beast, complete with a scaly tail, red wings, and a golden mane, appears alone (Fig. 3.47). The dragon is carefully circumscribed by Margaret's prison enclosure, safely sequestered away from the public. Margaret does not appear with this creature, rendering the appearance of the dragon as a mnemonic for Margaret's encounter and requiring the viewer to fill in the narrative of the encounter. This conservative rendering of the dragon scene is similar to Auxerre, where the beholder is left to decide whether the dragon swallowed the saint or not. In the following register, Margaret tramples the demon (Fig. 3.48). He appears with horns, a grotesque mouth and nose, a hairy torso, bound hands, and clawed feet. Margaret stands above, pointing at him with her left hand and ready to strike him with the stick in her right hand. This scene is similar to the renderings of the same moment at Auxerre and at Ardagger Abbey, emphasizing the physical nature of this encounter.

Margaret also experiences two tortures within the confines of prison, men beat her and pierce her hands with nails (Fig. 3.42). These particular torments directly reference Christ's Passion and wounds. The scene of Margaret's hands nailed to the wall is unique to Saint-Julien-du-Sault. It does not appear in any of the other windows of Margaret and is also absent from the Latin versions of her life. This torture affects the very instruments - Margaret's hands - that beat the demon in the previous panel.[141]

In the following medallion along the central axis, Margaret is brought out of prison, reversing the previous medallion (panel 13) (Fig. 3.49). The architecture of her enclosure remains the same, however, now the saint is drawn out of the prison. While Margaret lifted her garment to stride boldly into prison, Margaret must be pulled by the

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[141] This torture is also a penetration of Margaret's body and can be read as sexually charged.

arm out of her cell. Margaret keeps one foot in the doorway, as though she does not want to leave. Margaret's hesitation further supports the positive view of her enclosure. Once removed from prison Margaret experiences additional tortures and her beheading, moments that are public and occur before Olybrius and, according to her *vitae,* before crowds of witnesses.

The final medallion depicts the saint's final movement, her translation from earth into heaven. Margaret is depicted as a small nude figure held aloft by angels. The window's axis thus emphasizes the saint's movement between freedom and enclosure, public and private spaces, and earth and heaven. The foregrounding of Margaret's movement into and out of prison across two of the four central medallions gives preference to the cell as a positive space of divine encounters.

The scenes within the Margaret window at Saint-Julien-du-Sault show characteristic moments from Margaret's life, many of which are also found at Auxerre. Both windows include numerous scenes of torture and shape the prison cell as a space of supernatural encounters. While both windows also include a strong central vertical axis, at Auxerre, Margaret's tortures are emphasized and at Saint-Julien-du-Sault, Margaret's movement into and out of prison is foregrounded. The close geographic proximity of two windows dedicated to Margaret suggests that the saint was well known in the region and that recounting her martyrdom was appropriate within the iconographic programs of both cathedrals and collegiate churches.

Chapter 4:

From Suffering to Slaying: Margaret as a Confessor Saint at Chartres Cathedral

Although St. Margaret's *vitae* contain numerous dramatic moments of conflict and torture ripe for visual representation, the earliest surviving stained glass window depicting her life presents an abridged version.[1] The twenty-eight foot tall window of saints Margaret and Catherine, created around 1220 and situated in the Confessors Chapel in the south side of the choir of Chartres Cathedral, includes only four scenes from the life of St. Margaret placed alongside sixteen scenes from the life of another early Christian virgin martyr, St. Catherine of Alexandria, an image of the donor, Margaret of Lèves, and two male relatives of the donor (Figs. 4.1, 4.2). Composed in vivid colors, the window's scenes are distilled to key figures and omit extraneous detail, making the imagery legible, even from a distance. The four scenes of Margaret's life are arranged in a medallion, read clockwise from the lower right. The lower two panels depict Margaret vanquishing a dragon through the sign of the cross and beating a winged demon (Fig. 4.3). In the upper two panels Margaret is condemned to death and then is shown just before her beheading. The more extensive treatment of Catherine's life includes episodes of her debates with the emperor Maxentius and pagan scholars, her

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[1] This chapter began as a seminar paper written for Dr. Elizabeth Pastan's seminar "The Gothic Site" in Fall 2010 entitled "Marginalizing Margaret? The Iconography and Context of the Thirteenth-Century St. Margaret of Antioch and St. Catherine of Alexandria Window at Chartres Cathedral." Under the advisement of Dr. Pastan, the seminar paper set the foundation for this dissertation. Different iterations of this chapter, expressing the transformation of this material, were presented at the Art History Graduate Student Symposium, Emory University, February 3, 2012, at the AVISTA-sponsored session entitled "New Approaches to Chartres II" at the 47th Annual International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May 12, 2012, and at the Emory Medieval Roundtable, Emory University, April 8, 2015. I am grateful to the respondents at each presentation for their probing questions and insightful comments.

interactions with the empress, the wheel torture, her sentencing, and her execution (Fig. 4.4).

At Chartres, Margaret's presence within the liturgical choir cannot be fully explained by liturgy or relics. In fact, the window's location and imagery must be considered together in order to understand Margaret's significance at Chartres. In the window, images of Margaret are framed by those of Catherine, a pairing that shapes the way in which both saints' lives are constructed. I argue that the window's iconography and its physical placement within the Confessors Chapel fashion these saints as confessors rather than martyrs, as one would expect. Margaret and Catherine appear more similar to the confessor saints immediately surrounding them, than to their male martyr counterparts depicted in nearby windows, through the omission of their tortures and the emphasis on their physical and intellectual victories over the devil. Furthermore, abridging Margaret's life and associating her with Catherine downplays Margaret's role as an intercessor for women in childbirth, thereby giving priority to the cult of the Virgin Mary and the relic of the *sancta camisia* within Chartres Cathedral.

In this chapter, I situate the window within the cathedral's topography and consider the circumstances of its creation. Next, I discuss the iconography in relation to depictions of other martyrs and confessors at Chartres. Finally, I examine how the window may have been viewed by its thirteenth-century audience within the context of devotional practices, liturgical performances, and clerical concerns at Chartres.

Situating the Window in Space and Time

The Margaret and Catherine window is one among more than one hundred extant medieval stained glass windows at Chartres.[2] The remarkable preservation of the cathedral's vitreous imagery provides a wealth of material, which scholars have capitalized on.[3] Despite the vast research that has been completed on Chartres and its stained glass, the Margaret window has not received close attention.[4]

Situated in the southern chapel of the choir, in Bay 16, the Margaret and Catherine window was part of the extensive rebuilding of the cathedral after a fire on June 10, 1194 (Fig. 4.5).[5] Reconstruction began in the nave and reached the level of the top of the piers between 1196 and 1202 and the same level in the choir by 1211.[6] The choir-stalls were installed on January 1, 1221, suggesting relative completion of the choir space.[7]

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[2] The *Recensement,* II, counts "more than one hundred windows" as medieval out of a numbering system that identifies 143 apertures ("Le cathédrale de Chartres est celle qui, en France, conserve les plus grand nombre de vitraux anciens (plus de cents verrières)…"). Louis Grodecki, Martine Callias Bey, and Françoise Perrot, *Les vitraux du Centre et des Pays de la Loire: Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France, II* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981): 25-26. They provide references to Delaporte's numbering system. Yves Delaporte, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: Histoire et description: Vol I, texte* (Chartres: É. Houvet, 1926), 6-7.

[3] The literature on Chartres is vast. Key sources include: Delaporte, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*; *Recensement*, II, 25-45; Colette Mahnes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres: Étude iconographique* (Paris: Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, 1993); Jan van der Meulen and Jürgen Hohmeyer, *Chartres: Biographie der Kathedrale* (Köln: DuMont Buchverlag, 1984); Michel Pansard, *Chartres, La Grâce d'une cathédrale* (Strasbourg: Placevict/Neubl, 2013). Useful bibliographies and review articles include: Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Mélanges: Récits, programme, commanditaires, concepteurs, donateurs: publications récentes sur l'iconographie des vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Bulletin Monumental* 154.1 (1996): 55-71; Jan van der Meulen, Rüdiger Hoyer, and Deborah Cole, *Chartres, Sources and Literary Interpretation: A Critical Bibliography* (Boston, M.A.: G.K. Hall, 1989).

[4] The window has been studied only in terms of patronage, style, and dating. See René Merlet, "Les vidames de Chartres au XIIIe siècle et le vitrail de Sainte Marguerite," *Mémoires de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loire* 10 (1896): 81-91.

[5] I follow the numbering of the windows in the *Recensement*, II, 26, Figure 10.

[6] Anne Prache, "Remarques sur la construction de la cathédrale de Chartres à la lumière de la dendrochronology," in *Monde médiéval et société chartraine, actes du colloque internationale organisé par la ville et le diocèse de Chartres à l'occasion du 8e centenaire de la cathédrale de Chartres, 8-10 septembre 1994*, ed. John-Robert Armogathe (Paris: Picard, 1997): 75-79.

[7] Van der Meulen notes that this date only concerns church furniture and not the architecture and is thus only a secondary source. Jan van der Meulen, "Recent Literature on the Chronology of Chartres Cathedral," *Art Bulletin* 49.2 (June, 1967): 153.

While none of the stained glass is conclusively datable on documentary evidence, scholars have proposed precise chronologies for the stained glass based on donors and style.[8] Delaporte dates the choir windows to between 1215 and 1220.[9] In the *Recensement,* Grodecki marks 1220 as the main date for the choir windows, within a range extending from 1217 to 1236.[10] Interestingly, during the thirteenth century, colored windows within the choir were replaced by grisailles, including Bay 10 in the Confessors Chapel, which was installed in the third quarter of the century.[11] These replacements suggest that by the end of the century more light was desired within the cathedral.[12]

The Margaret and Catherine window aids in the dating of the lower choir windows because of the presence of identifiable patrons and its stylistic similarities to nearby windows. In the window's first register, on the left, a female figure, dressed in a red garment and a green veil, kneels before an image of the Virgin and Child enthroned (Fig. 4.6). In the panel to the right stand two knights, clothed in red garments and chainmail, looking towards the Virgin and Child. An inscription above the man on the right reads "EGARINDEF".[13] Rene Merlet proposed the identity of the knight to whom

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[8] Mahnes-Deremble, 9; Meulen, "Recent Literature," 154; *Recensement*, II, 25. Early debates over chronology corresponded to the discussion about the direction in which construction progressed. See Paul Frankl, "The Chronology of Chartres Cathedral," *Art Bulletin* 39.1 (Mar., 1957): 33-47; Louis Grodecki, "Chronologie de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Bulletin monumental* 116 (1958): 111-114; Jan van der Meulen, "Recent Literature," 154-157. Claudine Lautier's article on the recent restorations at Chartres gives an overview of past restorations and evidence for new (later) dating of the vaulting of the choir based on heraldic motifs on the bosses. Claudine Lautier, "Restaurations récentes à la cathédrale de Chartres et nouvelle recherches," *Bulletin monumental* 169.1 (2011): 3-11. Furthermore, images of patrons in the windows have been used to aid in dating. Claudine Lautier, "Le royauté française dans le décor de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 66 (2012): 236-247.
[9] Delaporte, *Les vitraux*, 137.
[10] *Recensement*, II, 25. Grodecki gives 1210 as the central date for the nave windows.
[11] Meredith Lillich, "A Redating of the Thirteenth-Century Grisaille Windows of Chartres Cathedral," *Gesta* 11.1 (1972): 15-16.
[12] Lillich, "Redating," 15. James Rosser Johnson explains that grisailles actually may have hindered the visibility of other windows by casting too much light onto them. James Rosser Johnson, *The Radiance of Chartres: Studies in the early stained glass of the Cathedral* (New York: Random House, 1965), 9.
[13] Mahnes-Deremble transcribes the text as GARINDEF. Mahnes-Deremble, 16. Merlet says E.GARINDEF. Merlet, "Les vidames," 83-84.

the inscription refers as Guérin de Friaize, a donor of the abbey of Josaphat who is

mentioned in documents between 1190 and 1235 and who was married to a woman

named Margaret of Lèves sometime after 1201.[14]

The second knight depicted proves more difficult to identify on the basis of

family connections, heraldry, and inscription. Merlet identified the figure as Hugues de

Meslay, Margaret's brother-in-law.[15] Colette Mahnes-Deremble offered an alternate

identification, suggesting the knight is Hugues's elder brother Geoffrey, who had a

greater position at Chartres and who married Margaret's niece.[16] Based on his

coordination of complex, indeterminate marriage and death dates, Merlet suggests 1220-

1227 for the window's date.[17] This 1220-1227 tradition was taken up by Delaporte and

Grodecki, who applied these dates to other windows of a shared style.[18] Recently,

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[14] The men are depicted with shields bearing coats of arms that have been compared with engravings on a tomb in the abbey of Josaphat, reproduced by Gaignaires. Drawing together the inscriptions and coats of arms in the window and in the tomb, Fernand de Mély concluded that the tomb belonged to a count of Chartres. The identification of two figures in the window as Marguerite of Lèves and Guérin de Friaize narrows the time period of the window's donation because Guérin was Marguerite's second husband. Her first husband, Jean de Ferriéres, died in 1201. At the time of Marguerite's first husband's death, however, Guérin may have still been on crusade, having left in 1199 and returned no later than 1204. Marguerite and Guérin were certainly married before 1218, when the two convened, along with Marguerite's sister Mabile and her husband, to confirm a donation made by Marguerite's mother, Berthe of Lèves to the abbey of Josaphat. Mahnes-Deremble, 16-17.

The roles of the donors and patrons of the windows at Chartres have been the subject of much scholarship. See, for example, Wolfgang Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass*, trans. Caroline Dobson Saltzwedel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Kurmann-Schwarz, "Publications récentes"; Claudine Lautier, "The Canons of Chartres: Their Patronage and Representation in the Stained Glass of the Cathedral," in *Patronage: Power & Agency in Medieval Art*, ed. Column Hourihane (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press in association with Penn State University Press, 2013), 99-118; Mahnes-Deremble, 9-35; Jane Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, & Money: The Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993).

[15] Merlet identifies the knight's coat of arms as the Meslay family and suggests that the "E" at the beginning of the inscription is the end of another, now lost, name, which he suggests was Hugues de Meslay, the second husband of Margaret's sister Mabile. Merlet, 83-84, 89-90.

[16] Mahnes-Deremble, 15-17. Merlet attempted to use the absence of a second female, the second knight's wife, to date the window. However, Mahnes-Deremble dismissed the idea that a second female is "missing," writing that there is no reason to assume that the donor imagery intends to express a complete family.

[17] Merlet, 91. Merlet assumes the "missing" female to be Hughes de Meslay's wife, Mabile, who was married to Hugues by 1220 but was dead by 1227.

[18] Delaporte, *Les vitraux*, 556.

Mahnes-Deremble questioned the enduring tradition of the 1220-1227 time frame for the

window. She suggested that the window could have been given as early as 1201, the first

conceivable year in which Margaret and Guérin could have married.[19]

The date of the Margaret and Catherine window is significant for the dating of

several other windows designed by the same master or workshop, that of the so-called

"Master of Saint Chéron" (1220-1230) named by Louis Grodecki after the window

depicting the life of St. Chéron (Bay 15), located directly across the choir from the

Margaret window (Fig. 4.7).[20] Delaporte was the first to recognize that the windows

dedicated to Saint Chéron, Saint Germain, Saint Remigius, Saint Jude and Saint Simon,

Saint Pantaleon and Sts. Margaret and Catherine shared the same workshop.[21] This

workshop is distinguished by clear, vivid figures with similar facial types that fill their

pictorial spaces, acquiring what Grodecki called "superior legibility."[22] Grodecki wrote

that this style "monumentalized form by emphasizing volume with broken folds and

schematized formal lines."[23] He further noted that elements found in these windows, such

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[19] Peter Kurmann and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz disagree, suggesting that the window was donated as a memorial to the men by Marguerite alone between 1231 and 1240, the year of Marguerite's death. Peter Kurmann and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Chartres Cathedral as a Work of Artistic Integration: Methodological Reflections," in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, eds. Virginia Chieffo Raguin, Kathryn Brush, and Peter Draper (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 147, n. 17. Meulen would agree with their assessment. Meulen, "Recent Chronology," 155-156. Frankl gave an earlier date of 1205-1206, also based on possible marriage dates for Marguerite's sister and Hugues de Meslay. He suggested that the window was donated before the marriage. Paul Frankl, "The Chronology of the Stained Glass in Chartres Cathedral," *The Art Bulletin* 45.4 (Dec., 1963): 305.

[20] Louis Grodecki and Catherine Brisac, *Gothic Stained Glass, 1200-1300* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985), 72; Mahnes-Deremble, 15-16.

[21] Delaporte, *Les vitraux,* 135-136; Grodecki, *Gothic Stained Glass,* 72; Louis Grodecki, "Les problèmes de l'origine de la peinture gothique et le <<maître de saint Chéron>> de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Revue de l'Art* 40.1 (1978): 59; Claudine Lautier, "Les Peintres-Verriers des Bas-Côtés de la Nef de Chartres au début du XIIIe Siècle," *Bulletin monumental* 148.1 (1990): 9.

[22] Grodecki, "Saint Chéron," 56.

[23] Grodecki, *Gothic Stained Glass,* 72. Grodecki, "Saint Chéron," 56.

as the use of straight armature bars, were forward-looking and anticipated stained glass

created later in the century.[24]

The Margaret and Catherine window is in good condition, despite restorations.

Baron François de Guilhermy described the window in his mid-nineteenth-century

handwritten notes on the cathedral.[25] While he does not tell us which direction he is

reading the window he does describe each panel as seen today. Particularly useful are the

places where Guilhermy noted damage or lacunae. For example, Guilhermy mentioned

that the faces of the two knights in the donor panels were destroyed ("leurs visages sont

détruits").[26] Further, his transcription of the window's inscription matches that of Merlet,

indicating that damage occurred before the mid-nineteenth century. Degradations and

coarse restorations from an earlier period, before the demounting of the window in 1918,

were evident particularly in the two donor panels, but were repaired during the

restorations undertaken by Gaudin in 1921.[27] Delaporte also drew attention to lack of

small quarter circle decorations at the intersection of the bars of panels nine and ten,

which would have completed the small circular ornament begun by the lower panels, as

evidence of old repairs.[28]

The most obvious manipulation of the window during early twentieth-century

restorations is evident in the 1926 photographs by Etienne Houvet, which show the

window's panels arranged into five full circles (Fig. 4.1, 4.8). Today the window is

composed of circles alternating with half circles. Delaporte suggested, on the basis of the

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[24] Grodecki, "Saint Chéron," 53.
[25] François de Guilhermy, *Notes sur diverses localités de la France, Vol. 5: Chalons – Clermont-Ferrand* (assembled 1886) Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouv. Acq. 6098, fol. 237r.
[26] Guilhermy, fol. 237r.
[27] Delaporte, *Les vitraux,* 254-255, 260.
[28] Delaporte, *Les vitraux,* 256.

partial ornament (one-quarter of a design) in the corners, that the window's original

layout would have been the same as the St. Remi window, which is how it appears

today.[29] Grodecki noted that the panels were rearranged in 1918, after their removal for

safety during World War I.[30] The question of the panels' arrangement does not directly

affect the four Margaret scenes. However, it does affect the narrative flow of the window

and the way in which the window could be "read." The pictorial narrative is confusing

when the window is arranged in a series of circles. For example, the scenes depicting the

queen visiting Catherine and Christ giving Catherine the Eucharist can be read as one

continuous scene in the window's current arrangement (Fig. 4.9). The figures of the

queen and her attendants draw the viewer's eyes to the right, across the pictorial space.

Their gestures and gazes visually link the two panels and minimize the physical distance

between the scenes. If these two scenes are reversed, the queen and her entourage no

longer gaze directly at the vision of Christ in the following scene, but out of the

window's pictorial space, disrupting the narrative.[31]

Creating Meaning through Location

The Margaret and Catherine window enjoys privilege of place through its

inclusion in a chapel on the south side of the cathedral's choir, a space of preeminent

liturgical importance and the location of the high altar and of the cathedral's most prized

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[29] Delaporte, *Les vitraux,* 256.

[30] *Recensement*, II, 30.

[31] One interesting area of change is in the panels depicting Catherine debating with the pagan scholars. In both the 1926 Houvet photograph and the window today, the figure groups face each other, conversing across the visual field. However, the quarter circle borders of these scenes are reversed. In the 1926 photograph the borders awkwardly attempt to conform to the figures, making clear that this arrangement is incorrect. Today, with the borders reversed, the figures fit more naturally within the pictorial space defined by the curved frame.

relic, the *sancta camisia* or tunic of the Virgin Mary (Fig. 4.10). The location of windows within Chartres was not haphazard and carried significance. For example, the stained glass program in the choir highlights figures from within the church's institutional hierarchy. The axial chapel contains stained glass depicting the apostles, whose significance lay in their proximity to Christ and their charge to spread Christianity (Bays 0, 1, 2, 4, 5) (Figs. 4.5, 4.11). The upper choir lancets are devoted to the Virgin and include scenes of the Annunciation, Visitation, and Nativity of Christ (Bay 100). The stained glass in the northern chapel depicts martyrs (Bays 9, 11, 13, 15, 17), while the southern chapel's windows depict confessor saints (Bays 12, 14, 16, 18).[32]

The selection of Margaret and Catherine as the focus of a window within Chartres and within the liturgical choir suggests their importance. The subject matter of stained glass windows is often explained by the presence of relics and the liturgy. As Emile Mâle remarked, "if we had a list of all the relics the cathedral of Chartres had in the thirteenth century, we could solve many iconographic problems."[33] In fact, at Chartres two-thirds of the windows' subjects had relics within the cathedral and a number of saints to whom windows are dedicated were celebrated in the liturgy.[34] Unfortunately, the presence of

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[32] The Martyrs Chapel includes five windows depicting scenes from the lives of Sts. Theodore, Vincent, Pantaleon, Chéron, Stephen, Savinian, and Potentian. Notably, there is only one female martyr present in this chapel. St. Modesta is depicted with Savinian and Potentian but only appears in two or three scenes. She seems to function as an auxiliary figure to her companions.

[33] Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: the Thirteenth Century, A Study of Medieval Iconography and its Sources*, ed. Harry Bober, trans. Marthiel Mathews (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 318.

[34] Claudine Lautier, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: Reliques et images," *Bulletin monumental* 161.1 (2003): 4. The choir windows have been studied in relation to the liturgy. All of the saints depicted in the Martyrs Chapel are found in the lectionary, each with nine lessons. In addition, the axial chapel, depicting the apostles, functioned in processions as either a station or terminus for the apostles' feasts. Madeline H. Caviness, "Stained Glass Windows in Gothic Chapels and the Feasts of the Saints," in *Kunst und Liturgie im Mittelalter*, ed. Nicholas Bock (Rome: Bibliotheca Herziana, 2000), 142. Furthermore, Clark Maines suggests that the more liturgically important the saint the more iconographically significant they are within the church. Clark Maines, "A Figure of Thomas Becket at Chartres," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 36 (1973): 167.

Margaret and Catherine in the window cannot be fully explained by either relics or liturgy alone. Although Margaret enjoyed wide popularity there was no liturgy to Margaret at Chartres at the moment of the window's production.[35] Margaret is mentioned in a later addition to a twelfth-century legendary at Chartres (Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 500, fol. 281v) and her feast day came to be celebrated during the course of the thirteenth century, but not before the redaction of the cathedral's *Ordinary*, completed between 1225 and 1235 (Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 1058 (H. I. 32)).[36]

Catherine's cult was well established in France at the time of the window's creation, stimulated by the presence of three bones of the saint brought from Mt. Sinai by the monk Symeon to the monastery of St. Trinité-du-Mont in Rouen between 1054 and 1094.[37] Like Margaret, Catherine's cult at Chartres is established in the course of the thirteenth century. Catherine is not mentioned in the *sanctoral* of the mid-twelfth century *Ordinary* but she is included in the thirteenth-century *Ordinary*, celebrated by nine lessons.[38]

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[35] Delaporte, *Les vitraux*, 42; Mahnes-Deremble, 76, 96. During the thirteenth century there was an expansion of vernacular lives of Margaret, including eight French poems composed for Margaret. Brigitte Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia, P.A.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 216.

[36] Yves Delaporte, *L'Ordinaire Chartrain du XIIIe siècle*, vol. 19 of *Société d'archéologique d'Eure-et-Loire* (Chartres: Société d'archéologique d'Eure-et-Loire, 1952-3), 23, 223; Delaporte, *Les vitraux*, 42, 256; Lautier, "Reliques et images," 18. Folio 281v begins "Sancte Margarete virginis lectio prima. Beata siquidem Margareta, patre gentili Theodosio nomine." Unfortunately, this manuscript was destroyed during World War II (June 26, 1944). No date is given by any of the previous scholars for the addition which includes Margaret's life.

[37] Maud Burnett McInerney, "Rhetoric, Power, and Integrity in the Passion of the Virgin Martyr," in *Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, eds. Kathleen Coyne Kelly and Marina Leslie (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 68; A. Poncelet, "Sanctae Catherinae Virginis et Martyris: Translatio et Miracula Rotomagensia Saec. XI," *Analecta Bollandiana: revue critique d'hagiogaphie* 22 (1903): 427.

[38] Delaporte, *L'Ordinaire*, 189, 226, 238; Lautier, "Reliques et images," 28. The twelfth-century *Ordinary*, which is now lost, was completed between 1152 and 1173 and held in Archives hospitalières at Châteaudun (MS C 13). A transcription of the text made by Delaporte is in the Diocesan Archives of Chartres. Lautier,

The evidence of relics of these two female saints at Chartres provides further information about their cults. A small reliquary of St. Catherine is recorded to have been on the roof of the *sainte châsse*, the reliquary which housed the *sancta camisia*, at Chartres.[39] A relic of Margaret is also found at Chartres within a composite reliquary, an eleven-inch tall repository with a crystal cylinder containing three groups of relics in packets. The first packet contains an assortment of relics including milk of the Virgin, wood from St. Peter's cross, and bones of St. Paul, St. Barthelemy, St. Luke, St. Mark, and St. Margaret.[40] Claudine Lautier noted that the majority of these relics were likely Byzantine in origin and could have arrived with the spoils of the Fourth Crusade.[41] Lautier also asked whether the arrival of Catherine's relic after the sack of Constantinople in 1204 affected the production of a window dedicated to her and Margaret. The presence of relics may have encouraged the saint's representation in stained glass as a way of promoting the saint's cult. Mahnes-Deremble noted that canons intended the iconographic program to provide impetus to new liturgies through the selection of saints who were not yet popular at Chartres.[42] Thus, the window of Margaret and Catherine, together with the presence of relics, likely helped to establish these cults at Chartres in the course of the thirteenth century.

As evident from the lack of liturgies to the saints, the presence of Margaret, and Catherine, in the choir is not explained fully by text. Thus, one must look more closely at

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"Reliques et images," 18. In addition, an altar dedicated to Catherine existed in the nave against the fourth pillar. Lautier, "Reliques et images," 28.

[39] Lautier, "Reliques et images," 28.

[40] Lautier, "Reliques et images," 62.

[41] Lautier claims that the images that correspond to relics held in the church demonstrate that the relics were present at Chartres before or during the cathedral's restoration and, at the very latest, before 1215, the date of the Fourth Lateran Council when the acquisition of undocumented relics was halted. Lautier, "Reliques et images," 28.

[42] Mahnes-Deremble, 32-33, 75-78.

the window itself and its location, taking seriously the surrounding confessor saints and their iconography. The Margaret and Catherine window is situated within the Confessors Chapel, surrounded by the confessor saints Remi and Nicholas and the contemporary bishop martyr Thomas Becket (Bays 12, 14, 18) (Figs. 4.12-4.15).[43] Margaret and Catherine's inclusion among the confessors, rather than the early Christian martyrs, seems unusual at first glance. Scholars have noted that the grouping of saints within the Confessors Chapel appears incoherent.[44] Some scholars have even suggested that the Margaret and Catherine window was not originally located in this chapel and has been moved.[45] Other scholars have offered explanations for the window's placement. Claudine Lautier accounted for Catherine's presence in the chapel because of her conversion of the pagan philosophers.[46] Mahnes-Deremble noted that thematic similarities, such as the conversion of royalty, link Catherine with the other confessors.[47] These explanations, however, do not sufficiently account for Margaret's presence or for the way in which these saints are portrayed.

The distinctions between different types of saints, including martyrs and confessors, are delineated by hagiographers, the liturgy, and the topography of Chartres itself. In the *Golden Legend,* for example, Jacobus de Voragine lists confessors and martyrs among the four categories of saints (including apostles and virgins) and describes

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[43] Maines, 167. Maines suggests the easternmost window of the chapel may have been occupied by a St. Sylvester window, who is figured on the south façade transept the confessor's portal with St. Nicholas.
[44] Maud Burnett McInerney, *Eloquent Virgins from Thecla to Joan of Arc* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 168; Kurmann and Kurmann-Schwarz, "Chartres Cathedral," 134.
[45] Maines, 169, no. 35. The St. Martin window, located outside of the chapel, but thematically linked to the confessors, is Maines's candidate for Margaret and Catherine's replacement. See also Kurmann and Kurmann-Schwarz, 135-136, on the displacement of stained glass at Chartres.
[46] Lautier, "Reliques et images," 28.
[47] Mahnes-Deremble, 62.

their unique characteristics.[48] While virgin martyrs are known for their virginity and

death, confessors were distinguished by their pastoral works and liturgical acts.

Hagiographers identify the type of saint within the headings of individual *vitae*,

prompting viewers to expect certain motifs. The heading to the *Mombritius* version of

Margaret's life reads, "Passio Sanctae Margaritae virginis et Martyris" (The passion of

Saint Margaret virgin and martyr).[49] Likewise, the heading for St. Catherine's *Vulgate*

vita reads, "Passio beatae Catherinae virginis" (The passion of blessed virgin

Catherine).[50]

 Within the topography of Chartres itself similar types of saints are grouped

together, as we have already seen in the Confessors Chapel and Martyrs Chapel. The

groupings of confessors and martyrs within Chartres's iconographic program extend to

the sculpture on the church's south porch (Fig. 4.16). The left portal of the south porch is

dedicated to the martyrs, who appear in the jambs, tympanum, and pillars. Included

among these saints are Stephen, John the Baptist, Piat, Vincent, and Lawrence, repeating

some of the martyrs found in the choir chapel. These sculptures highlight the method of

each saint's torture.[51] For example, St. Lawrence is depicted martyred on the grill (Fig.

4.17). Confessors are grouped on the right portal, including Martin, Jerome, Gregory,

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[48] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993, 2012): "Feast of All Saints," 661.

[49] Boninus Mombritius, *Sanctuarium, seu Vitae sanctorum,* vol. 2 (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1910), 190.

[50] Boninus Mombritius, *Sanctuarium, seu Vitae sanctorum,* vol. 1 (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1910), 283. In contrast, in Mombritius's *Sanctuarium*, St. Nicholas's life is introduced as "Vita beati Nicolai episcopi" (Life of the blessed bishop Nicholas) and the title for St. Remi's life is, "Depositio Sancti Remigii Episcopi" (Testimony of Saint Remi Bishop). Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, vol. 2, 440, 296. The life of Thomas Becket – who is a martyr – begins, "Passio sancti Thomae cnatuariensis archiepiscopi" (Passion of Saint Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury). The identification of Becket's status as martyr is indicated by the word "passio" but the focus within his *vita* is his episcopal office. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, vol. 2, 615.

[51] Sara Lutan-Hassner, *The South Porch of Chartres Cathedral: The Margins of Monumental Sculpture* (Leiden: Alexandros Press, 2011), 35.

Nicholas, and Remy, again repeating some of the saints in the Confessors chapel.[52] At

Chartres, the groupings of similar types of saints was not haphazard, making Margaret

and Catherine's placement amongst the confessors significant and complicating their

identification as virgin martyrs.

The identification of Margaret and Catherine as virgins and martyrs by medieval

hagiographers signals certain characteristic elements a reader would expect to find within

their *vitae*, namely their numerous tortures and violent deaths.[53] In her study of

depictions of saints' lives in medieval manuscripts, Cynthia Hahn identified three

characteristic elements of virgin martyrs: recreation of Christ's sacrifice, unwavering

faith, and Christian victory over pagan persecution.[54] Margaret and Catherine fulfill each

of these elements. They endured cruel physical and spiritual suffering at the hands of

men, whose sexual advances they refused until they met a swift end through beheading. It

is suffering and death that is the strength of a martyr's *vita* because it has the capacity to

elicit sympathy and result in conversion.[55] Furthermore, as *female* virgin martyrs,

suffering is particularly important. Their sanctification is a process, "exemplified through

violence, in the significant morphology of blood and bodily emissions."[56] Margaret's

own *vita* confirms the salvific power of suffering. During her tortures Margaret stated

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[52] Sara Lutan-Hassner considers further the arrangement of saints by type on the sculpted portals of Chartres. Sara Lutan, "Images of the Lives of the Saints in the Sculptural Programs and Stained-Glass Windows of Chartres Cathedral," in *Reliques et sainteté dans l'espace médiéval*, ed. Jean-Luc Deuffic (Saint-Denis: Pecia, 2006), 128; Lutan-Hassner, *The South Porch of Chartres Cathedral*, 26-29, 33-38. Lutan-Hassner points out that the sculptures of the martyrs and confessors on the south portal represent these saints by key events from their lives, the martyrs by their tortures and the confessors by specific deeds. Lutan, "Images of the Lives of the Saints," 130.

[53] Mombritius, *Sanctuarium,* vol. 2, 190; Jacobus, *Golden Legend,* 662-663.

[54] Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 59.

[55] Hahn, 60.

[56] Gail Ashton, *Generation of Identity in Late Medieval Hagiography: Speaking the Saint* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 145.

that, "through these torments of bodies, souls are found to attain salvation" (Per ista

corporum tormenta animae saluae inueniuntur).[57] Maud McInerney further nuanced the

virgin martyr designation by noting that their narratives are distinguished by two pairs of

characteristics, "physical passivity is linked to an aggressive eloquence and an eroticized

martyrdom to imperishable sexual integrity."[58] So crucial are the tortures and deaths of

virgin martyrs that Kathryn Winstead wrote, in relation to textual virgin martyr legends,

that even when other characteristics, such as faith and charity, are emphasized, their

passions are never omitted.[59]

Margaret's textual *vitae* are marked by corporeal torments and martyrdom: she is

tortured at Olybrius's command, she battles a dragon and demon, and she is beheaded.

Margaret's *vitae* relish in gore and blood. The *Mombritius vita* describes, not only

Margaret's tortures, but also the emotional affect her suffering had on spectators. During

her first beating, the spectators cried bitterly at the sight of her blood ("Nam pro multa

sanguinis effusione illie astantes omnes super eam amarissimae flaebant").[60] In another

instance, even the prefect turned away, along with the crowds, so as not to see the gore

resulting from her punishments ("Nam impius praefectus clamide faciem suam operiebat;

Quia prae sanguinis effusione nequaquam poterat eam aspicere: itidem caeteri

faciebant").[61] In Wace's twelfth-century French *vita* Margaret's corporeal tortures are

even more explicit than the Latin *vita*. Wace expanded the torture to three full days, each

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[57] Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 200-201. Clayton and Magennis reproduce the Latin *Passio S. Margarete* (Paris, BN, lat. 5574) of Anglo-Saxon origin. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium,* vol. 2, 191, line 48.
[58] McInerney, "Rhetoric, Power, and Integrity," 50.
[59] Karen Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997), 3.
[60] Mombritius, *Sanctuarium,* vol. 2, 191, lines 41-42.
[61] Mombritius, *Sanctuarium,* vol. 2, 192, lines 8-10.

day becoming more gruesome than the previous.[62] In one session, they "beat her body so

much with rods applied directly to her naked body, that her blood ran down onto the

ground from her sides and ribs" (Qui le cors li unt tant batu / O les verges tut nu a nu /

Qu'a la tere chaeit li sans / Par les costes e par les flans).[63] In another session, "they

damaged her flesh repeatedly, so that the entrails of her body were hanging out through

her wounds" (Sa char nuirent espessement, / Que l'entraille qui est el cors / Par les plaies

pendeit defors).[64] In Wace's account Margaret not only suffers more but is described as

particularly weak and frightened.[65]

Catherine of Alexandria's *vita* follows a similar narrative but she is distinguished

by her rhetorical prowess rather than by encounters with supernatural creatures. Like

Margaret, Catherine lived during the late third century. Catherine's earliest extant Latin

vita dates from the tenth century. By the fifteenth century, Latin and vernacular editions

of her life existed in hundreds of manuscripts.[66] The scenes from Catherine's life at

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[62] F. H. M. Le Saux, *A Companion to Wace* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005), 19. See discussion of Wace's life in chapter 1.

[63] Wace, "Life of St. Margaret," in *Wace: The Hagiographical Works,* trans. Jean Blacker, Glyn S. Burgess, and Amy V. Ogden (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 196-197, lines 189-192.

[64] Wace, "Life of St. Margaret," 200-201, lines 274-276.

[65] McInerney, *Eloquent Virgins,* 178.

[66] Christine Walsh, *The Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe* (Burlington, V.T.: Ashgate, 2007), 8. Like Margaret, Catherine's feast day was stricken from the calendar in 1969. The earliest reference to Catherine is in a Syriac litany written after 620 (BAV, MS. Syr. 77) published by Anton Baumstark, "Eine syrish-melchitische Alleheiligenlitanei," *Oriens Christianus* 4 (Leipzig, 1904): 98-120. A summary of Catherine's life is included in the *Menologium Basilianum,* a collection of legends for Emperor Basil I (d. 886). See Simonne R. T. O. d'Ardenne and Eric John Dobson, *Seinte Katerine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), xiv. The earliest Greek account of Catherine's life was by the Greek hagiographer Simeon Metaphrastes in the second half of the tenth century. The most widespread Latin version dates to eleventh century and is referred to as the "Vulgate" version (Cotton MS Caligula A. viii, for example). This version was repeatedly copied until the fifteenth century and is present in over one hundred copies. A shorter vulgate version is represented in the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum (MLA)* of the twelfth century. The *MLA* was the source of the Mombritius's *Sanctuarium.* For the cult and textual *vitae* see G. B. Bronzini, "La Leggenda di S. Caterine d'Alessandria, Passioni grechi e latine," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* (Memorie: Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Serie VIII), ix (1960): 257-416; John Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Leuvain: Everard de Witte, 1645), cols. 681-734; D'Ardenne and Dobson; Hermann Knust, *Geschichte der Legenden der h. Katharina von Alexandrien*

Chartres follow the basic narrative of the textual *vitae* (Figs. 4.2, 4.4).[67] After her pagan

father's death, Catherine ruled over his lands and eschewed earthly marriage, preserving

herself for Christ. Responding to the emperor Maxentius's command that all must

sacrifice to the gods in a pagan festival, Catherine confronted and debated with him on

theological issues. Skilled in rhetoric, she bested the emperor, who called upon fifty

pagan scholars. Catherine easily out-witted these scholars, who converted and were

subsequently martyred. While Catherine was imprisoned, the queen visited her, was

converted, and was killed (along with her attendants and two hundred foot soldiers). Like

Margaret, Catherine was tortured. She was starved, beaten, and tied to a wheel studded

with spikes, which God miraculously broke. Finally, Catherine was beheaded.

Catherine's narrative in the Chartres window ends at this point. However, Catherine's

vitae recount that upon her decapitation, milk miraculously flowed from her neck and

angels carried her body to Mount Sinai. Catherine's suffering, while less extensive than

Margaret's, is nonetheless crucial to her sanctity.

Torture in the Window

While Margaret and Catherine are identified as virgin martyrs in their *vitae*, the

images at Chartres omit the aspects of their sanctity that are crucial to this designation -

their corporeal tortures and the posthumous treatment of their bodies. The four panels

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und der h. Maria Aegyptiaca nebst unedirten Texten (Halle: Niemeyer Verlag, 1890); J. Viteau, trans.,
Passions de Saints Ecaterine et Pierre d'Alexandrie, Barbara et Anysia (Paris: Émile Bouillon, 1897).
[67] I follow here the shorter vulgate version. D'Ardenne and Dobson, xvi. Knust, *Geschichte,* 231-314. The
vulgate is also the source of at least five different old French renderings of Catherine's life. William
MacBain, "Five Old French Renderings of the *Passio Sancte Katerine Virginis*," in *Medieval Translators
and Their Craft*, ed. Jeannette Beer (Kalamazoo, M.I.: Western Michigan University, 1989), 41; William
MacBain, *De Sainte Katerine: An Anonymous Picard Version of the Life of St. Catherine of Alexandria*
(Fairfax, V.A.: The George Mason University Press, 1987).

depicting Margaret's life completely omit her tortures. It is as though by eliminating

Margaret's suffering there is so little narrative material left that her life needs only four

scenes. By examining the treatment of torture, or lack thereof, in the Margaret and

Catherine window, it is clear that the saint whose life is more defined by suffering,

Margaret, is ultimately less visually prominent than Catherine, whose holiness is evinced

by other activities.

The omission of Margaret's torture in the window contrasts with other

contemporary visual representations of her life. In an early thirteenth-century carved altar

front created for the church of Santa Maria Assunta at Fornovo di Taro, Italy, Margaret is

depicted nude, beaten and torn with metal hooks (Fig. 4.18).[68] Margaret's tortures are

particularly violent in a Spanish Romanesque altar front; here, her naked body drips with

blood (Fig. 1.6). Torture is represented in all other extant stained glass narratives of

Margaret's life, including at Ardagger, Auxerre, and Saint-Julien-du-Sault, marking its

absence at Chartres as unique. For example, at Auxerre, Margaret's tortures align along

the window's central axis, drawing particular attention to them (Fig. 3.3).[69]

Similarly, Catherine's suffering receives no emphasis in the Chartres window. At

Chartres, Catherine's ordeals are suggested by the image of the broken wheel, but she

remains unharmed and the dismantled device is rendered neutral and unthreatening (Fig.

4.19). Catherine is depicted between two torturers, but her body is fully clothed and

untouched; torture is not actively occurring. In fact, Catherine has a book tucked under

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[68] See Elizabeth C. Parker, "Modes of Seeing Margaret of Antioch at Fornovo di Taro," in *Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness,* eds. Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, and Ellen M. Shortell (Burlington, V.T.: Ashgate, 2009). Interestingly, her death is not depicted in this relief, just as it is omitted from the stained glass window.

[69] For further discussion of the Auxerre window, see chapter 3.

her arm and appears more as if she were being led by two men, than assaulted. Such an image contrasts other visual representations of her flagellation. In an early fourteenth-century English manuscript, the Taymouth Hours, for example, Catherine is brutally beaten (Fig. 4.20).[70] Catherine is similarly tormented in a contemporaneous thirteenth-century stained glass window from Auxerre Cathedral (Fig. 4.21). Catherine is tied to a post, nude from the waist up, as two torturers draw their arms back to inflict blows. At Auxerre, Catherine is also actively tortured on the wheel. Catherine's arms are restrained over her head, exposing her breasts, as the spikes of two wheels begin to dig into her sides. Although angels descend at this moment to break the wheel, the scene explicitly conveys violence against Catherine.

The decision to omit all of Margaret's tortures in the Chartres window is deliberate. The torture of a female body is *not* completely absent in this window, it just does not concern Margaret and Catherine. In the window, two torturers tear at the breasts of Maxentius's queen, whom Catherine converts, and her body is shown after her death, indicating her martyrdom (Fig. 4.22). The queen's torture is mentioned in Catherine's life: Maxentius warned his wife that because of her conversion he will have her breasts torn off ("extortis primo mamillis, longo faciam cruciate interire").[71] In other image cycles of Catherine's life Maxentius's queen is similarly tortured. At Auxerre, she is beaten and stabbed with a lance (Fig. 4.23). One additional female martyr depicted within Chartres's stained glass makes the treatment of Margaret and Catherine even more striking. The virgin martyr St. Foy is represented in the south side of the nave clerestory

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[70] Kathryn Smith, *The Taymouth Hours: Stories and the Construction of Self in Late Medieval England* (London: British Library, 2012), 95-98.
[71] Knust, 299.

(Bay 138a) as a single figure accompanied by a scene of her torture (Fig. 4.24). In the lower portion of the window Foy is bound spread eagle to a grill as she is burned, her naked body entirely exposed.

Furthermore, the windows in the Martyrs Chapel, across the choir, do not shy away from depictions of torture but rather emphasize the tortures of each male saint, as well as what becomes of their bodies. In the St. Pantaleon window five scenes depict a variety of tortures. Pantaleon is tied to a cross and burned, placed in a cauldron of molten lead, thrown into the sea and fed to wild beasts, in addition to being beaten and imprisoned (Fig. 4.25). Pantaleon also undergoes torture with the wheel. As in Catherine's narrative, Pantaleon's wheel breaks, sparing the saint further injury. In contrast to the depiction in Catherine's life, however, the wheel episode is given two scenes (Fig. 4.26). The first scene depicts Pantaleon affixed to the wheel and the second depicts the saint praying before the broken wheel. In a scene from St. Vincent's life, the grill that he is tortured on even receives a panel dedicated to its preparation, drawing attention to this method of torture (Fig. 4.27). Like Maxentius's queen, but unlike Margaret and Catherine, these male martyrs are depicted naked, emphasizing the corporeality of their suffering.

The difference in the treatment of torture in the Margaret and Catherine window and in the Martyrs Chapel is striking, especially when viewed in relation to distinctions that scholars have identified between male and female martyrs. While martyrs of both sexes suffer torture, Jocelyn Wogan-Brown has pointed out that there is a difference in the types of tortures inflicted. Men receive more tortures that focus on specific body

parts, while female martyrs suffer whole-body tortures.[72] In fact, at Chartres, the torments

of male saints, such as Pantaleon, incorporate their entire bodies. Johnson and Cazelles

further explain that,

> The male martyr is portrayed as a man of action; the description of the female
> martyr can bring a more emotive tone to the narrative if the heroine is portrayed
> as a persecuted woman. The pathetic elements are closely associated with
> feebleness, rousing the spectators' sympathies and their potential predisposition
> for sadism and masochism.[73]

Yet, this description is the exact opposite of what is depicted in the choir windows.

Margaret and Catherine are women of action, fighting for the Christian cause, while the

male martyrs passively offer their brutalized naked bodies to the viewer. Thus, the

omission of Margaret's and Catherine's tortures causes these saints to stand in stark

contrast to other depictions of both male and female martyrs throughout the cathedral.

Death and Bodily Remains in the Window

The posthumous treatment of the bodies of Margaret and Catherine is also

important. In compendia of saints' lives, such as Mombritius's *Sanctuarium* or Jacobus

de Voragine's *Golden Legend,* martyrs suffer a wide variety of tortures, but all of their

narratives end with their deaths and often descriptions of what becomes of their

remains.[74] The Margaret and Catherine window does not explicitly depict either the

moment of the martyrs' deaths or what subsequently happened to their remains. This

omission is meaningful because the moment of beheading is a significant event for

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[72] Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "Virgin's Tale," in *Feminist Readings in Middle English Literature: The Wife of Bath and all her sect* (London: Routledge, 1994), 177.

[73] Phyllis Johnson and Brigitte Cazelles, *Le Vain Siècle Guerpir: A Literary Approach to Sainthood through Old French Hagiography of the Twelfth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 130-131.

[74] See, for example, the lives of saints Agatha, George, and Cecilia in Jacobus, *The Golden Legend,* 154-157, 238-242, 704-709.

martyrs that marks the saint's incorporation into heaven and into the ranks of saints. Excluding images of these women after death fashions them more as active, living figures, rather than characters from a distant past. The Margaret narrative ends abruptly as the executioner raises his sword, but the sword never falls. This moment, which leaves the viewer to imagine the outcome, contrasts with the scene of Thomas Becket's death in the Confessors Chapel (Bay 18, Fig. 4.28). In the panel depicting Becket's murder, the fatal blow is depicted entering the archbishop's head, the blade obscured by his miter. In the Saint Chéron window (Bay 15), in the Martyrs Chapel, the saint's death is depicted across two scenes. In the first, he is assaulted by men with swords (Fig. 4.29). The viewer is not left to imagine what comes next; in the next panel Chéron appears holding his own severed head.

Visual martyr passions often conclude with an image of the saint's posthumous body, or a depiction of his or her soul carried by angels, explicitly showing the saint's ascent to heaven. No such images are found in the window of Margaret and Catherine at Chartres, although they are depicted in other stained glass windows of Margaret's life. At Auxerre, the Margaret window culminates in a scene of two angels lifting Margaret's soul to heaven (Fig. 3.3, 3.27). Catherine's body after death is also represented elsewhere. An illumination in a German lectionary from 1270-1276 depicts Catherine's gruesome decapitation followed by the angelic transfer of her remains to Mt. Sinai (Fig. 4.30). Similarly, in the stained glass window dedicated to St. Catherine at Auxerre, the final two scenes depict her body after death (Fig. 4.31). In the first of the two scenes

angels lay Catherine's body in a tomb. In the window's final scene, two figures sit below

Catherine's tomb, collecting the holy oil that pours from it.[75]

Unlike Margaret and Catherine, the afterlives of the male martyrs' bodies at

Chartres receive numerous depictions. Their bodies appear as relics which are

transported, greeted by processions, visited by pilgrims, and translated. For example,

pilgrims are depicted visiting the shrine of St. Chéron and the transportation of St.

Stephen's relics to Constantinople occupies a full six panels (Figs. 4.32, 4.33). Within the

Confessors Chapel, one also finds images of the posthumous journeys of the male

confessors. In the window depicting St. Remi's life (Bay 12), a panel depicts the bishop's

soul held by an angel (Fig. 4.34). In the Thomas Becket window (Bay 18), the uppermost

scene depicts the saint laid on a tomb, attended by pilgrims and an angel (Fig. 4.35). The

emphasis on the relics and bodies of saints after their deaths may relate to the actual relics

present at Chartres and their importance within the church's liturgy.[76]

With the plethora of images of death, corpses, and relics at Chartres, it is curious

that such images are omitted from the window of Margaret and Catherine. Without

scenes of torture and death, different emphases become evident in the lives of Margaret

and Catherine. In particular, the Chartres window focuses on the saints' physical and

intellectual victories over the devil, which lead to new Christian converts. This emphasis

is particularly evident in the distribution of scenes of Catherine's and Margaret's lives.

Structurally, Catherine's *vita* is affected less by the elimination of her suffering, as her

rhetorical abilities figure heavily in her life. Without torture, however, less narrative

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[75] Other stained glass windows show the scene of Catherine's body transported by angels, including at Angers (ca. 1180) and at the beginning of the fourteenth century at Saint-Père-de-Chartres (ca. 1305-15). The holy oil that seeps from her remains is mentioned in her *vitae*. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium,* vol. 1, 287.
[76] See note 34.

material is available from Margaret's life. As a result, Margaret's life must be viewed in relation to Catherine's. The Chartres window even encourages Margaret and Catherine to be equated, and perhaps conflated, with one another, as they appear in identical brown robes tied with a white cord (Fig. 4.36). Margaret's physical triumph over evil can thus be viewed as a counterpart to Catherine's intellectual victories.

The emphases on overcoming evil and converting non-believers - through both physical and intellectual means - aligns with the pastoral activities of confessor saints. The Confessors Chapel at Chartres encourages viewers to make connections between the Margaret window and the surrounding confessor windows through visual parallels and thematic links. Visually, the Margaret window blends seamlessly into the chapel, refuting claims that the window was moved or did not belong. The Margaret and Remi windows, which flank the Nicholas window, are similarly arranged; three full circular compositions, each containing four scenes, alternate vertically with pairs of half circles, each containing two scenes, for a total of twenty-two narrative scenes (Figs. 4.1, 4.14). Furthermore, both windows distill each scene to its most important elements allowing them to be clearly recognizable from a distance.[77] For example, while Margaret's *vitae* explain that she vanquished the dragon and demon while imprisoned there is no delineation of architectural space within the scene, only Margaret, her enemy, and an angel are depicted (Fig. 4.3).

Preaching and Conversion

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[77] Grodecki, "Saint Chéron," 52. The large easily recognizable scenes in the Confessors Chapel contrast with the densely packed martyr windows, such as the Pantaleon window, which has thirty-six panels, or the Theodore and Vincent window, which has thirty-eight.

Margaret and Catherine are thematically linked to Remi and Nicholas through emphases on physical encounters with the devil, preaching, and conversion, especially of royalty.[78] In these windows conversion is the result of preaching. The new converts are visually confirmed through images of martyrdom or baptism. Catherine appears multiple times before Maxentius and his queen, making a case for Christianity that results in the queen's conversion (Fig. 4.4). Similarly, Remi is depicted preaching to King Clovis and Queen Clothild, which results in their conversion (Fig. 4.37). Conversions also extend beyond royalty to other non-believers of different social statuses. Catherine converts the pagan philosophers, whose faith is confirmed through their martyrdoms. Nicholas baptizes a Jewish moneylender in a scene depicted along his window's axis (Fig. 4.38). Margaret does not directly engage in preaching and conversion. However, in the scene of Olybrius condemning her to death, Margaret's gestures echo those in scenes from Remi's and Catherine's lives. Margaret gestures emphatically towards Olybrius, indicating that she is actively speaking not passively listening (Fig. 4.3). Olybrius, on the other hand, remains mute; he does not gesture to her. Margaret's gesture at Chartres contrasts with other scenes of the saint's condemnation. At Auxerre, for example, when Olybrius orders Margaret to be tortured he gestures emphatically towards the saint, while her gesture indicates reluctance (Fig. 3.18). The scene of Margaret speaking at Chartres helps to bind the Margaret narrative to the Catherine imagery, especially the scene of Catherine debating, and to surrounding windows through a shared vocabulary of gestures (Figs. 4.3, 4.39).

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[78] Mahnes-Deremble, 62. Mahnes-Deremble notes that the theme of royalty connects these windows with the other choir windows.

The windows in the Confessors Chapel also include images of demons. These creatures appear as threatening forces and as the supernatural inspiration behind the antagonists' actions. They remind viewers that the devil is the true enemy in these hagiographic *vitae*, not individual pagan rulers. In the Margaret and Catherine window, in addition to the demon Margaret combats, demons appear twice in Catherine's life, both times whispering in the emperor's ear (Fig. 4.4). The demon inspiring Maxentius is visually similar to the demon that Margaret beats. Demons also appear in the St. Remi window, in an exorcism, and in the Thomas Becket window, counseling the antagonistic ruler Henry II (Figs. 4.40, 4.41). [79]

While demons appear throughout the chapel, Margaret's encounter remains the most physical. Margaret stands active and powerful against her enemy, grabbing the demon by the hair and beating him with a hammer. In contrast, when Remi heals a possessed blind man, a demon escapes from his head but the saint does not assault it (Fig. 4.40). Unlike the image of Margaret and the demon at Chartres, in the texts of Margaret's life, she is initially terrified of her foes. Her Latin *vita* describes how, at the sight of the dragon, she grew pale and the "fear of death" came upon her, momentarily forgetting that she had asked for this confrontation ("Sancta autem Margarita facta est ut haerba pallida: et formido mortis cecidit super eam: et collidebantur Omnia ossa eius Oblita enim erat a pauore quia dominus exaudisset orationem eius"). [80] No such timidity exists in the image. Margaret is a warrior actively defeating evil.

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[79] Such creatures are visual representations of unseen forces at work. However, Margaret's encounters with the dragon and demon blur the line between spiritual and literal manifestations of evil.

[80] Mombritius, *Sanctuarium,* vol. 2, 192, lines 37-39.

Through the emphasis on the physical and intellectual defeat of evil and the omission of bodily tortures the Margaret and Catherine window structures the saints as more similar to the surrounding confessors than to their martyr counterparts. Margaret physically defeats the devil through violence and the sign of the cross and Catherine uses her intellect to convert non-believers.

Margaret, Childbirth, and the Virgin Mary

While the iconography of the window shapes Margaret and Catherine as saints who defeat evil, within lay devotional contexts, Margaret, and to a lesser extent Catherine, were known for their intercession in maternal and familial matters. By putting the Margaret cycle in conversation with surrounding imagery, devotional practices, and liturgical activities within Chartres, I will demonstrate that the popular understanding of Margaret, as a saint intimately connected to childbirth, is downplayed, in order to give priority to the cult of the Virgin Mary and the *sancta camisia*.

Margaret's most famous function was as intercessor on behalf of laboring women and children. Catherine, too, was venerated by lay families desiring children. Together the two saints could provide for families from the conception of their children through their births, ensuring reproduction and the protection of both mother and child. Margaret's connection to childbirth stems from the intercessory prayer she made just before her death, which promises the health and protection of mothers and infants.[81] Lay devotions to the saint in France included the use of parchment talismans, which could

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[81] See discussions of Margaret's role in childbirth in the introduction and in chapter 1.

include an image of Margaret and the dragon, an abbreviated *vita*, or a combination.[82]

Examples of such amulets are known from the thirteenth century onwards and often

include vernacular texts, indicating their lay usage (Figs. I.9, I.10).[83]

Catherine, too, was invoked by the laity for maternal and familial concerns, in

part because her body issued nourishing milk, rather than blood, at her death.[84] Although

her connection to pregnancy and labor is not as explicit as Margaret's, a number of

Catherine's miracles involve conception. Among the miracles recorded in the late

eleventh-century *Miracles of St. Katherine* from Rouen (Bibliothèque municipale, Rouen,

MS U.22, fols. 112r-115v) the fertility miracles are the most complex and detailed.[85] In

each of these miracles men pray to Catherine on behalf of their wives and each is

ultimately given a healthy child.[86]

While Margaret was invoked frequently by pregnant women and mothers, this

aspect of the saint is downplayed in the Chartres window, where she is not connected to

natal and maternal themes. No miracles of Margaret linking her with childbirth or healing

are depicted. Margaret does not burst from (nor is she "birthed" by) the dragon, but she

vanquishes the beast through the sign of the cross, a less visually dynamic composition.

In fact, this omission aligns directly with clerical concerns over the fantastic nature of her

emergence. In the mid-thirteenth century, Vincent of Beauvais said that Margaret

conquered the beast through the sign of the cross in his *Speculum historiale* ("signo

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[82] See the discussion of parchment amulets in the Introduction. Wogan-Browne, 48. The continental French version of Margaret's life, Version G (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 1555), is extant in over a hundred manuscripts between the late Middle Ages and sixteenth century, testifying to its popularity.

[83] Don Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, P.A.: Penn State Press, 2006)*,* 242; Wogan-Browne, "The Apple's Message," 48.

[84] Walsh, 21.

[85] Walsh, 81, 90-91.

[86] Walsh, 90, 175-176. However, St. Catherine was not afraid to remove the child if its parents reneged on their vows to her.

cruces opposite protinus eunuit").[87] Jacobus de Voragine, similarly, rejected the idea that

Margaret burst from the dragon as fantastic ("Istud autem quod dicitur de draconis

devoratione et ipsius crepatione, apocryphum et frivolum repatatur").[88]

The focus on Catherine, who was less prominently connected to pregnancy and

childbirth, helps to deemphasize Margaret. However, those aspects of Catherine's life

that could be connected to maternal themes, her milk and her miracles, are also excluded

from Catherine's imagery. Breast imagery, which has obvious maternal significance, and

miracles associated with milk are present in the adjacent windows within the Confessors

Chapel. In the Nicholas window (Bay 14) the saint refuses to be fed and nourished by his

mother, a rejection of mortal sustenance in favor of spiritual nourishment (Fig. 4.42). In

the window of St. Remi (Bay 12) the saints heals a blind monk with his mother's breast

milk (Fig. 4.43). This image of mother and child reminds the viewer of the Virgin and

Child depicted in the donor panel of the Margaret window. In the Margaret window the

donor, Margaret of Lèves, is not depicted praying to Margaret or Catherine but before an

image of the Virgin and Child. In this image the Christ-child looks directly at the donor

while the Virgin's gaze is directed out to the viewer (Fig. 4.6). The Virgin gestures

towards her son with her right hand, conveying her intercessory power.

Margaret of Lèves's invocation of the Virgin Mary underscores the significance

of the Virgin and her relics at Chartres. The *sancta camisia*, the tunic of the Virgin Mary,

worn when she gave birth to Christ, was the apotropaic relic *par excellence* for pregnant

[87] Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculi historiale*, ed. Benedictines of Douai, vol. 4 (Douai, 1624, 1965), Book 13, Chapter 27, 515.
[88] Jacobus, *Golden Legend,* 368-370.

women.[89] Within the context of Chartres the *sancta camisia* certainly trumped Margaret's power. Miracles worked by the *sancta camisia* are recorded in small vignettes along the side of an engraving highlighting the Virgin's power at Chartres by Nicolas de Larmessin from 1697 (Fig. 4.44).[90] A miracle in a vignette on the right column depicts, for example, the *sancta camisia's* protection of Chartres in the tenth century.

A collection of thirteenth-century miracle stories, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Chartres*, further confirms the Virgin's intercessory power. These miracles are extant in two Latin versions, written sometime between 1206 and 1225, and an Old French translation by Jean le Marchant from around 1262.[91] The majority of the miracles occurred within 100 kilometers of Chartres, suggesting the targeted audience was the local population.[92] Mothers and children figure heavily in these miracles. Four miracles involve the resuscitation of children who either drowned or choked to death and in seven

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[89] According to tradition Charles the Bald gave the relic to Chartres in the ninth century. Jean le Marchant, *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres,* ed. Pierre Kunstmann (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Unversité d'Ottawa, 1973), Miracle 28, 217-18. That the Virgin Mary wore the tunic when she gave birth to Christ is attested in both the Latin and French medieval collections of the miracles of the Virgin of Chartres. The Latin miracles were transcribed by Antoine Thomas from the Vatican MS Regina 339. Antoine Thomas, "Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de chartres* 41 (1881): 509-550. The Latin text identifies the garment as a shirt worn by the Virgin while she was pregnant with Christ and during Christ's birth. "Illa videlicet insigni et sacrosanta camisia, quam eadem virgo dum Dei filium suo gestaret in utero indeuit, et quam epsa in puerperio, juxta multorum assercionem fidelium, circa renes beatissimos dicitur habuisse." Thomas, 509. Jean le Marchant's French version of the miracles, drawn from the Latin text, confirms the connection between the *sancta camisia,* the Virgin and Christ. Marchant, *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres,* Miracle III, 69. The French reads, "cele seinte chemise / Que la haute dame vestoit / Quant dedens son ventrë estoit / Enclous le filz Dieu, Jhesu Crit" and "Le dame ce seint vestement / Avoit vestu, celui meïsmes / Si haut, si precïeus, si seintimes, Quant le vrai filz Dieu enfanta." Marchant, 69, lines 104-107 and 112-115. See also Pastan, "Charlemagne," 117, 120-121. Pastan points out that the cloth depicted in the lowest panel of the Charlemagne window (Bay 7) resembles the *sancta camisia.* She argues that the window functions as a genealogy of the relic.

[90] Claudine Lautier, "The Sacred Topography of Chartres Cathedral: The reliquary chasse of the Virgin in the liturgical choir and stained-glass decoration," in *Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, eds. Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, and Ellen M. Shortell (Burlington, V.T.: Ashgate, 2009), 175.

[91] Dawn Marie Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100-1389: Interpreting the Case of Chartres Cathedral* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 25; Pastan, "Charlemagne," 117.

[92] André Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes (XIe-XIIIe s.)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1973)*,* 510-512.

miracles mothers are supplicants.[93] As Dawn Marie Hayes observed, the strength of the

Virgin's efficacy at Chartres was in her bond with her child, Christ.[94] Marchant ended his

miracle collection with a statement highlighting this relationship, "The mother with her

child has the power to obtain all that she asks. The power which suits the son, the mother

has power in accordance with his will. One of the powers is grafted to the other" (La

mere vers son effant a / Poër d'empetrer quant / qu'el quiert: / Le poër qui au filz afiert /

A la mere a sa volenté; / L'un poër est a l'autre enté).[95]

The Virgin's miracles are reiterated in stained glass. In the miracles of the Virgin

window (Bay 38), a scene depicts throngs of pilgrims approaching an image of the Virgin

and Child perched on a column (Fig. 4.45). A child approaches the statue on the left,

reaching his crutch up to the Virgin as though asking for help. Interestingly, in

Margaret's *vita,* ensuring that children were not born lame was a specific benefit the saint

offered, though not one visually acknowledged at Chartres, perhaps because, as evident

in the miracle window, the Virgin covered this need. At Chartres, the Virgin Mary is

further connected to maternal themes through miracles involving her breast milk, another

important relic of the Virgin held at the cathedral. One miracle depicted on the Larmessin

engraving references the famous eleventh-century healing of Fulbert of Chartres by the

Virgin's milk.[96] The healing power of the Virgin's milk also trumps the powers of

Catherine's milk. In fact, an image of the Virgin offering her breast to the Christ-child in

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[93] For a resuscitation see Marchant, Miracle 6, 94-99. For mothers as supplicants see miracles 6 (pp. 94-99), 7 (pp. 100-103), 8 (pp. 104-107), 9 (pp. 108-111), 13 (pp. 127-131), 16 (pp. 140-144), 19 (pp. 151-154).
[94] Hayes, 48.
[95] Hayes, 48; Marchant, 241.
[96] E. de Lépinois and Lucien Merlet, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, vol. 1 (Chartres: Garnier, 1863), 58. He was healed in the north aisle of the crypt. See also Rene Merlet and Abbé Clerval, *Un manuscrit chartrain du XIe siècle* (Chartres: Garnier, 1893), 112.

a clerestory window on the south side of the nave (138b), reminds viewers of her healing and nourishing abilities (Fig. 4.46).

The devotion to and focus on the Virgin Mary and her relics at Chartres have been well-established by scholars.[97] Indeed, the visual program on both the interior and exterior of the cathedral highlights the Virgin. The capital frieze on the west façade expresses themes of fertility and family through images of the Virgin and her life.[98] Stained glass windows in the choir clerestory highlight the Virgin's life, depicting the Annunciation, Visitation, and Nativity (Bay 100).[99] Windows in the south side of the cathedral depict the Virgin's miracles (Bay 38) and the Glorification of the Virgin (Bay 43). A twelfth-century window in the west façade further depicts the Infancy of Christ (Bay 50). Additional images of the Virgin were portable. In May of 1220, a three-foot-tall silver gilt statue of the Virgin and Child was given by Pierre de Bordeaux, archdeacon of Vendôme and placed on the high altar.[100] This statue of the Virgin and Child can be thematically linked to images of the pair in stained glass, including in the Margaret window. Several windows even explicitly depict statues of the Virgin and Child venerated by pilgrims, such as in a St. Nicholas window (Fig. 4.47). Material evidence of Chartres as a pilgrimage destination for the Virgin's devotees has been considered by Jim

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[97] Henry Adams, *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (New York: Gordon Press, 1974), chapter VI, 87-103; Hayes, chapter 2, 25-49; Caviness, *Visualizing Women*, 3-14; Margot Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

[98] Laura Spitzer, "The Cult of the Virgin and Gothic Sculpture: Evaluating Opposition in the Chartres West Façade Capital Frieze," *Gesta* 33.2 (1994): 145. Laura Spitzer suggests that the west façade capital friezes simultaneously give the Virgin precedence while subordinating her to her son and devotion to him.

[99] See Lautier, "Sacred Topography," 174-196.

[100] Lautier, "Sacred Topography," 183; Lucien Merlet, *Catalogues des reliques et joyaux de Notre-Dame de Chartres* (Chartres: Garnier, 1885), 162-164.

Bugslag and includes objects such as thirteenth-century pilgrim badges which depict both

the Virgin and Child and the *sancta camisia* (Fig. 4.48).[101]

The Virgin's connection to maternal and natal themes is expressed further through

the imagery of and devotion to the Virgin's mother, St. Anne. Between October 1204 and

April 1205 the relic of the head of St. Anne was acquired by the cathedral from

Catherine, countess of Blois and Chartres, whose husband had acquired the relic during

the sack of Constantinople.[102] The acquisition of St. Anne's head helped shape the cult of

the Virgin by emphasizing their mother-daughter relationship. In addition to already

existing images highlighting Anne and the Virgin, including the twelfth-century west

façade capital frieze, new images of Anne were incorporated into the cathedral, including

a statue on the central portal of the north façade and a stained glass image in the central

lancet below the north transept rose window (Bay 121) (Fig. 4.49).[103] An altar to St.

Anne was also placed near the northeastern pier of the crossing. These additions suggest

the vibrancy and transformative power of new cults in a cathedral, and strengthened the

stronghold of the Virgin Mary at Chartres.

Seeing the Window in a Liturgical Context

Medieval beholders, both lay and clerical, would have had the opportunity to view

the Margaret window not only in their explorations of the church but also in the context

of liturgical activities. The Margaret window was brought into conversation with the

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[101] James Bugslag, "Pilgrimage to Chartres, the visual evidence," in *Art and Architecture of the Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, eds. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 152; Adolphe Lecocq, "Recherches sur les enseignes de pèlerinages et les chemisettes de Notre-Dame de Chartres," *Mémoires de la société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loire* 6 (1876): 214-215.
[102] Lépinois and Merlet. *Cartulaire,* vol. 3, 89, 178; Lautier, "Reliques et images," 3; Paul Riant, *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae*, vol. 2 (Paris: Editions du CTHS, 2004), 73, 184.
[103] Spitzer, 137-140.

Virgin Mary and her relics during liturgical celebrations, such as the procession on the

feast day of St. Nicholas.[104] During the Feast of St. Nicholas, the liturgical procession

stopped at the altar in the Confessors Chapel before redirecting the focus from St.

Nicholas and the Confessors Chapel to the Virgin Mary and the high altar.[105]

    St. Nicholas was a popular saint whose veneration was known early in the west.

His legends are documented from the ninth century and his name is included in calendars

by the late tenth century.[106] Churches dedicated to him in France were constructed from

the eleventh century on, such as at Angers in 1020 and Artois in 1022. A plethora of

cultic activities focused on St. Nicholas are recorded, including liturgical plays. At

Chartres, multiple windows are dedicated to Nicholas and the procession on his feast day,

as Anne Harris has shown, would have moved between these sites within the church,

linking the nave and the choir.[107] On December 6, the celebration of Nicholas included

hymns, prayers, readings, and a procession.[108] The end of the procession took participants

from the Confessors Chapel to the choir and culminated in the uncovering of the *sainte*

châsse at the beginning of the singing of the *Te Deum* ("Dum incipitur te deum

discooperiatur capsa").[109] The climactic experience of St. Nicholas's feast was not related

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[104] Processions on saints' feast days, for example, often stopped in front of the windows dedicated to the saint.

[105] Anne Harris, "The Performative Terms of Jewish Iconoclasm and Conversion in Two Saint Nicholas Windows at Chartres Cathedral," in *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Mitchell B. Merback (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 131. Similar liturgical re-directions are evident at Chartres. Craig Wright explains that upon returning to the cathedral during Palm Sunday processions, the chants transitioned to those honoring the Virgin. Craig Wright, "The Palm Sunday Procession in Medieval Chartres," *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, eds. Margot Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 348.

[106] Edward G. Clare, *St. Nicholas: His Legends and Iconography* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1985), 104-105.

[107] Harris, "The Performative Terms of Jewish Iconoclasm," 131.

[108] Delaporte, *L'Ordinaire*, 63, 191-192.

[109] Delaporte, *L'Ordinaire*, 191.

to the saint but was the revelatory experience of uncovering the reliquary containing the Virgin's relics in the choir followed by the celebration of mass.[110]

The Margaret and Catherine window would have been seen within the context of St. Nicholas's feast and the revelation of the *sainte châsse*. Thus, the imagery of Margaret within her window, the iconography of the Virgin at Chartres, and the celebrations which drew attention to the Virgin's significance helped to deemphasize the connections between Margaret, mothers, and childbirth. Although Margaret is not explicitly connected to childbirth at Chartres, lay women who actively venerated her would likely have brought their own understanding of her to the window, and viewed Margaret's and Catherine's intercessory abilities in conjunction with the Virgin's power.

While the Margaret window visually disassociates her from childbirth it redirects her significance to her role as a defender of Christianity and to her ability to actively defeat the devil. Visually connected to Catherine, who intellectually overwhelms Satan, these two women engage in a two-fold intellectual and physical triumph over evil. At Chartres, Margaret's encounters with the dragon and demon, and their significance as examples of Christian victory over the devil, may have been reinforced and amplified by additional imagery and liturgical practices within the cathedral.

Conflicts between saints and supernatural creatures are found in other images within Chartres, though in no other representation is the battle so visible and so compelling as in the Margaret window. As we have already seen, demons appear within the Confessors Chapel but they are secondary characters, whispering in ears and inciting people to sin. Dragons and demons appear under foot in sculptures, such as beneath the

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[110] Harris, 132.

foot of Christ on the *trumeau* of the south porch, as a socle under the figure of John the

Baptist on the central portal of the north porch, and in a mutilated sculpture of St. Arnoult

exorcising a dragon on the right pillar of the south portal (Figs. 4.50, 4.51).[111] None of

these images has the active component of the Margaret scenes. In an historiated capital

on the north porch, there is a battle taking place between a knight and beasts that is

similar to Margaret's conflict (Fig. 4.52).[112] There, a winged reptilian creature wraps its

scaly tail around the legs of a knight who lunges towards an unidentifiable creature.

Although this is an active image, it does not convey triumph, as Margaret's encounters

do.[113] Despite the differences between depictions of dragons and demons across the

cathedral, such images form a network across the cathedral that emphasizes these beasts

as embodiments of evil that must be destroyed.

Liturgical processions at Chartres that enacted the slaying of dragons may also

have reinforced the images of Margaret standing over the dragon and beating the

demon.[114] According to the thirteenth-century *Ordinary* at Chartres, dragons were

included in processions on Palm Sunday, on the Feast of the Ascension (the fortieth day

of Easter, a Thursday) and Rogation days, especially the Major Rogation which coincided

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[111] It is possible that a dragon is represented in the north nave clerestory rosace (Bay 133) depicting St. George on horseback from 1205-1215. George appears on horseback in armor. Below him, a green and yellow undulating shape could refer to a dragon or serpent, though Delaporte calls it a cloud-form. Delaporte, *Les vitraux,* 163.

[112] The three historiated capitals in the inner part of this porch contain similar dragon-like creatures. Also, angels stand on dragons on the inner archivolt of the Incarnation portal, to the right of the annunciation to the shepherds and to the left of the Nativity.

[113] It is worth noting that the other saint who becomes well known for slaying dragons, St. George, is depicted in stained glass being tortured on the wheel (in a clerestory window in the northern side of the nave and in a medallion now at Princeton University) and as a knight on horseback (in a north nave clerestory rose). Although in the rose a serpentine creature appears behind George he does not actively combat the beast; this activity is reserved for Margaret. See Elizabeth C. Pastan and Mary B. Shepard, "The Torture of Saint George Medallion from Chartres Cathedral in Princeton," *Record of the Art Museum Princeton University* 56 (1997): 10-34.

[114] I am grateful to Dr. Elizabeth Pastan for drawing my attention to the presence of liturgical processions involving dragons at Chartres Cathedral.

with the feast of St. Mark (April 25).[115] The *Ordinary* indicates that on the Major

Rogation the "signis et drachone" or "sign (banner) and dragon" were carried in the

procession.[116] On the Feast of the Ascension, at Terce, a procession, which included a

dragon, moved from the cathedral to the church of St. Aignan and back. Upon return to

the cathedral the procession approached the choir and the dragon was affixed to the choir

screen.[117] The *Ordinary* states that the procession was preceded by banner and dragon

("precedentibus signis et drachone") and that the two were hung later on the "pulpitum,"

or choir screen ("regressa processione, vexilla cum drachone attollantur in pulpito").[118]

Worshippers at Chartres would have seen the priest speak from the pulpit directly above

the dragon, visually reinforcing the defeat of the dragon that appears in the Margaret

window.[119] This dragon remained on the choir screen until Vespers on the Feast of the

Trinity, the Sunday after Pentecost, nearly two and a half weeks later.

That the dragon at Chartres was an enduring tradition is evident from texts

mentioning the beast from the thirteenth century through the sixteenth century. For

example, provisions were made for donations to be given to the dragon's handlers and for

repairs to the creature across time.[120] In an act of June 15, 1405, the dragon is mentioned

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[115] Margot Fassler, "*Adventus* at Chartres: Ritual Models for Major Processions," in *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe*, ed. Nicholas Howe (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 35. There are four Rogation days. The major Rogation falls on April 25th and three minor rogation are held the three days preceding the feast of the Ascension. Rogation days are days of prayer and fasting, asking God to appease His anger and protect against calamities. Rogation days include the litany of the saints, processions around parish boundaries, and a Rogation mass. Craig Wright mentions that a dragon was also included in the Palm Sunday procession, as evident from documentary evidence of the 1360s (AdE-L G 504) and in a thirteenth-century manuscript from the Abbey of Saint-Jean-en-Vallée (Chartres BM 529). Wright, 351-352, 359-360.

[116] Delaporte, *L'Ordinaire*, 120.

[117] Delaporte, *L'Ordinaire*, 50.

[118] Delaporte, *L'Ordinaire*, 127.

[119] Fassler, "Adventus," 38.

[120] M. Jusselin, "I. Le Dragonnier de l'église de Chartres," *Mémoires de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir* 17 (1949): 53. Chartres, MS 1016, fol. 325; Chartres, MS. 1137.

in conjunction with its handler, a person wearing white gloves and a crown of roses called the *dragonarius*, and on the occasion of the procession on the Tuesday of Pentecost.[121]

Textual evidence of Rogation and Ascension festivities, especially within other French churches, hint at the physical characteristics of processional dragons.[122] These creatures appear to have been colorful three-dimensional wood and straw puppets that were handled by cathedral employees and whose bodies were transformed in the course of the festivities.[123] At Saint Aimé of Douai, for example, a 1361 ledger records expenses for a new bright red fabric for the dragon's tail.[124] William Durandus in his "Rationale divinorum officiorum" from the late thirteenth century describes the dragon included in Rogation celebrations and the practice of inflating and deflating the dragon's tail, symbolizing the dragon's reign and subsequent defeat.[125] Jacobus de Voragine goes into detail about the Rogation dragons, noting, in particular, the presence of dragons in French churches.[126] He writes that, "especially in France, the custom obtains of carrying a dragon with a long tail stuffed with straw or some such material: the first two days it is

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[121] Jusselin, 52.

[122] Processional dragons are known at a number of French sites including, but not limited to, Poitiers, Rouen, Doui, Troyes, Reims, Verdun, Arles, and Marseille. Jacques Le Goff, "Ecclesiastical Culture and Folklore in the Middle Ages: Saint Marcellus of Paris and the Dragon," in *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 178-9; Charles Lalore, "Le dragon – vulgairement di Chair-Salée – de saint Loup évêque de Troyes. Etude iconographique," *Annuaire administrative, statistique et commercial du Département de l'Aube* 51 (Troyes: Laloy, 1877): 143-168, especially 153-156.

[123] Le Goff, 178. In Paris, the dragon paraded during Rogation Days was made of wicker. There, onlookers threw food into the beast's mouth.

[124] Le Goff, 181.

[125] Guillaume Durand, *Prochiron, vulgo rationale divinorum officiorum* (Madrid: Typographia Blasii Roman, 1775), Book 6, Chapter 102 "de rogationibus," 363. Durand writes that the dragon had an erect and inflated tail ("cum cauda longa erecta et inflata") for the first two days. On the third day its tail was deflated ("cauda vacua aeque depressa"). Le Goff, 182. Durandus drew on the text of Jean Beleth from around 1180. Jacques de Vitry also mentions the dragons in an early thirteenth-century sermon.

[126] Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, 287-288.

carried in front of the cross, and the third day, with the tail empty, behind the cross" (In quibusdam autem ecclesiis et maxime in ecclesiis Gallicanis consuetudo habetur, quod draco quidam cum longa cauda et inflate, plene scilicet palea vel aliquot tali duobus diebus primas ante crucem et tertio cum cauda vacua post crucem defertur).[127]

Key to the dragon's representations at Chartres, whether stained glass images in the window of St. Margaret or three-dimensional creatures in processions, is its defeat. As a symbol of Satan and evil, its destruction was crucial. In the Margaret window, the crushing of evil is doubled by the beating of the demon and situated explicitly within the realm of physical combat, reminding viewers of the Church's strength. Similarly, the enactment of the dragon's defeat in liturgical processions would have brought the battle between good and evil to life for medieval spectators.

Canons and Patrons

The window of Margaret and Catherine at Chartres forms its own unique and authoritative narrative of Margaret's life that is distinguished from written *vitae*. The treatment of Margaret in the window is two-fold. First, the imagery deemphasizes Margaret's role as intercessor in childbirth and maternal concerns in order to give priority to the Virgin Mary and her relic, which were formally incorporated into the liturgy and within the bounds of clerical control.[128] This includes omitting the more popular and fantastic aspects of Margaret's narrative which met clerical disapproval, such as her bursting from the dragon.[129] Second, the imagery redirects Margaret's significance to her

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[127] Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, 288; Jacobus, *Legenda aurea*, 315.
[128] Spitzer, 145.
[129] Jacobus, *Golden Legend*, 369.

ability to defeat the devil, providing an active physical counterpart to Catherine's

rhetorical victories over Satan. To whom such deliberate decisions in the representation

of Margaret should be attributed deserves consideration.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the window's donation is attributed to

Margaret of Lèves, who is depicted therein with her husband, Guérin de Friaize, and

Geoffrey de Mesley. Some scholars attribute the window's subject matter solely to the

donor noting that their shared name is enough to warrant St. Margaret's representation

and concluding that the presence of St. Catherine must reflect special personal

devotion.[130] Even if a donor, such as Margaret of Lèves, were involved in the production

of a window, it was unlikely that her singular vision brought it to fruition or determined

its placement within the cathedral. More likely, the window was the result of lay

(probably female) and clerical (certainly male) collaboration.[131] If the window were the

product of cooperative efforts between a lay female patron and Chartres clerics, both

parties would have had their own stake in the way that the window was conceived,

influencing the iconography and form.

The identification of Margaret of Lèves as the donor places the window within a

circle of lay female patronage. Indeed, there were powerful women active at Chartres

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[130] McInerney, 168. In regards to Catherine, Maud McInerney, notes that her greater presence suggests she had more significance to Margaret of Lèves and that St. Margaret was merely included because they shared a first name. Kurmann and Kurmann-Schwarz suggest, in a note, that the choice of Catherine may be explained by the fact that Hughes de Meslay's (Marguerite's brother-in-law) second wife was named Catherine. They also mention that the selection of the two saints reflects the patron's desire to see her favorites imaged. Kurmann and Kurmann-Schwarz, 147.

[131] See Alyce Jordan, "Review of Collette Mahnes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres*," *Speculum* 72, no. 2 (April, 1997): 524, 526 for the coordination of the donors, artists, and the chapter in the creation of the stained glass windows at Chartres. See also Lautier, "The Canons of Chartres," 99-118, for her discussion of the canons of Chartres, their donations of windows in the choir and transept, and the liturgical context of these windows.

during the early thirteenth century, such as the Countess of Chartres.[132] During the

crusades at the beginning of the thirteenth century, for example, Chartres was left to the

oversight of Countess Catherine, widow of Count Louis.[133] Perhaps selecting images of

powerful women who defeat evil, preach, and convert would have appealed to the

contemporaneous female regents who desired to assert their authority. Christine Walsh

suggested that the new focus on Catherine as a preacher may be related to the needs of

new female religious communities, such as Beguines, who wanted more substantial roles

within the church and provide visual support for the practice of women preaching.[134]

These images in the Margaret and Catherine window, patronized by a woman, could have

reinforced devotion to these saints and boosted their cults.[135]

However, the refocusing of Margaret's significance could also have been intended

to subordinate devotion to the saint, giving preference to the Virgin Mary, and aligning

Margaret's life with the goals of the clergy.[136] The canons of Chartres may have desired

to emphasize Catherine, who was more aligned with their interests. There is documented

clerical interest in the patronage of Catherine, particularly because of her education and

intellectual capacity. For example, in the fourteenth century, Peter de Dene, canon of

York Minster, commissioned a window dedicated to Catherine's life, inserting himself in

the image as a donor.[137] Meredith Lillich suggests that the thirteenth-century window of

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[132] Williams, 22, 163. Chartres was under the regency of Countess Catherine at the turn of the thirteenth century; she was involved in disputes with the canons over domestic serfs, followed a few years later by Countess Isabelle, who ruled until 1249.

[133] Pansard, 190.

[134] Walsh, 146. Blamires, 144-145.

[135] Spitzer, 145.

[136] Spitzer, 145.

[137] Jaqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis, "Introduction," in *St. Katherine of Alexandria: Texts and Contexts in Western Medieval Europe*, eds. Jacqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2003), 11.

Catherine at Saint-Père de Chartres, which highlights her intellect and omits her torture, reveals the wishes of an erudite theologian-donor connected with the Chartres cathedral school.[138] Perhaps a cleric involved in determining the window's iconography desired to highlight Catherine, with whom he could more easily relate.

Although Margaret and Catherine engage in significant activities, in comparison with the surrounding male saints, there is a sense of marginalization that may reveal clerical anxiety over female aggression and action. Interestingly, Margaret requires help in her battles. In a departure from the textual *vitae*, an angel is included in the scenes of Margaret's encounters with the dragon and demon (Fig. 4.3). The angel does not directly intervene but inhabits crucial pictorial space, giving authority to its presence. Interestingly, angels do not help Margaret in any of the stained glass representations at Auxerre, Ardagger, or Saint-Julien-du-Sault. On one hand, the angels may serve to indicate that the battle is supernatural and spiritual, rather than literal, to contrast visually the forces of good (erect, calm, and foreboding) and evil (crouching, twisted, and broken), or to indicate divine approval of these actions. On the other hand, the angel's presence suggests that Margaret did not, or could not, complete these tasks without explicit intervention from the divine. Thus, the angel may function to downplay Margaret's powers by suggesting that additional help or supervision was necessary. A third angel appears in the window and serves a similar function. The angel accompanies Catherine in her debate against the pagan orators, perhaps indicating divine inspiration as the source of Catherine's rhetorical skill.

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[138] Meredith Parsons Lillich, *The Stained Glass of Saint-Père de Chartres* (Middletown, C.T.: Wesleyan University Press, 1978), 146.

Although the identities of those involved in the Margaret and Catherine window's production, beyond Margaret of Lèves, and their individual intentions are purely speculative, addressing the range of possibilities broadens our understanding of why and how Margaret and Catherine are represented as they are at Chartres. Because their cults were not yet officially incorporated into the Chartrain liturgy, Margaret and Catherine were molded and shaped to suit the needs of Chartres in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Interestingly, at Chartres, both saints are fashioned in ways that contrast with other visual and textual representations of their lives through the omission of their tortures and emphasis on their abilities to defeat evil. Although Margaret appears to be marginalized in the Chartres window she gains new significance through her connection to Catherine and through the dynamic imagery of her conquests. Margaret and Catherine ultimately work together, not as tortured female martyrs, but as active agents of God. The combination of lay understanding of Margaret and her significance within Chartres as a pseudo-confessor saint allows her to be a powerful intercessor, whether as dragon-slayer or protector in childbirth, to whom all types of people could turn.

Chapter 5:

Image and Inscription in the Margaret Window at Ardagger Abbey

In 1667, on the occasion of the birth of Emperor Leopold I and Margareta

Teresa's first child, Provost Melchoir von Pergen commissioned an illuminated

manuscript recounting the eleventh-century foundation of the Abbey and Church of St.

Margaret at Ardagger in Lower Austria.[1] According to the manuscript, Emperor Heinrich

II and his pregnant wife, Agnes of Poitou, were traveling to Vienna when they stopped in

the countryside around Ardagger. The Empress became lost in the woods and

subsequently went into labor. Fortunately, Agnes saw an image of St. Margaret of

Antioch. She prayed to the saint, promising to establish a cloister in Margaret's honor in

exchange for safe childbirth. The saint answered her prayer and the child was delivered

healthy. An accompanying image in the manuscript depicts Margaret appearing before

the emperor and empress (Fig. 5.1). The narrative recounted within the manuscript

conveys the intimate connection between Ardagger Abbey and St. Margaret, a

relationship expressed within the abbey itself and most explicitly within a thirteenth-

century stained glass window depicting fourteen extant scenes of the saint's life (Fig.

5.2). Like the manuscript, which Melchoir von Pergen commissioned during his

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[1] Melchior von Pergen, *Vota praepositurae Ardacensis in Austria…*, 1667, Vienna, Österreichischen
Nationalbibliothek, Handschiftensammlung, Codex Nr. 7240.
Early versions of this chapter were given as conference presentations: "Vitreous *Vita*: The Dynamic
Hagiography of St. Margaret at Ardagger Abbey, Austria," International Congress on Medieval Studies,
Kalamazoo, M.I., May 2015; "Image and Inscription: The Thirteenth-Century Stained-Glass Window of St.
Margaret of Antioch at Ardagger Abbey, Austria," Georgia Medievalists Meeting, Emory University,
February 2014. I am immensely grateful to Dr. Elizabeth Pastan and Dr. Madeline Caviness for the time
they spent observing and discussing the Ardagger window with me on site. I am also thankful to Dr.
Elizabeth Oberhaidacher-Herzig for pointing me towards helpful sources.

seventeenth-century constructions at Ardagger, the Margaret window was patronized by a provost, Heinrich of Passau, within the context of his thirteenth-century structural and artistic renovations at the church.[2] The Margaret window is the only extant narrative stained glass from thirteenth-century Austria and dates between 1230 and 1240.[3] As the visual culmination of the sacred space at Ardagger, the Margaret window stands out from its surroundings and points to the saint's importance at this site (Fig. 5.3).

The Margaret window at Ardagger tailors the saint's life for a learned audience of secular canons, through the inclusion of verse inscriptions that encourage contemplation, while simultaneously presenting dramatic, visually enticing, and legible scenes that could appeal to lay populations. The images closely align with other Latin *vitae* and visual narratives of Margaret's life, highlighting the saint as an archetypal female virgin martyr through a focus on her physical body. However, the texts surrounding the images do not merely illustrate the narrative but provide complementary, and sometimes contradictory, information that enhances each scene and encourages the beholder to consider the relationship between the inscription and the image. These inscriptions also invite prolonged looking through word play, including the strategic placement of words and the selection of words that can have multiple meanings. Upon contemplation of these texts, a new complex narrative of Margaret is revealed. The inscriptions provide insight into the emotions of the saint and the antagonists, offer explanations and reasons for the scenes, and interpret the imagery. The verses convey a malleable notion of gender to bring the

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[2] Johann Kronbichler, "Stift Ardagger: Die Gründung," in *Stift Ardagger: festschrift zum Abschluss der Restaurierungsarbeiten an Kirche und Kreuzgang* (St. Pölten: Bischöfliches Ordinariat St. Pölten, 1996), 25.

[3] Eva Frodl-Kraft, "Ardagger Stift – Pfarrkirche St. Margareta," in *Die Mittelalterlichen Glasgemälde in Niederösterreich, 1 Teil: Albrechtsberg bis Klosterneuburg, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus, 1972), 9-21.

beholder into moral choices and elicit empathy, rather than simply re-emphasizing the virgin saint's body. Together the text and images highlight values that would have been important to thirteenth-century male canons – including fidelity to Christ, commitment to Christ's commandments, and perseverance in the face of physical and spiritual trials.

In this chapter, I first situate the Margaret window within the church and consider its condition and history. Next, I examine the window's scenes and consider the original sequence of the pictorial narrative. I will then discuss the texts and images together and how the window may have been read by Ardagger's male canons. I also consider the reception and use of the window by diverse viewers. Finally, I examine the legacy and importance of the window into the seventeenth century, when Margaret's importance at the site is emphasized again in Melchior von Pergen's decorative program.

The Architectural History of Ardagger Abbey

Ardagger Abbey was a collegiate institution situated near Ardagger Markt, a busy market, an important ship berth, and a crossing point along the Danube River. Since the mid-thirteenth century Ardagger held privileged trading rights and was granted a weekly market in 1256, which remained important through the sixteenth century.[4] Because of its lucrative market and position on the Danube, Ardagger received the name "the golden market" and was well-traveled and visited by a range of people.[5]

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[4] Leo Baumann, "Die ehemaligen Stiftspfarren," in *Die Geschichte des Stiftes Ardagger und seine Patronate* (Stift Ardagger: OFÖ Leo Maria Baumann, 1996), 97. The earliest mention of the area of Ardagger includes references to two churches whose foundations are given as 823.

[5] Baumann, "Die ehemaligen Stiftspfarren," 97.

Ardagger Abbey was founded by Emperor Henry III on January 7, 1049 and dedicated on September 4, 1063 by Bishop Notger of Freising.[6] The celebration of Margaret at Ardagger is attested through references in several documents, including the foundation charter and a charter from 1192 in which Duke Leopold V established a yearly market on the feast day of St. Margaret.[7] The connection between Ardagger and royalty is confirmed throughout the thirteenth century in charters with continual assertions of Ardagger's privileges granted by royalty.[8]

The church of St. Margaret at Ardagger Abbey, as it appears today, bears the evidence of numerous architectural changes from the eleventh century through the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the exact form of the eleventh-century structure is unknown. Between 1224 and 1240, Provost Heinrich of Passau renovated the crypt, nave, south portal, and choir of the Romanesque abbey.[9] The Margaret window was also

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[6] Kronbichler, "Stift Ardagger," 9, 17; Franz Steinkellner, "Die Gründung des Stiftes und seine Grösse," in *Die Geschichte des Stiftes Ardagger und seine Patronate* (Stift Ardagger: OFÖ Leo Maria Baumann, 1996), 12. Unfortunately, the original charter is lost and is known only through a thirteenth-century copy in the library of the Seitenstetten Abbey (Kodex 238). The charter mentions both the emperor and empress. The contents of this codex are published in Gottfried Edmund Friess, "Geschichte des einstigen Collegiat-Stiftes Ardagger in Nieder-Oesterreich," *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 46 (1871): 466-561.

[7] Friess, *Ardagger*, 426. From the *Transsumpte des Abtes Johann von Melk dd. 28. Jänner 1468*, Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archive. See Friess, *Ardagger*, 471. "Quapropter iustis ac statutis nostris debitis contenti esse uolentes iustitiam illam de Ardakker, quam ecclesia illa et confratres eius in foro et nundinis eiusdem suburbii, hoc est in festo sanctae Margaretae…"

[8] King Rudolph I confirmed the abbey's privileges on February 14, 1277. Friess, *Ardagger*, 483.

[9] Records for the provosts of Ardagger (which exist from the mid twelfth century on) provide the dates for Heinrich's tenure. Around 1224 there was a legal dispute over the provost's election, resulting in Heinrich's appointment. Heinrich was previously the cathedral provost of Passau. Eva Frodl-Kraft, "Ardagger Stift," 11-12; Friess, 431; Kronbichler, "Stift Ardagger," 16. The architectural forms of the crypt, south portal, and choir show an architectural dependence on lower Austrian Cistercian architecture from the first half of the thirteenth century. Frodl-Kraft, 11. See also Johannes Fahrngruber, "Unsere heimischen Glasgemälde," *Berichte und Mittheilungen des Alterthums-Vereines zu Wien* 32 (1986): 24-26; Friess, 431; Frodl-Kraft, "Ardagger Stift," 10; Kronbichler, "Stift Ardagger," 16; Eduard Freiherr von Sacken, "Kunstdenkmale des Mittelalters im Kreise ob dem Wiener Wald des Erzherzogtums," *Jahrbuch der Kaiserl. Königl. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* 2 (1857): 105-109.

completed at this time, between 1230 and 1240 (Fig. 5.2).[10] The window currently

occupies the easternmost window of abbey's flat-ended choir and is flanked on the

adjacent walls by two narrower lancet windows (Fig. 5.4). Unfortunately, the window is

the only extant stained glass window at the site and the only surviving evidence of the

thirteenth-century iconographic program. Determining the original location of the

Margaret window within the church with certainty is difficult because little evidence

exists for the thirteenth-century structure. The crypt, a three-aisled space with a flat east

end, dates to the thirteenth century as do parts of the choir and nave, including the south

portal (Fig. 5.5-5.6).[11] During the thirteenth century, likely just after the Margaret

window was created, the abbey experienced its first documented damages. Around 1250,

armed supporters of the Duke of Bavaria attacked the abbey and many manuscripts,

including the original charter, were destroyed.[12]

 Evidence of the addition of further iconographic elements and changes to the

structure exist from the fourteenth century on, making apparent the building's

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[10] In the earliest publication of the window, Eduard von Sacken dated the window to the second half of the fourteenth century. Sacken believed that the donor panel was actually a memorial panel dedicated to the church's builder. Fahrngruber disagreed emphatically with Sacken's dating. In 1896, Fahrngruber proposed an earlier, more specific, date, 1230 to 1240, based on the donor panel, its surrounding inscription, and the window's style. Indeed the donor panel relates that the window was given during the time Heinrich was provost. See Eva Frodl-Kraft, "Ardagger Stift," 11-12. Fahrngruber believed that the window dates to the same time as the crypt. He cited the Romanesque-Gothic majuscule inscriptions as further evidence of the dating, comparing the script with the Vienna City Seal from 1239 and the inscriptions on the Hildesheim baptismal front. See Fahrngruber, 25-26. Further evidence of the window's dating comes from stylistic comparisons. Eva Frodl-Kraft compared the painting style at Ardagger to Salzburg painters of the early thirteenth century. Eva Frodl-Kraft, "Das Margaretenfenster in Ardagger: Studien zur Österreichischen Malerei in der 1. Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 16 (1954): 9-46.

[11] Leo Baumann, "Die Stiftskirche, der Kreuzweg, Kryta, St. Anna Kapelle," in *Die Geschichte des Stiftes Ardagger und seine Patronate* (Stift Ardagger: OFÖ Leo Maria Baumann, 1996), 80; Berndl-Forstner, "Die Stiftskirche-Baugestalt und Bildwerke," 78. The walls of the choir up to the cornice are Romanesque as is the small round-arched door in the north side near the so-called Old Sacristy. Above the south portal is a small round-arched window found during the course of twentieth-century renovations. Kronbichler notes that the placement of a window directly above the portal suggests that the portal could have been moved at a later time (16th century) after the Romanesque window was walled up. Four other small round-arched windows are found on the northern side aisles with varying widths. Kronbichler, 20.

[12] Kronbichler, 16.

complicated history. The remains of the fourteenth-century image program are visible in a fresco depicting the crucified Christ on the south wall of the northern aisle (Fig. 5.7).[13] At the turn of the fifteenth century, the cloister and west portal of the church were added. A damaged mid-fifteenth-century fresco depicting the Apostle's Creed was uncovered along the north wall of the cloister in the course of twentieth-century renovations (Fig. 5.8).[14] During this time changes were also made to the nave and choir, including the addition of trefoil lancet-arched windows, flying buttresses, and crockets with decorative floral sculptures (Fig. 5.9-5.10).[15] The Three King's Chapel, located in the western side of the cloister, was commissioned by canon Paul von Mautern in 1410.[16]

The sixteenth century saw the construction of a new chapel as well as two periods of destruction. The St. Anna Chapel, dedicated to the Virgin Mary's mother, was erected in the southeast end of the choir and consecrated in 1518.[17] Unfortunately, in 1529 the church was badly burned when the area was invaded by Turkish forces, necessitating a re-vaulting that was completed under Provost Oswald Grübler (1567-1584).[18] The church similarly suffered unspecified damages during the Peasant Revolt of 1596.[19]

In the seventeenth century, the interior decoration of the church was renewed under Provost Melchoir von Pergen.[20] Ornate Baroque stuccowork (dating to 1678) and frescoes were added to the nave, choir, and Three King's Chapel (Fig. 5.3). Four large oil

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[13] Berndl-Forstner, 95. The fresco was discovered in 1994.

[14] Berndl-Forstner, 95, 97; Kronbichler, 24.

[15] Kronbichler, 22-23.

[16] Kronbichler, 24.

[17] Berndl-Forstner, 78; Kronbichler, 24

[18] Kronbichler, 24. An epitaph at the church completed by Grübler's successor notes these renovations. Karl Ramharter, "Das Glasfenster der hl. Margareta in der Stiftskirche von Ardagger," in *Die Geschichte des Stiftes Ardagger und seine Patronate* (Stift Ardagger: OFÖ Leo Maria Baumann, 1996), 84.

[19] Fahrngruber, 26. The abbey paid the rioters money and wine to appease them.

[20] Baumann, 75. The organ (1620), made by the famous organ-maker Johann Georg Freundt, and choir stalls (1627) were also added during the seventeenth century. Kronbichler, 24.

paintings were also installed in the choir. The current altar dates from the end of the

eighteenth century. Additional changes were made throughout the nineteenth century and

into the twentieth, but less to the architectural structure than to the church's furnishings.[21]

Ardagger Abbey's complicated building history, with numerous periods of change,

makes a reconstruction of the thirteenth-century church, its iconographic program, and

the placement of the Margaret window, particularly difficult.

The Window's Location and Composition

As the only extant stained glass at the site, the original location of the Margaret

window is a matter of some debate. Scholars have questioned the current axial placement

of the Margaret window in part because Christological or Marian subjects, not

hagiographic themes, tend to occupy the easternmost windows within earlier thirteenth-

century stained glass programs across Europe.[22] The debate over the original location of

the Margaret window has also centered on whether or not the choir dates to the period of

Heinrich of Passau's constructions.[23] Alois Löw believed that the window's location in

the easternmost wall of the choir is original to the thirteenth century.[24] Other scholars

have suggested that the window was displaced to its current position in the course of

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[21] Exceptions include the current tower, which dates from 1804 to 1806, the west porch, constructed in 1889, and the south porch, added in 1989. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (1857, 1861, 1912, 1914) the building underwent restorations that included securing the vaulting, repainting, and repairing stuccowork. Kronbichler, 25.

[22] See, for example, the stained glass programs at Chartres (chapter 4) and Auxerre (chapter 5).

[23] Previously, scholars believed the choir to be younger than the crypt and assigned a late fourteenth century date. Sacken, 107. More recently, scholars have suggested the choir is contemporaneous with the crypt. Frodl-Kraft, "Ardagger Stift," 10.

[24] Alois Löw, "Ein altes Glasgemälde in Stift Ardagger," *Berichte und Mittheilungen des Alterthums-Vereines zu Wien* 35 (1900): 121.

either the fourteenth- or seventeenth-century renovations.[25] There is no archaeological or documentary evidence at Ardagger that secures the window's location. The window's current placement has not been significantly discussed or challenged by later scholars including Eva Frodl-Kraft and Elisabeth Oberhaidacher-Herzig.[26]

The crypt is key to understanding the church's thirteenth-century form as it dates from this period. As scholars have noted, the structure of the crypt determines the form of the upper church.[27] Indeed, like the crypt, the current choir has a flat east end with a central window. Although the current choir is more recent than the nave, it still conforms to the shape of the crypt, suggesting that earlier iterations of the choir were similar in structure. However, the crypt does not reveal the number of window apertures that would have been in the thirteenth-century choir and that could have altered the possible locations of the Margaret window.

Scholars, including Johannes Fahrngruber, have cited the donor panel as evidence of the window's original location (Fig. 5.11).[28] In this panel Heinrich of Passau offers a model of the church to Margaret. The model is a three-aisled basilica church with two western towers and a flat east end, similar to Ardagger itself (Fig. 5.12). This structure includes windows in the clerestory and the east end. In fact, a single, large, round-arched window, much like the Margaret window, is depicted in the east end. The conclusion that this model expresses the location of the Margaret window, however, assumes that a direct relationship existed between the form of the model within the window and the actual

[25] Fahrngruber, 25; Martin Riesenhuber, *Die kirchliche Barockkunst in Österreich* (Linz: Christlichen Künstblatter, 1924), 79.

[26] Frodl-Kraft, "Ardagger Stift," 10; Elisabeth Oberhaidacher-Herzig, "Das Margaretenfenster," in *Stift Ardagger: festschrift zum Abschluss der Restaurierungsarbeiten an Kirche und Kreuzgang* (St. Pölten: Bischöfliches Ordinariat St. Pölten, 1996), 29-70.

[27] Berndl-Forstner, "Die Stiftsgeschichte," 77; Frodl-Kraft, "Ardagger Stift," 10.

[28] Fahrngruber, 25.

church structure. Such a one-to-one connection cannot be assumed or confirmed. It is just as possible that the model expresses an ideal form of the church, never realized, or an abbreviated form of the church.[29]

The question of the window's location is significant in its relation to other imagery within the church. It is likely that the thirteenth-century church would have had other windows besides the Margaret window. Extant evidence for other contemporaneous stained glass programs within medieval Austria is limited, but includes the extensive grisaille windows within the cloister at the nearby Cistercian abbey of Heiligenkreuz (Fig. 5.13).[30] At Ardagger there are several other window openings that could have held stained glass. For example, the lancet windows in the north and west walls of the choir, flanking the Margaret window, could have held narrative imagery.[31] Clerestory windows in the nave, the remains of which can be seen from the exterior of the church on the south portal, also could have contained glass. Glass reinstalled within sixteenth-century

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[29] Klinkenberg notes that the model is presented from a perspective that, in actuality, would have been obscured by the abbey buildings. He also notes that this model follows the conventions of similar donor models in thirteenth-century art, such as at Salzburg and Pürgg. He further suggests the image of the apse-less choir references Cistercian architecture constructed under the Babenbergs. Emanuel S. Klinkenberg, *Compressed Meanings: The Donor's Model in Medieval Art to around 1300: Origin, Spread and Significance of an Architectural Image in the Realm of Tension between Tradition and Likeness* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 231-232.

[30] Eva Frodl-Kraft, "Stift Heiligenkreuz," in *Die Mittelalterlichen Glasgemälde in Niederösterreich, 1 Teil: Albrechtsberg bis Klosterneuburg, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus, 1972), 104-25. The cloister was rebuilt beginning in 1227. Extant Romanesque glass from three sites - Augsbourg, Arnstein, and Strasbourg - offer comparative stained glass within the Holy Roman Empire during the twelfth century, although it has lost its original architectural frameworks. Kurmann-Schwarz acknowledges the difficulty of attempting to follow the stylistic evolution of stained glass from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Le vitrail du XIIe siècle dans le Saint-Empire. Recherches et problèmes," in *Le vitrail roman et les arts de la couleur: nouvelles approaches sur le vitrail du XIIe siècle*, ed. Jean-Francois Luneau, *Revue d'Auvergne* 118.570 (Clermont-Ferrand: Société des amis des universités de Clermont-Ferrand, 2004): 117, 118. Rüdiger Becksmann's brief survey of stained glass from the Hohenstaufen period (1138-1254) also notes the preponderance of lost glass. Rüdiger Becksmann, "Glasmalerei," in *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte, Kunst, Kultur, Katalog der Ausstellung, Stuttgart 1977*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Württembergisches Landesmuseum, 1977), 276-277.

[31] These windows are slightly smaller than the eastern-most window.

clerestory windows can be seen at the Romanesque cathedral of Augsburg, Germany, where late eleventh-century stained glass depicts biblical prophets (Fig. 5.14).[32]

Although the thirteenth-century stained glass program at Ardagger cannot be recovered, some hypotheses about such a program can be made. If the Margaret window was not located in its current position, another (lost) window would have been situated in that aperture. As evidenced by numerous stained glass programs across Europe, the easternmost window would likely have depicted Christological imagery, such as the Crucifixion or scenes from the life of Christ.[33] For example, in the cathedral of Laon, France, the flat east end (a revision of an earlier rounded choir) contains three early thirteenth-century stained glass windows (Fig. 5.15).[34] The central window depicts the Passion of Christ. Hagiographic subjects are relegated to the two surrounding windows, including scenes from the lives of St. Stephen and Theophilus in the northern window. Admittedly, the small structure of the Ardagger church and size of the Romanesque windows suggests that a stained glass program would not have been as extensive as those found in larger churches and thus the range of imagery would have been limited.

The existing visual program at Ardagger may provide insight into the original program. Two wall paintings, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, depict Christological themes, including the Crucifixion and the Apostle's Creed (Figs. 5.7-5.8).

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[32] C.R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West 800-1200* (New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press, 1993), 391-392; Louis Grodecki, *Le Vitrail Roman* (Paris: Editions Vilo, 1977), 50-54.

[33] A survey of thirteenth-century stained glass programs, such as at Chartres Cathedral, reveal the predominance of Christological imagery within the axial windows. See Louis Grodecki and Catherine Brisac, *Gothic Stained Glass, 1200-1300* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985); Colette Mahnes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres: Étude iconographique* (Paris: Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, 1993).

[34] William Clark, *Laon Cathedral: The Architecture*, vol. 2 (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1987), 61-63; Louis Grodecki, Françoise Perrot, and Jean Taralon, *Les Vitraux de Paris, de la region parisienne, de la Picardie et du Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France, I* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1978), 162-163.

The Baroque imagery at Ardagger depicts Christological, hagiographic, and royal themes that reflect the church's seventeenth-century context (Fig. 5.3). A number of saints find their place amongst the ceiling paintings, including Stephen, Ottilia, Nicholas, and Margaret. These saints are the patrons of local churches within the control of Ardagger. For example, the church at Ardagger Markt is dedicated to St. Nicholas. It is possible that the thirteenth-century stained glass program included representations of these local saints and images of Christ. Thus, Margaret would have been part of a program that highlighted Christ, the Virgin, and key saints, such as the apostles. Justification for Margaret's inclusion in the program could be tied to the foundation legend of Ardagger.

If the Margaret window were not originally located in the easternmost position, that it is placed there now indicates the window's, and the subject's, importance across time. Martin Riesenhuber proposed that the window was moved to its current location during the seventeenth century under Provost Melchior von Pergen.[35] Melchior was particularly interested in conveying the relationship between the abbey and St. Margaret, as evidenced in the manuscript he commissioned illuminating the foundation legend (Fig. 5.1).[36] He could have moved the window to the easternmost position to reinforce Margaret's presence at the church. For Melchior, the window may have, as Meredith Lillich explained regarding windows at Châlons Cathedral, "embodied the cultural memory of the place, because they were signifiers of its identity and continuity, because in them was distilled the remembrance of things past."[37] Although the original location of

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[35] Riesenhuber, *Die kirchliche Barockkunst*, 79.
[36] Fahrngruber, 25.
[37] Meredith Lillich, "More Stained Glass Spolia at Châlons Cathedral," *Cahiers archéologiques* 45 (1997); reprint in *Studies in Medieval Stained Glass and Monasticism*, ed. Meredith Lillich (London: Pindar Press, 2001), 297.

the Margaret window is not absolutely certain, the window's current position, and the

fact that the window is the only extant glass from the site, indicates the importance that it

came to have within the church.[38]

The 4.53 meters tall by 1 meter wide Margaret window is composed of fourteen

extant medallions each measuring 0.43 meters in diameter (Fig. 5.2). The window is the

earliest extant narrative thirteenth-century stained glass window in Austria, making it

prized for its condition and preservation.[39] The window is marked by its clarity of

composition and organization. Each scene appears in a medallion in rows alternating with

one or two medallions. Within each scene the figures are large and clear. Extraneous

people and details have been excluded for visual clarity. The scenes are largely devoid of

setting, making them timeless and universal. The backgrounds of the medallions are

composed primarily of solid blue fields. Louis Grodecki assessed the style of the

window, noting similarities between painting around 1200 in the areas of Ratisbonne,

Salzburg, and Lambach and manuscript and murals paintings of the eleventh and twelfth

centuries.[40] Elisabeth Oberhaidacher-Herzig further compared the figure style of the

window to the Salzburg manuscript painters from the twelfth century as there are no

stylistically comparable extant monumental paintings from the thirteenth century.[41]

Jeffrey Hamburger compared the window to other late twelfth- and early thirteenth-

century images of donors and scribes in stained glass and manuscripts, including a

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[38] Mary Shepard, "Memory and 'Belles Verrières'," in *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century: Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, N.J.: Index of Christian Art, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, 2008), 296.

[39] Earlier non-narrative stained glass is known in Austria, including a mid-twelfth-century panel depicting St. Mary Magdalene from the church of St. Mary Magdalene at Weitensfeld. Dodwell, 397.

[40] Grodecki, *Le Vitrail Roman*, 234. He compares the figure of Heinrich of Passau to the miniscule figure of the Austrian Weitensfeld master.

[41] Oberhaidacher-Herzig, "Das Margaretenfenster," 32.

twelfth-century image of the glass painter Gerlachus at Arnstein Abbey and the 1225 to

1240 image of the donor and scribe Herman in a copy of Jerome's commentary on Isaiah

at Melk Abbey.[42]

Surrounding each scene is Latin verse in black majuscule on a white ground. The

decorative elements backing the medallions, including the ground line running across the

back, the gemstone ribbon dividing them, and the framing palmette tendrils, are

characteristic of German stained glass of the thirteenth century.[43] Similar decorative

elements can be seen in stained glass at Strasburg and Weissenburg (Fig. 5.16).

Stylistically, the window falls between the detailed decorative windows of the

Romanesque period and the lessening use of these motifs in Gothic windows.[44]

The first modern documentation of the window is Eduard von Sacken's

description from 1857.[45] The fifteenth medallion was already lost by this time. A

photomontage published by Fahrngruber in 1896 reflects the current (inaccurate)

arrangement of the medallions rather than the more correct description given by Sacken

in 1857.[46] Thus, sometime between 1857 and 1896, nine of the medallions were

rearranged. In 1900, Carl Geyling's Eben (a glass-making company founded in 1841 and

still active today) restored the window, a process which Alois Löw documented.[47]

Because of the window's good condition, the restorations were limited primarily to

ornamental parts of the window and included minimal changes to the medallions

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[42] Jeffrey Hamburger, "The Hand of God and the Hand of the Scribe: Craft and Collaboration at Arnstein," in *Die Bibliothek des Mittelalters als dynamischer Prozess*, ed. Michael Embach (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2012), 62.

[43] Oberhaidacher-Herzig, "Das Margaretenfenster," 32.

[44] Oberhaidacher-Herzig, "Das Margaretenfenster," 32.

[45] Sacken, 108.

[46] Fahrngruber, 26. The current arrangement, for example, incorrectly separates the two sequential scenes of Margaret's encounter with the dragon (medallions 7-8).

[47] Frodl-Kraft, "Stift Ardagger," 12; Löw, 119-128.

themselves (Fig. 5.17).[48] The restorations, for the large part, did not affect the figures. An

exception is medallion nine where Margaret's torso is a modern reconstruction (Fig.

5.18). The inscriptions of two medallions, Margaret praying and her beheading

(medallions 10, 14), were also altered during restorations. The inscriptions surrounding

these two medallions is composed of fragments from the church, arranged to relate to the

imagery. In the scene of Margaret's beheading (medallion 14), new additions were also

added. In Fahrngruber's 1896 description of the window he notes that the inscriptions of

three medallions (10, 12, 14) are unclear because some of the pieces of glass had been

rearranged and because the paint had become effaced over time.[49] Thus, the inscriptions

encircling these medallions cannot be referred to as wholly original but as hypotheses.[50]

   Both Eva Frodl-Kraft and Elisabeth Oberhaidacher-Herzig expressed concern

about the inscriptions surrounding the scenes of Margaret's encounters with the dragon

and demon (medallions 7, 9). They believe that the texts for the two medallions were

switched before 1857, when the window is first published.[51] Though it is not explicitly

stated, this assessment seems to be based on the text currently surrounding the demon

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[48] Frodl-Kraft, "Stift Ardagger," 12. Löw believed the leading was original based on his examination. Löw, 122; Oberhaidacher-Herzig, "Das Margaretenfenster," 65. Karl Ramharter writes that the window was enclosed by walls for protection during the Second World War. The window was revealed in 1949 during the celebration of the 900th anniversary of the church's foundation. It was at that time that the fifteenth medallion was added. Ramharter, 83. In 1953 the window was examined from scaffolding. Frodl-Kraft, "Stift Ardagger," 17. The window was restored in the mid-twentieth century by Karl Fertl under the direction of Thomas Huss. At that time chemical analysis was undertaken by Dr. Hubert Paschinger and Dr. Helmut Richard. Elisabeth Oberhaidacher notes areas of damage to the window due to environmental contaminants, including cracks (possibly some of which originated in the fire of 1529), pitting, and corrosion. Condensation in the window and the growth of green algae (due to high humidity) have caused damage to the paint. Oberhaidacher-Herzig, "Das Margaretenfenster," 66-70.

[49] Fahrngruber, 26.

[50] Löw suggests that the inscription surrounding the confrontation of Margaret and Olybrius was comprised of text from this medallion and others. Frodl-Kraft does not make mention of this, only noting that the medallion is in good condition. Löw, 125; Frodl-Kraft, "Stift Ardagger," 18.

[51] Oberhaidacher-Herzig, "Das Margaretenfenster," 44; Frodl-Kraft, "Stift Ardagger,"19. Oberhaidacher-Herzig appears to be following Frodl-Kraft's assessment.

scene (medallion 9) which describes the creature as a "wild beast" whom the virgin approaches anxiously although the image depicts a cowering demon and empowered Margaret. Frodl-Kraft's suggestion that the inscriptions were switched conveys her belief that the inscriptions provide captions for the figural scenes. However, if the verse inscriptions were intended as another mode of engagement, then the text is not problematic. In fact, the demon does appear as a kind of wild beast. It is not necessary for the inscriptions to describe the imagery literally, nor do I believe that is the intended text-image relationship at Ardagger. The fact that the inscription surrounding the demon scene could also relate to the dragon scene offers an example of the multiple ways the window could be engaged.

Sacken's documentation of the window from 1857 records an arrangement of the medallions that is a good point from which to consider the original arrangement.[52] At the time of Sacken's publication one saw (Fig. 5.19):

15) Missing medallion
14) Angels lift Margaret's soul to heaven
13) Margaret is beheaded
12) Margaret is drowned
11) Margaret is burned
10) Margaret sees the cross and dove
9) Margaret confronts the demon
8) The dragon bursts in two
7) Margaret confronts the dragon
6) Margaret is raked
5) Margaret is beaten
4) Two men try to convert Margaret
3) Margaret rebukes Olybrius and his idol
2) Olybrius and his men abduct Margaret
1) Olybrius sees Margaret tending sheep
Donor Panel) Heinrich of Passau

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[52] Sacken, 105-109.

This organization of the medallions follows Margaret's textual *vitae* closely, though one cannot say with absolute certainty that this order expresses the original thirteenth-century arrangement.

Eva Frodl-Kraft suggested slightly different arrangements in two publications, a 1954 article and the 1972 entry in the Corpus Vitrearum volume on Lower Austria.[53] In the former, Frodl-Kraft retained the current order of the third and fourth medallions but, in the latter publication, she switched them to follow Sacken's description.[54] In 1996, Elisabeth Oberhaidacher-Herzig maintained Frodl-Kraft's 1954 order of these scenes: Margaret is confronted by two men, and then Margaret rebukes Olybrius and his idol.

The ordering of the medallions can be approached from both narrative and aesthetic perspectives. Elizabeth Oberhaidacher-Herzig, for example, based her ordering of the scenes on coloring principles viewed in conjunction with the saint's narrative. Oberhaidacher-Herzig wrote that the red bands surrounding some of the images would have indicated, in part, their placement. Red-banded images would have been placed next to each other.[55] The coloring of the medallions is significant although it surely did not supersede the narrative flow of the window. Oberhaidacher-Herzig drew Margaret's narrative from Jacobus de Voragine's mid-thirteenth-century *Golden Legend,* a work which post-dates the window by several decades and retells Margaret's life very differently from the Latin *vitae*.[56] Using the *Golden Legend* as a source could account for

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[53] Frodl-Kraft, "Stift Ardagger," 13; Eva Frodl-Kraft, "Das Margaretenfenster in Ardagger," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 16 (1954): 12.

[54] Frodl-Kraft, "Das Margaretenfenster," 12.

[55] Oberhaidacher-Herzig, "Das Margaretenfenster," 34.

[56] For example, in Jacobus's version Margaret is questioned by Olybrius alone and is thrown into prison. Within this version the demon "looks like a man" rather than a beast. The cross and dove also do not descend in this text. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1993, 2012), 368-369. See chapter 2 for discussions of the texts of Margaret's life.

Oberhaidacher-Herzig's suggestion for switching the order of the demon and cross

scenes, so that Margaret's prayer occurs between Margaret's encounter with the dragon

and demon.[57]

However, the window that Sacken described in 1857 conveys a narrative that

closely aligns with the Latin *Mombritius vita.*[58] Within the diocese of Passau, in which

Ardagger is located, the *Mombritius* version is known through medieval manuscripts of

the late twelfth-century *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, the Great Austrian

Legendary, copies of which are held in the nearby monasteries of Lilienfeld, Zwettl,

Heiligenkreuz.[59]

Overlaying the *Mombritius* version of Margaret's life with the extant medallions

suggests the probable arrangement for the window's scenes (Fig. 5.2, 5.20-5.33):[60]

    15) Angels lift Margaret's soul to heaven (Fig. 5.33)
    14) Margaret is beheaded (Fig. 5.32)
    13) Missing medallion
    12) Margaret is drowned (Fig. 5.31)
    11) Margaret is burned (Fig. 5.30)
    10) Margaret sees the cross and dove (Fig. 5.29)
    9) Margaret confronts the demon (Fig. 5.28)

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[57] Oberhaidacher-Herzig, "Das Margaretenfenster," 34.

[58] Sacken, 105-109. See the discussion of the *Mombritius* version in chapter 2, note 12.

[59] "De magno Legendario Austriaco," *Analecta Bollandiana* 17 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898): 70. The Great Austrian Legendary (*MLA*) is found in Cistercian monasteries (Heiligenkreuz, Lilienfeld, Zwettl) and Benedictine houses (Melk, Admunt). The Zwettl and Lilienfeld manuscripts are derived from the Heiligenkreuz text. Margaret is found in the *MLA* under the entry for July 12 "S. Margaretae virg. et. Mart." She is included in the manuscripts at Heiligenkreuz (Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 13), fols. 23v-25, at Lilienfeld (Codex 60), fols. 34v-37, and at Melk (Codex 101, 676 M. 6), fols. 49v-54, but not in the manuscripts at Zwettl and Admunt. See *Analecta Bollandiana*, 25, 28, 30. The Melk *vita* is found in the fifteenth-century volumes which complement the thirteenth-century volume (Codex 388, 310. F8). The thirteenth-century volume includes only the months of January and February. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 32-34. I am grateful to the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library for providing me with the Heckman Stipend, which enabled me to examine microfilms of the manuscripts held at Heiligenkreuz, Lilienfeld, and Melk. The *Mombritius* version aligns with other Latin *vitae* of Margaret in its narrative structure but varies in the details. Specific details within the window align more closely with the *Mombritius* version than with other prolific versions, such as the *Rebdorf* version, also known in Austria. Throughout this chapter I will refer to the *vita* of Margaret found in the Heiligenkreuz manuscript of the legendary, as it is the closest in geographic proximity to Ardagger.

[60] See Sacken's description of the window in 1857. Sacken, 105-109. See Appendix I for accompanying inscriptions.

8) The dragon bursts in two (Fig. 5.27)
7) Margaret confronts the dragon (Fig. 5.26)
6) Margaret is raked (Fig. 5.25)
5) Margaret is beaten (Fig. 5.24)
4) Margaret rebukes Olybrius and his idol (Fig. 5.23)
3) Two men try to convert Margaret (Fig. 5.22)
2) Olybrius and his men abduct Margaret (Fig. 5.21)
1) Olybrius sees Margaret tending sheep (Fig. 5.20)
Donor Panel) Heinrich of Passau (Fig. 5.11)

The *Mombritius* version of Margaret's life largely dovetails with Sacken's

description. However, there is still room for debate over the medallions' arrangement

because the window does not exactly reproduce any single textual *vita*. For example, in

the *Mombritius* narrative the cross and dove appear to Margaret in the course of her

encounter with the demon – after beating the beast but before interrogating him.[61] In the

window Margaret is depicted beating the demon (rather than interrogating him)

suggesting this scene would be placed before the appearance of the cross and the dove

(Figs. 5.28-5.29).[62] Comparisons of other contemporaneous stained glass cycles of

Margaret's life at Chartres, Auxerre, and Saint-Julien-du-Sault are not particularly helpful

because none of these cycles includes a scene of Margaret praying before the cross and

dove. The order of the demon and prayer medallions significantly alters how the window

is read; as the order occurs today, Margaret's triumphs are relegated to the window's

peripheral scenes and the prayer appears in the center.

The missing medallion and upper portion of the window also complicate the

assessment of the medallions' original arrangement. Löw suggested that the ultimate

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[61] *Legendarium magnum, Vol. 3: Julius – September*, Codex Sancrucensis 13, Stiftsbibliothek, Stift Heiligenkreuz, fol. 24v.
[62] The surrounding inscription also gives an indication of the exact moment of this scene in the narrative by stating that Margaret approached the beast who appeared.

medallion depicted the saint crowned in heaven.[63] A similar image is depicted in the apex

of the Margaret window at the cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand (Fig. 5.34).[64] However, it is

also possible that the missing medallion was not the window's final scene.

Oberhaidacher-Herzig places the missing medallion in the fourteenth position and the

scene of Margaret's soul lifted to heaven in the fifteenth position.[65] The missing scene

could have depicted another episode of the dove appearing to Margaret or the saint's final

intercessory prayer. Other possibilities that appear in different stained glass cycles

include Margaret's conversion of bystanders or Margaret entering prison. Examples of

both of these scenes are found at Auxerre Cathedral (Fig. 5.10, 5.17). Although

determining the exact composition of the window and the arrangement of the inscriptions

seems tricky and even futile, it does not hinder a consideration of how this window would

have been read and engaged with by medieval beholders.

Reading the Images

The Margaret window is visually striking. Fair-skinned figures stand out against

deep blue backgrounds surrounded by ornate jewel-toned foliage and gemstone ribbons.

These images of Margaret's life identify her as a virgin martyr by emphasizing her body,

which is always at the center of the narrative, and highlighting the corporeality of her

passio. The window presents viewers with a triumphant saint who conquered the devil

and gracefully endured horrific tortures. Reading the images, one finds an easy-to-follow

narrative with a rhythm of interactions, tortures, and triumphs ultimately leading to

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[63] Löw, 122.

[64] Löw, 122.

[65] Oberhaidacher-Herzig, "Das Margaretenfenster," 35. Angels transporting Margaret's soul to heaven is the penultimate scene in the Margaret window at Saint-Julien-du-Sault.

Margaret's martyrdom. Like the Margaret window at Chartres, the limited number of

figures in each medallion and minimal background settings at Ardagger make the scenes

legible, even from a distance.

The imagery makes Margaret's identity accessible through the choice of scenes

selected to narrate her life. The three medallions depicting the dragon and demon

episodes help identify her and distinguish her from other virgin martyrs. Margaret is

easily identifiable in the window as the only female character and the only human whose

head is encircled by a golden halo. Madeline Caviness notes that the window's audience

of canons would have been "readily persuaded by normative signs" (such as the halo) of

the protagonist's sanctity.[66]

While Margaret is easily identifiable throughout the window, her body is the site

of continual transformation and change. The saint moves from being clothed to unclothed

several times within the window; she is cloaked during her triumphs but disrobed during

her tortures. She is, however, never completely naked, the lower half of her torso is

always modestly covered, down to her ankles (Figs. 5.24, 5.25, 5.30, 5.31). The depiction

of Margaret stripped to the waist and tortured is present in the other windows of

Margaret's life including at Auxerre, and can be seen in visual representations of many

other female saints, including Catherine and Agatha (Figs. 3.16, 4.22). The juxtaposition

of revealing and concealing Margaret's body draws attention to it. The nude body

reinforces the martyr's corporeality and explicitly displays her torn body. Caviness called

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[66] Madeline Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy* (Philadelphia, P.A.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 109.

particular attention to the repetition of tortures at Ardagger, noting that the placement of

two of the torture scenes in the window's central axis directly confronts the viewer.[67]

In addition to changing from clothed to unclothed, Margaret's garments differ

from scene to scene – her head covered with a flowing golden veil in one medallion and a

green cloak over her shoulders in another (Figs. 5.26, 5.28). Margaret's clothing can be a

vehicle of signification. Although parts of her clothing change, Margaret always wears a

white garment, signaling her innocence and purity. As Caviness has noted Margaret's

soul wears the same white garment that she did in life, though now, Margaret appears as a

"little girl again, shedding her problematic sexual maturity."[68]

Margaret's life is set against an opulent and radiant backdrop that calls to mind

precious stones and materials, such as used in reliquaries, book covers, and altarpieces

(Figs. 5.35, 5.36).[69] The golden band linking the medallions is lined with pearls and

studded with red and blue gemstones. Each medallion is encircled by a string of pearls.

One connection between precious materials, stained glass, and the saint is found in their

processes of creation. The materiality of the window itself, "crafted from base substances

under intense heat," conveys a transformation parallel to that experienced by the martyr

herself and of gemstones as they are polished and worked to brilliance.[70] The connection

between gemstones and saints is made in hagiographic literature and indicates the inner

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[67] Caviness, *Visualizing Women*, 103.

[68] Caviness, *Visualizing Women*, 103.

[69] Brigitte Buettner, "From Bones to Stones – Reflections on Jeweled Reliquaries," in *Reliquiare im Mittelalter*, eds. Bruno Reudenbach and Gia Toussaint (Berlin: Akademie Verlag GmBH, 2005), 44-45. James Bugslag, "Architectural Drafting and the 'Gothicization of the Gothic Cathedral," in *Reading Gothic Architecture,* ed. Matthew Reeve (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 57-74.

[70] Kessler, "Vitreous Arts," 61. Buettner considered the importance of gemstones as conveying the transformation of a martyr and their relics from base material to signifiers of the divine. Buettner, 44-45. Bynum explains that materials have the power to evoke the significance of what is represented. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011), 58-59.

virtue of the saint.[71] For example, in a miraculous event within the life of St. Martin of Tours, as the saint raised his arms during mass they appeared to beholders as gold covered with jewels.[72] Margaret herself shares her name with the pearl, seen throughout the Ardagger window. In his account of Margaret's life, Jacobus de Voragine begins with an etymology of her name, noting the similarities between the saint and the pearl.[73] Just as the pearl is small and white so too Margaret was small in her humility and white through her virginity.[74]

The window also connects to the abbey's foundation legend, and allows the window to function as a kind of relic itself. It is enticing to consider that the very object of Empress Agnes's intercession was an image of the saint, rather than a text amulet or a corporeal relic.[75] The medallions depicting Margaret can thus be compared to the image the Empress saw, fashioning the window as a kind of relic that could have efficacious intercessory powers.[76] The window can be a reminder of the very image that functioned as the object of intercession between Margaret and the Empress. Without directly referencing the miracle that sparked the foundation of the abbey, the window recalls it by virtue of the imagery itself.

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[71] Buettner, 43-60; Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 182.

[72] Jacobus, 683.

[73] Jacobus, 368.

[74] Jacobus, 368.

[75] A range of valid forms of veneration of Margaret are described in her final intercessor prayer. Kronbichler, "Stift Ardagger: Die Gründung," 10, 15.

[76] These "relics" of Margaret become part of the larger "reliquary" of the window, set against the ornate jeweled background. A correlation between reliquary and window can be seen, for example, in the thirteenth-century reliquary and stained glass window both depicting the life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary in Marburg, Germany. At Marburg, the window depicting St. Elizabeth is contemporaneous with the sumptuous reliquary. The two objects are similar in subject matter and composition. For example, in the two scenes depicting St. Elizabeth receiving her husband's remains, she reaches out from an architectural setting to accept his wedding band from a pilgrim. The postures and details, such as the bag and clothing, are very similar. See Renate Kroos, "Zu Frühen Schift- Und Bildzeugnissen Über Die Heilige Elisabeth Als Quellen Zur Kunst- Und Kulturgeschichte," in *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1981), 215.

Because the church was founded in commemoration of Margaret's intercession, one might expect to find a visual representation of this miracle within the window. There is precedent for depicting local miracles of a saint within stained glass. For example, at Canterbury Cathedral thirteenth-century stained glass windows depict contemporary miracles of Thomas Becket (Fig. 5.37). These scenes represented miracles that were experienced by people who visited the tomb and were recorded by chroniclers.[77] As Anne Harris has shown, besides giving the saint a corporeal presence within the cathedral, these scenes provided pilgrims with hope for the kinds of benefits that could be achieved through Thomas Becket's intercession.[78]

The exclusion of a depiction of Agnes's encounter with Margaret could have several explanations.[79] The window's donor may not have found the depiction of this miracle necessary, either because he was drawing on established textual *vitae* or because this event did not occur at the abbey but in the forest. Another possibility is that, in omitting this local miracle, the window focuses on Margaret's universal qualities, rather than highlighting one particular aspect of the saint, namely her protection of women during childbirth. Not directly expressing Margaret's role in childbirth is understandable within an institution under the management of male canons. The downplaying of this characteristic of the saint has also been seen within the other stained glass cycles of St. Margaret, most explicitly at Chartres.[80]

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[77] Anne Harris, "Pilgrimage, Performance and Stained Glass at Canterbury Cathedral," in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage*, eds. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 243-281.

[78] Harris, 243-281.

[79] Kronbichler, "Stift Ardagger: Die Gründung," 10. This legend is first recorded in the seventeenth century. Whether or not the empress endowed the abbey in gratitude for such a miracle, the development of this legend indicates the importance of St. Margaret at the abbey by the seventeenth century.

[80] See chapter 4.

While the images of Margaret within the Ardagger window are stimulating, they only express part of the saint's life. In examining the text together with the images, a new complex way of conveying Margaret's life emerges.

Reading the Inscriptions

While the imagery suggests a relatively straightforward reiteration of the saint's *passio*, it is nuanced and complicated by the inscriptions. The texts provide an interior and spiritual counterpart to the dramatic and visually enticing imagery that highlights Margaret's physical body. Rather than re-emphasizing the corporeality of Margaret's narrative and her identity as a female virgin martyr, the inscriptions focus on virtues that she embodied. They reveal the states of mind of the characters, give insight into Margaret's emotions and those of the antagonists, provide explanations for the scenes, and convey spiritual values, such as devotion to Christ and perseverance in the face of suffering. These inscriptions enhance the visual narrative and encourage prolonged contemplation, thus tailoring Margaret's life to the abbey's audience of learned secular canons.

The inclusion of verse inscriptions surrounding scenes of Margaret's life is unique among the monumental narratives depicting her story. Where text is included in other stained glass or fresco cycles of Margaret it is typically limited to identifying the characters. The thirteenth-century stained glass window depicting Margaret's life at the collegiate church of Saint-Julien-du-Sault includes inscriptions repeatedly identifying Margaret and Olybrius, insisting on the identity of the protagonist and antagonist (Fig. 5.44). At Ardagger, however, the inscriptions assume some knowledge of the narrative and characters. They never directly name the antagonist or protagonist.

While Ardagger is the only Margaret window with extensive texts, there are other extant examples of hagiographic stained glass with inscriptions. For example, at Canterbury Cathedral the windows depicting Thomas Becket's miracles include text running along the lower border of each scene (Fig. 5.37). This text is different from Ardagger in its scale and its relationship to the imagery. At Ardagger the inscriptions are large and completely encircle the medallions. At Canterbury, the text runs along the lower border, linking scenes and allowing the window to be read from left to right as in a book. Madeline Caviness writes that the events in the Canterbury windows are straightforwardly conveyed with "the air of a secular chronicle" through the texts and the "dramatic, shorthand style" of the images.[81]

The text in the Margaret window conditions how it would have been "read" and understood by the medieval beholder. The presence of surrounding inscriptions, which may not have been "read" by illiterate or semi-literate lay beholders, and the recognition of these shapes as written text lent authority and veracity to the imagery.[82] However, unlike manuscripts, in which the text and image can enjoy an intimate relationship and in which there is often only one or two images per folio, the window of St. Margaret allows the viewer to visually consume the totality of the images and inscriptions at once. In viewing, for example, the Fulda manuscript depicting the lives of St. Kilian and St. Margaret, the images reveal themselves to the viewer only as the text is read or heard. There is an element of passing time when viewing the manuscript as the images and text

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[81] Madeline Caviness, "'The Simple Perception of Matter' and the Representation of Narrative, c. 1180-1280," *Gesta* 30.1 (1991): 58.

[82] Michael Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History* 8.1 (1985): 33.

are revealed through turned pages and cannot be seen at once.[83] While the entire window

can be seen at once, it invites contemplation. The higher the medallion is situated in the

window the more prolonged looking is necessary to ascertain the text and image. Thus,

the process of looking becomes longer as the beholder examines it.

For a literate beholder, the inscriptions form a discrete narrative of Margaret's life

and describe her confrontations with Olybrius, battles with the dragon and demon,

tortures, and death. The text reads as follows (see Appendix I):[84]

> 15) Cope sanctorum iam transit ad alta polorum (Oh vessel of the saints, already it
>   passes through to the heavens) (Fig. 5.33)
> 14) [Capu]t [incl]inat [i]sti nece [dat] vitam victima [XPI] (She bows her head in
>   death and gives sacrifice of life to Christ) (Fig. 5.32)
> 13) Unknown
> 12) Ut neget hec X[PM] [f]ervorem sustinet istum (Lest she deny Christ, she
>   endures this boiling heat) (Fig. 5.31)
> 11) O satis insignis quam nec superat calor ignis (O distinguished one, who is not
>   overcome by heat of fire) (Fig. 5.30)
> 10) Dona docet vite ventura volatile mite (The gentle bird tells of life to come)
>   (Fig. 5.29)
> 9) Hostis adest bella subit anxia virgo tenella (The enemy appears as a (wild)
>   beast, the tender virgin approaches anxiously / The enemy enters into
>   combat, the tender virgin approaches anxiously) (Fig. 5.28)
> 8) Virgo salvatur cruce dum draco particulatur (The virgin is saved through the
>   cross while the dragon is in pieces) (Fig. 5.27)
> 7) Qui necis est causa, necat hunc in carcere clausa (He, who is the cause of
>   death, she slays cloistered in prison) (Fig. 5.26)
> 6) XPI dilecta manet inp[er] territa secta (The beloved of Christ remains
>   undaunted though mangled/cut) (Fig. 5.25)
> 5) Unde placet stulto domet hanc ut verber[e] multo (The place where it is agreed
>   that the foolish man breaks this one through many lashes) (Fig. 5.24)
> 4) Virgo virum sacra contempnist h[e]c simulacra (The holy virgin scorns this
>   man and these idols) (Fig. 5.23)
> 3) Dogmata falsa ferunt hanc qui p[er]vertere queru[n]t (They bring false beliefs
>   before this one whom they seek to corrupt) (Fig. 5.22)

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[83] The Margaret window is more closely related in organization to thirteenth-century moralized Bibles. These lavish manuscripts used roundel formats for narrative imagery accompanied by short passages that describe the scenes, often forming typological connections between the scenes within a page.

[84] I am grateful to Dr. Walter Melion, Dr. Katrina Dickson, Sarah Bogue, Katie Cupello, and Kira Jones for their help with my Latin translations.

2) Gaudet quod capta sit xpi legibus apta (She rejoices, that in being captured she might be bound by the commandments of Christ) (Fig. 5.21)

1) Presidis elisa mens est a virgine visa (The prefect's mind is disturbed / shattered by the sight of the virgin) (Fig. 5.20)

Donor Panel) Hac pro structura peccata deus mea cura (For this building, God heal my sins); Heinricus tumprepositus (Heinrich, provost at the time) (Fig. 5.11)

That the window encourages reading the text and image together as a method of interpretation is present in the inscriptions themselves, where rhyming, playing with words, word-order, and differences between the inscription and image invite the viewer to think about how the texts affect the imagery and the understanding of Margaret's life. Before examining the narrative within the window, it is helpful to point out some of the strategies within the inscriptions that key the viewer into meditating on the content. The inscriptions are composed in leonine Latin verse, which is based on rhyming the last word in a line with the word just before the caesura.[85] The use of verse emphasizes the rhymed words and could have aided in remembering the texts.

Furthermore, as Ilene Forsyth has shown with the Romanesque cloister at Moissac, meaning and intent can be found within the arrangement and shape of inscriptions surrounding narrative scenes.[86] Forsyth argued that the ways in which letters are organized lent themselves to close study by the monks as spiritual exercises that could further engage the clerical viewer and counteract boredom.[87] Such inscriptions also allowed for multiple meanings. Similar strategies are present at Ardagger. For example, word-play can be found in the altering of word order from the classical subject-object-

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[85] Leonine verse was popular by the turn of the twelfth century. This form of versification divides lines into two, linked by rhyming the last syllables of each part. Ralph Hexter and David Townsend, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 245.

[86] Ilene Forsyth, "Word-Play in the Cloister at Moissac," in *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century: Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn*, ed. Column Hourihane (Princeton, N.J.: Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 2008), 176, 162.

[87] Forsyth, 167.

verb ordering. In the medallion depicting Margaret's rejection of Olybrius and the idols (medallion 4) the inscription which reads "the holy virgin scorns this man and these idols," separates virgin (*virgo*) and its modifier, holy (*sacra*), inserting *virum* or "man" in between (Fig. 5.23). Such a placement separates the saint from the adjective describing her piety, but also provides the word with which *simulacra* is rhymed. Furthermore, the word *sacra* can modify either virgin (*virgo*) or idols (*simulacra*), indicating the religious significance of both figures, one Christian and one pagan. The word order also brings together *virgo* and *virum*, transforming Margaret into a "virgin of power" within an inscription that could be read "the holy virgin of power scorns these idols." The word "idols" (*simulacra*) wraps around the left side of the medallion, visually linking "idols" to both Olybrius and the statue.

The select placement and usage of certain words could encourage contemplation by calling the multiple meanings of a word to mind. In the medallion of Margaret's first torture (medallion 5) the inscription ends with the word *multo* at the top left of the roundel (Fig. 5.24). Within the context of the inscription *multo* refers to the degree of her lashing – many/much. However, *multo* is also the first person singular present imperative form of *multare*, to punish. Perhaps the canons would have made a connection between the two senses of this word, Margaret's ravaged body and corporal punishment in a more general sense. In the medallion of Margaret and the demon, the word *bella* could also call multiple meanings to mind (Fig. 5.28). *Bella* is likely an abbreviation of *bellua* or beast. However, the word could trigger other meanings, including the plural *battles*. The recognition of the multiple possibilities for the word *bella* also could have informed the viewer that the enemy has arrived to battle the virgin.

Recognizing that the inscriptions prompt thoughtful considerations, I propose a

reading of the window as one might imagine a canon of the church doing - either for

himself or with a novice or parishioner. The window itself suggests the order of reading.

Scholars, such as Mary Carruthers, have used the term *ductus* to describe the "way by

which a work leads someone through itself… an experience more like traveling through

stages along a route."[88] The beholder's eye begins at the lowest center panel, depicting

the window's donor, and moves up to the left to the first scene of Margaret's life. The

first scene of Margaret's life moves the narrative forward through Margaret's gesture and

the movement of the horses in the following medallion, establishing a bottom to top, left

to right reading.

The first scene encountered within the window depicts the donor Heinrich of

Passau, a representative of the window's primary audience (Fig. 5.11).[89] Heinrich kneels

on one knee and presents a model of Ardagger up and to the left, where the first scene of

Margaret's life is depicted. He directs the viewer's gaze into the first narrative scene. The

inscriptions within this scene identify Heinrich (within the blue background) and provide

a prayer (within the golden band). Heinrich asks that his sins be forgiven in exchange for

the building of Ardagger.[90] Thus, this scene is set apart and functions to draw the

viewer's eye upwards to the scenes of Margaret's life.

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[88] Mary Carruthers, "The Concept of 'ductus,' or journeying through a work of art," in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 190. This concept applies to music and rhetoric as well as art. Different paths are presented through the use of color, figures, and modes. Carruthers, 198.

[89] Similar images of scribes and donors were included in manuscripts and stained glass in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and functioned both to honor the creator or donor as well as to justify the imagery. A twelfth century example in German stained glass is the image of the glass painter Gerlachus at Arnstein Abbey. Hamburger, "The Hand of God and the Hand of the Scribe," 62-64.

[90] The Latin reads: "Hac pro structura peccata deus mea cura" (For this building, God heal my sins) and "Heinricus tumprepositus" (Heinrich, cathedral provost or Heinrich, provost at the time). The use of verse in the first inscription cues the reader to expect rhyming in the following inscriptions.

The first medallion depicting Margaret's life is encircled by an inscription that provides additional information about Olybrius that is not visualized (Fig. 5.20). The image depicts Margaret standing to the left, gesturing towards Olybrius who faces her. Margaret's sheep surround her. As Caviness notes, the pastoral is a space of vulnerability to kidnapping and rape that is represented in thirteenth-century French secular poetry.[91] Thus, Margaret is presented in a space without protection. According to Margaret's *vita*, she is tending her foster mother's sheep when the pagan magistrate Olybrius, passing through the countryside, sees her and desires her. The *Mombritius* version relates, "He saw the blessed Margaret looking after the sheep of her foster mother; at once he lusted after her" (Vidit autem beatam Margaretam pascentem oues nutricis suae; statim concupiuit eam).[92] This narrative moment is often depicted in visual representations, including at Saint-Julien-du-Sault, as it is the catalyst for her entire *passio* (Fig. 5.44). However, at Ardagger the surrounding inscription reads: "The prefect's mind is disturbed / shattered by the sight of the virgin" (Presidis elisa mens est a virgine visa). The inscription draws attention to Olybrius's mental state and the effect that sight has on him, emphasizing the connection between sight and disruption through rhyme. Rather than just being taken with the virgin, his mind or his senses are expelled by the very sight of her. The participle *elisa* from the verb *elido* (*elidere*) is forceful, indicating that his reasoning has been completely destroyed. That the sight of Margaret caused Olybrius to lose his mind implies that the torments he subjected Margaret to are a function of this loss of reason. This explicit reaction to seeing the saint is not conveyed in her Latin *vita*. That he

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[91] Caviness, *Visualizing Women*, 102-3. This literary genre is a based on three poetic movements, a meeting between a knight and shepherdess, a debate about love, and the lament of the abandoned shepherdess. See Kathryn Gravdal, "Poetics of Rape Law in Medieval France," in *Rape and Representation*, 208.

[92] *Legendarium magnum*, fol. 23v.

lusts after her is conveyed, as is her beauty, which he gives as the reason she will prosper within his house ("Bene erit ei in domo mea propter pulchritudinem eius") but it does not carry the force of the Ardagger inscription.[93]

Interestingly, the image itself does not convey Olybrius's dramatic reaction to the saint found in the inscription. The prefect is physically restrained, clasping his hands together close to his body, creating a disconnect between his physical activity and mental state.[94] In the image, Margaret raises her hands towards the prefect in a gesture of dismissal, rejecting his advances and keeping him at bay. The combination of the text and image prompts the viewer to consider the narrative movement between the text, where Olybrius sees the saint and is disturbed, and the image, where she rejects him. The text and image convey two separate narrative moments. That the actions within the text can be read as occurring before the imagery suggests that the inscription is intended to be read before closely examining the image. The window itself thus conveys the intended way that the pictorial narrative should be examined – text to image.

The difference between what is conveyed in the text and image creates an interpretive opening in which the two can be read together. In this medallion, the text and image together convey the power and potential danger of sight. It is significant that the first scene in Margaret's narrative establishes the importance of the very sense the viewer uses to engage with the window. The beholder is immediately informed of the effect that viewing this beautiful saint can have. It can thus serve as a warning for the male canons

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[93] *Legendarium magnum*, fol. 23v.

[94] An astute listener of my paper "Dynamic Hagiography: Image and Inscription in the Thirteenth-Century Stained-Glass Window of St. Margaret of Antioch at Ardagger Abbey," International Medieval Congress, Kalamazoo, M.I., May 14, 2015, asked if the unusual protrusion of Olybrius's garment could be suggestive of sexual arousal.

about the potential for the sight of a woman to make one lose his sense and be captured

by worldly desires. Simultaneously, this warning reinforces the idea of the woman as

temptress. By merely existing in the world, the beautiful woman can cause men to fall.

As Jacqueline Murray writes, "women were an ever-present reminder of the irrational

and uncontrollable nature of a man's body."[95]

The donor panel corroborates this reading. Like Olybrius, Heinrich looks up at

Margaret, who resides in the medallion above and to the left. As provost of the church

and donor of the window he stands in for the window's primary audience and represents

proper sight in this context. Unlike Olybrius, Heinrich reverently kneels before the saint.

Sight was acknowledged as a powerful and active sense in the Middle Ages, capable of

altering mind and action. Church fathers, such as St. Augustine, and later writers, such as

Robert Grosseteste (1168-1253), were influenced by ancient theories of extromission and

intromission, in which visual rays were thought to extend between the viewer and object,

establishing a physical connection.[96] Through this connection the image physically

affects the viewer.[97]

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[95] Jacqueline Murray, "Hiding Behind the Universal Man: Male Sexuality in the Middle Ages," in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, eds. Vern Bullough and James Brundage (London: Routledge, 2000), 141.

[96] Saint Augustine, *On the Holy Trinity, Doctrinal Treatises, Moral Treatises*, ed. Philip Schaff, vol. 3 of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (Buffalo, N.Y.: The Christian Literature Co., 1887), 9.3.3; Michael Camille, "Before the Gaze: The Internal Senses and Late Medieval Practices of Seeing," in *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, ed. Robert S. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 204-207; Cynthia Hahn, "*Visio Dei:* Changes in Medieval Visuality," in *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, ed. Robert S. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 174-175.

[97] Margaret Miles, "Vision: The Eye of the Body and the Eye of the Mind in Saint Augustine's "De trinitate" and "Confessions"," *Journal of Religion* 63.2 (April, 1983): 127-128. Scholarship on sight in the Middle Ages is abundant. See also Susan Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Caviness, *Visualizing Women*; Dallas G. Denery, *Seeing and Being Seen in the Later Medieval World: Optics, Theology and Religious Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Jeffrey Hamburger, "Seeing and Believing: The Suspicion of Sight and the Authentication of Vision in Late Medieval Art," in *Imagination und Wirklichkeit: Zum Verhältnis von mentalen und realen Bildern in der Kunst der Friihen Neuzeit*, eds. Klaus Krüger and Alessandro Nova (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern,

While the first medallion conveys information about Olybrius's mental state, the second medallion gives information about Margaret's emotional state and provides a spiritual explanation of the imagery (Fig. 5.21). The second scene depicts Olybrius and his men kidnapping Margaret. Margaret rides on a horse in front of a knight who has captured her and whose hand is laid on top of hers. In front of her Olybrius, identifiable by his hat, rides on a horse and turns around to grasp her chin in a "chin-chuck," sometimes referred to as a gesture of affection, but it can also indicate a gesture of physical violation.[98] Together with the first scene, these two images may call to mind the literary pastourelle. Within this genre, the female is alone with her flock when approached by a knight who attempts to seduce her.[99] The threat of rape is implied in these encounters, and certainly within the Ardagger imagery. While the language of the inscription does not include common words used for rape found in documentary evidence – *raptus* or *violenter* – the imagery depicts an improper and aggressive physical relationship between Margaret and her male captors.[100] The inscription does not directly describe the scene. The text reads: "She rejoices, that in being captured she might be bound by the laws/commandments of Christ" (Gaudet quod capta sit xpi legibus apta). Just as the first medallion conveys Olybrius's enflamed senses, Margaret's reaction - rejoicing - is also expressed through the inscription. Once again, however, there is a

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[98] This term was coined by Leo Steinberg in his article "The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion," *October* 25 (Summer, 1983): 3. Linda Seidel discusses the "chin-chuck" in relation to a capital depicting Salome at St-Etienne, Toulouse, noting that Herod's grasping of Salome's chin is sexually charged. Linda Seidel, "Salome and the Canons," *Women's Studies* 11.1/2 (Feb., 1984): 55-56.

[99] Gravdal, "Poetics of Rape Law," 209.

[100] Gravdal, "Poetics of Rape Law," 217. Gravdal cites the language used in judicial rape cases.

2000), 47-69; Stephen G. Nichols, Andreas Kablitz, and Alison Calhoun, eds. *Rethinking the Medieval Senses* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

disconnect between the text and the image. Margaret appears somber and reserved with no hint of rejoicing as she is fondled by the male antagonists.

The description of Margaret as rejoicing and the contrasting image of the serene saint highlights the ambiguity of reading the facial expressions, and even the gestures, of the figures within the window to ascertain their feelings.[101] While gestures and facial expressions, may convey information about the interior state of the figures, such as a smile revealing inner virtue or a wild gesture signaling lack of restraint, such direct connections do not always exist.[102] In the Margaret window the facial expressions of all of the figures are largely restrained, closed mouths, large eyes, no overt sense of emotion. Two exceptions are an image of a torturer and the demon that assaults Margaret. In these two instances the mouths are open, teeth revealed (Figs. 5.28, 5.31). This grimace is likened to images of the damned within other imagery, as discussed by Elena Gertsman and Paul Binski.[103] Gestures within the window appear in three different guises: rhetorical gestures, violent gestures, and devotional gestures. Both Margaret and the antagonists use rhetorical and violent gestures. The devotional gestures, including hands raised and clasped in prayer, are reserved for Margaret.

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[101] Gertsman, 30-33. Emotion and gesture have been the subject of recent scholarship. See Paul Binski, "The Angel Choir at Lincoln and the poetics of the Gothic Smile," *Art History* 20.3 (1997): 350-74, 511; Mary Carruthers, *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Clifford Davidson, *Gesture in Medieval Drama and Art* (Kalamazoo, M.I.: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001); Elena Gerstman, "The Facial Gesture: (Mis)reading Emotion in Gothic Art," *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 36.1 (2010): 28-46; Lisa Perfetti, ed., *The Representation of Women's Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Gainesville, F.L.: The University Press of Florida, 2005); Barbara Rosenwein, *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1998); Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2007).
[102] Binski, "Angel Choir," 354.
[103] Binski, "Angel Choir," 354; Gerstman, "The Facial Gesture," 38.

Within the Ardagger window, it is the inscriptions that assign emotions to the characters. In fact, in the first two medallions, emotions are ascribed to the more physically restrained figure. In the first medallion Margaret gestures while Olybrius's emotion is described and in the second medallion Margaret is physically restrained while Olybrius engages in very emphatic gesturing. The effect of the text on the reading of the medallions is significant. Without the inscription Margaret is imaged as a victim, but when joined with the inscription she emerges as the victor, rejoicing at what is to come. The ambiguity of facial expressions and the shared gestures of the saint and the antagonists in the window prompt the literate viewer to turn to the inscription for more information about the characters.

The language of the inscription surrounding the second medallion also replaces the agency of Margaret's mortal captors. The text transforms the experience of Margaret's capture from a negative interaction with Olybrius and his men into a positive encounter with Christ. The image and inscription both make Margaret complicit in her capture. Because Margaret is mentally and spiritually beholden to the laws of Christ, she allows her body to be taken by the enemy. The idea that Margaret was taken willingly is not directly culled from her Latin *vitae*, but it is found in the lives of other virgin martyrs. For example, Jacobus de Voragine described St. Agatha as thirsting to attain her martyrdom.[104] The laws referred to in the inscription immediately call to mind the Ten Commandments – central tenants by which Christians live. However, these laws may also include other rules specific to Margaret and to the beholder. As a virgin martyr, the laws by which Margaret lived included fidelity to Christ, the renunciation of worldly

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[104] Jacobus, 154.

relationships, and the preservation of her virginity. The laws that governed the lives of virgin martyrs were also applicable to the canons at Ardagger.

The window itself explicitly reveals the laws by which Margaret lived in the following two medallions (Figs. 5.22, 5.23, medallions 3, 4). These scenes instruct the beholder in the rules to which they, too, should be bound. In these two medallions Margaret is confronted by pagan antagonists twice. First, two men attempt to convert her to false doctrines. Second, Olybrius commands Margaret to marry him and to worship idols. Within both medallions the figures gesture towards one another indicating that lively discussions are underway and calling theological debates to mind.[105] Margaret is first confronted by generic "false doctrines" then she is confronted with more specific temptations, man and idols.

The third medallion depicts Margaret confronted by two men, one dressed in a long tunic, the other in a short garment (Fig. 5.22). The former gestures towards Margaret with his right hand. Margaret mirrors the gesture with her left hand. The scene itself reads as an intellectual, rather than physical interaction, a contrast to the grabbing that occurred in the previous scene. The inscription states: "They bring false beliefs before this one whom they seek to corrupt" (Dogmata falsa ferunt hanc qui p[er]vertere queru[n]t). The reference to false doctrines causes the beholder to ponder the distinction between true and false belief, which is not delineated within this medallion. Confrontations with false doctrines are prevalent within the lives of virgin martyrs and reminded canons of the importance of maintaining orthodox positions. Images of theological debates occur

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[105] Camille, "Seeing and Reading," 28. Camille notes that the extended index figure is a universal sign of speaking. Jesse Hurlbut, "Body Language in *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion:* The Aix Witness," in *Gesture in Medieval Drama and Art*, ed. Clifford Davidson (Kalamazoo, M.I.: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001), 223.

frequently in the pictorial narratives of the life of St. Catherine of Alexandria, who was known for her rhetorical skills. At Chartres, Catherine is depicted debating with pagan scholars using gestures similar to Margaret's at Ardagger (Figs. 4.4, 4.41).[106]

The fourth medallion depicts a second intellectual encounter and clarifies the difference between true and false doctrine (Fig. 5.23). Margaret stands to the right before Olybrius, who is seated on a throne. Between the two figures is a golden idol, in the form of a bust, perched on a column. The inscription reads: "The holy virgin scorns this man and these idols" (Virgo virum sacra contempnist h[e]c simulacra).[107] The mention of false doctrines in the previous medallion is given greater specificity here and identified as man and idol. Furthermore, these medallions convey a call and answer when viewed together. The men attempt to convert Margaret and she responds with scorn and refusal.

The man referenced in the inscription relates to the image of Olybrius.[108] Margaret scorns Olybrius, who has offered her a proposal of marriage, reminding the viewer of her fidelity to Christ and of her chastity, reiterating her status as virgin. Margaret's rejection of "these idols," presented in the plural, links the magistrate and the material idol in the image. Seeing Olybrius as a type of idol is reinforced through the placement of the word *simulacra*, which wraps around the medallion behind the magistrate. Thus, Margaret not only rejects Olybrius's sexual and marital advances but also man as an object of adoration and desire. The sculpted idol is presented in a human form as a man with wild hair whose gesture mimics Olybrius's. The iconography of the

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[106] See chapter 4.
[107] Frodl-Kraft and Oberhaidacher-Herzig note that it should be "contemnit." Frodl-Kraft, 18; Oberhaidacher-Herzig, 40.
[108] "Virum" as a genitive word could also be connected to Margaret as "virgo," turning the saint into a "virgin of power."

bust on a column is a sign of pagan idols in medieval art.[109] The idol incorporates visual

quotations from Roman art, appearing much like a portrait of a Roman emperor set upon

a Corinthian column. By drawing on imperial Roman iconography the idol also indicates

the time period in which Margaret lived, reminding the viewer of her antiquity.

The consequence for Margaret's adherence to Christ's commandments is the

punishment of her body. Across the window Margaret endures four distinct tortures,

divided into two rounds of two tortures. After Margaret refuses Olybrius and his idols,

she is beaten and then lacerated (Figs. 5.24, 5.25, medallions 5, 6). The inscription

surrounding Margaret's beating reads: "The place where it is agreed that the foolish man

breaks this one [Margaret] through many lashes" (Unde placet stulto domet hanc ut

verber[e] multo). Margaret is depicted naked from the waist up. Two torturers stand on

either side, holding whips. The text encircling Margaret being raked reads: "The beloved

of Christ remains undaunted though mangled" (XPI dilecta manet inp[er] territa secta).

Margaret is again depicted nude from the waist up, body exposed and arms outstretched

in a cruciform. Two torturers actively scrape her flesh.[110] Compared to other

representations of her tortures, the cruciform appearance of Margaret's body at Ardagger

makes her tortures more explicit in their symbolism. For example, in the depiction of

Margaret being beaten at Auxerre Cathedral the saint is tied behind a column, which

obscures her body and her torture (Fig. 3.11).[111]

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[109] Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, 64; Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 66-67.

[110] In this medallion the torso and head of Margaret are new. Frodl-Kraft, 20. However, the placement of Margaret's arms and legs confirm the general placement of Margaret's upper body.

[111] See chapter 3.

Following Margaret's first two tortures are three medallions depicting her encounters with the dragon and demon. These scenes convey the mental and spiritual significance of these narrative moments without directly describing what is depicted. Two medallions are devoted to Margaret's encounter with the dragon, a before and after (Figs. 5.26, 5.27, medallions 7, 8). The inscription around Margaret confronting the dragon reads: "He, who is the cause of death, she slays cloistered in prison" (Qui necis est causa, necat hunc in carcere clausa). Margaret raises her hands in a gesture of surprise to the dragon who approaches, mouth open. The text tells of what is to come, but not what is visualized. The inscription fills in part of the narrative that is not depicted, the dragon consuming Margaret, as recounted in her *vitae*.[112] The verse also describes, but does not name, the antagonist. In the Latin *vitae* the dragon is given a proper name, Rufo, which is not included in the window.[113] The dragon is identified in the window by his function as the cause of death, prompting the viewer to think about the true identity of the beast, the devil himself.

In the following medallion Margaret has triumphed over the dragon (Fig. 5.27). The text reads: "The virgin is saved through the cross while the dragon is in pieces" (Virgo salvatur cruce dum draco particulatur). Margaret stands at the center surrounded by a dragon torn in two. The inscription explains how her victory was achieved - through the cross. Notably a literal cross is not present in this scene. This is significant because a cross does appear elsewhere within the window. For example, in the scene of Margaret praying a large white cross dominates the composition (Fig. 5.29). In addition, in other stained glass cycles of Margaret, such as at Chartres, the saint wields the cross (Fig. 4.3).

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[112] *Legendarium magnum*, fol. 24v.
[113] *Legendarium magnum*, fol. 24v.

Although Margaret does not carry a cross at Ardagger, a cruciform is present in this medallion through the shape of her body. Margaret *is* the cross by which she is saved. She is saved through her own belief. In this image, Margaret's cloak has been removed, leaving only the lily white cruciform of her body, a visual comparison to her body in the raking scene (medallion 5).

Interestingly, the window does not show the dragon consuming Margaret. The fact that the dragon is rent in pieces merely suggests her violent emergence from the beast. While the *Legendarium magnum* relates that the dragon did swallow Margaret, not all hagiographic accounts include this moment.[114] In fact, whether or not the dragon consumed Margaret was a point of contention. Jacobus de Voragine asserted, for example, that Margaret was not swallowed by the beast and that the monster simply vanished at the sign of the cross.[115] By not including an image of the dragon consuming Margaret, the imagery at Ardagger leaves itself open to different interpretations of the exact circumstances of Margaret's encounter with the dragon.[116] A viewer familiar with Margaret's life may have read between the images and concluded that the dragon consumed the virgin. Alternately, a skeptical cleric might have seen an approved version of Margaret's narrative in these medallions. The decision not to include this scene may have been purposeful, as numerous other images of Margaret depict the dragon swallowing her. For example, in an illumination within the late thirteenth-century *Book of*

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[114] *Legendarium magnum*, fol. 24v.
[115] Jacobus, 369.
[116] See discussion of different interpretations of this episode in chapter 1.

Madame Marie, Margaret emerges from the back of the dragon, her garment still visible in the beast's mouth (Fig. I.11).[117]

After Margaret conquers the dragon, the devil appears again in the form of a demon (Fig. 5.28, medallion 9). In this scene Margaret stands to the left beating a humanoid creature with large wings and bound hands and feet. The inscription reads: "The enemy appears as a (wild) beast, the tender virgin approaches him anxiously / The enemy enters into combat, the tender virgin approaches him anxiously" (Hostis adest bella subit anxia virgo tenella*).*[118] The inscription stresses Margaret's daintiness and fragility, through the use of the adjective *tenella,* a diminutive form of *tenera* (tender*).* The diminutive expresses Margaret's extreme tenderness and highlights her child-like and innocent nature, in stark contrast to the image.

The inscription offers a contrast and counterpart to the image. In the text, the danger of the demon is recognized and Margaret responds with trepidation. However, in the image, Margaret is no longer fearful or tender: she is fully triumphant, beating the demon. The creature appears neither as a dangerous beast nor as one ready to combat. One can view the text/image relationship here as a narrative, a before and after. Margaret is afraid when initially confronted with the demon but fear gives way to action as she boldly subdues him.

The representation of the demon does not align precisely with the Latin *vitae*. At Ardagger the demon is a monstrous naked creature with an ape-like face and green wings

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[117] Alison Stones, *Le Livre d'images de Madame Marie*: *Reproduction intégrale du manuscrit Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 16251 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* (Paris: Cerf, 1997), 115.
[118] The inscription may also be read, "The enemy enters into combat, the tender virgin approaches anxiously."

that are bound behind him.[119] The demon's wings indicate that this apparition is a

supernatural entity and form a visual connection between the demon and the dragon. In

contrast, the *Mombritius vita* describes the demon as a black man sitting in the

corner.[120] In the Latin *Rebdorf* version the demon is frightening in appearance and

covered in hair.

After Margaret's encounter with the dragon and demon, a medallion depicts the

saint praying before a large white cross upon which a dove sits (Fig. 5.29, medallion 10).

Unfortunately, the inscription is composed of fragments and cannot be taken at face

value. The inscription reads: "The gentle bird tells of life to come" (Dona docet vite

ventura volatile mite). Margaret's posture in this image mimics that of Heinrich of Passau

in the donor panel, recalling a divine and heavenly vision. The size and position of the

cross depicted reinforces the cruciform of Margaret's body, which is visible in the

following scene of torture.

Two additional rounds of torture complete Margaret's *passio* (Figs. 5.30, 5.31,

medallions 11, 12). Margaret's burning and drowning – trials by fire and water –

conclude her bodily tortures. First, Margaret is burned. The inscription reads: "O

distinguished one, who is not overcome by heat of fire" (O satis insignis quam nec

superat calor ignis). Margaret stands at the center of the scene, arms outstretched in

another cruciform. Two men burn her with fiery torches. Margaret is then drowned. The

inscription reads: "Lest she deny Christ, she endures this boiling heat" (Ut neget hec

X[PM] [f]ervorem sustinet istum). Margaret is held upside down by two men who dunk

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[119] Michael Camille notes that demons in the High Middle Ages often appear naked with a hairy body, tail, horns, and hoofs. Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 65-66.

[120] *Legendarium magnum*, 24v. "...uidit demonem alium sedentem ut hominem nigram..."

her into a vat of boiling water. These two scenes of torture reassure the reader of

Margaret's perseverance and inform the reader of the reasons for her torture, her refusal

to deny Christ.

The choices of burning and drowning for Margaret's final tortures carry symbolic

weight within the martyr's narrative.[121] These ordeals are the final proofs of her sanctity,

endured after rhetorical debates, beating, raking, and encounters with manifestations of

the devil himself. Both fire and water are mentioned in scripture as instruments of

spiritual transformation. Psalm 66: 10-12 reads: "For thou, O God, hast proved us: thou

has tried us by fire, as silver is tried… We have passed through fire and water, and

though hast brought us out into a refreshment."[122] Margaret's trial by fire calls to mind

the refiner's fire of scripture.[123] In the drowning scene, the inscription and the imagery

work together to form a specific interpretation of this form of torture. In Margaret's

drowning, the water is described as "boiling heat," reinforcing the importance of heat and

fire in her tortures. Visually, the scene is also a baptismal reference. Attempted

drownings, which are found in numerous martyr *passios*, are couched in terms of

baptism, which prepare the martyr for her impending death and, like baptism, represent a

spiritual death and renewal.[124]

Margaret's death follows her burning and drowning. Unfortunately, this

medallion's inscription is largely a modern reconstruction from medieval fragments (Fig.

5.32, medallion 14). This scene represents Margaret in the moment just after her death.

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[121] Trials by fire and water also relate to judicial practices during the Middle Ages. See Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986; 1999).
[122] Psalms 66: 10-12, Douay-Reims Bible.
[123] References to the refiner's fire as a metaphor for spiritual transformation are found in Zechariah 13:9, 1 Peter 1:7, Malachi 3:1-18, Isaiah 48:10, Job 23:10, Proverbs 17:3, and 1 Corinthians 3:12-15.
[124] See chapter 5.

The final scene in the extant series depicts Margaret's soul, imaged as a miniature white-clad woman, ascending into heaven in the arms of two angels (Fig. 5.33, medallion 15). The inscription reads: "Oh vessel of the saints, already it passes through to the heavens" (Cope sanctorum iam transit ad alta polorum). Representing Margaret after her death, rather than just before or in the moment, is a deliberate choice that achieves further significance in relation to the final scene. The fragmentation of her body through decapitation achieves a resolution in the final scene, where her body is rejoined and made new. The reference to Margaret's soul as the vessel of her sanctity connects back to the window's first panel in which Heinrich gives the "vessel" of the church in exchange for forgiveness, thus linking the church and the saint.

The Function of the Margaret Window

The multiple ways to read the Margaret window suggest that canons and beholders could have engaged with it for private devotion, for instruction of the clergy, and for teaching the laity. The combination of text and image contributes to the window's multiple functions. Guillaume, Bishop of Bourges, writing just after 1233, stated that "we make images because, just as scripture is the words of clerics, so images are the words of the lay."[125] Briefly examining the social and religious context of Ardagger during the thirteenth century will shed light on how the window may have functioned within the collegiate abbey.

The canons of Ardagger were learned men with responsibilities not only to Ardagger, but also to the local parish churches that fell under their domain: Ardagger

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[125] Quoted in Kessler, "Image Theory," 158. See William of Bourges, *Livre des Guerres du Seigneur et deux homélies*, ed. and trans. Gilbert Dahan (Paris: Cerf, 1981), 224.

Markt, Kollmitzberg, Stephanshart, and Zeillern.[126] As is common with collegiate

churches, the canons lived in their own homes while the provost and the deacon resided

in the church buildings.[127] Each of the canons were supported by stipends. These canons

were responsible for the celebration of the Divine Office throughout the day and the care

of the church and its worshippers.

The Ardagger window's combination of text and image encouraged prolonged

contemplation. In private meditation the canons would have been reminded, through the

window, of the spiritual significance of Margaret's narrative. Despite Margaret's identity

as a female virgin martyr, the window fashions the saint as an exemplar for the male

canons, and more universally, for any believer in Christ. While the imagery highlights her

body, the inscriptions focus on spiritual virtues and emotions applicable to all. Together

the image and inscriptions convey the narrative of a saint who rejected the world, men,

and false beliefs. She gladly welcomed the consequences of living according to Christ's

commandments and endured trials with joy. The emotions revealed in the window's

inscriptions encourage empathy from beholders. This interior view of Margaret's life

aligns with changes in spirituality in the thirteenth century. Beginning in the eleventh-

century writers began to stress Christ's humanity. As Caroline Walker Bynum observes,

"the fundamental religious drama is now located within the self, and it is less a battle than

a journey toward God."[128] She notes that hagiography of this period focused increasingly

on "inner virtues and experiences rather than grand actions on the stage of history."[129]

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[126] Kronbichler, 16

[127] Berndl-Forstner, 79.

[128] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, C.A.: University of California Press, 1982), 16.

[129] Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, 16-17.

The use of a female virgin martyr as a model of spirituality for male canons aligns with a growing tendency to express aspects of the Trinity as feminine and to incorporate analogies from human relationships within medieval devotion.[130] By the thirteenth century, "feminine" imagery had long been employed by monastic authors to add nuance and depth to descriptions of God, Christ, and male religious authority figures, highlighting their nurturing, loving, or sacrificial qualities.[131] Furthermore, the soul itself was imagined as female, in part because the Latin *anima* is feminine.[132] Within the window, Margaret's female gender becomes fluid through the combination of virgin martyr imagery and inscriptions that refer to Margaret in a number of ways, including as "beloved of Christ" (XPI dilecta) or "distinguished one" (satis insignis) (Figs. 5.23, 5.25, 5.28, 5.30, medallions 4, 6, 9, 11). Margaret expresses "feminine" qualities in her suffering as well as "masculine" characteristics in her strength and defeat of evil.

The function of the Margaret window as an instrument for meditation and devotion is bolstered by the medium itself. That stained glass could be used for learned contemplation is evident in the windows of the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, where Latin verses are also included within the imagery. In the apotheosis of St. Benedict from 1144, a scroll is inscribed with sung text from the liturgy (Fig. 5.38).[133] Similarly, in an image of Moses with the Brazen serpent the text gives this scene a Christian interpretation (Fig. 5.39). The inscription reads: "Just as the bronze serpent slays all

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[130] At the same time, devotion to female saints increased. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, 129, 137.
[131] Such references had scriptural precedent in passages where God is referred to as a mother, for example. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, 112, 125-126.
[132] Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, 138.
[133] Madeline Caviness, "The Reception of Art by Medieval Viewers," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 72.

serpents, So Christ raised on the cross slays his enemies."[134] As Kessler notes, the

windows at Saint-Denis are "highly cerebral and at the same time vibrantly sensual, the

windows demand rational contemplation even as they seduce the viewer with an

otherworldly splendor."[135] The theological density of the stained glass program at Saint-

Denis has led scholars to conclude that the program was intended for the spiritual

edification of the monks.[136] While the Margaret window is not as saturated with complex

theology, the imagery is thought provoking.

     Like the exegetical windows at Saint-Denis, the Ardagger window prompts the

viewer to a higher level of interpretation through contemplation of the texts and images

and encourages the beholder to consider the moral meaning of Margaret's actions.[137]

Writing about Saint-Denis, Conrad Rudolph explains that the viewer acquires virtue by

seeking knowledge of them from scripture in "a process that the believer tropologically

understands as the assimilation of the individual into the mystical body of Christ."[138]

Within a monastic context, the canons sought the highest level of spiritual attainment

through the practice of virtues, such as those found in the Margaret window.[139] The

combination of text and image to prompt higher thought within a monastic context is also

known in Austria during the twelfth century. Texts and images interact in an exegetical

relationship within a twelfth-century manuscript of Rupert of Deutz's gloss on the

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[134] Dodwell, 378; Jacqueline Frank, "The Moses Window from the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis: Text and Image in Twelfth-Century Art," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 138 (1996): 184; Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, 195; Suger, *De Administratione*, trans. David Burr, http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/source/sugar.html, ch. 34.

[135] Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, 192.

[136] Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, 193; Conrad Rudolph, "Inventing the Exegetical Stained-Glass Window: Suger, Hugh, and a New Elite Art," *Art Bulletin* 93 (2011): 399-400.

[137] Rudolph, "Exegetical Stained-Glass Window," 401.

[138] Rudolph, "Exegetical Stained-Glass Window," 405.

[139] Rudolph, "Exegetical Stained-Glass Window," 406.

Apocalypse at Heiligenkreuz Abbey (Ms 83), where images do not straightforwardly visualize the text but require interpretation, and spiritual effort.[140]

Images that encourage contemplation and convey dogmatic themes are found in the two late medieval frescoes within the church, suggesting that the canons of the church used images to engage in contemplative practices (Figs. 5.7-5.8). The fresco in the north aisle shows a monk praying before the crucified Christ, reiterating the form of proper devotion. In the cloister, a fresco visualizes the Apostle's Creed. In the upper portion of the fresco, the Trinity is imaged as three men, prompting contemplation about the nature of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

In addition to functioning in the context of private devotion, the Ardagger window also could have been used as instruction, to clarify and explain Margaret's narrative in order to elicit empathy and emotion in viewers.[141] The window's imagery could have been referred to during sermons on Margaret's feast day or served as prompts for the priest. The fact that images of Margaret were referred to directly in sermons is evident in England by the Late Middle Ages.[142] The inscriptions could have served as guideposts for canons, to explicate Margaret's narrative to another person.

The imagery within the window also may have related to contemporary issues relevant to lay viewers. Images of Margaret's tortures could have been viewed in relation to spousal abuse, perhaps either validating the practice or calling attention to its brutality,

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[140] Michael Curschmann, "Imagined Exegesis: Text and Picture in the Exegetical Works of Rupert of Deutz, Honorius Augustodunensis, and Gerhoch of Reichersberg," *Traditio* 44 (1988): 148-151. See the image of the Whore of Babylon (Figure 4).

[141] Herbert Kessler, "Gregory the Great and Image Theory in Northern Europe in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 157.

[142] Miriam Gill, "Preaching and Image: Sermons and Wall Paintings in Later Medieval England," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 161.

depending on the viewer.[143] The scene of Margaret abducted by Olybrius may have

called to mind the ruling knightly classes, who carried authority locally as Ardagger had

a close connection to royalty.[144] As Caviness noted, the scenes of the saint struggling

against an evil pagan could have validated the clergy's position in conflicts with secular

rulers. More locally, that Margaret could have had a role in conflict resolution is evident

from a dispute settled by Heinrich of Passau and attested in a charter of 1225.[145] When a

man named Dietmar Helläre was attacked by a knight, the reconciliation was made at the

altar of St. Margaret and the assailant was ordered to pay a penalty of five pence per year

to Ardagger.[146]

The Margaret Window in the Seventeenth Century

Although the precise ways in which the Margaret window functioned for its

thirteenth-century audience is limited to informed speculation, considering the role of

Margaret and the medieval window depicting her life within the abbey during the

seventeenth century can stimulate parallel insights into the window's function and legacy.

The survival of the window and its placement (whether during the medieval or

Baroque periods) in a topographically significant location speaks to its importance. The

window may have been preserved and incorporated into the Baroque renovations

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[143] Caviness, *Visualizing Women*, 109.
[144] Caviness, *Visualizing Women*, 109.
[145] Codex 238, Stiftsbibliothek, Seitenstetten. Friess, 477. Published by Joseph Chmel, "Bericht über eine im Jahre 1831 unternommene kleine Reise zum Behufe der Österreichischen Geschichts-Quellen-Sammlung," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Staatskunde* 3 (Vienna, 1837): 176.
[146] Codex 238, Stiftsbibliothek, Seitenstetten. Friess, 477; Chmel, 176. "Filii, qui nascentur et exurgent, narrent ea filiis suis, ut cognoscat generatio altera, quod quidam miles de Oberndorf, Heinricus nomine, cum impeteret Dietmarum Hellaere de proprietate corporis pro quadam pensione pecuniae, sicut in unum convenerant liberum eum tunc dimisit et per manus consobrini sui Gotfridi de Peîen in praesentia nostra ceterorumque bonorum virorum super aram sanctae Margaritae in Ardacher ad censum V denariorum annuatim solvendum de bona voluntate delegari constituit."

completed under Melchoir von Pergen for a number of reasons, including convenience. The window could have been kept in a place of importance to keep the "memory" of Margaret alive, maintaining the memory of the abbey's foundation and function within the community across time. Buildings and objects, such as the abbey and the Margaret window, can function as "pegs for collective memory" and can recall past events as ways of teaching and transmitting memory.[147] The thirteenth-century Margaret window punctuates this visual program, standing out by color and medium from the later pastel-colored frescoes and elaborate stuccowork. These differences made explicit that the window is from an earlier time, calling to mind Margaret's antiquity and the foundation of the church itself. Examining the seventeenth-century decorative program suggests that the Margaret window was preserved because of its link to the past and reveals the saint's role as an integral part of the church.

The Margaret window could also have been preserved as the focal point because of the saint's connection to the foundation of the abbey and the legend of the empress's childbirth miracle. The connection between Margaret and the legend of the empress's birth could be an example of "imaginative memory" in which this site and this window came to be connected with the church's foundation legend. Amy Remensynder writes about the practice of "imaginative memory" in which an object – in this case the Margaret window – "preserved for a specific memorial tradition was transferred from one person or time to another."[148] Interestingly, however, there is no literary or artistic

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[147] Elizabeth Van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900-1200* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 93.

[148] Amy Remensnyder, "Legendary Treasure at Conques: Reliquaries and Imaginative Memory," *Speculum* 71.4 (October, 1996): 884-906; Van Houts, 10. Mary Shepard discusses imaginative memory in regard to the relic window of St. Julien of Brioude (c. 1260s) at the Abbey Church of Saint-Julien at Tours, which triggers communal remembrance. See Mary Shepard, "Power Windows: Relic windows and the context of collective remembering,"*Glasmalerei im Kontext: bildprogramme und Raumfunktionen: Akten des XXII.*

precedent for the foundation legend, and it is therefore possible that it originated in the

seventeenth century. That objects can take on elaborate afterlives is not without precedent

and can be observed with relics. For example, eleventh- and twelfth-century reliquaries at

Conques came to be associated with the rulers Pepin and Charlemagne through legends at

the monastery, particularly after Charlemagne's canonization in 1172.[149] As van Houts

notes, "such "false" memories attached to objects are as illustrative of medieval

perceptions about the past as real memories."[150] In the case of the Margaret window, by

the seventeenth century, it had become associated with the abbey's foundation legend and

could have served as a marker of this narrative.

Examining the Baroque visual program provides insight into the preservation of

the Margaret window and how the window may have been understood in the seventeenth

century. The program of the seventeenth-century church, undertaken by Melchior von

Pergen between 1678 and 1700, expressed several different themes, including royal piety,

martyrdom (including Margaret), and Christ's life.[151] Paintings, monogrammed with IMF

(probably Jacopo (Antonio) Mazza), are included across two groin vaults, separated by

elaborate ornamental stuccowork completed by Giovanni Battista Colomba, in the choir

and as four monumental paintings on the choir walls.[152] Larger frescoes are included

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International Colloquiums des Corpus Vitrearum, Nürnberg (Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2005): 81-82.

[149] Van Houts, 119.

[150] Van Houts, 119.

[151] Riesenhuber, *Die kirchliche Barockkunst*, 519, 579.

[152] Berndl-Forstner, 79; Kronbichler, 25. Other paintings by Jacopo (Antonio) Mazza, are found at Kremünster (1676) and Baumgartenberg (1696). Baumann identifies Johann Däläro as the painter of the frescoes and writes that they are of little artistic value. Baumann, 75.

within the nave vaulting.[153] The overall effect is one of all-encompassing imagery in soft

tones, emphasizing blues, pinks, and greens (Fig. 5.40).

Imagery within the choir depicts royalty, saints connected to local churches,

Christian virtues, and virgin martyrs. Several choir images depict local parish churches

under Ardagger's domain and their patrons. For example, St. Nicholas is imaged with a

model of the church at Ardagger Markt (Fig. 5.41). Other church patrons depicted in the

vaults with models of their churches include St. Odilia, patroness of Kollmitzberg, St.

James, patron of Zeillern, and St. Stephen, patron of Stephenshart. Royal imagery within

the choir includes a depiction above the altar of Leopold I of Austria waving the banner

of Lower Austria just below an apparition of the Virgin as *Magna Mater Austriae* (Fig.

5.42).[154] Leopold was Holy Roman Emperor during the time that this fresco was painted

(1640 to 1705).[155] Like other images of the emperor created during his reign, this fresco

portrays him as a model of piety. Not surprisingly, Leopold also invested Melchior with

his position as provost.[156] Another royal scene is depicted on the nave side of the choir

vault. Rudolph of Habsburg is depicted with a priest and a personification of *Religio*

Austriacorum (the faith of Austria) (Fig. 5.43). This scene depicts a legend from the life

of the thirteenth-century Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph (1218-1291, ruled 1273), which

was first recorded in a chronicle by Franciscan Johannes of Winterthur in the second

decade of the fourteenth century.[157] Rudolph encountered a priest who was trying to cross

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[153] As Berndl-Forstner notes the visual program is less dense in the nave than in the choir. Berndl-Forstner, 79.

[154] Baumann, 76.

[155] Maria Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I in Image, Spectacle and Text* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000).

[156] Mayumi Ohara, "Rudolph of Habsburg and the Priest: A Study in Iconography of the Counter-Reformation under the House of Habsburg," *Wiener Jahrbuch fur Kunstgeschichte* 49 (1996): 118.

[157] Ohara, 92. Legends were recorded in the first half of the fourteenth century.

a river to give a sick man the Eucharist. Rudolph gave him his horse and the priest prophesied the future glory of Rudolph and of his descendants, showing the rewards of Christian piety and charity.[158] Rudolph was regarded as a model for Catholic princes for displaying the signs of virtue of a secular leader including adoration of the Cross, the Eucharist, the Virgin, and other saints in daily life.[159] Three of these highly-regarded virtues are depicted above the altar. At the center is Love, depicted as a woman with children (resembling images of the Virgin Mary), Belief on the left, with the cross and Eucharistic wafer (representing the Catholic confession), and Hope, on the right, sitting pensively accompanied by an anchor and a dove (Fig. 5.44).

An inscription and image within a vault fresco further highlights the church's connection to royalty as well as reiterating Margaret's role in the church (Fig. 5.45). The inscription, and the double eagles above, remind the viewers of the abbey's imperial connections and foundations. The text reads: "Agnes Henrici III. Imperator Contoralis in Partu Periclitans Fundavit et Dotavit hanc collegiatam ecclesiam Ardacensem in Honorem Sanctae Margaritae Virginis et Martyris anno Domini MXLIX" (Agnes, wife of Emperor Henry III, within time of dangerous childbirth founded and endowed this collegiate church of Ardagger in honor of St. Margaret virgin and martyr in the year 1049). The direct reference to the foundation legend fills in what is not depicted in the imagery of the window, the foundation of the church, and links the early Christian narrative to the church itself. Directly opposite the inscription, above the altar, is an image of a crowned woman praying. Above her and to the right is a cross coming from heaven. It has been suggested that this woman is Agnes of Poitou and thus another

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[158] Ohara, 94.
[159] Ohara, 94.

representation of devotion to Margaret as well as royal piety (Fig. 5.46).[160] The

juxtaposition of the image and the text forms a connection between the two, possibly

referencing each other across the sacred space of the choir.

Margaret is reiterated explicitly in a vault fresco within the choir (Fig. 5.47). An

image of Margaret's death sits in close proximity to the inscription about the church's

foundation, further collapsing the time between Margaret's death and her intercession on

the empress's behalf. The fresco of Margaret's death echoes the image of her martyrdom

in the window but depicts a moment just before her death, when her body was still whole.

Margaret kneels at the center, hands in prayer, partially obscured by her executioner

whose back is turned to the viewer as he raises the sword above his head. Olybrius is

depicted to the left on horseback. To the right of the scene onlookers watch and gesture

towards the action. The double representation of Margaret's death in both fresco and

stained glass makes her identification as a female martyr explicit.[161]

In the adjacent vault, to the east of Margaret's martyrdom, is another scene of a

virgin martyr's torture (Fig. 5.48). The scene depicts two men with pincers tearing at the

exposed breasts of a bound woman. The saint looks to the sky where the Holy Spirit in

the form of a dove descends on a cross. Berndl-Forstner and Leo Baumann identify the

saint as Margaret.[162] However, this particular instance of torture is included in neither

Margaret's textual *vitae* nor in the window. Several details suggest that the figure is

Margaret. First, the tortured female wears the same clothing as Margaret does in her

scene of martyrdom. Both women wear blue garments with a red-orange cloak. The close

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[160] Baumann, 76.

[161] Another scene of a virgin martyr's torture appears in the adjacent vault. See Appendix II.

[162] Berndl-Forstner, 81; Baumann, 76.

proximity of the two scenes causes the viewer to visually link the two figures and identify

them as the same person. Second, the cross descending from heaven with the Holy Spirit

occurs within Margaret's legend.[163] This scene may be a purposeful enhancement of

Margaret's tortures. The torture of Margaret's breasts is female-specific and focuses on

the source of nourishment for offspring. Depicting the torture of Margaret's breasts may

have called to mind Margaret's role as patroness in childbirth and her connection to

mothers, which was well-established by the seventeenth century.[164]

The maternal-child relationship invoked in the torture of Margaret's breasts is

reiterated throughout the church in frescoes depicting the personification of Love, Mary

and Joseph, and the judgment of Solomon. The easternmost fresco depicts a

personification of Love, imaged as a mother with two children, an infant on her lap and a

young child at her feet (Fig. 5.44). This personification visually claims the mother-child

relationship as the ultimate expression of love. Another fresco within the choir depicts

Mary and Joseph, the parents of Christ (Fig. 5.49). Mary is clearly favored in the image

as sunbursts form a halo around her head and an angel to the left holds her crown,

indicating her role as Queen of Heaven. Finally, a large fresco in the nave depicts the

judgment of Solomon.[165] In this narrative, culled from 1 Kings, Solomon passed

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[163] Although it is not (currently) depicted in the window, Margaret does experience another vision of the dove, who places the crown of martyrdom on her head following her final torture.

[164] This image may also relate to the tortures of another virgin martyr, St. Agatha. See the brief discussion in Appendix II. Alison Stones has suggested that women in the thirteenth century may have found the depiction of Agatha's torture as a source of comfort from the pains associated with childbirth and nursing. Alison Stones, "Nipples, Entrails, Severed Heads, and Skin: Devotional Images for Madame Marie," in *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. by Column Hourihane (Princeton, N. J.: Index of Christian Art, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, in association with Princeton University Press, 1999): 47-70.

[165] The other frescoes within the nave depict the triumph of the Church, shown as a female holding a lantern and riding in an elaborate chariot, and the Pentecost, depicted with the Virgin Mary seated at the center.

judgment on the fate of an infant who was claimed by two women (Fig. 5.50).[166] He

devised a way to determine the true mother's identity, by threatening the child's life. The

true mother would rather the other woman raise the baby than have any harm come to the

child. Again, this narrative reveals the powerful bond between a mother and child.

Children are depicted again in a painting of Christ as the friend of children, one of four

large paintings in the choir dating from 1627 (Fig. 5.51). In this image Christ is

surrounded by children, referencing a moment in the book of Mark when Christ rebuked

his disciples for discouraging children from coming to him, stating, "Suffer the little

children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God."[167]

The Baroque imagery at Ardagger highlights the connection of Margaret to the

church's foundation, affirms the church's royal connections, and visually reiterates the

relationship between mothers and their children, reminding viewers of Margaret's own

intercession on behalf of mothers. Viewing the thirteenth-century window in conjunction

with the Baroque imagery further invigorates Margaret's life within a Counter-

Reformation context. Scenes of the virtues valued by Counter-Reformation rulers, such

as piety, visualized in the frescoes of the triumph of the Church and the legend of

Rudolph, can be read in relation to the scenes of Margaret affirming the tenants by which

she lives and her adherence to Christianity. The reminder of trials of an early Christian

martyr would have put contemporary Counter-Reformation struggles into context. In fact,

beginning in the mid-sixteenth century the model of the martyr as an exemplar of the

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[166] 1 Kings 3:16-28, Bible, Douay-Reims Version.
[167] Mark 10:14, Bible, Douay-Reims Version.

ideal Christian was renewed in liturgical celebrations and hagiographic literature.[168] The depictions of the Christian rulers Rudolph and Leopold (whose reign was contemporaneous with the imagery) could be read in opposition to the bad pagan ruler Olybrius, presented in the window. The Christian rulers display their piety while Olybrius rejects Christ and harms his followers. The emphasis on maternal imagery and royal piety in the seventeenth-century iconographic program inflects Margaret's life differently from its expression within the thirteenth century.

In 1896, Fahrngruber exclaimed that it was a pleasant coincidence that the Margaret window remains despite the building having been through so many changes across time.[169] However, the Baroque imagery examined here demonstrates that it was less luck that preserved the window than the importance the window acquired. That the Margaret window has survived so well-preserved across time and that it secured its prominent place in easternmost end of the choir further suggests the significance that this window had at Ardagger. Clearly, by the seventeenth century Margaret was deeply embedded at this site as an important benefactress for devotees, and certainly for Melchior von Pergen. Margaret's imagery creates a collective memory of the church's patron saint at this site, creating links to the saint's early Christian past and the church's Romanesque foundation.[170]

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[168] Gabriella Zarri, "Female Sanctity, 1500-1660," in *Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 6: Reformation and Expansion 1500-1660*, ed. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 190-191.

[169] Fahrngruber, 26.

[170] Simon Ditchfield wrote that early modern Catholics used saints to express their collective identity and memory at local churches because of their powerful roles in creating confessional identities. He described, for example, the use of references to early Christian martyrs in the processions of Archbishop of Milan Carlo Borromeo during the sixteenth century to express the antiquity and historical continuity of his ecclesiastical office. See Simon Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World," *Critical Inquiry* 35.3 (Spring, 2009): 572-575.

At Ardagger, Margaret's life is not fully conveyed in text or image alone. It is the complex combination of inscription and image that enhances Margaret's life and suggests the multifaceted ways that it could have been read and used by the window's medieval (and later Baroque) audiences.

Conclusion

In the preceding chapters, I examined how four early thirteenth-century windows convey different versions of Margaret's life through the coordination of the iconography, the window's location, surrounding imagery, the liturgy, and the wider religious context of each site. These narratives are diverse in their representations and confirm the malleability of her *vita*, while retaining the core elements of Margaret's sanctity – her ability to overcome evil, as personified by the dragon and demon, and her martyrdom for her faith. The lives of Margaret in the windows have little to do with any historical identity of the saint, confirming what Julia H. Smith reminds us, that, "sanctity is in the eye of the beholder, that it was negotiated, contested and shaped as much by the needs of the audiences as by the experiences of the saint in question."[1] The windows depicting Margaret, with their independence from textual *vitae* and integration into wider pictorial programs, capitalized on the possibilities for transforming Margaret's life and adapting it to specific contexts. As the windows at Chartres, Auxerre, Saint-Julien-du-Sault, and Ardagger pre-date evidence of Margaret's inclusion in local liturgies, the windows themselves could have encouraged devotion to the saint. Stained glass windows were thus another tool hagiographers had to convey saints' lives in a medium with wide audiences and visual appeal.

At Chartres, Margaret's life is shaped by the scenes that are omitted from her narrative and by the surrounding imagery of St. Catherine. There, the window's location

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[1] Julia H. Smith, "The Problem of Female Sanctity in Carolingian Europe, c. 780-920," *Past & Present* 146 (Feb., 1995): 5.

complicates Margaret's identity as a virgin martyr by thematically linking the saint to the nearby confessors Remi and Nicholas. Within the context of the church's rituals, Margaret's triumphs over the dragon and demon were reinforced through processions which included the enactment of dragon slaying. At the cathedral of Chartres, Margaret appears most explicitly as an active defender of Christianity.

The window of the saint at Auxerre Cathedral, in contrast to Chartres, includes extensive imagery of Margaret's life organized into multiple narrative directions, which allow beholders to experience the story in different ways. The iconography highlights Margaret's imprisonment, the ability of her passion to convert bystanders, and her perseverance as a martyr. The repetition of bystanders who are converted and subsequently martyred conveys the ability of the saint's passion to sway onlookers, including the window's beholders. This window also emphasizes the corporeality of Margaret's suffering by placing several tortures along the window's axis. The nearby representation of Margaret at Saint-Julien-du-Sault highlighted Margaret's imprisonment as a pivotal moment in her passion and reinforced the saint's presence in the area.

The Margaret window at Ardagger Abbey conveys the saint's life through multiple narratives created, not through diverse narrative directions, but through the inclusion of inscriptions surrounding each scene. While the images, which highlight Margaret as a virgin martyr, are easily understood by a viewer familiar with Margaret's life, their meanings are enriched by the inclusion of inscriptions that encourage contemplation. Rather than being culled from a specific textual source, these inscriptions respond to the images and add depth to Margaret's life, revealing her inner virtues which

the male canons at Ardagger could strive to emulate. Margaret's presence in the choir's

easternmost window further indicates the importance of her narrative at this site.

More Thirteenth-Century Windows

The windows depicting Margaret from the first half of the thirteenth century are

merely the earliest examples of her imagery in glass. By the end of the century, Margaret

is depicted in at least six additional extant stained glass windows: at Troyes Cathedral,

Strasbourg Cathedral, Fécamp Abbey, Dol-de-Bretagne Cathedral, and Clermont-Ferrand

Cathedral.[2] Two additional thirteenth-century windows may depict Margaret at Saint-

Germain-lès-Corbeil (ca. 1225) and two fragments from Châlons Cathedral (1275-

1300).[3] These windows depict Margaret's life to varying degrees, from single images to

extensive narratives, but they all focus on the saint's identity as a martyr. The late

thirteenth-century images thus form a bridge between the complex early thirteenth-

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[2] For the cathedral of Saint-Samson, Dol-de-Bretagne, see Patrick Amiot, *Dol-de-Bretagne d'hier à aujourd'hui. 2. La cathédrale de Saint-Samson* (Dinan: Patrick Amiot, 1986); R. Charles, *La grande verrière du XIIIe siècle et autres vitraux anciens de la cathédrale de Dol* (Rennes: Simon et Cie, 1893); Anne-Claude Le Boulc'h, *La cathédrale de Dol* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 1999); Meredith P. Lillich, *The armor of light: stained glass in western France 1250-1325* (Berkeley, C.A.: University of California Press, 1994), 127. Unfortunately, the lancet at Fécamp, dating from around 1280, is completely illegible at present, making a reading of her life here impossible. For Fécamp, see K. Brockhaus, *Abbatiale de la Trinité de Fécamp et l'architecture normande au moyen âge* (Caen: Société des antiquaires de Normandia, 2009); J. Lafond, "Les vitraux de l'abbaye de la Trinité de Fécamp," *L'abbaye Benedictine de Fécampe, ouvrage scientifique du XIIIe centenaire*, vol. 3 (Fécamp: L. Durand, 1961), 99-101; Jean Vallery-Radot, *L'église de la Trinité de Fecamp, Petite monographie* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1929).
[3] For Saint-Germain-lès-Corbeil, see Louis Grodecki and Françoise Perrot, *Les vitraux de Paris, de la region parisienne, de la Picardie et du Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France, volume 1* (Paris: Éditions du Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, 1978), 83; Françoise Perrot, "Note sur les arbres de Jessé de Gercy et de St.-Germain-lès-Corbeil," *Year 1200* 3 (1975): 417-424; Virginia Raguin, *Stained Glass in Thirteenth-Century Burgundy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 52; Virginia Raguin, "The Windows of Saint-Germain-lès-Corbeil: A Travelling Glazing Atelier," *Gesta* 15.1/2 (1976): 265-272; L. Vollant, *L'Eglise de Saint-Germain-lès-Corbeil* (Paris: Picard, 1897). Vollant identifies the female saint as Barbara. Vollant, 32. For Châlons, see Meredith P. Lillich, "Remembrance of Things Past: Stained Glass Spolia at Châlons Cathedral," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 59.4 (1996): 474. The panel could be Margaret or local saint Libaire and depicts a woman spinning and watching sheep. Anne Prache, N. Blondel, et. al., *Les vitraux de Champagne-Ardenne, Corpus Vitrearum France, Recensement IV* (Paris: Éditions du Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, 1992), 340.

century windows and Margaret's fourteenth- and fifteenth-century representations, which tend to focus on the dragon. The representations of Margaret at Clermont-Ferrand Cathedral, Troyes Cathedral, Dol-de-Bretagne Cathedral, and Strasbourg Cathedral, in particular, expand the range of ways in which Margaret is represented as well as hinting at closer connections between the windows and the saint's relics. Although extensive analyses of these windows is beyond the scope of this dissertation, these late thirteenth-century windows are fruitful subjects for further study.

Margaret's passion dramatically diverges from her textual *vitae* in the most expansive narrative stained glass cycle from the end of the thirteenth century, at the cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand. In a window in the south choir chapel dedicated to St. Margaret and St. Foy (Bay 16), the two right lancets, dating between 1280 and 1300, depict Margaret's life across eighteen scenes read from bottom to top across the two windows (Fig. C.1).[4] The narrative begins with Margaret's conversion and includes characteristic moments from her life: her confrontations with Olybrius, beatings, fire and water tortures, and encounters with the dragon and demon. However, the seventh panel of Margaret's narrative introduces a new torment, the gridiron, which does not appear in other narratives of Margaret's life (Fig. C.2). Margaret is depicted extended and burned on the grill across two panels (Fig. C.3), first, clothed in a green garment and second, naked. In this window, Margaret's death is facilitated by the grill, rather than by the sword (she is not beheaded here). Interestingly, at Clermont-Ferrand, Margaret is

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[4] For the dating of the choir and the Margaret window see Karine Boulenger, *Les vitraux d'Auvergne et du Limousin* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011), 123-124, 140; Michael T. Davis, "The Choir of the Cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand: The Beginning of Construction and the Work of Jean Deschamps," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 40.3 (Oct., 1981): 181-202; Henri du Ranquet, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Clermont-Ferrand* (Clermont-Ferrand: Paul Vallier, 1932), 234-237.

associated with the virgin martyr St. Foy, who is depicted in the left rosace above the lancets and who died on the grill, according to her *vita*.[5] In addition to thematically linking Margaret to Foy, the inclusion of the gridiron torture visually enhances Margaret's suffering, reinforcing her identity as a martyr.

The window includes additional changes to Margaret's narrative: two scenes depict Margaret after her death and a third scene depicts her tomb. The expansion of scenes focusing on Margaret's soul emphasizes the saint's death and sacrifice. Furthermore, these scenes remind the viewer of the saint's place in heaven as well as the site of her power on earth. Directly after Margaret is depicted on the grill naked, her body is wrapped in cloth by two angels while her tiny (newly clothed) soul ascends to heaven (Fig. C.4). In the following scene, Margaret's soul hovers above the empty grill, clothed in new white garments and crowned (Figs. C.5). The final scene in Margaret's narrative depicts the saint's tomb (Fig. C.6). Male and female pilgrims crowd around the Gothic structure, some kneeling, others standing. Margaret's tomb links the saint's narrative to her shrine on earth, where her intercessory power could be accessed.

The relics of Margaret provided another point of contact between the saint and her devotees and another way in which she was depicted in windows. At Troyes Cathedral, Margaret is depicted holding her foot relic in a window showing a procession of relics and the building of Troyes Cathedral within the south choir clerestory (Bay 210), dating

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[5] The left two lancets of the bay at Clermont-Ferrand depict scenes from the life of St. Caprais, an early Christian martyr, legendary first bishop of Agen, and witness to St. Foy's execution. Pamela Sheingorn, *The Book of Sainte Foy* (Philadelphia, P.A.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995)*, 287. While the male saint had been identified as St. Privat, Karine Boulenger notes the presence of the inscription [C]APRASIVS in one of the medallions and argues that the saint's identification changed over time and the narrative scenes could have applied to both saints. Boulenger, 124.

between 1228 and 1235 (Fig. C.7).[6] Margaret appears garbed in brown with a white belt

and holds a red cloth on which a foot is depicted. Margaret's left foot peeks out from

beneath her garment, drawing a direct connection between the saint's anatomy and the

relic. The saint faces the left, part of the procession of figures bringing relics, including

the tooth of St. Peter and head of St. Philip, into the church. The depiction of Margaret's

relic clearly shows the tangible presence of the saint at Troyes, as the window conveys

relics held within the church.[7] The relics depicted in the stained glass window were

celebrated on the feast of the Holy Relics (Sunday of the octave of the Ascension).[8] On

that day, the relics were processed through the church and directly referred to in the

reading of the "Elenchus reliquiarum" (List of relics).[9] To the medieval beholder, the

image of Margaret and her relic would have signaled the saint's physical presence at this

site. In this instance, the form of the relic has significance within Margaret's narrative.[10]

Margaret's foot was the weapon with which she stomped on the demon. Medieval foot

reliquaries of Margaret exist, including a fourteenth-century leather relic container in the

Cloisters Museum (Fig. C.8). This leather case includes a depiction of Margaret's

encounter with the dragon and demon, making the object self-referential. While the

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[6] Louis Grodecki, "Nouvelles decouvertes sur les vitraux de la cathédrale de Troyes," in *Intuition und Kunstwissenschaft: Festschrift für Hanns Swarzenski*, ed. Peter Block, et. al. (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1973), 191-203; Elizabeth C. Pastan and Sylvie Balcon, *Les vitraux du choeur de la cathédrale de Troyes (XIIIe siècle), Corpus Vitrearum France, Volume II* (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2006), 458-463.

[7] Pastan and Balcon, 224, 459. Charles Lalore and Charles Nioré, *Collection des documents inédits relatifs à la ville de Troyes et la Champagne méridionale. Inventaires des principales églises de Troyes*, 2 vols. (Troyes: Dufour-Bouquot, 1893), vol. 1, xcii, clxxx; vol. 2, 88 (no. 687). Margaret's relic is recorded first in the cathedral inventory of 1376.

[8] Nicolas Camusat, *Promptuarium Sacrarum Antiquitatum Tricassinae diocesis* (Troyes: Le Coq, 1610), fols. 120v-121v; Lalore, vol. 1, cx; Pastan and Balcon, 262.

[9] Camusat, 121. The reference to Margaret's relic reads, "…et pedem cum aliis reliquiis B. Margareta virginis..." Pastan and Balcon, 262.

[10] Cynthia Hahn, "The Voices of the Saints: Speaking Reliquaries," *Gesta* 36.1 (1997): 20-31.

glazing program at Troyes does not contain a narrative cycle of Margaret's life, the representation of her foot would have called to mind Margaret's triumphs over the devil.

At the cathedral of Saint Samson, Dol-de-Bretagne, a lancet window depicting Margaret's narrative is also connected to the relics of the saint, though less explicitly than at Troyes. Margaret's life is represented across seven scenes in the left lancet of the east window (Bay 200), which dates from 1280 to 1290 (Fig. C.9).[11] While the lancet is heavily restored and includes modern panels, the extant original scenes indicate that the core elements of her narrative were selected for representation, including her encounter with the dragon. In the third panel, Margaret emerges from the back of a green dragon, while the hem of her dress protrudes from the beast's open mouth. Unlike the earlier thirteen-century windows, which preferred not to specify the nature of Margaret's encounter with the dragon, this window clearly indicates that the creature had swallowed Margaret.

The subjects included in the east window correspond directly to relics housed at the cathedral, thus referring to the sources of saintly power held at this site. As Meredith Lillich explains, the east window highlights the cathedral's most famous relics, including relics of Margaret's head and belt.[12] Other figures depicted in the window's lancets who had corresponding relics within the cathedral are St. Catherine, St. Samson (the archbishop saint and legendary founder of the cathedral), and the biblical patriarch Abraham.[13] At Dol, the connection between relics held in the cathedral and the

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[11] Lillich, *Armor of Light*, 127, 133. Two panels are original with some repairs, three panels are by Gruber, and one was created in 1509.

[12] Lillich, *Armor of Light*, 128. "Marina (Margherita)," in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. 8 (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontificia Università lateranense, 1966), col. 1156.

[13] Lillich, *Armor of Light*, 128.

iconography of the stained glass windows is strong. The representation of Margaret's life thus served as a reminder of the saint's bodily presence within the church.

Two additional windows, at Strasbourg Cathedral, depict Margaret as single static figures within the clerestory.[14] At Strasbourg, Margaret is not visually connected to the narrative of her life. Instead she appears as one amongst the constellation of saints in heaven who act as intercessors on behalf of devotees. Margaret appears in two lancet windows in the south clerestory of the nave, Bay S I (ca. 1250) and Bay S V (ca. 1270) (Figs. C.10-C.11).[15] In both panels, Margaret is depicted as a single figure holding a palm frond and wearing a crown. The dragon does not accompany Margaret and, if it were not for identifying inscriptions, she would be indistinguishable from the other virgin martyrs surrounding her in each window.

In Bay S I, Margaret is one among eleven female saints and is identified by an inscription which reads "S. MARG." In the upper portion of the right lancet the Virgin stands with the Christ child (S I a). This grouping of saints includes the martyrs Barbara, Lucy, Agnes, and Catherine and local saints who were not martyred, such as Odilia and Athala. Each saint holds a green palm frond and several - Catherine, Brigitte and Agnes - hold fruit, leading scholars to view this assemblage as a depiction of heavenly paradise

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[14] On Strasbourg, see Hans Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Paris: Arthaud, 1972); Hans Houg, Robert Will, Théodore Rieger, Victor Beyer, and Paul Ahnne, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg: Éditions des dernières nouvelles, 1957). On the stained glass at Strasbourg see V. Beyer, C. Wild-Block, F. Zschokke, and C. Lautier, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Strasbourg: Corpus Vitrearum France, Vol. IX-1* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1986); F. Gatouillat, M. Hérold, *Les vitraux de Lorraine et d'Alsace: Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France 5* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1994), 189-214; Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Les vitraux du choeur et du transept," in *La cathédrale de Strasbourg, Choeur et transept: de l'art Roman au Gothique (vers 1180-1240): Supplément au no. XXVIII du Bulletin de la cathédrale de Strasbourg*, eds. Jean-Philippe Meyer and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz (Strasbourg: Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2010), 225-279.
[15] Beyer, 311-324, 362-378.

and its abundance, which is reinforced through the lancets' leafy borders.[16] This celestial

theme is further suggested by the inclusion of three angels in the rosaces which surmount

the lancets. Margaret would easily blend into the crowd were it not for the inclusion of a

bejeweled crown on her head.[17]

In a slightly later window, in Bay S V, Margaret again appears with other female

saints.[18] Each of the window's eight saints is dressed in elaborate garments, bordered

with strings of pearls, and each stands on a platform lined with additional gemstones

beneath ornate architectural canopies. As in Bay S I, Margaret is identifiable only by the

inscription, which reads "S. MARGARETA." While the window in Bay S I depicts

Margaret within a heavenly garden paradise, the ornate architectural forms surrounding

each saint in Bay S V refer to the heavenly Jerusalem.[19] The clerestory windows

depicting Margaret, along with the other clerestory windows along the nave, which depict

other female saints in the south and male saints in the north, comprise the citizens of

paradise participating in "une liturgie celeste perpétuelle" (a perpetual heavenly liturgy)

accompanied by the Virgin Mary.[20] In these windows, Margaret's individual identity is

less crucial than her corporate identity as one among the intercessors in heaven. This

grouping of Margaret with other saints points towards her eventual inclusion in the

German cult of the Fourteen Holy Helpers.

These latter thirteenth-century stained glass images, from between 1240 and 1300,

of Margaret include a variety of representations, from extensive narratives to single

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[16] Beyer, 314.

[17] Only Catherine also wears a crown. The crown perhaps indicates their martyrdom.

[18] Beyer, 366, 368-9. The panels comprising Margaret are heavily restored and contain fragments from other windows.

[19] Interestingly, rosaces surmounting the window include multiple panels depicting dragons with male and female heads, surrounding censing angels.

[20] Beyer, 298.

images of the saint or her relic, that look towards the late medieval depictions of

Margaret through their focus on her identity as a female virgin martyr, whose sanctity

was located in her suffering, and on her role an intercessor. These images insist on

Margaret's place amongst the saints in heaven and on her relics as the vehicles through

which devotees can access the saint's power. These representations thus form a bridge

between the complex iterations of Margaret's life in the narratives at Chartres, Auxerre,

Saint-Julien-du-Sault, and Ardagger and the late medieval representations which focus on

Margaret and the dragon.

Seeing Margaret in Later Centuries

The continued creation of images of Margaret in stained glass parallel an increase

in the dissemination of Margaret's life and her inclusion in the liturgy, another area ripe

for further research. Direct connections between the stained glass windows depicting

Margaret's life and liturgies of the saint remain to be discovered. As revealed in previous

chapters, while relics were held at Chartres and Auxerre, Margaret is not found in the

extant liturgies at the time of the windows' creations.[21] At Ardagger, archival evidence of

thirteenth-century liturgies has yet to be found. Rather than attempting to determine

explicit links between the windows and twelfth- or early thirteenth-century liturgies of

Margaret, an interesting direction for inquiry would be to ask how these windows were

illuminated by later liturgies and, thus, how beholders' experiences of Margaret's

narrative changed. For example, Jacobus de Voragine wrote a collection of sermons on

the saints between 1267 and 1286, after his completion of the *Golden Legend*, and

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[21] See chapters 3 and 4.

included three on the subject of St. Margaret.[22] Jacobus's sermons were intended for

preachers to use to instruct the laity and he highlighted Margaret's passion as a parallel to

Christ's suffering, her virginity, and good works, and drew on the metaphor of Margaret

as the pearl of great value.[23] In his second sermon on Margaret, the protection of her

virginity is stressed through the "mortification of the flesh," (per carnis macerationem),

"restraint of the temptations of the senses" (per sensuum cohibitionem), or "escape" (per

fugam et elogationem).[24] Jacobus's sermons include themes that were shared between the

sermons and the windows, such as Margaret's corporeal suffering, thus, one medium

could have reinforced the other. It is possible that sermons, hymns, and liturgies were

influenced by stained glass windows.

In the decades, and centuries, following the creation of the Margaret windows, the

saint's presence in liturgical manuscripts increased throughout Europe.[25] Late thirteenth-

and fourteenth- sermons and liturgical references to the saint at Chartres, Auxerre, Saint-

Julien-du-Sault, and Ardagger could have been heard in close proximity to the windows,

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[22] Jenny Bledsoe compares Jacobus's treatment of Margaret in the *Golden Legend* and in his sermons (*Sermones de sanctis*) arguing that he transforms her into a model that was relevant for the laity. Jenny Bledsoe, "Practical Hagiography: James of Voragine's *Sermones* and *Vita* on St. Margaret of Antioch," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 57 (2013): 29-48. Margaret is considered along with Lucy, Agnes, Agatha, Cecilia, and Catherine. Saints selected for sermons were those who were celebrated in the Dominican liturgy. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, "Chastity Models in the *Legenda Aurea* and in the *Sermones de Sanctis* of Jacobus de Voragine," *Medieval Sermons Studies* 52 (2008): 20. Bledsoe also notes that there are at least 116 sermons on St. Margaret, primarily dating to the fourteenth century and later. Bledsoe, 37.

[23] Bledsoe, 30, 36-37.

[24] Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones de sanctis, De sancta Margarita sermo II*, in *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 41.3, ed. J.B. Schneyer (Münster: Aschendorff, 1971): 258. Quoted and translated in Maggioni, 27.

[25] An examination, for example, of the liturgical manuscripts held in France recorded by Leroquais include a great number of references to Margaret in missals, breviaries, and sacramentaries, primarily from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Victor Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 5 vols. (Mâcon: Protat frères, 1934); Victor Leroquais, *Les psautiers, manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols. (Mâcon: Protat frères, 1940-1941); Victor Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols. (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1924).

bolstering themes found within the imagery and Margaret's roles as exemplary Christian and intercessor. For example, Margaret is found in at least three extant breviaries from the city of Chartres in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[26] At Auxerre, Margaret is found listed in the sanctorals (July 13) of a late fourteenth-century breviary and a fourteenth-century missal.[27] The inclusion of Margaret in later manuscripts is intriguing for the role that the windows could have played in increasing devotion to the saint.

Beyond the liturgy, how could the understanding of Margaret within the early thirteenth-century windows have shifted and changed across time? Situated within dynamic architectural spaces, in which the iconography, liturgies, and ceremonies were constantly changing, the Margaret windows were seen by successive generations for whom the concepts of sanctity were continually transforming. Changes to iconographic programs, through the addition at each site of new stained glass or sculpture, would have created different visual environments for the windows depicting Margaret. As evident in the Margaret window at Ardagger Abbey, Margaret's life held continual, if not increasing, importance in the centuries after the window was created, as themes in the Baroque imagery reinforced elements from Margaret's *vita*.[28]

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[26] Chartrain manuscripts that include Margaret in the *sanctoral* include: a breviary of Saint-Père de Chartres from the turn of the fourteenth century (July 13) ("Comm. De. s. Margareta) (Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 554, fol. 255); a breviary from the cathedral from the end of the thirteenth century (July 20) ("S. Margarite virg. et mart.") (Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 588, fol. 224); and a fourteenth-century breviary from Chartres (Paris, Arsenal, ms. 103 (128 T.L.), fol. 78). Margaret is also included in the calendar of the 1275-1300 missal from Chartres (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Lat. 17310, fol. 5). See Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits*, vol. 1, 288-291, 310-315; vol. 2, 307-308; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits*, vol. 2, no. 373.

[27] The breviary is at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Lat. 1029, fol. 350v. Leroquais, *Les bréviaires*, vol. 3, no. 487, 8. The missal is at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Lat. 17.316, fol. 230v. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits*, vol. 2, 262-265, 264.

[28] See chapter 6.

A Return to Margaret and the Dragon

The early thirteenth-century windows depict nuanced versions of Margaret's life that draw on a range of influences. By the end of the century, images of Margaret began to distill her life to her identity as a martyr and her ability to defeat the devil. The inclusion of images of Margaret and the dragon in the early thirteenth-century windows would have made her narrative easily identifiable and would have reminded viewers of the motif in other contexts, thus keeping these windows relevant.

It is with the continuity of the motif of Margaret and the dragon that this project comes full circle. In late medieval France, the image of Margaret and the dragon exists in numerous manuscripts and objects, often for private devotional use. A fourteenth-century ivory statuette at the British Museum depicts Margaret emerging from the back of a dragon with her hands clasped in prayer (Fig. C.12). The hem of Margaret's dress dangles from the dragon's open mouth. As a symbol of Margaret's trials, the dragon remains the saint's most consistent attribute. For the late medieval viewer of the early thirteenth-century narratives of Margaret, the dragon could function as the key identifying attribute of her narrative, providing a familiar entry point from which to explore the nuances of Margaret as confessor, as evangelist, as dragon and demon slayer, and as a model of perseverance and piety. As this dissertation has shown, the shaping of Margaret's narrative brought the third-century saint into the medieval present and resulted in a multivalent saint who defied easy categorization and who offered moral lessons relevant for all beholders.

Appendix I:

Ardagger Window Inscriptions

Donor Panel (Fig. 5.11): Hac pro structura peccata deus mea cura (For this building, God heal my sins); Heinricus tumprepositus (Heinrich, provost at the time)

Medallion 1 (Fig. 5.20): Presidis elisa mens est a virgine visa (The prefect's mind is disturbed / shattered by the sight of the virgin)

Medallion 2 (Fig. 5.21): Gaudet quod capta sit xpi legibus apta (She rejoices, that in being captured she might be bound by the commandments of Christ)

Medallion 3 (Fig. 5.22): Dogmata falsa ferunt hanc qui p[er]vertere queru[n]t (They bring false beliefs before this one whom they seek to corrupt)

Medallion 4 (Fig. 5.23): Virgo virum sacra contempnist h[e]c simulacra (The holy virgin scorns this man and these idols)

Medallion 5 (Fig. 5.24): Unde placet stulto domet hanc ut verber[e] multo (The place where it is agreed that the foolish man breaks this one through many lashes)

Medallion 6 (Fig. 5.25): XPI dilecta manet inp[er] territa secta (The beloved of Christ remains undaunted though mangled/cut)

Medallion 7 (Fig. 5.26): Qui necis est causa, necat hunc in carcere clausa (He, who is the cause of death, she slays cloistered in prison)

Medallion 8 (Fig. 5.27): Virgo salvatur cruce dum draco particulatur (The virgin is saved through the cross while the dragon is in pieces)

Medallion 9 (Fig. 5.28): Hostis adest bella subit anxia virgo tenella (The enemy appears as a (wild) beast, the tender virgin approaches anxiously / The enemy enters into combat, the tender virgin approaches anxiously)

Medallion 10 (Fig. 5.29): Comprised of medieval fragments from the church. Dona docet vite ventura volatile mite (The gentle bird tells of life to come)

Medallion 11 (Fig. 5.30): O satis insignis quam nec superat calor ignis (O distinguished one, who is not overcome by heat of fire)

Medallion 12 (Fig. 5.31): Ut neget hec X[PM] [f]ervorem sustinet istum (Lest she deny Christ, she endures this boiling heat)

Medallion 13: Unknown

Medallion 14: (Fig. 5.32) Largely a modern reconstruction from medieval fragments. [Capu]t [incl]inat [i]sti nece [dat] vitam victima [XPI] (She bows her head in death and gives sacrifice of life to Christ)

Medallion 15: (Fig. 5.33) Cope sanctorum iam transit ad alta polorum (Oh vessel of the saints, already it passes through to the heavens)

Appendix II:

St. Margaret or St. Agatha?

The Baroque fresco of the female martyr whose breasts are tortured bears striking resemblance to an episode in the life of another early Christian virgin martyr, St. Agatha (Fig. 5.48). In Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, Agatha is described as a virgin martyr, much like Margaret, whose integrity and faith were threatened by a pagan official.[1] During her first round of torture the official, Quintianus, ordered her breasts to be twisted and cut off.[2] The torture of Agatha's breasts is the most easily identifiable representation of this saint by the seventeenth century (Fig. A.1).[3]

The identification of the figure at Ardagger as Agatha would not be completely out of place at the site, as she is another virgin martyr who shares Margaret's virtues.[4] In fact, Agatha is represented along with a number of female saints, including Margaret, Catherine, Barbara, and Agnes, in the frames of the south west choir clerestory window.[5] While the fresco cannot be identified as Agatha with absolute certainty, the ambiguity of the figure's identity highlights the qualities shared amongst the virgin martyrs.

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[1] Jacobus, 154-157.

[2] Jacobus, 155.

[3] Jacobus, 154-157. See also Magdalena Carrasco, "The Early Illustrated Manuscript of the Passion of Saint Agatha," *Gesta* 24 (1985): 19-32 and, for early modern examples and a consideration of her cult, see Liana de Girolami Cheney, "The Cult of Saint Agatha," *Women's Art Journal* 17.1 (Spring-Summer, 1996): 3-9.

[4] One might also be tempted to question the identification of the martyrdom scene as Margaret. However, Agatha was not beheaded but died in prison following an earthquake. Jacobus, 156. It is more likely that the abbey's titular saint would be reiterated in the frescoes within the choir rather than introducing a new female saint into the choir's iconographic program, given the importance of Margaret at this site during the seventeenth century.

[5] Berndl-Forstner, 82. In the northwest window male saints and founders of religious orders are depicted: Augustine, Benedict, Bernard, Dominic, Francis, and Ignatius of Loyola, subjects befitting a monastic setting.

Introduction:

St. Margaret of Antioch

Figures

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Figure I.1. St. Margaret and the dragon, 15th century, tracery light, English. Loyola University Museum of Art, Chicago. From: Vidimus.org, http://vidimus.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/issue_12_2007_feat2.jpg.

Figure I.2. St. Margaret, 1530-1540, Limestone, 113 cm x 46.8 cm x 33cm, Church of Saint Germain, Troyes, France. Victoria & Albert Museum, London, A. 4-1947. Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Figure I.3. St. Margaret, ca. 1330, Wall painting, Church of St. Peter ad Vincula, South Newington, Oxfordshire, England. From: paintedchurch.org.

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Figure I.4. Interior, Church of St. Mary the Virgin, 14th century, Tarrant Crawford, North Dorset, England.

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Figure I.5. Margaret and the dragon, 14th century, wall painting, Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Tarrant Crawford, North Dorset, England.

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Figure I.6. Details (Left: Mary Cleophas, Right: Margaret), South choir screen, 15th century, St. Helen's Church, Ranworth, England. Photos: Martin Harris, https://ranworthroodscreen.wordpress.com.

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Figure I.7. Margaret's birth (upper right), ca. 1300, fresco, Church of St. Mary, Battle Abbey, England.

Figure I.8. Passion of St. Margaret, 1350-1375, Italian. The British Library, London, Egerton 877, fol. 12r. From: The British Library, http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=10219.

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Figure I.9. Amulet-Text, 13th century, Aurillac, France. Private Collection. From: Alophonse Aymar. "Le sachet accoucheur et ses mystères." *Annales du Midi* 38 (1926): 273-347. Plate II.

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Figure I.10. Amulet-Text (Left: full recto, Right: detail Margaret and Olybrius on verso), 14th century, 590 mm x 560 mm, French. Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée, Marseilles, 1977.2.1. From: Louis Carolus-Barré. "Un nouveau parchemin amulette et la légende de sainte Marguerite patronne des femmes en couches, communication du 30 mars 1979." *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 123, no. 2 (1979): 256-275. Figs. 1 and 2.

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Figure I.11. St. Margaret, *Book of Madame Marie*, 1285-1290. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Nouv. Acq. fr MS 16251, fol. 100r. From: Alison Stones. *Le Livre d'image de Madame Marie*. Paris: Cerf, 1997. Folio 100.

Figure I.12. St. Margaret, *Taymouth Hours*, 1325-1340, English. The British Library, London, Yates Thompson MS 13, fol. 86v. From: The British Library, http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=29105.

Figure I.13. Historiated Initial with St. Margaret, Book of Hours, 15th century, 11.4 cm x 16.0 cm, Utrecht. Walters Museum, Baltimore, MS 168, fol. 222r. From: The Walters, http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W168/data/W.168/sap/W168_000445_sap.jpg.

Chapter 1:

Margaret's *Vitae,* Cult, and Early Pictorial Representations

Figures

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Figure 1.1. Margaret tortured, *Passio Kyliani. Pseudo-Theotimus, Passio Margaretae,* 10th century, 20.6 cm x 15 cm. Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hannover, Ms. I. 189, fol. 28v. From: Cynthia Hahn, *Passio Kyliani. Pseudo-Theotimus, Passio Margaretae... Hannover Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. I. 189.* Graz: Akademische Druck-und Verlaganstalt, 1988.

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Figure 1.2. Margaret tortured, *Passio Kyliani. Pseudo-Theotimus, Passio Margaretae,* 10th century, 20.6 cm x 15 cm. Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hannover, Ms. I. 189, fol. 20r. From: Cynthia Hahn, *Passio Kyliani. Pseudo-Theotimus, Passio Margaretae... Hannover Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. I. 189.* Graz: Akademische Druck-und Verlaganstalt, 1988.

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Figure 1.3. Margaret tortured, *Passio Kyliani. Pseudo-Theotimus, Passio Margaretae,* 10th century, 20.6 cm x 15 cm. Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hannover, Ms. I. 189, fol. 18v. From: Cynthia Hahn, *Passio Kyliani. Pseudo-Theotimus, Passio Margaretae... Hannover Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. I. 189.* Graz: Akademische Druck-und Verlaganstalt, 1988.

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Figure 1.4. Margaret and the dragon, *Passio Kyliani. Pseudo-Theotimus, Passio Margaretae*, 10th century, 20.6 cm x 15 cm. Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hannover, Ms. I. 189, fol. 23r. From: Cynthia Hahn, *Passio Kyliani. Pseudo-Theotimus, Passio Margaretae... Hannover Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. I. 189.* Graz: Akademische Druck-und Verlaganstalt, 1988.

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Figure 1.5. Margaret and the demon, *Passio Kyliani. Pseudo-Theotimus, Passio Margaretae,* 10th century, 20.6 cm x 15 cm. Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hannover, Ms. I. 189, fol. 26v. From: Cynthia Hahn, *Passio Kyliani. Pseudo-Theotimus, Passio Margaretae... Hannover Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. I. 189.* Graz: Akademische Druck-und Verlaganstalt, 1988.

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Figure 1.6. St. Margaret altarpiece, Vic workshop, 1175-1200, Tempera on oak, 95.8 cm x 147.5 cm x 5 cm, Santa Margarida de Vilaseca in L'Esquirol, Catalonia. Museo Epioschopal Vic, Vic, Spain, MEV 5. From: Museo Epischopal Vich, http://www.museuepiscopalvic.com/coleccions_more.asp?i=eng&s=3&c=&pag=&histo=&id=83.

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Figure 1.7. Scenes from Margaret's life, 12th century, wall painting, north transept, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Tournai.

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Figure 1.8. Detail, Heavenly Jerusalem, 12th century, wall painting, north transept, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Tournai.

Chapter 2:

Historiography of the Cult of Saints and Stained Glass

Figures

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Figure 2.1. Death and ascension of St. Omer, *Life of Omer*, ca. 1075-1100, Saint Omer. Bibliothèque de l'Agglomération de Saint Omer, MS 698, fol. 26r. From: Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century*. Berkeley, C.A.: University of California Press, 2001. Figure 3.

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Figure 2.2. Hand reliquary of St. Marina, before 1213, Constantinople. Museo Correr, Venice.
Photo: Shannon Steiner, Flickr,
https://www.flickr.com/photos/shannonsteiner/10137541134/in/album-72157636292373743/.

Chapter 3:

Witnessing the Martyr: The Windows of St. Margaret of Antioch at the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, Auxerre, and the Church of St. Peter, Saint-Julien-du-Sault

Figures

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Figure 3.1. Map of Burgundy with Auxerre and Saint-Julien-du-Sault. From: J. Taralon, A. Prache, N. Blondel. *Les vitraux de Bourgogne, Franche-Comté, et Rhône-Alpes: Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France, III.* Paris: Éditions de Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981. Page 111.

Figure 3.2. Auxerre Cathedral seen from the Yonne. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

19. Margaret's soul ascends
18. Witnesses
17. Margaret is beheaded
16. Olybrius (modern)
15. Converts martyred
14. Converts martyred
13. Architecture (modern)
12. Witnesses
11. Margaret boiled
10. Olybrius
9. Witnesses
8. Margaret burned
7. Olybrius
6. Margaret beats the demon
5. Margaret tramples demon
4. Margaret and the dragon
3. Margaret is beaten
2. Margaret led to prison
1. Margaret and Olybrius

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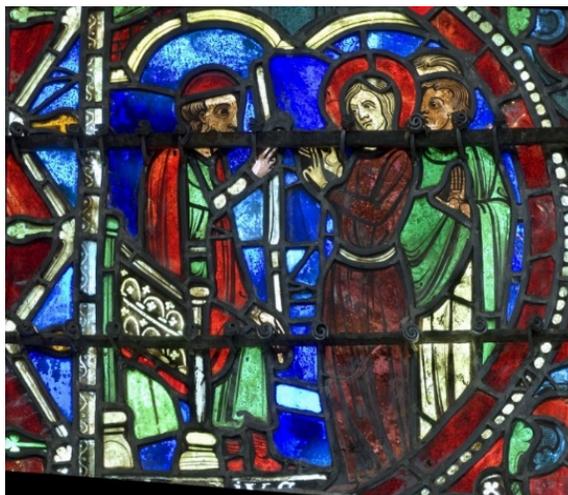
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Photo: © Stuart Whatling.
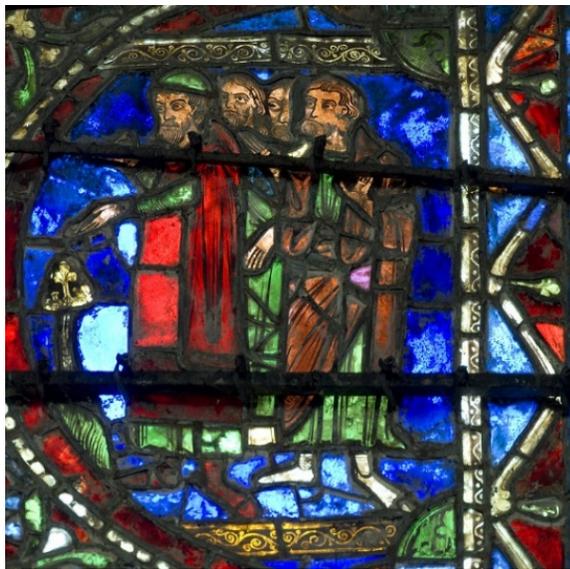
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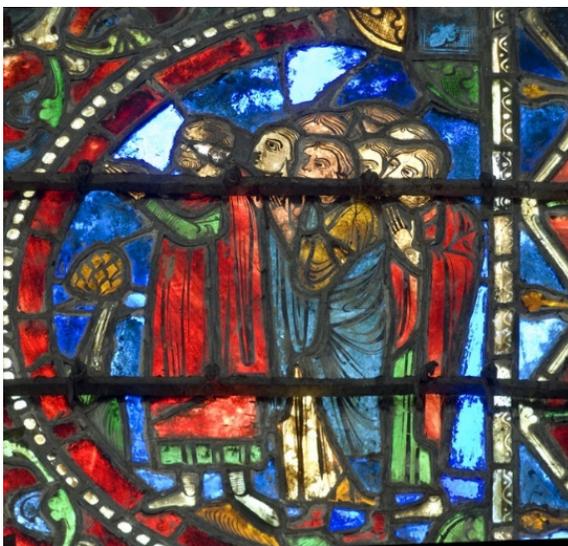
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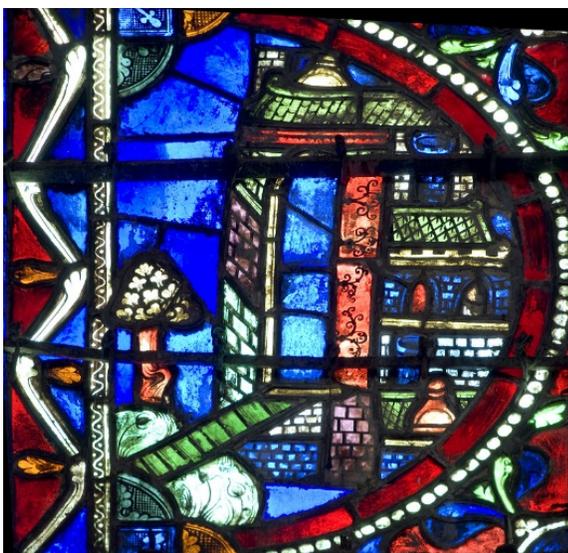
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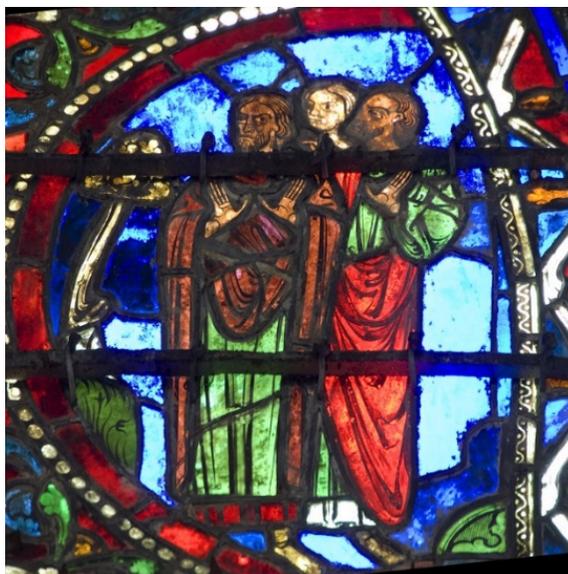
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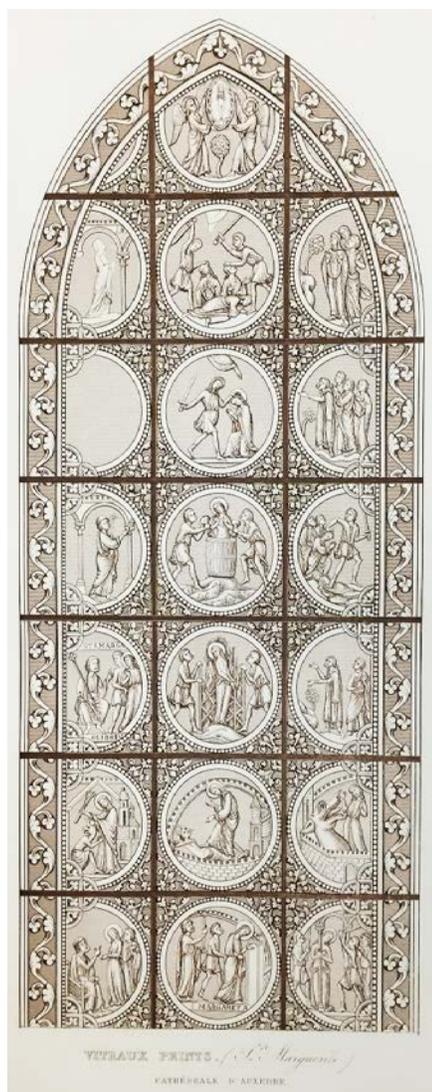
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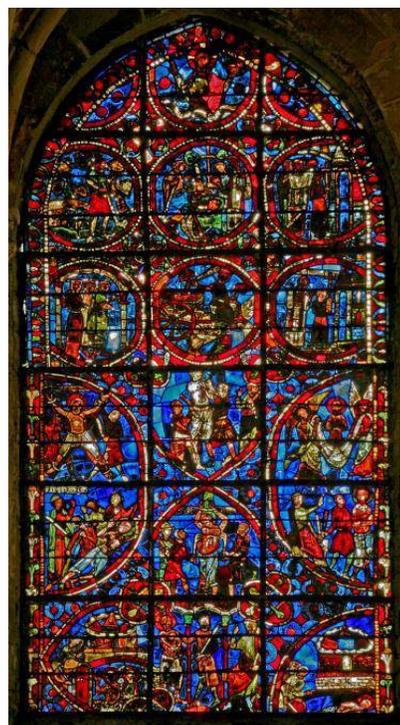
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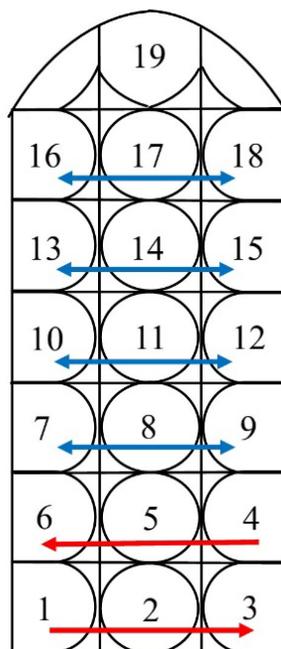
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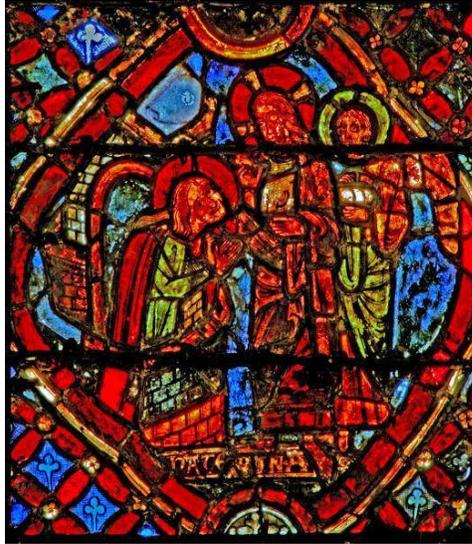
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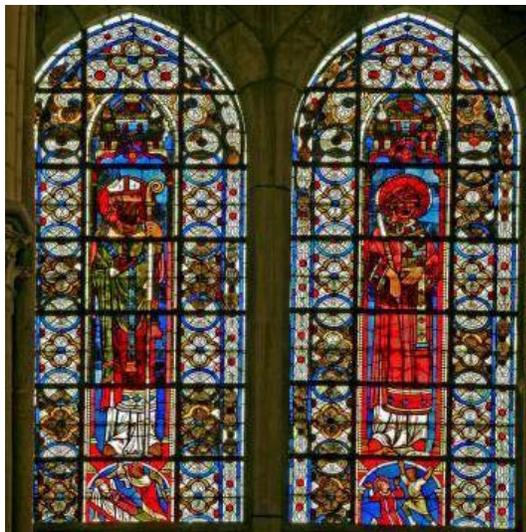
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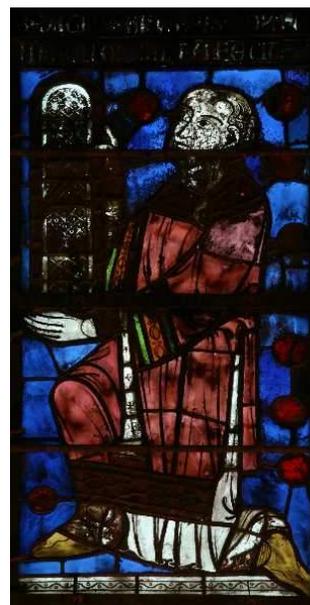
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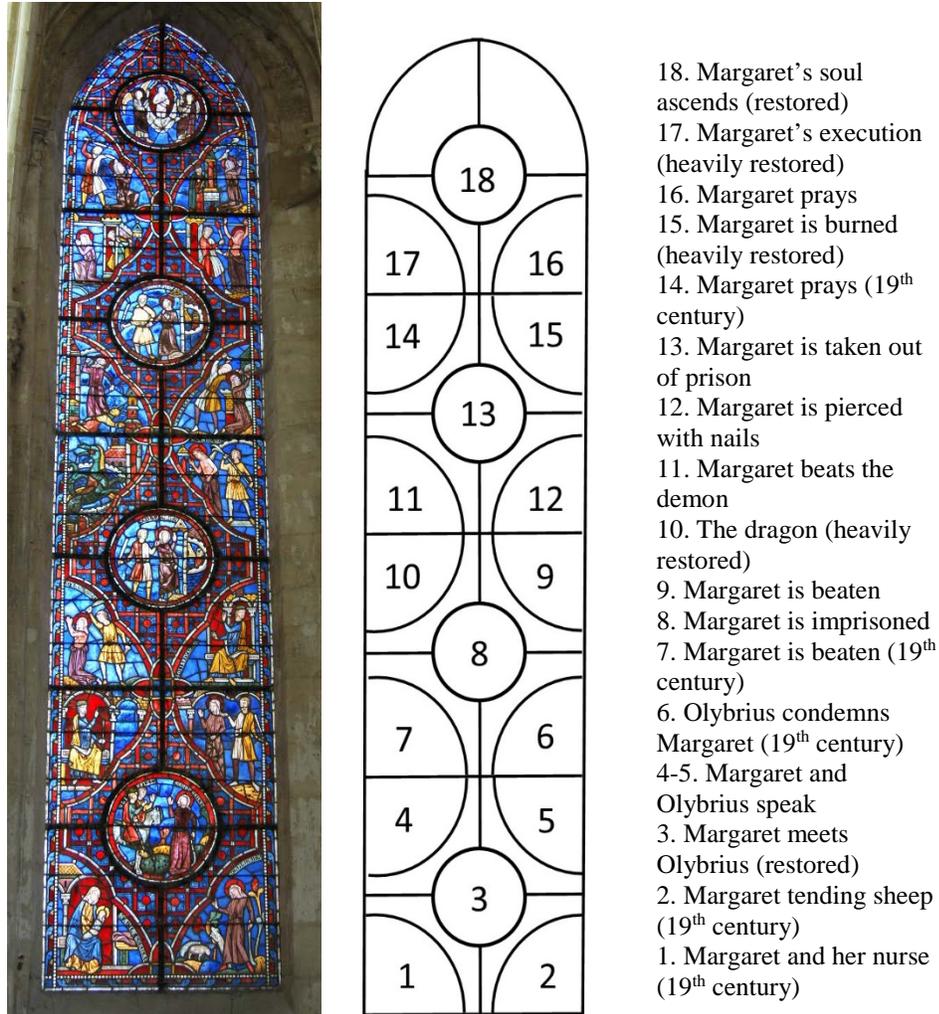
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Chapter 4:

From Suffering to Slaying: Margaret as a Confessor Saint at Chartres Cathedral

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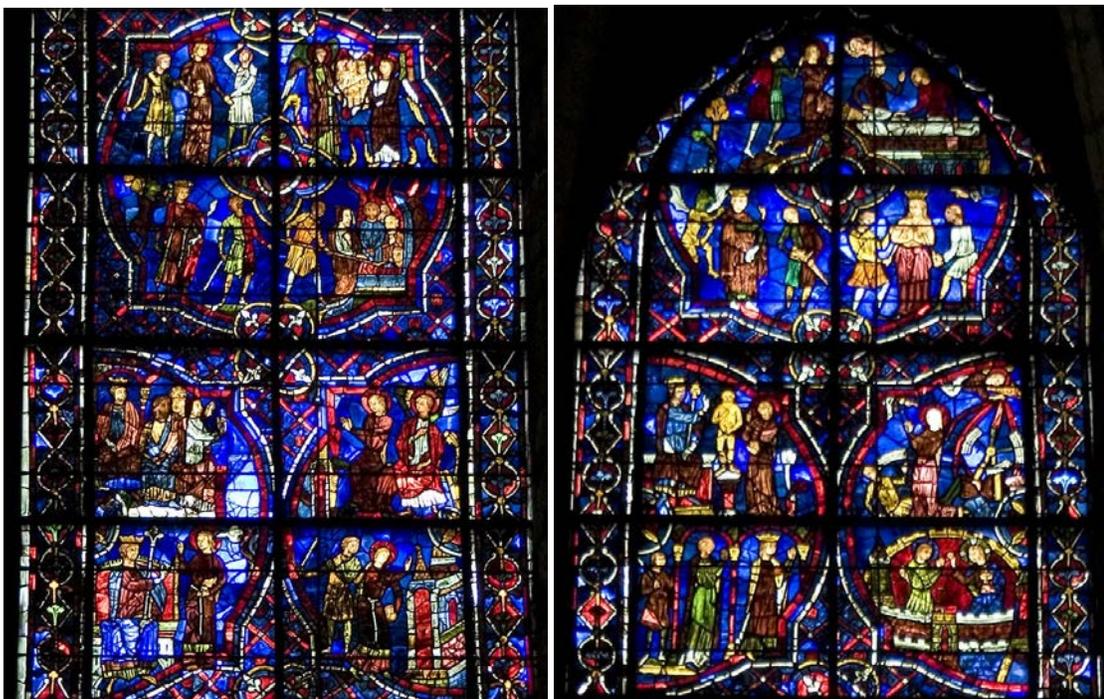
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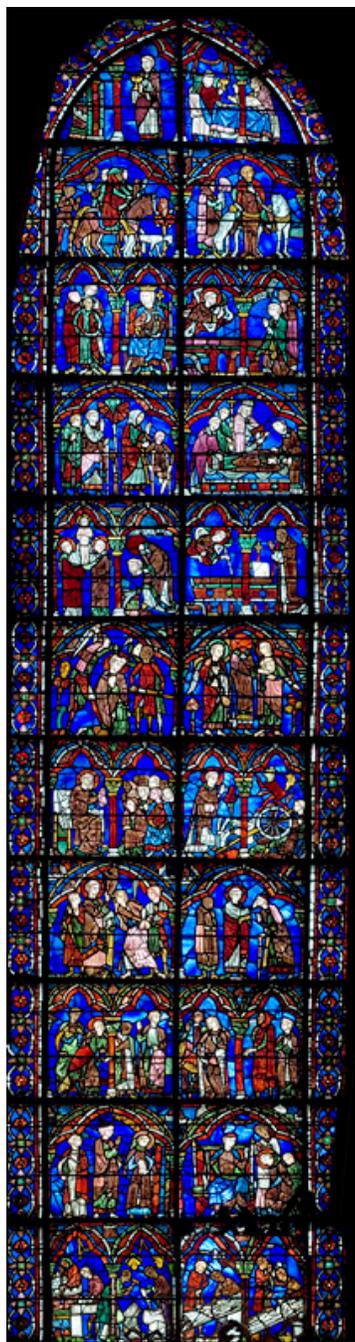
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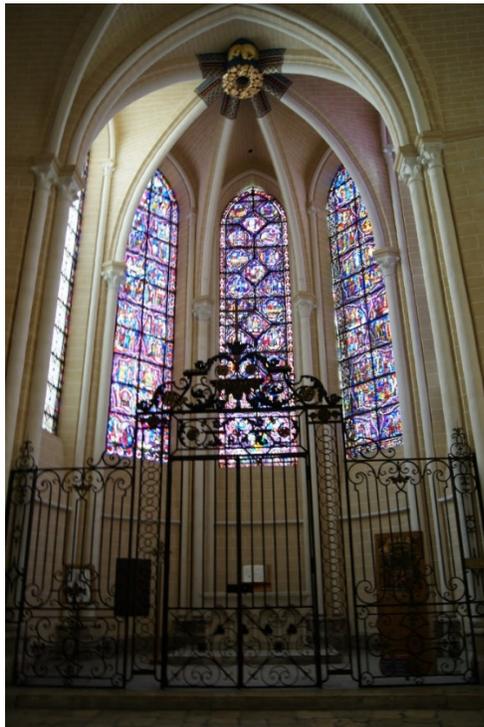
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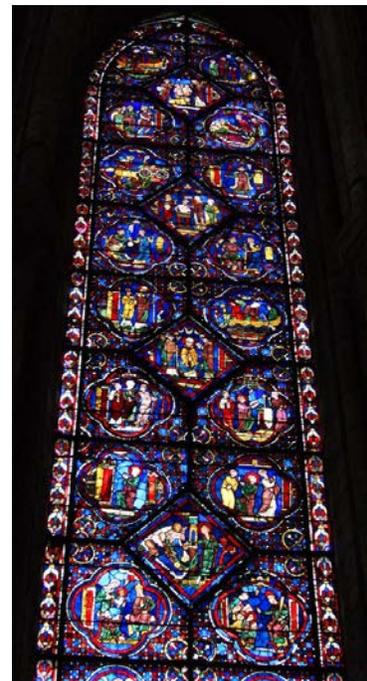
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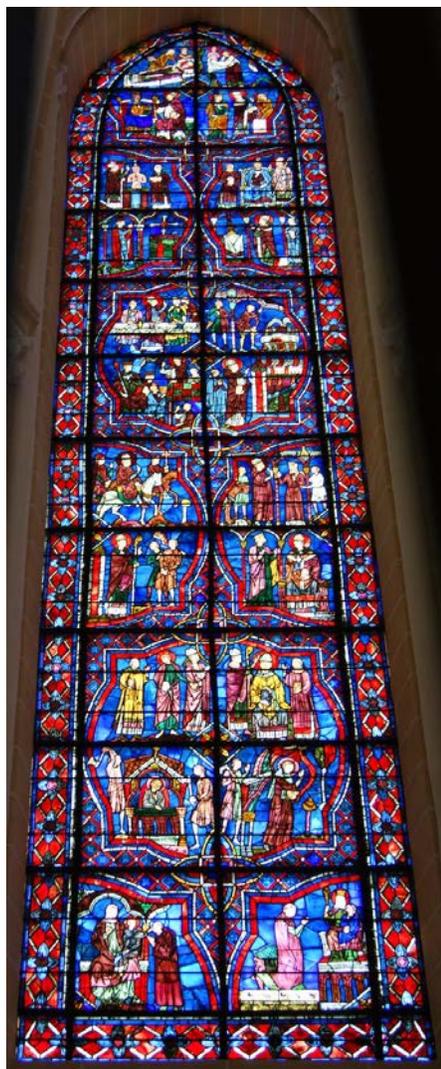
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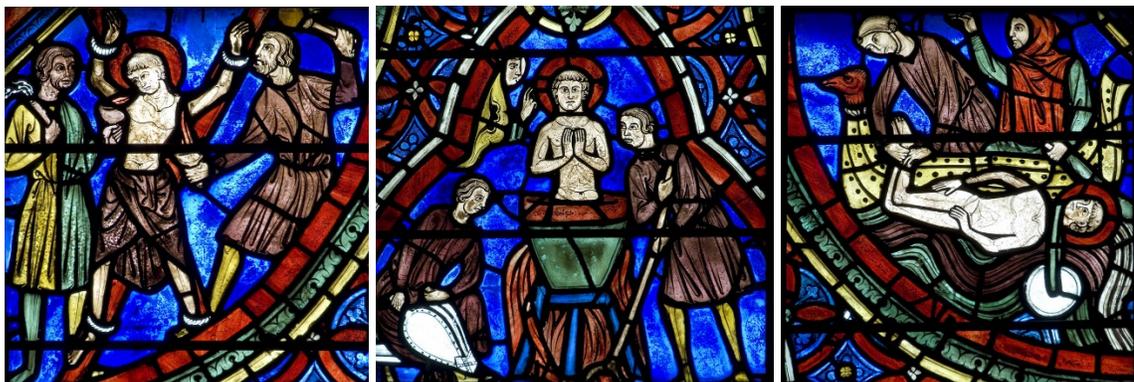
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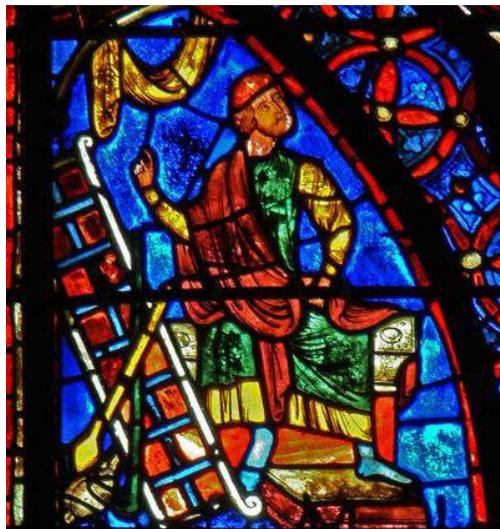
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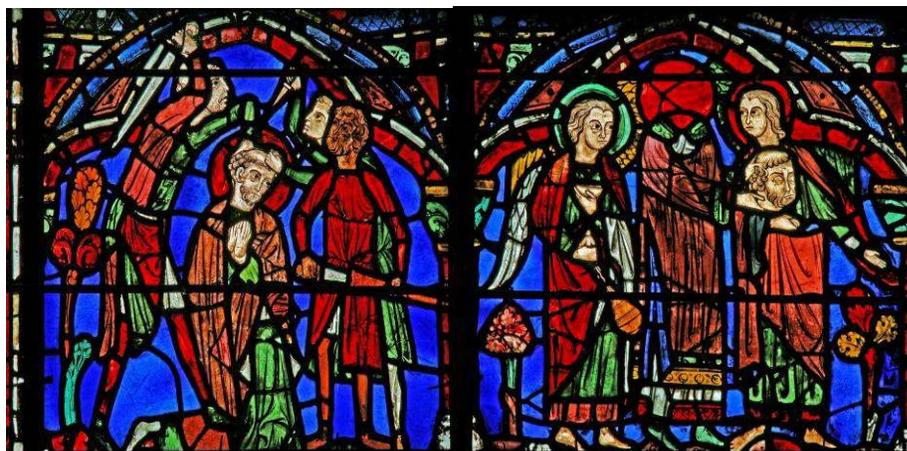
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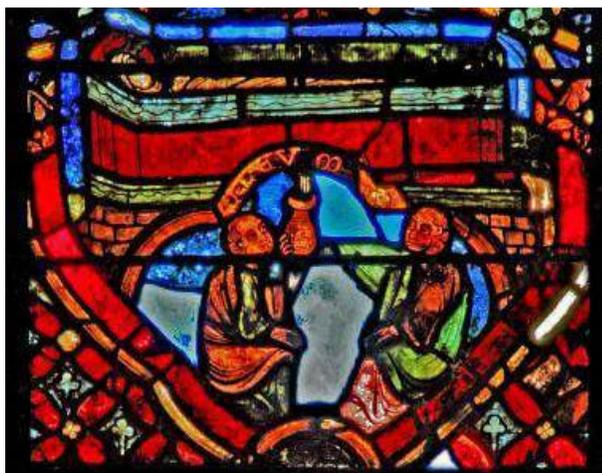
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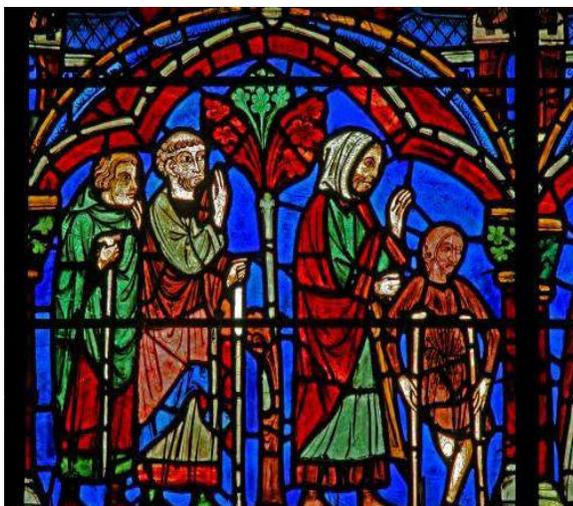
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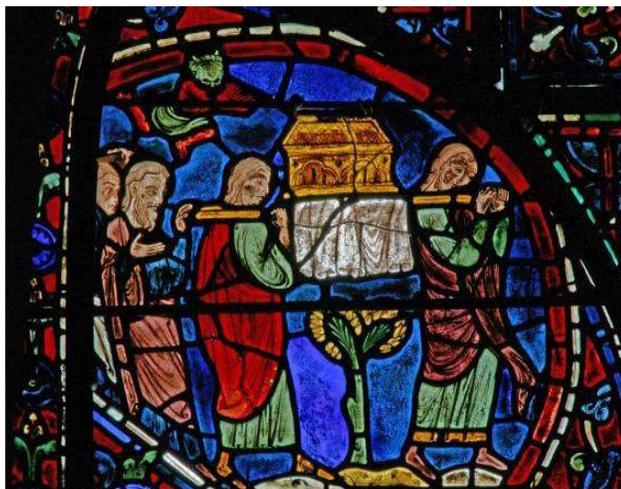
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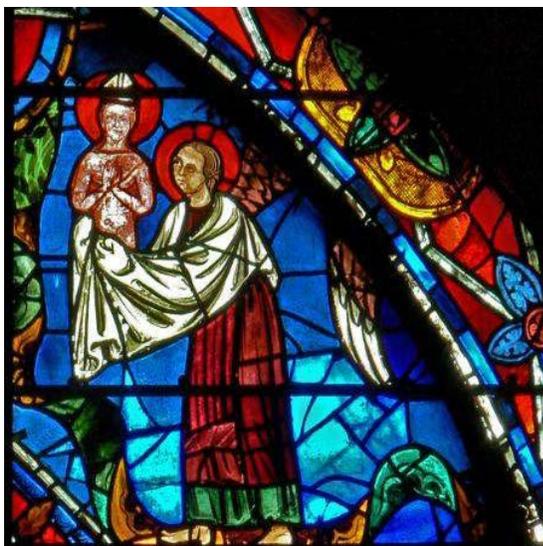
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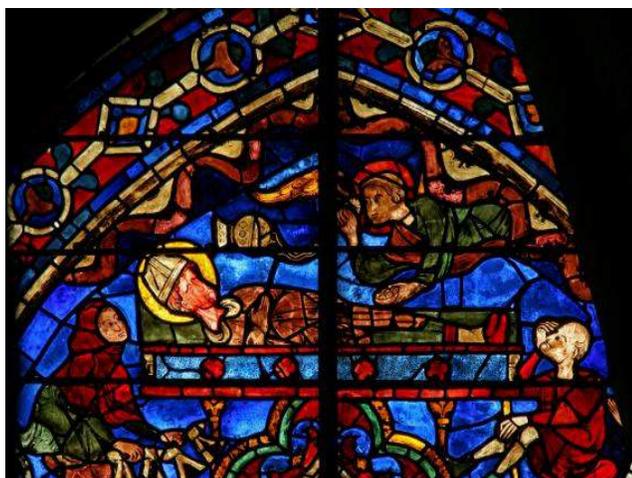
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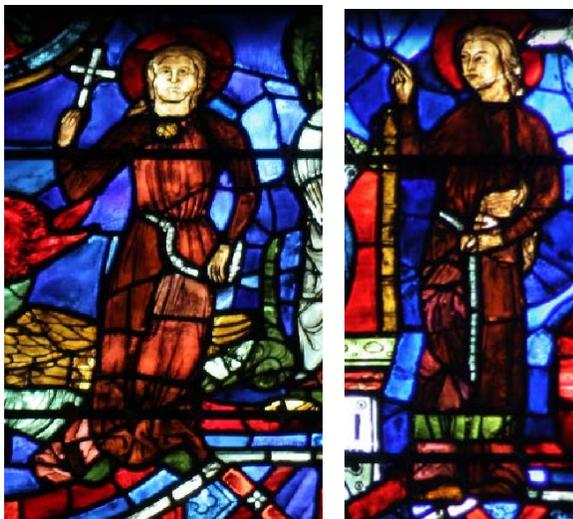
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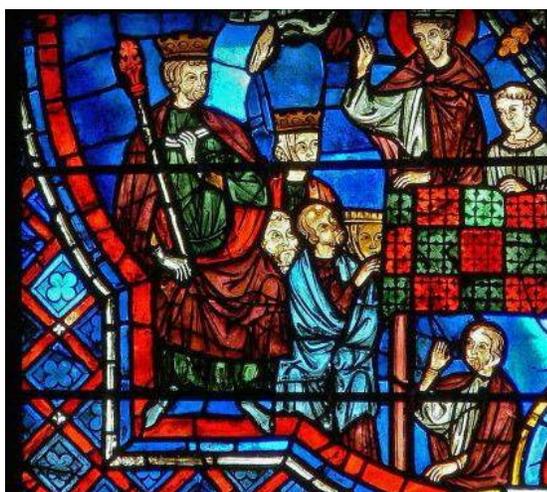
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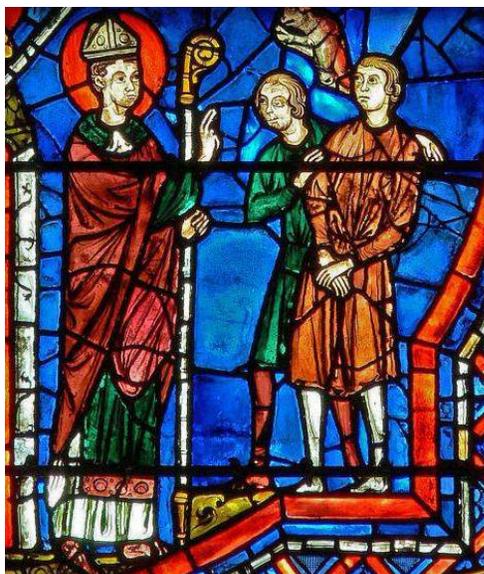
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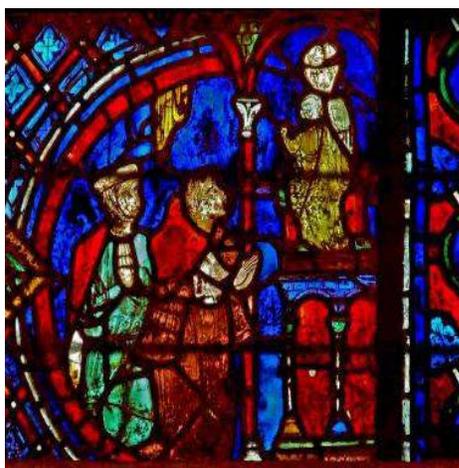
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Chapter 5:

Image and Inscription in the Margaret Window at Ardagger Abbey

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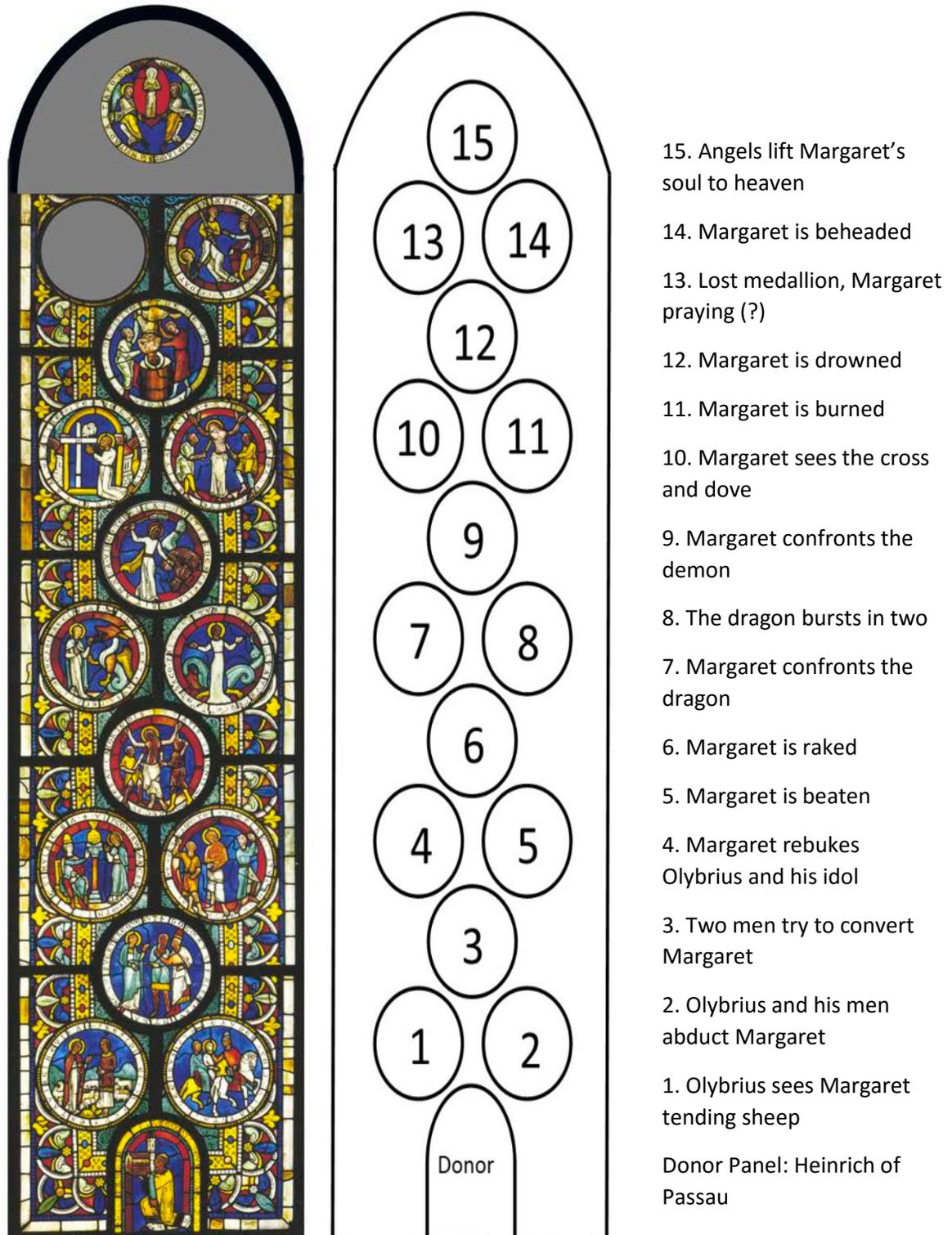
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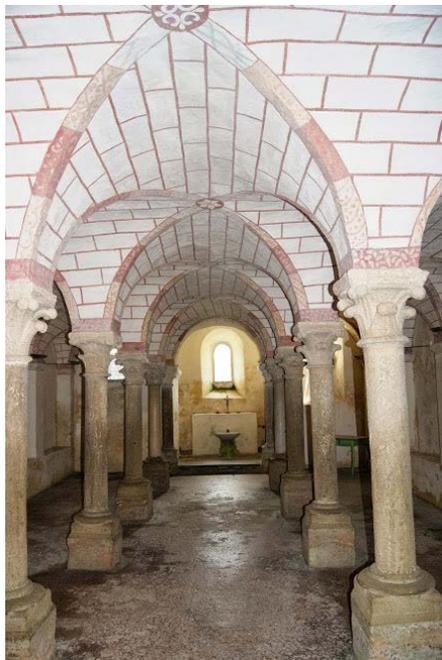
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Figure 5.9. Gothic sacramental niche (15th century ironwork door), St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria.

Figure 5.10. Nave windows, buttress, and crocket, late 13th and early 14th century, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photos: Ashley Laverock.

Figure 5.11. Heinrich of Passau, St. Margaret Window, 1230-1240, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

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Figure 5.12. View looking southwest, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. From: http://aroundguides.com/17894444/Photos/90289939.

Figure 5.13. Grisaille stained glass, 1227-1240, Stift Heiligenkreuz, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

Figure 5.14. Prophet Daniel, ca. 1065, clerestory window, Augsburg Cathedral, Germany. Photo: © Hans Bernhard, Wikimedia Commons

Figure 5.15. East end, 1210-1215, Laon Cathedral, France. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

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Figure 5.16. Ornamental borders from Strasbourg (above) and Weissenburg (below), 13th century. From: Eva Frodl-Kraft, *Die Mittelalterlichen Glasgemälde in Niederösterreich, 1 Teil: Albrechtsberg bis Klosterneuburg, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*. Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus, 1972.

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Figure 5.17. Restoration chart, St. Margaret window, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. From: Eva Frodl-Kraft. *Die Mittelalterlichen Glasgemälde in Niederösterreich, 1 Teil: Albrechtsberg bis Klosterneuburg, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*. Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus, 1972.

Figure 5.18. Detail, St. Margaret Window, 1230-1240, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

15. Lost medallion

14. Angels lift Margaret's soul to heaven

13. Margaret is beheaded

12. Margaret is drowned

11. Margaret is burned

10. Margaret sees the cross and dove

9. Margaret confronts the demon

8. The dragon bursts in two

7. Margaret confronts the dragon

6. Margaret is raked

5. Margaret is beaten

4. Two men try to convert Margaret

3. Margaret rebukes Olybrius and his idols

2. Olybrius and his men abduct Margaret

1. Olybrius sees Margaret tending sheep

Donor Panel: Heinrich of Passau

Figure 5.19. Photomontage reflecting Sacken's 1857 description of the window and numbered diagram. Photo from: Eduard Freiherrn von Sacken. "Kunstdenkmale des Mittelalters im Kreise ob dem Wiener Wald des Erzherzogtums." *Jahrbuch der Kaiserl. Königl. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* 2 (1857): 105-109. Diagram: Ashley Laverock.

Figure 5.20. Margaret tending sheep, Medallion 1, St. Margaret Window, 1230-1240, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

Figure 5.21. Margaret abducted by knights, Medallion 2, St. Margaret Window, 1230-1240, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

Figure 5.22. Two men try to convert Margaret, Medallion 3, St. Margaret Window, 1230-1240, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

Figure 5.23. Margaret before Olybrius, Medallion 4, St. Margaret Window, 1230-1240, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

Figure 5.24. Margaret is beaten, Medallion 5, St. Margaret Window, 1230-1240, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

Figure 5.25. Margaret is raked, Medallion 6, St. Margaret Window, 1230-1240, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

Figure 5.26. Margaret confronts the dragon, Medallion 7, St. Margaret Window, 1230-1240, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

Figure 5.27. The dragon bursts in two, Medallion 8, St. Margaret Window, 1230-1240, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

Figure 5.28. Margaret confronts the demon, Medallion 9, St. Margaret Window, 1230-1240, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

Figure 5.29. Margaret sees the cross and dove, Medallion 10, St. Margaret Window, 1230-1240, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

Figure 5.30. Margaret is burned, Medallion 11, St. Margaret Window, 1230-1240, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

Figure 5.31. Margaret is drowned, Medallion 12, St. Margaret Window, 1230-1240, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

Figure 5.32. Margaret is beheaded, Medallion 14, St. Margaret Window, 1230-1240, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

Figure 5.33. Angels lift Margaret's soul to heaven, Medallion 15, St. Margaret Window, 1230-1240, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

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Figure 5.36. Detail, Nicholas of Verdun, Klosterneuburg Altarpiece, 1181, Klosterneuburg, Austria. From: http://theodor-frey.de/verduner%20altar.htm.

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Figure 5.38. Apotheosis of St. Benedict, Life of St. Benedict Window, 1140-1144, choir, Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, France. Musee National du Moyen Age, Paris, inv. Cl. 22758. Source: Lagabrielle, Sophie. *Vitraux. Musée national du Moyen Age.* Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2006.

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Figure 5.45. Inscription detailing the church's foundation, "Anges Henrici III Imperatoris contoralis in partu periclitans fundavit et dotavit hanc collegia tam ecclesiam Ardacensem in honorem Sanctae Margareitae virginis et martyris Anno Domoni XMLIX," ca. 1690-1700, fresco, choir, St. Margaret Church, Ardagger Abbey, Austria. Photo: Ashley Laverock.

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Figure C.1. Left: Full window, Right: St. Margaret scenes (right lancets), 1280-1300, Bay 16, choir, Clermont-Ferrand Cathedral. Photo: © Painton Cowen.

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Figure C.4. Detail, Angels attend Margaret's body, Panel 16, St. Margaret lancets, 1280-1300, Bay 16, choir, Clermont-Ferrand Cathedral. Photo: © Painton Cowen.

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Figure C.7. Translation of relics window, detail of St. Margaret, and drawing of St. Margaret after Ch. Fichot (Bibl. Mun. Troyes, ms 2923), 1228-1235, Troyes Cathedral. Photos: © Painton Cowen. Drawing from: Elizabeth Pastan and Sylive Balcon. *Les vitraux du choeur de la cathédrale de Troyes (XIIIe siècle), Corpus Vitrearum France, Volume II.* Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2006.

Figure C.8. Reliquary case, 1350-1400, leather, 5 1/4in x 11 1/4in x 4 5/8in, Swiss or French. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cloisters Collection, 1947 (47.101.65), 1350-1400. From: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/47.101.65/.

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Figure C.12. St. Margaret and the dragon, 14th century, ivory, 145mm x 105mm, French. The British Museum, London, 1858,0428.1 (Dalton 340). From: The British Museum, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=35018001&objectid=50710.

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